

II - In the Wake of the Treaty of Windsor: A Tale of Two Ladies

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The river Lima, which crosses the upper Minho region, one of the great and beautiful landscapes in Portugal, had witnessed some of the most significant moments of her life. And yet, Inês had probably been born very far away in England, in the reign of Edward III. During her life in Portugal, she had reflected the spirit caught in her earlier days in England and, since her marriage to Gil Afonso de Magalhães, she became a conduit of that spirit into her country of adoption. As her death approached around 1420, her friend Philippa of Lancaster, Queen consort of Portugal had been dead for some five years, but the old King D. João I was still alive as indeed was her husband. Hers had been tumultuous and fecund times, as the XIVth century gave way to the XVth and the Hundred Years War was slowly pushing Europe into the renaissance. Change had been swift in Portugal since she and Philippa of Lancaster had first followed the route along the river Lima into their new country over thirty years ago. Inês, and the Queen, could look back with pride at the results of their long adventure far way from their original home.

Everything had begun in early October 1386, barely five months after the establishment of the Treaty of Windsor between the English King Richard II and the Portuguese monarch D. João I, when a group of about 2000 troops led by the Portuguese King himself set up camp just south of the river Lima, near the crossing with the ancient road linking the Northern city of Braga to the Galician border. This was a convenient place to settle and wait for news from across the border in Galicia, where John of Gaunt was approaching to meet the Portuguese King. These were also the lands where the Magellan family had been established for more than a century.

The Magalhães were initially descended from a French nobleman who had immigrated to Portugal in the middle of the XIIIth century. His descendants had established residence in a mediaeval tower located in the ancient parish of *Magalhães* near the Lima river from which they had taken their name. Their importance grew gradually within the northern nobility and, at the time of Afonso Rodrigues de Magalhães they had been given the lordship of two villages near Braga. The revenues from these villages were intended to support two military units or *lanças*¹ which King D. Fernando had required Afonso Rodrigues de Magalhães to raise in 1347.

The establishment of the two *lanças* under the responsibility of the Magalhães was part of a much vaster military project carried out by D. Fernando in the expectation that Portugal would sooner or later become embroiled in the Castilian royal succession dispute which had followed the murder of the Castilian King Pedro I by his half-brother Henrique of Trastamara in 1369. Indeed, D. Fernando's own ambitions over the Castilian throne further complicated things and would lead him into several disastrous campaigns in Castile. These effectively resulted in the unwelcome arrival of the Castilian troops in Portugal on various occasions. In turn, the marriage of King Juan I of Castile to the heiress of the Portuguese throne revitalised Castile's interest in the Portuguese crown and led directly to Portugal's own dynastic crises of 1383-1385. The possibility that the Castilian King might, more or less legitimately take the Portuguese crown through marriage, led to a revolution in Portugal which in turn, led to the hurried election of the *Infante* D. João, master of the order of Aviz, and illegitimate brother of D. Fernando, to the throne.

The new King's origin caused considerable trouble in Portugal, just as the illegitimacy of Henrique de Trastamara had caused in Castile in the previous generation. It would take years for some sort of normalcy to establish itself both in Portugal and in Castile on this matter. A major factor in the resolution of the problem was the huge and unexpected victory of the Portuguese against the Castilians at Aljubarrota in August 1385, which practically annihilated Castile's ambitions over Portugal, regardless of any considerations of legality.

The victory at Aljubarrota reverberated all over Europe and in particular at the English court of Richard II. There, Aljubarrota was seen as evidence that the Trastamara dynasty in Castile was not, after all, invincible as it had seemed before.

¹ The *lança* was composed of six soldiers and four horses.

This led people to think that perhaps the old aspirations of Richard II's uncle, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster over the Castilian crown could be reactivated. These aspirations arose from Gaunt's second marriage to Constanza, daughter and heiress of the murdered Pedro I of Castile. In the pursuit of these ambitions, Gaunt had been inclined to seek the support of the King of Aragon whom however, had however shown little interest in the matter. After Aljubarrota, an alliance with victorious Portugal appeared to the English to be a good substitute for the Aragonese support, particularly if, as a result of such an alliance the Portuguese could offer some military help against the French in the Hundred Years War.

On Portugal's side, the political situation was still fragile in spite of the victory at Aljubarrota. The problem of the King's illegitimate birth had not been completely resolved by his election by the *Cortes* or assembly of the three states of the nation at Coimbra in 1385. Many amongst the nobility still felt bound by their commitment to D. Fernando's heiress, whilst others felt that, if a new monarch had to be considered, there were other candidates with better credentials than D. João. This was important, as many of these unconvinced nobles still maintained positions of importance in towns and fortresses all over Portugal. The Castilian's themselves, though defeated in open battle, had not completely abandoned some Portuguese cities where they had entrenched themselves since the earlier days of the conflict. In the mind of King D. João I an alliance with England, which was then hostile to Castile, could be useful as a means of mitigating the Castilian threat to Portugal.

The Treaty of Windsor, the world's oldest treaty still in force today, was thus established in May 1386. Portuguese ships were immediately dispatched to Plymouth to bring John of Gaunt and the troops that the English parliament had agreed to finance, to the Peninsula where he would be pursuing his wife's claim to the Castilian throne. They left England on 9th July and the fleet arrived at the Galician port of La Coruña nearly three weeks later². The city surrendered as did Santiago and Orense, where Gaunt established himself in the Autumn and Winter of 1386.

Meanwhile, D. João I was enjoying a peaceful period in northern Portugal waiting for him. The attitude of most of the important cities in the region towards the new Portuguese King had improved a great deal since the campaigns of the previous

² Goodman, Anthony – *John of Gaunt, the exercise of princely power in fourteenth century Europe*, Longman, Harlow, 1992, p. 120.

year which had liberated cities like Braga and Guimarães and villages like Ponte de Lima, from sympathisers of the Castilian cause. Only Melgaço on the northern border with Galicia remained stubbornly hostile but, for the moment, the King's top priority was his meeting with Gaunt. The region of the upper Lima where his camp had been established was no doubt offering him a warm hospitality and he would have had the chance to visit his childhood friend Teresa Freire de Andrade, widow of Afonso Rodrigues de Magalhães, who lived at Magalhães with her children. As a child, D. João' had been entrusted by his father the King D. Pedro I of Portugal to the care of Nuno Freire de Andrade, father of Teresa and master of the order of Christ, one of the wealthiest and more influential military orders in Portugal. He had therefore been raised together with Teresa and her two brothers who would later become his pages. The re-establishment of contact between D. João I and Teresa at Magalhães, although not documented, looks likely and would explain the long and well documented closeness that subsequently developed between the monarch and the eldest of Teresa's sons, Gil Afonso de Magalhães, who would have been approximately fifteen years of age at the time.

Indeed, the young Gil Afonso had just the profile needed by the King who was still haunted by the disapproval of some from the older nobility who remained shackled by their loyalty to the previous King's heiress. His family's nobility, though over a hundred years old in Portugal at the time, did not fit within the parameters of the older nobility, much of which had very strong doses of Castilian blood and was thus uncomfortably vulnerable to its call at some crucial times. In addition, the lands held by Gil Afonso and his family were of some importance as were his military responsibilities as leader of the two *lanças* he had inherited from his father. However, there was no comparison between his status and that of the great noble families of the previous reign. These families had accumulated titles and lands well beyond anything that the Magalhães enjoyed, due to their proximity to the crown which, in the previous reign, entailed an acquiescent attitude to Castilian ambitions over Portugal. The demise of some of these families, following the 1385 dynastic revolution, offered opportunities for advancement to just the type of young and ambitious nobility that Gil Afonso de Magalhães personified. The new King needed just this type of support and Gil Afonso de Magalhães and his mother were well aware of this.

In turn, John of Gaunt was a descendant of a long line of Plantagenets, the powerful French family who had inherited the crown of England through marriage to

one of William the Conqueror's daughters. The tone to this dynasty had been given by the extraordinary personalities of their founders, Henry II, count of Anjou, Duke of Normandy and King of England and his wife Eleanor, Duchess of Aquitaine. The diversity and extent of their French estates combined with their English Kingdom and associated territories required them to draw on every reserve of strength available. Their "angevin" empire's legal complexities, meant that in certain cases their territories could be passed on as their own personal property, whereas in others, medieval laws of progeny were in force. This had effects on the destinies of the various royal children, entrusted with or dispossessed of their domains, at the simple pleasure of their parents, as the flows of intrigue and conspiracy progressed.

Over a century and a half later, in John of Gaunt's time, circumstances were different but no less challenging, particularly in matters of royal succession. Gaunt was a Duke of the royal blood as were two of his brothers. He was the son and uncle of Kings and his own son would later become King in a convoluted atmosphere of intrigue and violence. He was immensely rich and an important political player at the English court and his entourage included prestigious names of the military, cultural and political establishments. His role in the courts of his father Edward III and his nephew Richard II was as important as it was controversial, involving him in missions in Scotland, France and Flanders in defence of England's interests and his own, which he tended to see as coincidental. His fortune and fame had been further reinforced by his marriage into the powerful Lancaster family who has brought him much wealth and the title of Duke of Lancaster. A second marriage to the dispossessed heiress of Pedro I of Castile brought him to the Peninsula and to the meeting with the Portuguese King. Equally important and troublesome at the English court were his brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and York, who vied aggressively with John of Gaunt for influence over Richard II, their young and inexperienced nephew.

The larger-than-life strength, style and personality of the XIVth century Plantagenets were very different from that of the Burgundian dynasty, who had established the Kingdom of Portugal back in the XIIth century. Since the beginning, the energies of the Burgundians in Portugal had been directed mostly to keeping their distance from the neighbouring Kingdoms of Leon and Castile, whilst simultaneously pushing the *Reconquista* southwards against the Arabs. As Portugal initially had been only a small county in the Kingdom of Leon, it lacked the nobility sufficient to provide the military means to fulfil the aims of the Burgundians. Nobility had thus to

be imported as were the military orders who would play a major role in the *Reconquista*, both seeking glory and adventure rather than great wealth.

Indeed, in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries at the time that Portugal was taking shape, feudalism had somewhat passed its peak in Europe. The scarcity of good lands and the almost permanent state of warfare against the Arabs and occasionally against the Leonese and Castilians, generated a centralized system which rather distanced the Portuguese social and administrative system from the feudalistic model and from the tensions prevailing at the Plantagenet court in England. Consequently, titles were slow to arrive in Portugal and, apart from one or two families from the few ancient noble lines originated from the Kingdom of Leon, the Portuguese nobility was rarely wealthy or indeed powerful. This applied as well to the immediate family of the Burgundian monarchs who, troublesome as they might be at times, rarely had the means or indeed the opportunity to acquire a degree of individual power within the dynasty, in any way similar to that which the various princes of the Plantagenet dynasty demonstrably had in England. The exceptions in the XIVth century, were linked to the ambitions of powerful Castilian nobles such as the Menezes, who had established themselves in the Portuguese court relatively recently. Their manoeuvrings, demonstrating levels of ambition and intrigue so far unseen in Portugal, would lead into the dynastic crises of 1383-1385 and to the election of the new King, D. João I, a King virtually without family or fortune and very short on entourage.

The mission of the man waiting for the Portuguese King across the river was one of importance in English and European political circles, particularly in view of the on-going Hundred Years War. However, in his present campaign in Castile he was not accompanied by leading nobles and their retinues. Nevertheless, according to the chronicles of Froissart and Adam Husk³ Gaunt was followed to Galicia by veteran soldiers of great reputation and by barons who had come from all parts of England, as well as young people seeking adventure “the flower of ...youthful cavalry” in Husk’s own words. Gaunt also had two daughters to marry, who had travelled with him to the Peninsula certainly in the perfect understanding that they would be used as pawns in their father’s campaign.

³ Mentioned in Goodman, Anthony, *Ibid*, p. 117.

As their father met with D. João I at Ponte de Mouro, Gaunt's second wife and daughters were already at or on their way to the 10th century Benedictine monastery at Celanova, relatively close to the Portuguese border, where they would be staying as they waited for news from Ponte de Mouro. Philippa, Gaunt's daughter by his first wife Blanche of Lancaster was probably well aware that her father's negotiations with the Portuguese King were likely to lead her to a royal marriage in Portugal. Her half-sister Catherine must have been equally aware that she might have to participate in a matrimonial link of some sort, in the pursuit of her father's Castilian ambitions.

The meeting at Ponte de Mouro took place initially on the Galician side, then on the Portuguese side. As if to underline his power and reputation, D. João I entertained Gaunt inside the tent he had captured at Aljubarrota in the previous year, from the very same Castilian monarch they were both plotting to overthrow⁴. The conditions upon which D. João I was to provide help to Gaunt were established; D. João I would assist Gaunt in Castile with a force of 5,000 men. Gaunt would give his daughter in marriage to D. João I and a dowry of Castilian territories along the Portuguese north-eastern and eastern borders if he were to succeed in assuming the Castilian crown.

After this, the King soon left for the south whilst Gaunt returned to Celanova to make the arrangements for his daughter's move to Portugal. Days later Philippa made her entrance taking the road from Celanova to the Portuguese border at Lindoso and then, after a night at the monastery of Ermelo, they passed next to the lands of the Magalhães on their way to Braga and Oporto. According to the Portuguese chronicler Fernão Lopes, Philippa was accompanied by a number of Portuguese officials appointed by her future husband as well as by her brother-in-law Sir John Holland and a number of other English dignitaries, her group presumably including her own twelve English ladies-in-waiting.

Among these was probably a mysterious lady named Agnes of whom we know very little at this stage but from whom we shall hear a great deal more later on. The Portuguese genealogies provide confusing and at times contradictory information about her, as they often tend to do when dealing with foreign individuals. Considering the various possibilities, it seems safe to assume that she was simply a young English lady from the circles of Gaunt's daughter Philippa or the daughter of one of those

⁴ Lopes, Fernão – *Crónica de D. João I, II Volume*, Livraria Civilização – Editora, Barcelos, 1990, pp. 216-217.

English barons who, according to Adam Rusk, had joined Gaunt in his Peninsular campaign. At the time, she might have been already a lady-in-waiting to Philippa, a post which she definitely held at a later stage, when Philippa became Queen of Portugal⁵.

As she entered the country which would eventually become her permanent home, Agnes, or Inês as the Portuguese would call her, would have been primarily engaged in helping Philippa along her way to the palace of the Bishop of Oporto, where she was expected to live until her marriage to the King. This must have been a considerable job as they were all entering a new and unfamiliar world. Indeed, this whole arrangement had been hastily organised, as the immediate priority for both Gaunt and the King was to raise and organise the military forces for the Castilian campaign agreed at Ponte de Mouro. With her father back in Galicia and the husband-to-be she had yet to meet, away recruiting in the south of Portugal, Philippa must have felt lonely and apprehensive as she progressed to Oporto and would have relied in her ladies-in-waiting to reassure her.

D. João I's efforts in raising the troops he had promised Gaunt took him all over Portugal and finally to the northern city of Guimarães. According to Lopes, a total of 2,000 *lanças* was finally reached. From what we know about later events, it seems highly probable that the young Gil Afonso de Magalhães would have been recruited together with his two *lanças* during the King's permanence in Guimarães. For the next two and a half years to July 1389, they would be practically inseparable, the young aspiring knight from Ponte da Barca and his new monarch, who was approximately some ten years older.

As preparations were being finalised for the invasion of Castile, other more pleasant preparations were being made in Oporto where the rather hasty marriage of Philippa was to take place. However, the pressure to start the military campaign was such, that neither Gaunt nor his wife were able to be present at Oporto's cathedral on the 2nd February 1387, when the royal marriage finally took place. The two week's festivities which followed may have helped Philippa, Agnes and other members of her retinue to familiarise themselves a little with their new Portuguese court, but it is unlikely that young Gil Afonso was present at the wedding, as he would have been

⁵ *Documento de Confirmação do Souto de Rebordãos*, Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. João I, Livro IV, Além Douro, p. 19.

busy then with his preparations for the crossing into Castille. Indeed, Gaunt and his wife were already at Trás-os-Montes in north-eastern Portugal with their troops estimated at some 1,500 waiting for the arrival of the newlyweds João and Philippa who joined them in end March with their own forces estimated at between 5,000 and 9,000 men. The joint invasion would have been the first opportunity for Gil Afonso to acquaint himself with his King's new allies as he rode with his *lanças* in the rear of the army, where the forces of the King and of John of Gaunt were assembled. Ahead of them marched the forces of the order of Christ and at the very front the contingents of the constables of Portugal and England, D. Nuno Álvares Pereira and Sir John Holland.

For the next two months the Anglo-Portuguese forces sought battle with the armies of the King of Castile who tried his best to avoid it in a deliberate effort to deny his old nemesis from Aljubarrota another victory as well as to wear down the morale of the English invaders. Morale was indeed a problem as many in the English contingent had become sick and weakened during their marches through Galicia and Castile as well as discouraged by the absence of any progress either military or political. Much to Gaunt's despair, many began to seek ways to get back to England. In a dramatic encounter in which D. João I reprimanded Gaunt for the indiscipline of his forces, it was decided that Gaunt would seek a political agreement with the Castilian King and, as the Duke wept on horseback⁶, they decided to return to Portuguese territory.

As with the Portuguese King, Gaunt's arrangements with King Juan I of Castile made use of the presence of his immediate family there. His daughter Catherine, would marry Juan's son Henrique and thus give additional legitimacy to the Trastámara line, as she was a grand-daughter of the legitimate but assassinated King Pedro I. A large financial settlement was also agreed, which may have somewhat miffed the Portuguese monarch who was gaining nothing from the whole expedition, now that the chances of the Castilian border territories, which were to be his "dowry", had completely evaporated.

Things worked out better for Gil Afonso de Magalhães, who, whilst the armies were still in Castile, was granted an important new estate by D. João I, to add to his existing properties near Ponte da Barca and Braga. The reason for this grant is

⁶ Goodman, Anthony, *Ibid*, p. 125.

uncertain but it could only have been related to Gil Afonso's efforts in one or more of the various successful attacks on Leonese fortified cities such as Valderas or Villalobos carried out during the Castilian campaign. The identification of the lands given to him is complicated by the imprecise references in the genealogical studies written much later, but it is safe to assume that the original Lindoso lands given were eventually exchanged for the beautiful *couto*⁷ at Fontearcada, across the river Lima from Ponte da Barca, which remained in the possession of Gil Afonso and his descendants for many generations.

Back in Portugal, things started to move very quickly for both D. João I and Gil Afonso. Putting the matters of his father-in-law to one side, the Portuguese King's priorities were clearly to occupy the various cities and fortresses in Portugal which were still faithful to the ambitions of the Castilian King over the Portuguese throne and thus consolidate once and for all, his control over his kingdom. For this he needed people like Gil Afonso de Magalhães, equally ambitious to establish themselves firmly in the Portuguese nobility establishment. The King's next major initiative was to resolve the problem of Melgaço which was the last major fortress on the Portuguese/Galician border still faithful to the Castilian cause. During the preparatory movements for this campaign, the King had often been in the immediate vicinity of Gil Afonso's lands at Ponte da Barca and it is quite safe to assume that the young nobleman participated with the King's forces in the siege of Melgaço, which after all was in the relative vicinity of the Magalhães lands.

This took place in January 1388 and would be a very elaborate and somewhat theatrical military feat. The rebel forces were well entrenched and quite prepared for a long siege. In fact, they resisted for nearly two months and only succumbed when confronted by a colossal three story war machine that the King's forces were pushing towards the city's walls. The Queen and her entourage were summoned to witness the final stage of the spectacular advance of the machine, from a nearby high point. This would have been the first time that Gil Afonso had seen the new Queen and her circle of ladies-in-waiting. There would be many more.

From then on Gil Afonso would have followed the same route and practically lived the same life as his King and Queen and Inês, her lady-in-waiting. Back in southern Portugal, the court spent some time at their palace in Lisbon, the *Paço da*

⁷ "Couto" or "Souto" was the denomination normally given to a land with a privileged tax status.

Alcáçova, perched on the top of one of the seven hills of the city. During the warm months, they would retreat to the coolness of mountains at Sintra and to a charming palace built there by the Kings of the Burgundian dynasty. Over the hot summer months in 1388, the King and his army took to the Alentejo on a long campaign to recover the strategically important fortress of Campo Maior, a mission which may have given Gil Afonso his first taste of the extremely hot conditions prevailing in the south that contrasted sharply with the milder weather in his native north.

Over the previous year, Inês and the other ladies-in waiting had reason to be anxious about the health of their sovereigns. Indeed, in the Summer of 1387, at the time she was attending her husband who was suffering from a serious illness, the Queen had apparently had some sort of problem in early pregnancy. Both recovered, but the court's intense interest in an eventual pregnancy was adding pressure to an already exhausting schedule that the monarchs had imposed upon themselves. Undeterred, the Queen was busy being a Plantagenet, in other words, in assuming the active role which she had been brought up to perform as a full monarch intervening in the affairs of state and making her presence firmly felt at court. Indeed, very soon after her wedding, Philippa presided over the *Cortes* at Coimbra, where the crown sought financial support for the military campaigns that the King was planning. Her husband seemed to support her in this role, a departure from the attitudes of the Kings of the previous dynasty who were content with a more passive role for their consorts. He also enjoyed having her present at some of his military feats, like the taking of Tui and Melgaço, on the northern border.

On a different level, both enjoyed organising court marriages between young men and women of their circles, in an obvious attempt to moralise the customs of a court which in the previous reign had been notoriously immoral. D. Duarte, the King's own son and successor informs in his book *Leal Conselheiro*⁸ that his parents had arranged the marriages of no less than one hundred or more ladies of the court in this fashion. Authors like Oliveira Martins⁹ see this as an initiative of the Queen, whilst others, like Fernão Lopes¹⁰ ascribe the responsibility of these marriages to the King. He even quotes D. João I as saying that he could be trusted to make the best

⁸ Martins, Oliveira, - *Ibid*, page 18;

⁹ Martins, Oliveira – *Os filhos de D. João I*, Guimarães & C^a, Editores, Lisboa, 1983, pages 18,19;

¹⁰ Lopes, Fernão – *Ibid*, pag 300;

choices for each couple and that he expected that the ladies “being intelligent and knowledgeable” hardly needed to know their grooms before they wed them. Not that the grooms themselves were any wiser about whom they were to marry until the day before their wedding. Nevertheless, the King sought to make these arrangements more palatable to those concerned by granting a dowry of fifty thousand *libras* to each of the brides coaxed into these marriages.

The monarchs engaged in these activities, it seems, at different times, presumably when their minds were momentarily free from immediate military concerns and in periods when the court was particularly crowded, such as when *Cortes* were held. In fact, at the earlier *Cortes* at Braga, Fernão Lopes mentions in particular that the monarch’s zeal was such that they even tried to re-marry the Constable D. Nuno Álvares Pereira, whose wife had recently died. Lopes also mentions that following the *Cortes* held in Lisbon in the spring of 1389, the King and Queen resumed their marriage initiatives with particular enthusiasm. On this occasion, the ladies-in-waiting of the Queen, namely Beatriz Pereira and her sister Berengela, were amongst those targeted. Based on later documents, we can be certain that Inês was another of the ladies-in-waiting to have been amongst the brides of the Spring of 1389 harvest and the groom was, we know from all the genealogies, none other than the young knight Gil Afonso de Magalhães, the King’s protégé from Ponte da Barca. This choice demonstrates the esteem which the King must have had towards Gil Afonso and also suggests the King’s desire to keep the young knight close to his person.

A detailed document kept in the royal archives¹¹, a true godsend for those interested in investigating her life, allows us to place her squarely in the context of that years’ royal matrimonial initiatives and to trace the details of Inês’ life at the time and. This document is a certificate passed by Fernão Lopes, the chronicler, in his capacity as keeper of the royal archives (*Torre do Tombo*) which states that Inês bought a property denominated *Souto de Rebordãos* from a certain Álvaro Gil de Urró¹² for the exact amount of fifty thousand *libras* on 13th June 1427 of the era of Cesar, corresponding to 1389 of the Christian era. This amount was precisely the

¹¹ *Documento de Confirmação do Souto de Rebordãos*, mentioned on note 6;

¹² In some genealogies this personage is referred as either of Portuguese or English nationality and Inês’ father, but this is almost certainly inaccurate;

same which the King was reported to grant to the brides on the occasion of the weddings he arranged for them. The little time elapsed between Inês' marriage in the late spring of 1389 and the acquisition on her property in June of the same year, demonstrates her good financial sense, as those were times of great inflation and property was then as now, an effective means of protection against runaway price increases. Gil Afonso, her new husband, would have been able to advise her on this purchase as he was no doubt familiar with this estate, which was located only a few miles downstream from his own property at Ponte da Barca. Before the 1383-1385 dynastic revolution, the *Souto de Rebordãos* had been the property of the immensely rich and influential Afonso Telles de Menezes, brother of the infamous Queen Leonor, who had had it confiscated by the new regime. We know that Inês' new land was rich in agricultural product and that it must have been an important place as its name survives to this day in a location just south of the city of Ponte de Lima. At one point it must have included some sort of residential facility named *Quinta de Bellay* of which there does not appear to be any vestige nowadays and only a small and much altered church of medieval origin remains of what may have been Inês' buildings there.

The old chronicles do not give us any more references to Gil Afonso or to Inês in the immediate vicinity of the monarchs after their wedding. It is probable that the newlyweds would have taken advantage of the court's move to the north, shortly after their wedding, to establish themselves in Gil Afonso's properties near Ponte da Barca, a move which would also have given Inês an opportunity to visit her new property. Nevertheless, it is clear that they remained very much in contact with the royal couple and the court, who would return to northern Portugal on various occasions in the following years. As Inês gradually settled at Magalhães, her life would have started to acquire the normal routine activities of a young noblewoman in medieval times. Her first child was probably born in 1390 and they named him Afonso, just as Philippa and the King had named their own first born, that same year. In the case of the monarchs, the name they chose had strong political connotations, as that it had frequently been used in the previous Burgundian dynasty with which the new King was eager to associate himself. Similarly, in choosing the name of Afonso for their first born, Gil Afonso and Inês had continued a long tradition of Magalhães ancestors, but it cannot be excluded that their choice may have been influenced as well by the choice the monarchs themselves had made for their own first child. Inês and Gil

Afonso's second son was named João, a choice which suggests a strong sign of friendship and gratitude towards the King, as that name had no tradition whatsoever in the Magalhães family at that time.

Indeed, the relationship between the Magalhães at Ponte da Barca and the King and the court remained very intense throughout the following years and would extend through several generations, well beyond their lives. As the monarchs' children increased in number through the years to a total of seven of whom five survived, so too at Ponte da Barca, the number of children grew to a total of eight, of which five were boys. Their lives and marriages as well as those of their descendents reflect the potent influence of the Aviz monarchs not just D. João I and Queen Philippa but also the various generations of their royal successors, over the destinies of the Magalhães in Ponte da Barca. The Magalhães remained particularly close to D. João I's successor the ephemeral King D. Duarte, as one of Inês's sons, Martim Gil de Magalhães became his private secretary (*escrivão da puridade*) and his brother Gil de Magalhães married a lady-in waiting to the King's consort, Leonor of Aragon. In turn, Martim Gil's grandson became tutor to D. Duarte's successor King D. Afonso V. The girls stayed the same course, as two of Inês' daughters married the sons of D. João I's chamberlain (*camareiro mor*).

However, it is perhaps the marriage of Gil Afonso and Inês' successor João de Magalhães¹³ that best illustrates how the stature of the Magalhães had risen amidst the court nobility. The bride was no less than a grand daughter of the old master of the Order of Christ, Lopo Dias de Sousa, an intimate friend of the King. Lopo was himself from the Sousa family, one of the most illustrious names of the old nobility dating back to the days that preceded the formation of the Kingdom itself. His mother was a member of the famous Menezes family who had to a large degree been responsible for the troubles of the 1383-1385 dynastic crises, a woman of legendary beauty, sister to Queen D. Leonor Telles. Even though some of the Menezes were still disgraced as a consequence of their machinations in the previous reign, with this marriage, which necessarily had the approval of the crown, João de Magalhães entered the rarefied world of the very highest aristocracy of the late medieval era in Portugal.

¹³ Afonso, the elder brother, died without children and bequeathed his inheritance to João de Magalhães;

At court, the personalities of Philippa's children were slowly taking shape, starting with the kind, intellectual D. Duarte and continuing with the remarkable D. Pedro, the energetic and entrepreneurial D. Henrique (called the Navigator) and continuing with the two younger boys, João and Fernando and the only surviving girl, Isabel, destined to marry the Duke of Burgandy. It is not the intention of this paper to elaborate on the specific personality traits that are known, detected or can be deduced from the lives of all these personages, either Aviz or Magalhães. In fact, the trail of the treaty of Windsor, as laid down by the two ladies, Philippa and Inês in Portugal, can be found mostly in their behaviour as a group or a series of groups, for indeed, it is in their collective behaviour that the fascinating vestiges of Plantagenet temperament can be found both in the house of Aviz as in the house of Magalhães. Indeed, one of the most striking characteristics of the first hundred years of the Aviz dynasty is the sense of dynastic engagement which can be detected in all its members, starting with the generation of Philippa's children and continuing in various forms and nuances until the beginning of the reign of D. Manuel I in 1495.

This engagement was obsessively directed at the governance of the realm as a right, indeed a duty of the various royal children, regardless of the fact that only one would carry the crown. There were additional layers of formality too. Indeed, no doubt inspired by the examples from his father-in-law's country, the King introduced for the first time the title of Duke in Portugal, in favour of two of his sons and, in a more Portuguese move, he ensured as well their places at the head of the rich and powerful military orders of Christ and Santiago. This gave them a status of honour and wealth unprecedented in Portuguese royal tradition up to that time. However, the emphasis put in their roles as active and powerful royal participants in court events did not cover but indeed exacerbated the clear differences in character and interests which existed between the various members of the royal family. This behaviour, which carried some strong echoes of the traditions of the Plantagenets in England, contrasted sharply with that of the previous generations of the royals of the Burgundian dynasty in Portugal.

It is not just that the previous *Infantes* were less numerous and maybe less brilliant than the children of D. João I and Queen Philippa. It was mainly that the very origins of the dynasty, the Count Henrique of Burgandy and the *Infanta* Teresa of Leon, had a very different background than the first Aviz Kings. Theirs was a dynasty more of adventure than formality, ruling over a land of comparative poverty, centred

on two main and simple objectives, ensuring the survival of the new Kingdom against the Castilians and expanding it southwards, against the Moslems. Such objectives would not survive a truly feudal structure and likewise could not tolerate any ideas of multiple royal roles or responsibilities. There were certainly quarrels between the Kings and their brothers, sisters and children about rights and property, but the tensions were usually resolved either by the complete submission into oblivion of the troublemakers or by those royals with excessive energy seeking fame and fortune in the courts of their relatives in the Peninsula, France or Flanders. There was no space in the early Burgundian dynasty in Portugal for the tensions, rivalries, furies and personality clashes which the vast and varied estates of the Angevins and Plantagenets in France and England had originated in the past.

Circumstances had somewhat changed in the times of D. João I and Queen Philippa, as they started the Aviz dynasty in Portugal. Their Kingdom was still comparatively poor and riddled with the inflation brought about by the wars with Castile. However, its territorial dimension had practically doubled since its beginnings and some of the particularly far reaching and intelligent political and economic measures taken in the latter reigns of the Burgundians had increased its profile in Europe. Portugal's effective navy, achieved by deliberate Burgundian policy, was one of the reasons that brought the English to the negotiating table at Windsor and the improvements in agriculture and trade which the peace with Castile brought about, held richer promises for the future. Still, there was too much energy and too little land and the conjunction of these factors meant that Portugal had to take to the sea and to North Africa. The conquest of the North African city of Ceuta in 1415 signalled the arrival of a new strategy in Portugal which aroused considerable interest in the Peninsula and the rest of Europe. As with Edward III and his successors, in Portugal the sense of dynastic engagement present in the Philippa's brood, did not preclude, but indeed fostered a vigorous sense of individual interests. The struggles for influence and supremacy could have in Portugal as in England, highly beneficial effects or take very nasty overtones indeed. Fortunately, many of those excess energies were directed at Portugal's overseas expansion.

Meanwhile, as the old King D. João I faded away, the Magalhães, no doubt inspired by Inês' principles, organised themselves at Ponte da Barca in groups and strongholds. Intensely conscious of their improved status and importance and wishing to mirror the arrangements in the royal family, they initially gravitated towards the

royal households of the powerful Duke of Braganza and that of the younger Duke of Viseu, Henry the Navigator. On one specific occasion, the taking of the North African port of Ksar es Seghir, these groups would come together under the leadership of King D. Afonso V. There, the old *Infante* Henry the Navigator would have the opportunity to expiate his guilt for the debacle of the earlier attack on Tangiers, by leading the charge that breached the walls of the Moorish fortress. João de Magalhães, who had been brought to this campaign by the son of the Duke of Braganza, was thus at the epicentre of an all-out Aviz military success.

The fort at Ksar es Seghir may have been small but its strategic significance was large, not just as a second Portuguese presence on that coast but also as a symbol of a new Portuguese impetus in North Africa. João de Magalhães would earn the gratitude of D. Afonso V for his valour in this event, substantiated in the granting of jurisdictional and territorial control of the extensive administrative area known as *Terra da Nóbrega* located just around the location of the Magalhães home near Ponte da Barca. He thus became known as Lord of Nóbrega, a denomination which would change in time to Lord of Ponte da Barca, the principal village in his new domain. Known later simply as the Lords of Barca (*Senhores da Barca*), his descendants would establish themselves as a formal dynasty, no doubt inspired by the very self-conscious grandeur which the Avis has borrowed from the Plantagenets.

To an unusual degree amongst their Portuguese contemporaries, these were well structured groups, highly conscious of their status and mission who evidently saw, in being Magalhães, virtues which reflected those which the Aviz saw in themselves. This dynasty, which clearly appears as such in the genealogies in Portugal would, in time be complemented by new related ones established by João de Magalhães' descendents in nearby locations. Echoes of remote Plantagenet attitudes initially brought over by Inês, would thus be carried to unexpected longitudes, as many members of these Magalhães dynasties were seen sailing and fighting in the warm distant waters of the Indian Ocean in the early XVIth century, as Portugal's explorations progressed beyond the confines of the Atlantic.

These adventurous advances were a direct result of the interest that both the *Infantes* D. Pedro and D. Henrique had back in the mid XIVth century in the matters of discovery and colonisation of the Atlantic islands. In turn, they provided both opportunities and examples to others. This gave a tremendous impetus to the whole movement of exploration and maritime discovery that was about to change Portugal's

progress forever. However, strong pent up tensions remained under the surface and would come to the surface at D. Duarte's premature death in 1438 which gave his widow Leonor of Aragon the unenviable role of Regent during the minority of the young King D. Afonso V. The way in which the King's brothers dealt with this obvious intrusion upon what they saw as their exclusive authority as princes of Aviz, was both swift and efficient, but then poor Queen Leonor was not a princess of Aviz and therefore lacked the essential ingredient to resist with any degree of effectiveness. The affirmation of Aviz supremacy implicit in the virtual hounding of the Aragonese regent across the border, was a successful demonstration of force from the part of the group of Aviz princes, used to being advisors both to their father and to their newly deceased brother but not prepared to tolerate a non-Aviz foreign regent. However, as D. Pedro took the regency himself, the struggle for influence and power took new dramatic tones, particularly as the child King himself had been affected by the cruel way in which his mother had been dealt with.

Later, when the self-centred sentiments of the Aviz princes had been concentrated in D. Afonso V's successor D. João II, matters would come to a critical pitch, as he struggled to impose his authority on the powerful noble houses initiated by his over-engaged, over-talented and over-temperamental Plantagenet inspired great uncles. With consummate skill and vigorous energy he dispatched some and neutralised others but, in the end, he could not deal with his ambitious Queen as easily as his great uncles had once dealt with Leonor of Aragon. This time, the Queen was herself a princess of Aviz and in the huge struggle with her husband, who wanted to impose his illegitimate son as heir to the throne, she succeeded in imposing her own brother, another prince of Aviz, on the succession. Perhaps it is not by chance that the most celebrated of all Magalhães, the navigator Fernão de Magalhães, had been educated in the household of this titanic Queen.

Could the Aviz dynasty be considered as the most successful of the Plantagenet related dynasties? Probably, just as the Magalhães could be seen as amongst the most successful families of the late medieval nobility in Portugal. However, things were changing. As the golden era of King D. Manuel and the discoveries progressed beyond India into Southeast Asia, the Spice islands, China and Japan, Portugal's wealth and power caught the attention of the Habsburgs in Central Europe. As the XVIth century ebbed, the shadow of Habsburg was slowly but surely extending over

the Iberian Peninsula. Another era was about to begin. The ladies Philippa and Agnes had done their job, but they were now only a faded memory.