



**‘Literati in the Portuguese Court  
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## Literati in the Court of King Afonso III of Portugal (1248-1279)

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**Abstract:** Throughout the first dynasty, the literati at the service of the Portuguese Crown played an increasingly important role in the assertion of royal power. They can be found serving the royal house as officers, representing the Portuguese kings in political and diplomatic acts, and even playing a wide range of other functions in the central administration: legal, medical, economic, administrative, etc. The presence of these elements next to the monarchs was felt since the foundation of the kingdom, but the corollary of this process occurred with the arrival of King Afonso III to the throne of Portugal. Thus, his circle of scholars constitutes an interesting case study to understand the notion of an aulic circle, in the light of European values of the thirteenth century. At the same time, it illustrates the paradigm of a well-oiled bureaucratic machine in search for a strong political centralization.

The main goal of this article is to identify every individual originating from a university background who rendered services in some capacity to the Portuguese kings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with special emphasis on King Afonso III. It seeks to explain the reasons behind the employment of such scholars and their usefulness as part of the complex environment surrounding the king, taking into account the dimensions of counselling, administrative service, jurisprudence and personal welfare.

The choice of the reign of Afonso III (1248-1279) as a case study is due mainly to the fact that his government corresponded to a peak in the recruitment of scholars for royal service in the context of the early years of Portugal as a kingdom. Not surprisingly, this coincided with an important phase of centralization and affirmation of royal power, which also saw a restructuring of the central administration.

This article is based on a large body of research originating from a doctoral thesis defended in 2013 at the University of Lisbon, with a large amount of data about Portuguese scholars of the period having been collected.<sup>1</sup> Using a prosopographical methodology, 416 individuals with the academic title of either *magister* or *doctor* were surveyed in total. This confirms, or at least it strongly suggests, the attendance at university, or at general studies (as they were also called then), by these individuals.

To reach that number, a wide range of sources and bibliographic resources was assessed, comprising primary sources of specific collections from the Portuguese national archives, several editions of documents, numerous studies, including masters and doctoral theses, and online collections of documents. Among these was the *Fasti ecclesiae Portugaliae*, a project whose aim has been to identify the secular clergy of medieval Portugal.

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<sup>1</sup> Armando Norte, *Letrados e cultura letrada (Séculos XII-XIII)* (Lisbon, Universidade de Lisboa PhD thesis, 2013). For the purposes of this article, the online version of the thesis has been used: <<http://hdl.handle.net/10451/8941>> [accessed October 2014]. The appendices making up Volume 2 of the thesis are particularly relevant in this context, as they contain the prosopographical records of the scholars mentioned herein, along with extensive information about the sources and bibliographical studies supporting their identification. Those elements are synthesized in the table at the end of the article.

It should be noted that the information collected on these men varied significantly in both quality and quantity, a situation not unheard of in medieval studies. While, in some cases, it was possible to recreate almost complete life trajectories, there were others with very little information about their lives, who therefore must remain almost faceless. Also worth mentioning is the fact that some of the data was easier or more difficult to obtain according to context. For example, in regard to the training school, it was often difficult to establish firmly both the locations and the subjects of study.

The data collected show that a significant number of scholars served the Portuguese monarchy and King Afonso III in particular. When approaching this subject matter, the starting point was to establish the general context of the period, highlighting the processes of cultural renewal then in progress, given their special relevance to the topic in question. Particular attention was given to the role played by the newly established universities in terms of production and dissemination of knowledge, and their ability to create a highly educated class of individuals. Soon that elite class came to provide a recruiting ground for different authorities, and which was, moreover, highly sought after by them.

A comparative analysis of the early kings of Portugals' recruitment of scholars proved that the relative importance of scholars varied, emphasizing the similarities and differences between each king's recruitment policy and clarifying the dominant trends.

The presence of a large group of *magistri* surrounding Afonso III by comparison with his predecessors drew attention to Afonso's rule in particular. Thus, in order to characterize Afonso's active policy of recruiting scholars, several objectives were established. Firstly, to identify the functions performed by scholars; then to evaluate the king's choices, in the light of the type of services those scholars provided. Thirdly, to understand how such men envisaged their careers, in terms of service to the king and the Church. Finally, to identify the kind of knowledge held by the scholars.

I have chosen to organize this information according to reigns for two reasons: firstly, because this is an often used criterion in the context of royal studies; but mainly because in the case of individuals who were placed close to the king, their choice (certainly their ratification), depended on the monarch. Naturally, when dividing the information into reigns, there is a risk of overlooking gaps and fluctuations. This also misses nuances in the dynamics of service within given reigns. In any case, considering that any criteria would be somehow artificial, it seems useful to organize the data by reigns. The table at the end of the article provides a synopsis of all scholars who served Afonso III.<sup>2</sup>

### *Context Overview*

In the transition to the twelfth century, society across Western Christendom suffered a wide range of transformations, which extended to the thirteenth century, by which time they reached their zenith.<sup>3</sup> It was a process that affected the whole of Europe, including the Portuguese kingdom.<sup>4</sup> In Portugal, economic, political, social and cultural transformations were afoot: trade grew, professional specialization arose, technology

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<sup>2</sup> The table has been arranged alphabetically, containing scholar's names and other information considered relevant, namely the years spent serving the king; the type of royal and ecclesiastical service performed; and the academic training received.

<sup>3</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Arthaud, 1964), 364.

<sup>4</sup> José Mattoso, "A formação de Portugal e a Península Ibérica nos séculos XII e XIII", in *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval* (Lisboa: Estampa, 1990), 49-72.

developed, and the need for financial control increased.<sup>5</sup> A more complex society, of new and greater challenges, was created and it required skilful players. Besides, urban centres had expanded to a size and into shapes never before experienced,<sup>6</sup> while law and justice were given greater degrees of consideration.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, diplomatic contacts proliferated,<sup>8</sup> fresh intellectual debates emerged,<sup>9</sup> and a deep interest in culture developed within the royal courts.<sup>10</sup> Politically, the popes sought to assert their supremacy,<sup>11</sup> while small kingdoms (Portugal among them) fought for independence.<sup>12</sup> Each of these political institutions put forward their own legal arguments, which required the know-how of men trained as jurists.

To respond to all these phenomena, the main political actors of the time – the papacy, the monarchies, the municipalities, and the bishops – began to recruit highly skilled personnel into their service, preferably hired from among the universities, undoubtedly the major cultural centres of the period.<sup>13</sup> Thus, both royal and church service gradually began to be fed by the existing university network, which was developing fast.<sup>14</sup> In fact, the university scholars had considerable skills which attracted institutional interest, particularly their cultural preparation and highly developed skills in reading and writing, which were the result of their exposure to an environment of advanced knowledge.<sup>15</sup> Particularly valued was their expertise in legal matters and the fact that they held an academic degree. Since this was so uncommon, it positively differentiated holders.

#### *Scholarly Recruitment by the early Portuguese kings (1143-1325)*

As regards the Portuguese monarchy specifically, kings were particularly concerned with strengthening the royal bureaucracy with highly trained individuals. From very early on, scholars were employed in a wide range of positions and high status duties in the kingdom's administration.

This will to recruit intellectuals for the service of the monarchy can be traced back to Afonso Henriques, the first Portuguese king (1139-1185). At least four individuals with university titles can be identified among his closest circle of supporters. Three of them had the position of chancellor in succession: Alberto Eite, archdeacon of Braga; Pedro Gonçalves, prior of the church of Santa Maria, Guimarães, and Julião Pais, a layman. The

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<sup>5</sup> Carlo M. Cipolla, *Before the industrial revolution: European society and economy, 1000-1700* (London: Routledge, 1993), 183-198.

<sup>6</sup> Jacques Heers, "Expansion urbaine et urbanisation", in *La ville au Moyen Âge en Occident: paysages, pouvoirs et conflits*, (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 146-202.

<sup>7</sup> Paolo Nardi, "Diritto civile e diritto canonico", in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo: il Medioevo latino*, dir. G. Cavallo, C. Leonardi e E. Menestó, vol. 3 : La ricezione del testo (Roma: Salerno Editrice, 1995), 511-540.

<sup>8</sup> Margaret Wade Labarge, "Diplomáticos viajeros", in *Viajeros medievales: los ricos y los insatisfechos* (Madrid: Nerea, 1992), 175-204.

<sup>9</sup> Jacques Paul, *Histoire intellectuelle de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1973).

<sup>10</sup> Mariateresa Fumagalli Brochieri, "L'intellettuale", in *L'uomo medievale*, dir. J Le Goff (Roma: Laterza, 1987), 203-236 (228-229).

<sup>11</sup> Marcel Pacaut, "La nouvelle théocratie", in *La théocratie: l'Église et le pouvoir au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Desclée, 1989), 93-124.

<sup>12</sup> Robert S. Lopez, "The adolescent nations", in *The birth of Europe* (London: J. M. Dent, 1971), 308-358.

<sup>13</sup> Jacques Verger, *Les universités au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1973).

<sup>14</sup> Charles Homer Haskins, *The rise of universities* (New-York: Cornell University Press, 1957).

<sup>15</sup> Paolo Nardi, "Relations with authority", in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe, Vol. I, Universities in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 77-107.

fourth was Pedro Alfarde, prior of the monastery of Santa Cruz, in Coimbra, who unofficially acted as royal chronicler for Afonso.<sup>16</sup>

Likewise, Sancho I (1185-1211) also attracted scholars to his innermost circle, since they could prove helpful in supporting his governance. This was certainly the case with the abovementioned Julião Pais, who served three Portuguese kings as their royal chancellor; *magister* Pedro, the king's portarius; Paio Galvão, later the cardinal-deacon of Sta Lucia in Septisolio, appointed as king's ambassador; *magister* Mendo, archdeacon of Santarém and royal physician; and Pedro Gonçalves, who acted as his chaplain when Sancho was an infant.<sup>17</sup>

But it was with Afonso II (1211-1223) and especially with Afonso III (1248-1279) – after the contentious reign of Sancho II (1223-1247)<sup>18</sup> – that the policy of recruiting scholars for royal service gained wide expression. In the case of Afonso II it is this reform of administration and bureaucratic services for the crown that largely helps to explain the requisition of scholars for the king's service.<sup>19</sup> In total, fourteen *literati* are to be found in Afonso's II service. However, it is difficult to assess how representative these men were among the group of royal officers; as with other reigns, the total number of these officers is unknown. Notwithstanding, this is a very significant number of scholars. The list is relatively long, including: the already known Julião Pais; four king's lawyers (Lanfranco of Milan, Silvestre Godinho, Soeiro Viegas and Vicente Hispano); one royal inquirer, named Mendo, canon in the monastery of *Santa Marinha da Costa*, Guimarães; one counsellor, Gil Torres, the future Cardinal of Saints Cosmas and Damian; and several physicians (Amberto, João Rol, Martinho, Mendo, Mendo Fernandes, Salvador, and a certain Roberto, also called Rodrigo, depending on the source).<sup>20</sup> Some of these individuals were instrumental in the implementation of policies set by the king, including the reorganization of the royal chancery and the bureaucracy of the kingdom.<sup>21</sup> As regards the impressive number of physicians, this can easily be explained because Afonso II was a very ill man, probably a leper.<sup>22</sup>

In the reign of Sancho II, unlike those of his predecessor and his successor, there seems to have been a diminution in scholarly recruitment. This can largely be explained by the climate of permanent civil war during Sancho's reign, with obvious implications for royal policy. In fact, only five *magistri* were identified as being in the king's service, the emphasis being on specialists in medicine once again, as had happened in the reign of Sancho's father. These men were master Domingos, Gil de Leiria and Vicente de Santarém. Besides them, one can find two royal counsellors: the cardinal's chaplain Paio Pais and master Vicente. The latter, in particular, had great influence over Sancho II, because Vicente was his tutor in childhood, having been appointed as chancellor of the papal curia when Sancho came of age.

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<sup>16</sup> Armando Norte, "Letrados e cultura letrada", vol. 2, 18-19, 181-183, 255-256, 263-264.

<sup>17</sup> Armando Norte, "Letrados e cultura letrada", vol. 2, 181-183, 214, 237-238, 245, 263-264.

<sup>18</sup> Hermenegildo Fernandes, *D. Sancho II* (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2006), 219-262.

<sup>19</sup> Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar, "Do arquivo ao registo: o percurso de uma memória no reinado de Afonso II", *Penélope: Revista de História e Ciências Sociais*, 30-31 (2004), 19-50.

<sup>20</sup> Armando Norte, "Letrados e cultura letrada", vol. 2, 22, 107-108, 173-175, 181-183, 183-184, 190-191, 217, 217-218, 220-221, 295, 299-300, 304-308, 315-317, 324-328.

<sup>21</sup> Rui de Azevedo, "O livro de chancelaria de Afonso II de Portugal: 1217-1221", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 4 (1967), 35-74.

<sup>22</sup> Júlio Dantas, "*A lepra de Afonso II*", *Archivo de Medicina Legal*, 2 (1923), 119-122.

As to Afonso III, he was a new kind of king, different from his predecessors. He was a man of great culture, educated in a courtly environment outside of Portugal (in the county of Burgundy, France), at a time when Portugal was being ruled by the queen mother, Branca, Afonso's maternal aunt, as regent. On account of that, Afonso was highly sensitive to the benefits of knowledge and academic training.<sup>23</sup> Hence, it is not strange that his rise to power in Portugal resulted in an increase of scholars in the king's entourage and in the bureaucratic apparatus of the kingdom. Indeed, it is possible to identify twenty-five scholars in the king's courtly circle.<sup>24</sup>

Though on a slightly smaller scale, Dinis (1279-1325), son of Afonso III, a highly-educated king himself,<sup>25</sup> continued this trend by keeping a large number of scholars in his service. We can count twelve men with academic degrees in total, including some men who had served his father, and who were in the meantime promoted by Dinis to higher roles in the Portuguese public administration.<sup>26</sup>

It should also be noted that some of the scholars associated in some way with the Portuguese monarchy maintained their activity for more than one reign, although none of the positions held was for life. Moreover, some scholars remained in office until their death.<sup>27</sup>

### *The Reign of Afonso III*

As we direct our glance to those scholars serving Afonso III, they make up a very diverse group of twenty-five, performing various functions in the royal service. This is the highest number of scholars to be found in the service of the Portuguese kings of the first dynasty until the end of the reign of King Dinis; hence, the interest in observing the composition of Afonso's III officership so as to understand the king's choices and motivations.

It appears that some of the scholars accumulated several royal positions under this king. It is possible to count at least eleven holding two or more positions. For instance, men like the Cistercian monk Bartolomeu, or Mateus, schoolmaster in the diocese of Lisbon, were appointed by Afonso III to at least four different duties.<sup>28</sup> Bartolomeu was the king's chaplain, royal physician, royal counsellor and *clericus* of the king; Mateus was also king's chaplain, royal counsellor, *clericus* of the king, and the king's procurator. Also close to Afonso III was Domingos Eanes Jardo, who occupied three positions: the king's chaplain, the king's counsellor and *clericus* of the king.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the influence of this scholar in the royal court continued under Dinis, son of Afonso III, to whom Domingos Eanes Jardo was tutor, later becoming chancellor. Like Jardo, Pedro Martins attended the court

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<sup>23</sup> Leontina Ventura, "A nobreza de corte de D. Afonso III" (Coimbra: University of Coimbra, PhD thesis, 1992).

<sup>24</sup> See Table 1.

<sup>25</sup> Américo Cortês Pinto, *Dionísos, poeta e rey: os costumes, a arte e a vida medieval portuguesa na época de D. Dinis* (Lisboa: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1982).

<sup>26</sup> Armando Norte, "Letrados e cultura letrada", vol. 2, 15, 52-55, 56-57, 117-119, 119-122, 138, 160-164, 196-198, 252-254, 272-275, 289-292, 320.

<sup>27</sup> Avelino de Jesus da Costa, "A chancelaria real portuguesa e os seus registos, de 1217 a 1438", in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, XIII (1996), 80.

<sup>28</sup> See Table 1: Bartolomeu (1259-1292), Mateus (1250-†1282).

<sup>29</sup> See Table 1: Domingos Eanes Jardo (1262-†1293).

of both kings and he served Afonso III in various ways, namely as royal physician, the kings cleric and the kings *corrector* – a magistrate with similar functions to those of a judge.<sup>30</sup>

As to masters Bolonil, Durão Pais, Estêvão Eanes de Vasconcelos, Estêvão Moniz and Geraldo Domingues, most of them eminent characters of this period, they served Afonso III in two capacities at least. The combinations of such capacities were varied: corrector and kings cleric; kings notary and kings cleric; kings counsellor and royal physician; kings counsellor and legal executor; and kings procurator and kings cleric.<sup>31</sup> This accumulating of positions, in greater or lesser numbers, shows on the one hand the great versatility of these players, and on the other the confidence in which they were held by the king.

Still, many individuals only feature as occupying a single position.<sup>32</sup> Mostly, they are employed either as royal physicians or as the king's clerics. They are frequently mentioned as practising one single form of royal service. This might reflect some form of specialization of physicians in the royal service, less applicable to other forms of service.

In any case, regardless of whether royal positions were held concurrently or in exclusivity, it appears that most scholars close to Afonso III acted as royal clerics, i.e., as members of the Church engaged in the king's service.<sup>33</sup> They represent a total of fifteen employees.<sup>34</sup> Very little is known about this function, probably created by Afonso III himself, since there are no documentary references to the position in earlier reigns. We can only assume the ecclesiastical nature of these elements and their personal service to the king, based on the designation that was used. Nevertheless, the kings clerics in Portugal often appear to have been highly trained, including in law, Canon or Roman. To that extent, it can be assumed that the kings clerics performed a role connected to the administration of the kingdom, both at court and outside it, because it was in these areas that the presence of scholars proved a major advantage for monarchs. Furthermore, the education and the influence of these individuals seem to indicate that the group of *clerici regis* which they formed constituted a sort of council of the kingdom.<sup>35</sup>

Although most scholars in the service of Afonso III are referred to as the kings clerics, there was also another large contingent, expected to perform essentially advisory functions: the royal counsellors form a group of eight men of letters, which amounts to almost one fifth of the *literati*, or about 20% of the total.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> See Table 1: Pedro Martins (1262-†1301).

<sup>31</sup> See Table 1: Bolonil (1272-1273), Durão Pais (1250-†1283/84), Estêvão Eanes de Vasconcelos (1248-†1287), Estêvão Moniz (1258-†1285), Geraldo Domingues (1261-1274).

<sup>32</sup> See Table 1: Afonso (1276-1284), Domingos (1237-1255), Domingos das Antas (1279), Domingos do Ferragial (1260-1262), Fernando (1268-†1279), Fernando Eanes de Portocarreiro (1240-†1275/76), João (1263-1264), João (1276-1282), João Soares (1261-†1285), João Soares (†1264), Martinho Peres (1254-1270), Mateus de Estela (1264), Pedro Julião (1250-†1277), Vicente Mendes (1250-1296).

<sup>33</sup> Fr. Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo, 'Clerigo d'El-Rei, ou da Rainha', in *Elucidario das palavras, termos e frases que em Portugal antigamente se usaram e que hoje regularmente se ignoram* (Lisbon: A. J. Fernandes Lopes, 1865), t. 1: A - F, 198.

<sup>34</sup> See Table 1: Afonso (1276-1284), Bartolomeu (1259-1292), Bolonil (1272-1273), Domingos Eanes Jardo (1262-†1293), Durão Pais (1250-†1283/84), Estêvão Eanes de Vasconcelos (1248-†1287), Fernando (1268-†1279), João (1263-1264), João Soares (1261-†1285), Martinho Peres (1254-1270), Mateus (1250-†1282), Mateus de Estela (1264), Pedro Martins (1262-†1301), Pedro Vicente (1259-1282), Tomé Gonçalves (1244-†1280).

<sup>35</sup> Armando Norte, "Letrados e cultura letrada", vol. 1, 309.

<sup>36</sup> See Table 1: Afonso (1276-1284), Bartolomeu (1259-1292), Domingos Eanes Jardo (1262-†1293), Estêvão Moniz (1258-†1285), Fernando Eanes de Portocarreiro (1240-†1275/76), Geraldo Domingues (1261-1274), João Soares (†1264), Mateus (1250-†1282), Pedro Julião (1250-†1277).

It is also interesting to note the high number of royal physicians in the employment of Afonso III – much like what can be seen happening with Sancho II and Afonso II. Altogether, seven are found during his reign,<sup>37</sup> which at first glance may seem rather excessive. An explanation lies in the great concern demonstrated by Afonso III with his own health care, or maybe as result of a high turnover of physicians performing that role at court. Alternatively, the wish to project further the royal image may have led to this significant presence of physicians in the king's entourage.

Additionally, it is also important to consider the recruitment of scholars to the posts of kings corrector<sup>38</sup> and king's procurator. These posts consisted, respectively, of administering justice and of representing the king on diplomatic missions to the Roman curia.<sup>39</sup> The numbers found for the two positions are similar, although not too high, at four individuals each. In turn, the weight of the highly-educated chaplains within the group of royal servants is slightly lower than those groups already mentioned: just three individuals.<sup>40</sup> Among the remaining *literati*, there is a single royal notary, Durão Pais,<sup>41</sup> and a single legal executor, the Dominican friar Geraldo Domingues.<sup>42</sup>

Classifying such functions, as they were performed by the scholars who served Afonso III, into broader forms of service, shows that an overwhelming majority of royal servants were linked to counselling and domestic service to the king, forming his inner circle, and representing almost 80% of the total number of scholars.

All contributing to this impressive number, there were the *literati* who served as king's chaplains, royal counsellors, king's physicians, king's legal executors, as well as the numerous kings' clerics.<sup>43</sup> In fact, the strong presence of these *magistri* in the personal service of Afonso III is the culmination of a trend which had been growing since the reign of Afonso II. It clearly shows the need felt by the monarchs of the thirteenth century to surround themselves with learned men, capable of advising as well as caring for the kings' physical and spiritual health. Until then, in the reigns of Afonso Henriques and Sancho I, the *literati* had been kept away from domestic service. Neither is there evidence of any scholar carrying out diplomatic missions. Mainly, they had been called upon to direct the chancery.

The royal bureaucrats make up a much smaller group. A mere 12%, they included

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<sup>37</sup> See Table 1: Bartolomeu (1259-1292), Domingos (1237-1255), Domingos das Antas (1279), Domingos do Ferragial (1260-1262), Estêvão Moniz (1258-†1285), João (1276-1282), Pedro Martins (1262-†1301).

See table 1: Bolonil (1272-1273), Estêvão Eanes de Vasconcelos (1248-†1287), Pedro Martins (1262-†1301), Tomé Gonçalves (1244-†1280).

<sup>38</sup> See table 1: Bolonil (1272-1273), Estêvão Eanes de Vasconcelos (1248-†1287), Pedro Martins (1262-†1301), Tomé Gonçalves (1244-†1280).

<sup>39</sup> See table 1: Mateus (1250-†1282), Pedro Vicente (1259-1282), Tomé Gonçalves (1244-†1280), Vicente Mendes (1250-1296).

<sup>40</sup> See table 1: Bartolomeu (1259-1292), Domingos Eanes Jardo (1262-†1293), Mateus (1250-†1282).

<sup>41</sup> See table 1: Durão Pais (1250-†1283/84).

<sup>42</sup> See table 1: Geraldo Domingues (1261-1274).

<sup>43</sup> See Table 1: Afonso (1276-1284), Bartolomeu (1259-1292), Bolonil (1272-1273), Domingos (1237-1255), Domingos das Antas (1279), Domingos do Ferragial (1260-1262), Domingos Eanes Jardo (1262-†1293), Durão Pais (1250-†1283/84), Estêvão Eanes de Vasconcelos (1248-†1287), Estêvão Moniz (1258-†1285), Fernando (1268-†1279), Fernando Eanes de Portocarreiro (1240-†1275/76), Geraldo Domingues (1261-1274), João (1263-1264), João (1276-1282), João Soares (1261-†1285), João Soares (†1264), Martinho Peres (1254-1270), Mateus (1250-†1282), Mateus de Estela (1264), Pedro Julião (1250-†1277), Pedro Martins (1262-†1301), Pedro Vicente (1259-1282), Tomé Gonçalves (1244-†1280).

only two types of royal officials: the king's correctors and the notaries of the chancery.<sup>44</sup> These numbers strongly suggest, after all, that many officers of Afonso III did not have higher degrees. This is not too surprising, since many of the officers also performed military functions. On the other hand, this also means that the few *literati* who acted as bureaucrats did so to perform specific functions at court: once again they relate to the chancery and to judicial and juridical activities.

Finally, we must consider the diplomatic missions and the institutional representation of the crown, tasks that were performed by the king's procurators and lawyers, who represent only 9% of the group, the equivalent of four individuals.<sup>45</sup>

### *Church Service*

As mentioned, all these tasks performed by scholars demanded a wide range of skills. This led to a frequent entanglement between church and royal service, since it was the clerics, not the laymen, who had easier access to schools and books.<sup>46</sup> A sign of this is the very significant number of *literati* close to the king who were also churchmen, performing apostolic, parochial, monastic, or diocesan service, the greatest number being from the latter category.

In short, it was possible to trace five individuals holding apostolic positions: Estêvão Moniz, an apostolic judge; Durão Pais, a procurator of the Roman curia; Fernando Eanes de Portocarreiro and Tomé Gonçalves, papal chaplains of Pope Innocent IV; and finally, Pedro Julião, who was in turn apostolic physician, apostolic commissioner, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, and pope of the roman church, under the name of John XXI.

In turn, just three servants of Afonso III can be identified as coming from monastic communities: master Bartholomew and Domingos Ferragial, monks of the Cistercian monastery of *Santa Maria* of Alcobça; and Geraldo Domingues, from the Order of Preachers, a prior in the convent of S. Domingos, Lisbon.

At least nine clerics performed parochial service. All were priors in Portuguese churches: Domingos Eanes Jardo, Durão Pais, Estêvão Eanes de Vasconcelos, Estêvão Moniz, Fernando Eanes de Portocarreiro, João Soares, Pedro Julião, Pedro Martins and Tomé Gonçalves. Moreover, some of them accumulated several benefices.

The vast majority of scholars recruited by Afonso III, however, held positions in cathedrals. Several were appointed as bishops, after having occupied other ecclesiastical dignities: Bartolomeu in Silves; Domingos Eanes Jardo, first in Évora, and later in Lisbon; Durão Pais also in Évora; Estêvão Eanes de Vasconcelos and Mateus, again, in Lisbon; Pedro Julião in Braga; Pedro Martins in Évora, and then in Coimbra; and Vicente Mendes in Porto. Interesting secular careers were also those of Estêvão Moniz, who was treasurer and dean of the diocese of Coimbra, of Fernando Eanes of Portocarreiro, appointed as dean in Braga, or of João Soares, dean in Porto. Another man, called João Soares (not to be mistaken with character already mentioned) was treasurer in the diocese of Viseu.

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<sup>44</sup> See Table 1: Mateus (1250-†1282), Pedro Vicente (1259-1282), Tomé Gonçalves (1244-†1280), Vicente Mendes (1250-1296).

<sup>45</sup> AA.VV, *Carreiras eclesíásticas no ocidente cristão: sécs. XII-XIV* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa - Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2007).

<sup>46</sup> AA.VV, *Carreiras eclesíásticas no ocidente cristão: sécs. XII-XIV* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa - Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2007).

There is only one case of a man simply referred to as *canonicus*: Pedro Vicente, in the archdiocese of Braga.

Indeed, the monarchy depended for a long time and almost entirely on the most educated men of the Church to supply positions in royal administration, in order to obtain legal advice, diplomatic representation, or to receive medical attention. In this sense, the monarchy was highly dependent on the Church.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, it is likely that the recruitment of clerics for high positions in public administration was not so much the product of the kings wishes, but rather something inevitable, given the Church's commitment to education and knowledge throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>48</sup>

In the same way, this level of ecclesiastical dependence and recruitment for positions in public administration led to the development of a series of actions and strategies to ensure the loyalty of the clergy employed by the sovereigns. Among those mechanisms the preference was shown for the educated clerics belonging to families related to the monarchy,<sup>49</sup> or the establishment of networks of influence and clientele within the clergy (a strategy developed by the early kings, later adopted by Afonso III).<sup>50</sup> But the most obvious method to entice clergymen into serving in the Portuguese royal court was the granting of material benefits, in the form of wages and donations of landed property in reward for services rendered.<sup>51</sup> In fact, the monarchy reciprocated the services provided by its officials generously, by granting them annuities and properties,<sup>52</sup> and in the case of churchmen by granting them benefices and favourably influencing their careers.<sup>53</sup>

#### *Academic training*

With specific regard to the training of scholars who served Afonso III (and despite the fact that information about all individuals is insufficient in terms of their studies), it appears that Afonso expressed a preference for lawyers above all. Secondly came those who trained in medicine. Albeit to a much lesser degree, the monarch also favoured the recruitment of individuals trained in the liberal arts and theology, probably because they were less needed in terms of governance and public administration. Leaving aside the five individuals for whom it proved impossible to establish the nature of their education,<sup>54</sup> among the men of Afonso III eleven were experts in legal matters,<sup>55</sup> eight in medicine,<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Maria João Violante Branco, "Poder real e eclesiásticos: a evolução do conceito de soberania régia e a sua relação com a praxis política de Sancho I e Afonso II" (Lisboa: Universidade Aberta PhD thesis, 1999), vol. 1., 608-612.

<sup>48</sup> Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare, VI-VIII siècles*, (Paris: Seuil, 1962), 548.

<sup>49</sup> Leontina Ventura, "A nobreza de corte de Afonso III".

<sup>50</sup> Maria João Violante Branco, "Poder real e eclesiásticos", vol. 1, 530.

<sup>51</sup> António Henrique de Oliveira Marques, *A sociedade medieval portuguesa. Aspectos da vida quotidiana* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1974), 149.

<sup>52</sup> Armando de Carvalho Homem, *O desembargo régio: 1320-1433* (Porto: Instituto Nacional de Investigação - Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 1990), 198.

<sup>53</sup> Ana Maria Jorge, Bernardo Sá-Nogueira, Filipa Roldão, Mário Farelo, "La dimension européenne du clergé de Lisbonne: 1147-1325", in *A igreja e o clero português no contexto europeu* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa - Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2005), 19-43 (23-28).

<sup>54</sup> See Table 1: Fernando (1268-†1279), João (1263-1264), João Soares (1261-†1285), Martinho Peres (1254-1270), Mateus de Estela (1264).

<sup>55</sup> See Table 1: Afonso (1276-1284), Bolonil (1272-1273), Domingos Eanes Jardo (1262-†1293), Estêvão Eanes de Vasconcelos (1248-†1287), Estêvão Moniz (1258-†1285), Fernando Eanes de Portocarreiro (1240-†1275/76), Geraldo Domingues (1261-1274), Mateus (1250-†1282), Pedro Vicente (1259-1282), Tomé Gonçalves (1244-†1280), Vicente Mendes (1250-1296).

<sup>56</sup> See Table 1: Bartolomeu (1259-1292), Domingos (1237-1255), Domingos das Antas (1279), Domingos do

three in theology<sup>57</sup> and three in the liberal arts.<sup>58</sup>

Often, though not always, the relationship between school training and the fulfilling of specific roles at court is quite clear. In the case of physicians, this connection was mostly direct, because they were responsible for the king's health. Some of them, however, exceeded that specific task, being appointed as the king's counsellors, as was the case with Bartolomeu, Estêvão Moniz and Pedro Julião. Training in the liberal arts, generalist as it was, did not presuppose the discharging of any specific role. For that reason, the appointment of João Soares and Pedro Julião as royal advisers, and of Durão Pais as notary of the chancery, does not come as a surprise, since such functions did not require particular expertise. By contrast, the employment of Domingos Eanes Jardo as king's chaplain is easily justified by his theological education. The same applies to Geraldo Domingues, who had been nominated legal executor for Afonso III, meaning that he was in charge of fulfilling the king's last wishes, which were mostly connected with the salvation of his soul.

Law was undoubtedly the most appreciated form of scholarly preparation, given its versatility. To that extent, it is obvious that lawyers were used to act as procurators (Mateus, Pedro Vicente, Tomé Gonçalves and Vicente Mendes)<sup>59</sup> and correctors (Bolonil, Estêvão Eanes de Vasconcelos and, once again, Tomé Gonçalves).<sup>60</sup> It is also interesting to note the relation between legal expertise and the exercise of royal counsel, as happened with Domingos Eanes Jardo, Estêvão Moniz, Fernando Eanes de Portocarreiro and Geraldo Domingues.<sup>61</sup>

Despite the limited information available on the *studia* frequented by those jurists, the majority of them must have studied in Bologna,<sup>62</sup> and occasionally at the University of Salamanca, as seems to have been the case with Fernando Eanes Portocarreiro.<sup>63</sup> This is understandable as Bologna was considered the main law school in Christendom and Salamanca was the closest university to the Portuguese kingdom.

From what has been said before, it is worth stressing the versatility and the eclecticism revealed by Domingos Eanes Jardo, Geraldo Domingues and Estêvão Moniz, but mainly by master Pedro Julião (later Pope John XXI). Two of them, Domingos Eanes Jardo and Geraldo Domingues, were at ease with both law and theology.<sup>64</sup> In turn, Estêvão Moniz knew law and medicine.<sup>65</sup> The most extraordinary situation is, however, that of Pedro Julião, whose training was threefold, involving the liberal arts, medicine and theology.<sup>66</sup> This acquisition of advanced knowledge in the same individual was only

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Ferragial (1260-1262), Fernando (1268-†1279), João (1276-1282), Pedro Julião (1250-†1277), Pedro Martins (1262-†1301).

<sup>57</sup> See Table 1: Domingos Eanes Jardo (1262-†1293), Geraldo Domingues (1261-1274), Pedro Julião (1250-†1277).

<sup>58</sup> See Table 1: Durão Pais (1250-†1283/84), João Soares (†1264), Pedro Julião (1250-†1277).

<sup>59</sup> See Table 1: Mateus (1250-†1282), Pedro Vicente (1259-1282), Tomé Gonçalves (1244-†1280), Vicente Mendes (1250-1296).

<sup>60</sup> See Table 1: Bolonil (1272-1273), Estêvão Eanes de Vasconcelos (1248-†1287), Tomé Gonçalves (1244-†1280).

<sup>61</sup> See Table 1: Domingos Eanes Jardo (1262-†1293), Estêvão Moniz (1258-†1285), Fernando Eanes de Portocarreiro (1240-†1275/76), Geraldo Domingues (1261-1274).

<sup>62</sup> Fátima Regina Fernandes, "A recepção do direito romano no ocidente europeu medieval: Portugal, um caso de afirmação Régia", *História: Questões e Debates*, 41 (2004), 73-83.

<sup>63</sup> José Antunes, "Portugueses no processo histórico da fundação da Universidade de Salamanca", *Revista de História das Ideias*, 12 (1990), 19-53.

<sup>64</sup> See Table 1: Domingos Eanes Jardo (1262-†1293), Geraldo Domingues (1261-1274).

<sup>65</sup> See Table 1: Estêvão Moniz (1258-†1285).

<sup>66</sup> See Table 1: Pedro Julião (1250-†1277).

possible for two reasons: firstly, the organizational model of the general studies, allowing the accumulation of degrees within the same teaching institution;<sup>67</sup> and, secondly, because of the possibilities opened up by the peregrinatio academica, which favoured the movement of students within the university network, putting them in touch with different branches of knowledge, taught at different universities.<sup>68</sup>

### *Conclusion*

In summary, given the number of *literati* recruited by Afonso III for crown service, and their occupying of key positions in the political structure of the kingdom, it can be said that during Afonso's reign academic training was highly esteemed. This was only natural, as the effort to establish the Portuguese monarchy, led by the first rulers, required the kind of expertise that only scholars were able to ensure. For example, scholars played a crucial part in the process of independence of the kingdom, thanks to their ability to build and deploy legal argumentation. Likewise, their role in modernizing the bureaucratic apparatus of the kingdom and the royal chancery was decisive, both as architects and executors of the measures undertaken. Finally, they also contributed in various ways to preserving the historical memory of the kingdom and in the construction of the royal image.

So, the importance given to the administration and organization of the territory, combined with the centralizing approach taken by some of the first kings, combined with the need to regenerate and boost the socio-political system, are especially evident in Portugal. Beside the need for administrative improvements, property disputes were frequent, as were conflicts with the papacy, leading to a search for individuals with advanced skills to serve the king, ideally holding a masters degree, and who, if possible, were also experts in legal affairs.

To conclude, a good scholarly preparation was essential from Afonso III's perspective, regarding the requirements attached to the various spheres of royal service, including personal, political and diplomatic tasks. This did not mean that the existing system of clientele was discredited or abandoned altogether, but rather its internal structure was reviewed. The recruitment of men to the king's service gradually became less dependent on lobbies, and began to consider new factors, such as the solid intellectual preparation of the crown employees. The recruiting of staff by Afonso III proves that. This was not exclusive to the Portuguese monarchy: in terms of the royal service, similar phenomena occurred throughout Christian Europe.<sup>69</sup> But, in this matter, the modernity shown by Afonso III of Portugal leaves no room for doubt.

#### Table 1: Scholars in the circle of Afonso III

Source: Armando Norte, *Letrados e cultura letrada (Séculos XII-XIII)* (Lisbon, Universidade de Lisboa PhD thesis, 2013), vol. 2 <<http://hdl.handle.net/10451/8941>> [accessed October 2014].

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<sup>67</sup> Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, "Mobility", in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe, Vol. I, Universities in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 280-304 (280-283).

<sup>68</sup> Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, "Mobility", 280-304 (280-282).

<sup>69</sup> Peter Moraw, "Careers of graduates", in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe, Vol. I, Universities in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 244-279.

