THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MEDIEVAL PORTUGAL (c. 1950-2010)

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The beginning of the second half of the twentieth century saw the publication of the first volume of António José Saraiva's *História da cultura em Portugal*, a work intended to be a new synthesis of Portuguese history from the perspective of culture as a social activity and product. Written with intentionally political undertones, not unrelated to the author's opposition to the dictatorial regime that gripped Portugal at the time, that history gave prominence to the connection between culture and power in an innovative way, highlighting the material conditions of cultural activity, which was understood in its widest sense. Culture was analysed in terms of the institutions ensuring its conservation and transmission, of the social position of its creative agents, and of the movement of ideas on a regional and international scale. It contended that the dialectical complexity that activates exchanges between tradition and renovation, within the constraints of religion and scientific postulates, can be fully understood only when considered together rather than in isolation, although, as the author admitted, little attention was paid to the plastic arts and music. The work expressly revises and updates that of Teófilo Braga, author of the "sole attempt to integrate the body of Portuguese literary production into the social conditions that provided its environment". Book I, on "A Idade Média até à crise social do século XIV" (The Middle Ages until the social crisis of the fourteenth century), offers a characterisation of the period, before moving

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1 SARAIVA, António José, *História da cultura em Portugal*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Jornal do Fóro, 1950 (the two subsequent volumes were published in 1962).
on to the social conditions of culture, with its institutions and agents, to primitive heroic poetry, to popular minstrelsy, to clerical culture and to that of the palace. The author draws extensively on recent historiography, which he carefully footnotes, especially when providing the context for particular events or achievements, thus emphasising the social and cultural continuities established between Portugal and other nations through the sharing of concepts and modes of thinking. Documental and literary sources are used to describe and analyse cultural institutions and the men involved in their functioning. Particular attention is given to books, libraries, religious orders and above all the university: its students and masters, curricula and degrees. Long sections are devoted to specific authors, among them Saint Anthony of Lisbon, Petrus Hispanus, Alvarus Pelagius, and Thomas Scotus. In subsequent decades, these would become the very central themes and authors capturing the best part of medieval cultural and intellectual studies in Portugal, albeit with successive inflections, greater attention to detail along with a shift of interest to sonorous and epic generalisations, tinged with epistemological prudence, and strengthened by a deeper and more direct knowledge of the primary sources and the proper ways of editing them.

In this chapter, as in this present work, due to the chronological and conceptual delimitation, the period predating the formation of the Portuguese nationhood is not discussed.

1. Intellectuals in the Middle Ages

Revealing the preeminent role it attributed to the Latin-speaking clerical culture, one of the sections in A. J. Saraiva’s História is suggestively entitled: “A vida intelectual em Alcobaça” (Intellectual life in Alcobaça). Unfortunately, the concept “intellectual” is not discussed, but clearly what is described there is simply one aspect of monastic life, that concerning books, their circulation and conservation, and the knowledge that was transmitted through them, be it scientific, philosophical, literary or religious. The “intellectual man” would therefore emerge through the reading and writing of books, and other aspects of monastic life such as the monks’ activities in prayer or divine service, were understood to remain outside the realm of “intellectual life”.

The concept “intellectual” was introduced to medieval historiography, at the end of the 1950s, through a conscious and daring anachronistic retrospection by Jacques Le Goff in a small but innovative textbook. In Les intellectuels au Moyen Age, the French historian meticulously followed the birth of that social character from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, opening up a whole field of research that combined sociology and the history of ideas. The expression itself does not occur in medieval sources, and intellectualis, a philosophical and psychological term describing the activity of the intellect, had within the medieval lexicon a very different meaning from that which it has come to assume in contemporary public life. An indispensable concept was thus created as the centrepiece of intellectual history providing it with a subject, the “intellectual”, who could be a cleric or a lay person, described through his work and social function. Le Goff’s book shows how a new, exclusively masculine group, professionalised itself and constituted a typology within the university community in the thirteenth century. We may say that, following this work, intellectuals began to be one of the social categories that medievalists are authorised to describe.

The university master, who lived from his intellectual work, corresponded mainly but not exactly to the scholastic and was normally a philosopher or theologian, although he could also be a jurist or a theological physician. In its fullest sense, the “intellectual” was primarily a magister, a university scholar who engaged in intellectual activity in the course of his professional duties and, being equipped with adequate resources, methods and instruments, was involved in the transmission of that scholarly expertise and its contents. In a stricter sense, the intellectual was someone who put the training he received into practice and,
being largely indifferent to knowledge as an end in itself, used it profitably in other activities, such as diplomacy and advocacy, tutoring or as an ecclesiastical officer. Being engaged in his function of creating and transmitting knowledge, the "intellectual" was no mere employee who got his post as a result of skills acquired at the university. For this reason, intellectual history deals above all else with the creation and transmission of thinking, of the social methods and functions of learning, of the professional functions and symbolic positions of its agents as well as the dimension of work involved in the life of the intellect rather than its social uses. This is why it was possible to identify the intellectual, that professional figure born in the university in the thirteenth century, with the philosopher.

The entry for "intellectual history" in a recent encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages defines the term as "a field of study sometimes also called the history of ideas, including, once most prominently, the history of philosophy, but now often the history of culture itself as a system of understanding or meaning". Taking into account the main tendencies of recent research, the author reduces "intellectual history" to his own field of study, the history of philosophy, understood in the broadest sense to include forms of understanding or conceptualising reality, the history of ideas and of scientific theories and even of mentalities, integrating intellectual history into its social context, which permits a further widening to the history of popular life and even preliterate popular culture.

Research on the "intellectual" as a new type of medieval man and on the body of his work has in recent years attracted much attention on the part of cultural historians, interested in the means of communicating and transmitting of knowledge, in the institutions of learning, in philosophy and the history of ideas. These domains intersect one another in the understanding of each historical moment and its evolution during the Middle Ages. The historian of intellectual life will, for this reason, also make use of methodologies that make possible the interpretation of sources, reconstructing their social, institutional, economic and symbolic contexts in a comprehensive manner. In addition to hermeneutics and philology, always indispensable to the understanding of texts, intellectual history cannot dispense with the methodological and conceptual tools of sociology, ethnology, anthropology and semiotics. A notable expression of this multidisciplinary interest is the research led by the Comité international du vocabulaire des institutions et de la communication intellectuelles au Moyen Age (CIVICIMA). Directed by Olga Weijers, this committee has held a number of meetings over the years (the most recent in Oporto) and published its proceedings in a collection bearing its name. Encompassing every domain of "intellectual" life – schools and universities, course books and companion reading or research tools, teaching methods and techniques, the names of disciplines and their masters and students, literary genres and even the material aspects of learning – this field of study has systematised a rich and dynamic technical vocabulary that is revealing, first and foremost, of a medieval self-awareness of the specificity of intellectual work.

The conceptual and categorical relocation that ensues from the anachronistic definition of the figure of the "intellectual" is not free from controversy and debate. Who exactly does the intellectual correspond to in the Middle Ages? Is he merely a university professional who lives from his work or rather every person dealing with written culture and thinking, including monks? Is he a person working in an institution of learning and deriving an income from it, or a dilettante or court idler? Does the term refer to a specific form of learning, confined to scholastic, or does it transcend disciplinary limits to embrace chivalry romance and poetry? Does it include other activities involving artistic skills (theatre, music, handicraft, painting and sculpture)? If one is to undertake the intellectual history of the Middle Ages and of its agents, questions such as these cannot be left unanswered.

To sift through the studies of intellectual life in Portugal in the Middle Ages to arrive at an overview is a necessary but difficult exercise, partly due to the impression of the concept but above all to the dispersion and proliferation of studies over recent decades. Taking into account other chapters of this book, it becomes easier to delimit the research field – to intellectual practices and the institutions related to the production, reproduction and transmission of knowledge and its agents, or "intellectuals", understood in the above-mentioned fullest sense.

The progress made over the last sixty years can be compared with the most advanced research undertaken in the previous period. The studies by Joaquim de Carvalho (1892-1958), whose complete works were published between 1978...
and 1997, are a good example of this. As professor of the University of Coimbra and author of numerous works on philosophy, medieval culture and the history of the university in Portugal, he was also innovative in returning to the sources and publishing works and testimonies that supplied materials for new insights, suggestive in many ways.

An overview of the achievements of recent research on intellectual and literary history in Portugal in the Middle Ages can be found in the *Diccionario da literatura medieval portuguesa e galega*13, a dictionary of medieval Portuguese and Galician literature, from its origins up to the Cancionero Geral of 1516. This reference book brings together articles by eighty-six of the most important scholars of the Portuguese and Galician Middle Ages and presents the very latest developments in our knowledge of all the literary genres, authors and anonymous works, libraries and institutions of culture and teaching, correlated historical and social facts, manuscripts and textual problems, medieval traditions, and the historiography on the Middle Ages. The different approaches of the *Diccionario* offer, for the first time, an erudite and interconnected presentation of aspects and domains that are often kept separate in scientific and historical research in the search for rigour or greater depth.

2. Practices and instruments of the intellectual activity

In his work, the intellectual makes use of utensils and practices indispensable to the production and transmission of learning. Although in lessons, disputes and sermons, the spoken word was the main vehicle of communication for medieval intellectuals, the written codices were the only resources that ensured their transmission14. Before writing, language was the principal and critical instrument of thinking. The world of learning in medieval Portugal was multilingual until the thirteenth-fourteenth century. Latin would become dominant15, but even though it managed to marginalise the Arabic and Hebrew languages, its prestige and dominance as the lingua franca of the intellectuals declined as the Portuguese language gradually replaced it. By the end of the Middle Ages, a growing number of works were written in Portuguese, for example in hagiography, spirituality and history. If Arabic became very rare or inexistente by the thirteenth century16, Hebrew appears to have shown more resistance, printing before 1500 being predominantly in Hebrew17, with Hebrew workshops of manuscript decoration flourishing in Lisbon at the end of the fifteenth century18, and some medical texts in Castilian *aljamiado*, romance texts in Hebrew alphabet19.

Books became of central importance to medieval Latin culture as a consequence of the place accorded to reading in Christian religious life20, demanding adequate practice and apprenticeship in the schools. Teachers were not involved in the production and reproduction of books. These were technical and manual tasks entrusted to craftsmen, which gave the intellectual liberty to engage solely in the activities of the mind, through dictation or lecturing. As has been emphasised, also with respect to Portugal, the substitution or evolution of writing itself, or the adoption of formulas and ways of exhibiting or drafting documents, testify to ideological commitments and to the rupture or sharing of institutional orientations21.

To compose a new work, prepare a lesson or devise a sermon, given the need to support the discourse of tradition and of authorities, lengthy academic preparation, extensive reading, and works of *florilegia* were needed. Codices and the libraries more than 100 works in the most distinct domains, although omitting the respective, printed or manuscript, bibliographic references.


13 Freire, José, "Editores, livros e leitores em Portugal no século XVI. A colecção de impressos Portugueses da BPPMP", in MEIRINHOS, José F., "Editores, livros e leitores em Portugal no século XVI. A colecção de impressos Portugueses da BPPMP", Opusco, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 2006, pp. 17-18 at 17:

14 kissing the secular sciences. History.

15 Freire, José Geraldes, O latim medieval em Portugal: Lingua e literatura, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1995, proposed in the first part a characterisation of medieval Latin in Portugal, and in the second part a history of Latin literature in Portugal in the Middle Ages, with a list of

16 MENDES, Maria Adélia S. Carvalho, "Pedro Hispano, Tesoureiro de provos. Versão in judaico-castelhano aljamiado (sec. XVI)", Medievalism, Textos e estudos, nos. 15-16 (1999), monographic volume.

17 See the chapter of Herminia Vilar and Maria de Lurdes Rosa on the Church and religious practices.


19 See the chapter of Herminia Vilar and Maria de Lurdes Rosa on the Church and religious practices.


21 See the chapter of Herminia Vilar and Maria de Lurdes Rosa on the Church and religious practices.
were both cause and result of medieval intellectual activity, and not only the texts deliberately copied, but marginal notes, ownership marks and occasional annotations provide evidence of the use of books in a scholastic and academic context. The institutional and political significance of the monasteries of Santa Cruz de Coimbra and Santa Maria de Alcobaça, as well as the sheer size of their preserved codicological heritage, have prompted the study of their respective libraries, and the reconstitution and description of the codices they contain. In recent decades, full catalogues of the Alcobaça collection in the Biblioteca Nacional and the Santa Cruz de Coimbra collection in Oporto Biblioteca Pública Municipal have been published. Having been edited according to different criteria, but adopting analytical codicographic models, each catalogue provides detailed knowledge of the reading habits and the texts that were available to literate monks in both institutions.

These collections had long interested historians, for example in connection with the study of the life and thought of Saint Anthony of Lisbon who had been a canon regular of Saint Augustine in the monasteries of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon and later in the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra before joining the Franciscan Order. It is believed that he acquired his rich training in writing and erudition in the two Augustinian houses.

Other smaller libraries have received attention, often for evidence that might seem at first irrelevant, but properly appraised by historians experienced in the reading of what is less obvious in the documents. Knowledge of intellectual and scholastic uses of books also finds a rich source of information in medieval accounts of the functions of the book.

Despite the research evaluating, for example, the more artistic and decorative aspects of Portugal's surviving library heritage, there is still no updated inventory of Portuguese libraries containing medieval books, or any edition of medieval catalogues or of references to books in medieval documents, which would enable better knowledge of the true extent of the circulation and ownership of books. In the absence of the volumes themselves, fragments have also been analysed as indirect evidence of the existence of books, which neglect, wear or prolonged use have caused to disappear.

Today's libraries casually divide up the medieval library heritage, even when it has survived over time through the explicit intention of their curators. It is known that a large number of works have indeed been lost, or their function modified. For this reason contemporary libraries allow us to view these precious collections of manuscripts as they have been handed down to us, not as they were constituted, still less as they were at given moments in time. Temporal approximations are only possible through detailed reconstructions, using indirect clues to understand the gaps and interpret the mark of the maps.

Bearing in mind the very nature of medieval books, according to which each copy needed an original or exemplar, one aspect that has attracted the attention of historians is their circulation (through loan, order or purchase), which allows us to reconstruct the replication of trends and styles, as well as the routes of internal, inter-institutional, and international circulation. Occupying a marginal
position both in the great circuits of book trade and exchange and the network of academic institutions in Europe, Portugal was especially dependent on these forms of relationship by import of literary culture. For this reason there is considerable interest in the mechanisms of book circulation as a way of understanding not only the speed with which ideas were disseminated or contained, but also the cultural vigour and openness of institutions to other more dynamic contexts of production and innovation.

Although masters and scholars lived from and with books, no medieval university library has survived in Portugal and no document refers to the existence of one, which may indeed suggest that none existed. A large number of manuscripts by thirteenth and fourteenth century authors have survived in libraries in the Iberian Peninsula, imported by masters studying or teaching in foreign universities, particularly in Paris. William Courtenay remarked that these masters did not leave any works written by themselves, nor did they have a remarkable role as university masters, but concluded that the collection and circulation of books ("in itself a major contribution") was the most important contribution of Iberian scholars to our knowledge of medieval thought, since our access to some of the best manuscripts by thirteenth and fourteenth century authors have survived in libraries.

In these studies one can find the available knowledge on schools existing outside of the monasteries. In these studies one can find the available knowledge on schools existing outside of the monasteries. It was indeed inside the monasteries and their schools and scriptoria that intellectual life was most likely to take place, in an environment depending on cultural and spiritual links with the exterior. The schools of the religious orders, which were devoted to the intellectual training of their members, were given particular attention as good examples of the international circulation of knowledge and of specific didactic and doctrinal trends, generally established within each order and according to its strategies of preaching and public action. Excessively keen on amplifying their relevance and achievements, however, modern literature on medieval monasteries has gone so far as to make the false claim that...

3. Scholae and studios

Schools. As we have see, the two main medieval libraries in Portugal belonged to the two most powerful and influential monasteries in the kingdom. Those monasteries had schools that must have occasionally attained a significantly higher level than that of elementary teaching, as is attested by the existence in their libraries of works that were indispensable to advanced scholastic training in the arts, law, and, above all, theology. These two were not the only schools in the kingdom, however; other teaching establishments have been the focus of some notable studies, but this topic is still insufficiently explored. In the late 1960s, Artur Moreira de Sá published two papers containing important documentary samples concerning teaching and scholars in Portugal before the foundation of the University in 1290 by the King Dinis. At around the same time, Francisco da Gama Caieiro wrote many important pages on schools, circulation of books and biblical, literary and scientific education at the end of the twelfth century and first decades of the thirteenth century, which were part of his studies of the cultural and doctrinal preparation of Saint Anthony of Lisbon. It was indeed inside the monasteries and their schools and scriptoria that intellectual life was most likely to take place, in an environment depending on cultural and spiritual links with the exterior. The schools of the religious orders, which were devoted to the intellectual training of their members, were given particular attention as good examples of the international circulation of knowledge and of specific didactic and doctrinal trends, generally established within each order and according to its strategies of preaching and public action. Excessively keen on amplifying their relevance and achievements, however, modern literature on medieval monasteries has gone so far as to make the false claim that...
they had schools for external and public teaching. As far as the mendicant orders are concerned, one should point out that some studies on the Dominicans and on the Franciscans have been produced thus far. Some specific studies on teaching in Portugal have sought to understand the role of scholastic institutions in the import and dissemination of scientific knowledge, as well as to understand the social and political functions of their agents, or the recruitment of educated men to the bureaucracies of the royal court and the municipal councils.

University

A large-scale project was undertaken by Artur Moreira de Sá to publish all the available documentation concerning the Portuguese university before its definitive transfer to Coimbra in 1537. Initiated in 1966 and concluded as recently as 2004, the Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis includes the diplomatic edition of 6,971 annotated documents, gathered in fifteen volumes, each with introductory notes providing context for the primary sources, and a final volume, the Índice analítico geral abreviado (2004). This last volume, contrary to what was planned in the "Introduction" to volume 15, does not present any new indexes, nor does it contain any additional documents that might have been discovered since the publication of each single volume. Artur Moreira de Sá oversaw the completion of volumes 1-9. The subsequent volumes were directed by Francisco da Gama Caetano (vols. 10-11), António Domingues de Sousa Costa (vols. 12-15), and Miguel Pinto de Meneses (vol. 16). The latter had, along with Alice Estorninho, integrally read, collated and organised the immense documental mass that composes the work. In the course of its gradual publication, the editorial criteria were changed, either explicitly or implicitly, so as to include, in the final stages, records containing direct or frequently indirect references to 1) university teachers in the service of the court and various members of the Order of Cristo; 2) royal ambassadors to the papal Curia; 3) Portugal's overseas expansion; 4) the university educated Portuguese ecclesiocracy; and 5) Humanism, in which university scholars distinguished themselves at international level. The documentation is heterogeneous and typologically diversified, and only a small part of it was actually produced by the university. A case in point are the final volumes of the collection, which include a vast number of documents from the Holy Apostolic Penitentiary of the Vatican Secret Archives, never published before.

The Chartularium brings together an enormous mass of documents. Though not completely exhaustive, it offers a great wealth of diversified information for the history of the university, of literary culture, and, above all, of the social and political roles of learned men. Over the coming decades, these volumes will surely supply researchers with abundant matter on many different themes, not least the university. The use of prosopography and the transfer of the documents' contents to a textual database allowing queries and incorporating other similar documents will provide researchers with heuristic tools giving complete and rigorous access to nearly three centuries of intellectual history, while at the same time revealing the extent to which university academics were involved in political and ecclesiastical institutions throughout that period.

Important results of the analysis of these documents appeared in the História da Universidade em Portugal issued in 1997, at a time when the Chartularium was

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44 Sá, Artur Moreira de, Chartularium Universitatis Portugaletsis (1288-1537), 16 vols., Lisbon, 1966-2004. The editing was successively assumed by the institutions that in the last nearly fifty years has overseen the financing of scientific research in Portugal Institute of Alta Casa, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica, Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia.

45 IDEM, "Introdução", ibid., vol. 8, p. 2.

46 Immediately before the publication of the Chartularium its concever published a reflection on the methodological and historical problems that then justified the project and that in good part continued to apply: IDEM, "Duidas e problemas sobre uma universidade medieval portuguesa", Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa, 3rd ser., no. 8 (1965), pp. 248-273. Also see GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, Antonio, "Aspectos de la Universidad portuguesa medieval", in [JSEWIN], Josef, and PAQUET, Jacques (eds.), The Universities in the Late Middle Ages, Leuven, Leuven University Press, 1978, pp. 133-147.

still being published. This work dealt with the broader institutional aspects of the university and revised previous findings 46.

The origins and the date of the university's foundation have attracted special attention 46. Religious orders played a prominent part throughout its history, particularly the mendicants, and within these, the Dominicans 47; the Franciscans, self-prohibited from taking degrees and becoming members of the academic staff, being thus confined to their own study 48.

All things considered, however, it is still not entirely clear how the Portuguese medieval university effectively contributed to the development and diffusion of learning and literate culture. It is clear enough that it had the structure and functioning of an institution dependent on royal power, in which a certain dialectic of consented submission formed part and parcel of the mechanisms for the social promotion of the teachers, who were bestowed with privileges by the king 49. This submission on the part of university scholars to royal power looks even more striking if we consider that, in contrast to what happened in other parts of Western Europe whenever their affairs were called into question, they hardly ever voiced their disagreement over the successive relocations of the university between Lisbon and Coimbra, which were decided by the kings under the pressure of the municipal elites. The university's frailties were not only administrative but above all, academic and scientific. It speaks eloquently about the quality of the Portuguese medieval university that we know nothing, either directly or indirectly, about any original work composed by its teachers. Even the curricula are unknown until the sixteenth century. The debility of the university is also attested by the consistent granting of scholarships attributed by the kings to undertake courses abroad, and by the apparent need to resort to foreign teachers to ensure teaching at the Portuguese university 50.

The policy of attributing grants to pursue courses abroad was an important instrument of tutelage used by the kings and a channel to social promotion for their beneficiaries, as they depended on the social position of the beneficiary. The presence of Portuguese students in foreign universities caught the attention of researchers in the 1950s through to the 1970s, with the publication of several volumes about their presence in Bologna 51, Oxford 52, Toulouse 53, Salamanca 54, Montpellier 55 or, for the...
period following the end of the Middle Ages, Paris⁴⁰ and Italy⁴¹. More recently Mário Farelo has produced a series of studies on the *peregrinatio academiae* of medieval and modern Portuguese scholars throughout foreign universities⁴². In the fourteenth century the number of Portuguese scholars heading abroad was small, increasing progressively over time, which appears to attest to the need to go abroad in order to get a better, deeper education, because the Portuguese university could not provide it. It is difficult to imagine that such expedients were due to an increase in the number of students, to the extent that the university could not admit all of them. Demand appears to have been greatest in Law and Theology, which is explained by the nature of these disciplines and by the social requirement for high level graduates to serve in ecclesiastical institutions and in the royal court and municipal bureaucracy. With regard to the most favoured destinations, there are still few comparative studies, but Peter Russell suggests that in the fourteenth century there must have been more Portuguese students in Oxford and Cambridge than in Paris⁴³. He ventures whether this might not have been due to Portugal’s stronger commercial ties with England. He also refers to the first pages of Luís de Matos’ book, in which the author surveys the records of students at Paris during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries⁴⁴.

4. Scientiae

Joaquim de Carvalho has emphasised that “the activity of Portuguese schools appears to have been exercised in obscurantist repetition of the same texts, so that only dialectics, or logic as we would say today, would have stimulated philosophical reflection⁴⁵. The publication of primary sources has not allowed for a substantial reassessment of the courses that were actually taught, as information on school and university curricula is still scarce. Information is far more abundant on benefits, petitions, privileges, academic rituals, and quarrels within the university world and among its masters than on course planning and teaching. The documents are so scarce and opaque that for decades one of the most hotly debated questions has focused on which disciplines were effectively taught in the Portuguese *Studium generale* and whether the teaching of theology was authorised or not⁴⁶.

The absence of works whose authorship can be linked to the Portuguese university in the Middle Ages remains so far an undisputed fact. Only through indirect evidence can we infer any interest in the domains of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, of philosophy, medicine, law or theology. What we know about the teaching in the *Faculdades* is vague, since the medieval statutes and lists of privileges never mention curricula.

The *trivium* was certainly studied, providing an initial training essentially in grammar, but also in dialectics and rhetoric (where continuity with prior learning in monastic and cathedral schools was particularly evident)⁴⁷. It is not totally unlikely that something of the *quadrivium* was also taught⁴⁸. This set of disciplines was common training in the schools and also in the *Faculdade de Artes*. In these, if the school was not of very elementary level, it might perhaps go a little further by reading some works, especially Aristotle’s. However, only some rare fifteenth-century documents and a few passages in King Manuel’s new university statutes, promulgated in 1503, contain the first references to the study of natural and moral sciences⁴⁹.

*Philosophy* encompassed, in practice, the vast disciplinary boundaries of the *Faculdade de Artes* and gradually absorbed the liberal arts⁵⁰. Owing to the definition

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⁴³ RUSSELL, Peter E., *“Medieval Portuguese Students at Oxford University”*...


⁴⁶ Cf. above, on the Schools.

⁴⁷ Cf. above, on the Schools.

⁴⁸ For the music, see the chapter of Manuel Pedro Ferreira in this volume.

⁴⁹ PACHECO, Maria Cândida, *“Trivium e quadrivium”, História da Universidade em Portugal...*, vol. 1, pp. 155-172. The panorama would alter with the appearance of the printing press and the dissemination of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* of humanism in Portugal, and above all with King Manuel I in 1503, cf. MARTINS, José Vitorino de Pina, “O humanismo (1497-1577),” ibid., vol. 1, pp. 179-236. In any case, the documentation of the *Chartularium* still encloses much information that should be read differently so as to extract the knowledge that we clearly lack on the medieval Portuguese university.

⁵⁰ For conceptions of the order of the liberal arts, cf. MEIRINHOS, José F., *“O sistema das ciências num
of the field, with frontiers traditionally malleable, embracing part of the literature of the classical, patristic and medieval traditions, it include various intellectual domains, historical periods and authors. It is necessary to point out that a large part of the studies and works of Portuguese medieval arts masters were undertaken and recognised abroad. This was certainly the most studied field, the knowledge of which has been most substantially modified by the edition of works of the most important medieval authors. Either through a better knowledge of the texts or through the evolution of what has increasingly come to be understood as “medieval philosophy”\(^2\), the picture of how philosophy was studied in medieval Portugal is also being updated over the last few years\(^2\). But if we take a close look at the works by Joaquim de Carvalho, to give but one example, we find that they already focus on the twelfth century has allowed for new studies and the volumes of Jesus Pinharanda Gomes on Arab-Islamic philosophy and Jewish philosophy\(^2\) remain useful.

On law, Antonio Garcia y Garcia has brought to light several authors and institutions that are crucial to understand this science and its presence in medieval Spain. The majority of jurists, both canonists and civilians, studied in foreign universities, and this is why we know so little about how law was taught in the Portuguese _studium generale_.\(^3\) Abundant information is available on Portuguese jurists who studied or taught in foreign universities, such as masters Vincentius Hispanus, Sylvester Godinho, Johannes de Deo, or foreigners such as Alvarus Pelayus who exercised their activity in Portugal. More will be said about them in section 5. The documents become more abundant for the final period of the Middle Ages, enabling a better comprehension of teaching contents, training structure and degrees awarded in law. It is possible to identify some constants in the political positions held by masters who exercised their activity in Portugal\(^4\).

Medicine was also taught in the university, but our knowledge of exactly how it was taught is, once more, scarce and imprecise\(^5\). During the Middle Ages there was an operative distinction between scholastic, theoretical, and literary medicine, and the practical medicine exercised by surgeons, barbers or indeed of any other person skilled in the art of healing. This is why its practice and even teaching can be traced back to before the foundation of the university\(^5\). It is but practical medicine\(^1\) that we find in the sources most of the time and that is better known, even if for limited periods\(^6\). In the first half of the fourteenth century the municipal council of the city of Oporto routinely employed Jewish and Muslim physicians and granted them the status of _quase vizinhos_ (almost neighbors or citizens), arguing against

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the protests of the bishop and chapter that Christian physicians were worse\textsuperscript{13}. This fact is suggestive of the (low) quality of medical education at that time in Portugal, and also of the likely continuity in medical education among Muslim and Jewish communities, quite possibly transmitted within the family and outside the schools.

Theology, the queen of all the sciences according to the medieval university hierarchy, became the object of a long controversy over when its teaching in the Portuguese university first began. Contrary to ancient tradition, according to which it should have begun only around 1400, José Antunes suggested, on the basis of a new documentary reading, that the teaching of theology could be attested as early as a bull of Pope Nicholas IV, dated 9 August 1290, the same bull that sanctioned the creation of the university\textsuperscript{4}. Information is, once again, chronologically and qualitatively sparse, allowing for few general conclusions and making it very hard for an exact picture of the teaching to emerge. Nevertheless, information is still comparatively more abundant than for other subjects. Theology was the subject matter which enjoyed greater autonomy from royal power in the Portuguese university, obviously because it was more directly dependent on the ecclesiastical authority. Though it was possible to arrive at conclusions about textbooks and the functionality of the book\textsuperscript{5}, we lack information about the relationship of Theology to the other Faculdades, especially that of the Arts, and whether it maintained any sort of doctrinal control over masters and students\textsuperscript{6}. There are also gaps in our knowledge of the procedures of circulation and progression between arts and theology.

No substantial advancement in our knowledge of these disciplines in medieval Portuguese schools and in the university has taken place in recent years. This is one of the domains in the intellectual history of the Portuguese Middle Ages which still require deeper research, focused on the primary sources and free from oft-repeated but barely substantiated assumptions and ready-made explanations about how literature was transmitted, where, by whom, and through which channels.

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\textsuperscript{13} I owe this information to André Vitória, on the basis of the document Oporto, Arquivo Histórico Municipal, Auto do senente de dívidas e jurisdição entre o bispo e a cidade, A-PUB 5514, f. 31 (=Corpus Cadum, II, p. 29, vol. 2).

\textsuperscript{4} ANTUNES, José, A cultura erudita portuguesa nos séculos XIII e XIV (Bartos e Teologia), unpublished doctoral thesis in History, Coimbra, FL-UC, 1995, see chapter 6 in particular, IDEM, "Cultura teológica, o poder e a Universidade portuguesa", pp. 471-569; IDEM, "A Teologia", in História da Universidade em Portugal — pp. 237-270.


\textsuperscript{6} On doctrinal control see the polemic and accusations of Alvarus Pelagius against Thomas Scotus in the first half of the fourteenth Century (see footnote 100).

\textsuperscript{13} "A" especulação metafísica não seduziu os mais cultos espíritos do Portugal medieval. / E nos estudos práticos, como a dialética, a ética e a política, a que a atenção se concentra; mas, a despeito da ausência de escritos, economam em Portugal algumas divergências domínios da escolástica", CAVELHO, Joaquim de, Obras completas... , vol. 3, pp. 281-282 (chapter "Cultura filosófica e científica - período medieval"); in PERES, Domínio (dir.), História de Portugal... , vol. 4.

\textsuperscript{14} What Joaquim de Carvalho says on medieval Portuguese scholastics, has to a certain extent been modified and expanded by others through a supposed lack of interest on the part of Portuguese of all periods for philosophy, a supposed cultural and personality characteristic that diminishes Portugal in the face of an already inferior Spain. As António José Saraiva wrote: "The un-interest in Philosophy in Portugal contrasts with the interest in history. Whichever the period, we find an abundant historiography of excellent quality, comparable to that of the great literatures and certainly not inferior to the Spanish one" ("O desinteresse pela filosofia contrasta em Portugal o interesse pela história. Qualquer que seja a época, encontramos entre nós uma historiografia abundante e de excelente qualidade, comparável à das grandes literaturas e certamente não inferior à espanhola"). The Urmanian origin of this idea is revealed a little further on: "Portugal became so little noted for its philosophical reflection, at least in the manner it was practiced in the West, but in this we are not out of tune with the Spanish one" ("O povo português é ainda mais influido que o espanhol — e atenção, porque este já é muito"), SARAIVA, António José, A cultura em Portugal. Teoria e história, vol. 1: Introdução geral à cultura portuguesa, Lisbon, Gradaiva, 1994, pp. 89 and 92.

\textsuperscript{15} See the online database "Arca. Textos e autores medievais portugueses": http://filosofia.up.pt/gfm/arca

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5. Magistri and auctores

To quote Joaquim de Carvalho one more time: "metaphysical speculation does not seduce the more cultured spirits of medieval Portugal. / It is in the practical studies, such as dialectics, ethics and politics, that their attention is concentrated; but, despite the absence of writings, some doctrinal divergences within scholastics did find an echo in Portugal\textsuperscript{16}. This diagnosis gave rise to two conclusions that historians in the second half of the twentieth century have since tried to tackle: a) has there really been in Portugal such negligence of metaphysics and a preference for practical philosophy during the Middle Ages and ever since then? b) are there no Portuguese writings to attest scholastic controversies?

These two conclusions have not yet been refuted by new discoveries. In fact, nothing relevant or challenging this interpretation has been found. But focusing on the well-known works by authors who studied or taught in foreign universities, attempts have been made to downplay that supposed lack of interest in metaphysics and the silence kept on scholastic controversies\textsuperscript{17}. Nevertheless, most authors whose works are known to us do seem to display a keener interest in, or a near-exclusive preference for, practical philosophy, be it politics, ethics, theology or works on the logical organon. But a quick look at the works of the authors mentioned below can contribute to show that there may be some grounds to question the validity of this old and seemingly rock solid interpretation.

The list of medieval authors and anonymous works is extensive and, considering all genres and languages, may come close to one thousand\textsuperscript{18}. As this brief synopsis
is not the place to go through that list in detail, one should at least mention two catalogues that remain indispensable in exploring this forest, which is still far from being definitively charted\(^9\). Of all the available commentaries and systematic bibliographies, the recent work by Józef Carlos Martin deserves to be highlighted, despite its excessive selectiveness\(^9\).

As stated earlier, we have no knowledge of any written work left by any medieval figure teaching or enrolled at the Portuguese university. All the authors mentioned below, presented as abbreviated examples of recent historiographic achievements, have in common the fact that they studied or pursued their university and pastoral activity\(^9\). There has been controversy over whether or not his sermons were composed in Portugal and revised in Italy. In either case, it stands to reason that they were the fruit of his studies in the regulated monasteries of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon and Santa Cruz in Coimbra\(^9\).


\(^{94}\) MARTIN, Jose Carlos, Sources latine de l'Espagne tardo-antique et médiévale (Ve-VIe siècles). Répertoire bibliographique, with the collaboration of Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, and Jacques Eiffati, Paris, CNRS éditions, 2010.

\(^{95}\) On these authors, see the studies cited above in notes 72 and 90.

\(^{96}\) MEIRINHOS, José F., "A ciência e a filosofia árabes em Portugal. João de Selviva e de Lima e outros tradutores", in MEIRINHOS, José F., Estudos de Filosofia Medieval. Tomos e autores portugueses..., pp. 43-54 (with extensive bibliographical references on the question).


\(^{98}\) Cf. CAEIRO, Francisco da Gama, Santa António de Lisboa..., vol. 1-2; FRIAS, Agostinho Figueiredo, Lettura eremmatica del "Sermones" di Sant'Antonio da Padova, Introduzione alle radici culturali del pensiero antoniano, translation by J. Serra, Centro Studi Antoniani, Padova, 1995 (also published in Il Santo, 39 (1995), Palio de Coimbra (Pelagius Parvus or Pelagius Aprilis, c.1195 / 1200-c.1249) was a Dominican preacher of the first half of the thirteenth century, whose sermons echoed recent theological and philosophical tendencies\(^9\). Giles of Santarém (Aegidius Iustinius, c.1185-1265), often described as the Portuguese Faustus, had a significant local role in the life of the Dominican Order and an important scientific career as a physician. None of the works attributed to him has yet been published (although there are ancient editions of at least one, credited to other authors)\(^9\).

John of Deus (Iohannes de Deo), a canonist, was a master in Bologna and author of a vast legal work, which had considerable impact not only on the academic world but also on judicial practice\(^9\).

Pedro Hispano (Petrus Hispanus), identified as Pope John XXI, 1276-1277, is one of the most studied Portuguese authors, with a long list of attributed works on logic, philosophy, zoology, theoretical medicine, practical medicine, theology, sermons and alchemy\(^9\). Some of the most important works attributed to him were published in the second half of the twentieth century. Medical compendia have been published by Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira\(^9\). Logical, philosophical and mystical works have been published by foreign scholars\(^9\). Much


\(^{100}\) PEREIRA, Maria Helena da Rocha (ed.), Obras Médicas de Pedro Hispano, Coimbra, IUC, 1973 (includes the edition of: Theologiae Papaemur et De Fabribus: De regimine sanitatis, Liber de conservanda sanitatis).
of the corpus attributed to Petrus Hispanus still awaits publication and proper study. It has long been debated, occasionally with totally erroneous arguments, that the author of the Summulate logicales was not Pope John X. A hypothesis put forward by the present author, and currently under debate, argues that the post-medieval historiographical tradition led to three or more different characters being brought together under the same name of Petrus Hispanus, among them the Portuguese Pedro Juliao, who became Pope John X in 1276-1277, along with at least two or three other individual Petri, who wrote works on logic, philosophy, medicine, theology, and alchemy.

Fernando Hispano (Fernandus or Ferrandus Hispanus), bishop of Coimbra between 1302 and 1303, where he died on 8 August, has been identified as the Averroist philosopher and commentator who wrote the recently published commentary on Book II of The Economics by the Pseudo-Aristotle.

Afonso de Dinis of Lisbon (Alphonso Dionisi Ulixbonensis), one of the most interesting masters of the fourteenth century. He had a remarkable intellectual career that led him to attend courses in arts, medicine and theology in Paris. Before returning to Paris to study theology he worked as a physician in Spain and Portugal, during which period he produced works translated from Arabic into Latin with the aid of a Jewish interpreter, among which is a short tractate by Averroes whose original Arabic version is unknown.

Alvaro Pais (Alvarus Pelagius, c.1275 / 1280-1350 / 1352), born in Galicia, in north-western Spain, was a canonist and papal penitentiary at the papal curia in Avignon, in the service of Pope John XXII. Alvaro Pais was a champion of papal political supremacy and a sharp polemict. His interesting and extensive works touched on law, theology, dogmatics and political philosophy, and were all published in Portugal during the second half of the twentieth century. He remains among the most studied medieval authors connected to Portugal.

Tomdo Escoto (Thomas Scotus) is the most enigmatic of all medieval authors who were born or active in the kingdom of Portugal. He is known solely through the Alvarus Pelagius denunciation, in the Colliryrium fidei adversus haereses, of ideas he may have defended on subjects touching on theology and politics, philosophy and religion, biblical interpretation and the lives of the saints, the sciences and the prophets. The nature of his philosophical and intellectual ideas has been discussed and identified in many as consisting of Averroism, an interpretation of the life and works of Geoffrey of Damagene.

Barrosa, João, "O 'De Tree's a nova documentação estatística' e as novas perspectivas de um estudo de Portugal medieval", in Colloquia latinae medioevalis, vol. 20 (1990), pp. 49-68.

Costa, António Domingues de Sousa, Estudos sobre Alvaro Pais, Lisbon, Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1968.


remains is the possibility that Thomas Scotus was an invention of Alvarus Pelagius, which would seem to contradict the latter’s natural severity and unfailing rigour in citing his sources.

André do Prado (Andreas de Prato, c.1380-c.1455), a Franciscan who in his *Horologium fidei* (Watch of the Faith) produced an extensive commentary on the Creed in twelve chapters, a fictional dialogue with Prince Henrique, the Navigator. He is also the author of another book of theology, still not published, the *Liber distinctionum* or *Spiraculum Francisci Matrionis*, a compendium of the *Conflatus* by Francis of Mayrone.

João da Silva Meneses (Blessed Amadeu da Silva c.1427-1482), a Franciscan who was also an enigmatic character whose example of asceticism and virtue exercised great fascination in Italy in his day, especially among the common people and the business elite. It is still a matter for debate whether he is the author of the *Apocalypsis nova* that manuscripts attribute to him, an ascetic and prophetic work in eight parts or *raptus*, which has recently been published in a critical edition[9] This work reveals philosophical and theological influences. His *Sermons* remain unpublished.

**Gomes of Lisbon** (Gometius Ulixbonensis), also a Franciscan, who lived in the end of the fifteenth century and was a much-appreciated theology teacher in Pavia, where he published some synopses on philosophical subjects[10].

**Diogo Lopes Rebelo** (Didacus Rebelo), also late fifteenth-century author, he studied and became a teacher in Paris, where he published in 1496 a work on political theory which he dedicated to King Manuel I, as well as synopses on theology[12].

Apart from Thomas Scotus, and maybe Amadeu da Silva too, although in a different way, we are unable to detect in these authors any evidence to maintain the argument that heterodoxy is one of the distinctive features of “Portuguese thinking”.

The intellectual influence of these authors is certainly small, if we consider the period globally. Only the “sanctified intellectuals” Fernando Martins, *alias* Anthony of Lisbon and Padua, Paio de Coimbra, Giles of Santarém, and Amadeu da Silva[14] have found their way into popular culture, and this was due not to their intellectual achievements but rather to the fascination that their lives and example continuously exercised on people, fed by hagiographies, at local, national and even international levels. These narratives emphasise their religious life and thaumaturgical virtues, although one should point out that they usually also invoke their knowledge, either positively or negatively.

Having reviewed the abridged shortlist of medieval Portugal’s most important authors, what stands out clearly, even amongst those belonging to the same religious order, is the lack of any continuity in their works, beyond their simple attachment to the same institution or spiritual orientations. If we verify among them the consistency of the scholastic model, or the presence of certain interests of thinking, the reason is to be found in institutional and cultural inertia, not in the weighty influence of a particular Portuguese author. Whenever influences can be pinned down, they usually point to traditional authors such as Thomas Aquinas or Duns Scotus. It was perhaps only in 1568, when the university moved from Lisbon to Coimbra for the last time and the Colegió das Artes was founded, that the foundation would be laid for a form of teaching, thinking and writing coherently developed over time. The Jesuits’ control of the Colegió das Artes, effective after 1555, paved the way for the development of a local intellectual and philosophical tradition that had considerable international influence in the formation of the Second Scholasticism and during the Counter-Reformation, but it must be stressed that this was a period of Iberian union.

Medieval moral and speculative-religious literature in the vernacular[16] deserves particular mention, due to its considerable importance at the time. It has

**Studies** and *translated by M. P. de Menezes, introduction by M. C. de Matos.*


[12] See CEPEDA, Isabel Vilares, Bibliografia da prosa medieval em língua portuguesa, Lisbon, Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 1998. An extensive collection of essays on the anonymous literary corpus and in vernacular middle Portuguese (but also on several other authors, manuscripts and literary genres) may
been the object of editions that have made an extremely significant contribution to the study of intellectual life in medieval Portugal in recent years. These works consist of a mostly anonymous literary corpus, produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, made up for the most part of reasonably well-identified works carried over into Portuguese both through paraphrase and translation. Some of them have been the focus of recent research and publication, due to their interest to philology and the history of literature120, the Boosco deleitoso, a treatise inspired by the De vita solitaria of Petrarch and composed by the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth121; the Corte espercial, an anonymous treatise of Christian apologetics and theological and spiritual polemic against Judaism and Islamism, dating from the fourteenth century122; the Castel0 perigosso, an anonymous translation of treatises of Carthusian asceticism, dating from the end of the fourteenth century123; the Horte do espos0, an anonymous ascetic moral compilation from the second half of the fourteenth century124; the Livro do solil6quio de Sancto Agostinho, which is in fact the translation, with two brief interpolations, of a treatise from the twelfth century125; the Livro da vertuosa benfeytoria of Prince Pedro and João Verba, a political-moral work, produced c.1418-1425 and based on the De beneficis of Seneca126; and, finally, the Leal Conselheiro of King Duarte I, composed between 1435 and 1438127. These anonymous works still pose important questions concerning dating, the context in which they were composed, the sources that were used, and, of course, authorship. Having originated in monastic or courtly environments, and being distinct as to intentionality of composition, these works are part of a vast and collective process in the formation of the Portuguese language, also demonstrating that by the fourteenth century it was intensively adopted as a vehicle of communication in the intellectual world. Differentiating from Latin

120 For a brief presentation of the content, problems and bibliography on each one of the texts here cited, cf. the respective entries in LANCIANI, Giulia, and TAVANI, Giuseppe (orgs. and coords.), Dizionario della letteratura medievale portoghese e gallega, passim.
122 Corte espercial, interpretative editing by Adéleo de Almeida Calado, Aveiro, Universidade de Aveiro, 2000.
124 Horte do espos0, critical editing by Irene Freire Nunes, Lisbon, Edição Colibri, 2007. The work had a previous edition.
125 Livro do solil6quio de Sancto Agostinho (Cod. ALC. CCLXXIII 198), critical editing and glossary by Maria Adelaide Valle Ciment, Lisbon, Centro de estudos Filil6gicos, 1957 (in the same Alcobaca manuscript of the Horte do espos0).
126 Livro da vertuosa benfeytoria, critical editing, introduction and notes by Adéleo de Almeida Calado, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1994. The work had previous editions.
127 Leal Conselheiro, critical editing, introduction and notes by Maria Helena Lopes de Castro, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1999.

and Castilian, these texts contribute especially to the constitution of a Portuguese intellectual vocabulary, being philosophical or theological, a domain that continues to be insufficiently studied128.

6. Receptio and desiderata

A famous medieval adage tells us that whatever is received is received according to the manner of the receiver (quidquid recipitur ad modum recipientis recipitur) and not according to the object itself. This epistemological principle, frequently repeated for example by Thomas Aquinas, could be the motto for the aesthetics of reception in literary theory129. We should also allow it to remind us that our understanding of the Middle Ages and of its intellectual history depends above all on each scholar’s methodological, theoretical, and even ideological preferences. These change over time, being determined by a vast set of interests (political, economic, institutional, ideological, generational, personal), of which even the historian himself is often unaware, being immersed in them. Therefore, let us not be baffled by the many Middle Ages we now have before us, which historiography has been both excavating and creating. That some profiles of the Middle Ages are the result of retrospective projections rather than the analysis of the object itself can be verified through the archaeology of the ideological drives of the last quarter of the twentieth century. For example, interest in national philosophies, or in the idea of saudade, or in the identification and glorification of the first intellectual icons of the nation, is no longer so dominant. The bias and prejudices for or against the Middle Ages do not bear so heavily upon medievalists as they did at some point in the past. Medieval studies became an essentially critical discipline, not only of the sources it works on, but also of the methodologies it uses and means of interpretation, redefining subjects proper to it, and shunning contradictory and sometimes disfiguring interpretations of history. For this reason, medieval studies are, first and foremost, an exercise in critical thinking and hermeneutic, incessantly searching for a closer, deeper understanding of the sources.

A brief journey through Portuguese medieval intellectual history shows that the most important achievement of the last half-century has been the publication of primary sources and the interpretation of those sources. Historians of culture, institutions and ideas, can develop joint projects, with mutual benefit, penetrating
further into the study of published or unpublished material, editing and translating documents and works. In the mid-twentieth century, after Joaquim de Carvalho in Coimbra, it was Moreira de Sá in Lisbon who stimulated the study of intellectual history. His work was continued in the second half of the twentieth century by scholars such as Mário Martins (Braga), Francisco da Gama Caeiro, Joaquim Cerqueira Gonçalves, José Mattoso, Aires Augusto Nascimento (Lisbon), José Maria da Cruz Pontes, Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira, Avelino de Jesus da Costa, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, Maria José Azevedo Santos (Coimbra), António Cruz, José Marques, Maria Cândida Pacheco (Oporto), who revitalised and lent increased visibility to this area of medieval studies through their own work as medievalists, and creating conditions for further research in different departments and research centres, where lines of traditional inquiry had been pursued, and making headway in experimenting new ways of analysing and interpreting medieval sources. Publications multiply today, and a large number of dissertations, theses and projects are being produced, displaying great thematic and disciplinary diversity. More ground can thus be covered, increasingly by means of expanded teams with wide international connections. The rising number of active scholars authorises one to expect results and the opening up of new perspectives, if above all there is no retreat into the purely local or national interests, something that today seems unlikely due to participation in research networks. Portuguese medieval studies would have much to gain if they broadened their fields of study and no longer confined themselves to national subject matters, as has happened up until now – with the exception, perhaps, and owing to their very nature, to the areas of literature, theology and philosophy. This reaching out of medieval studies would be especially profitable as far as the sharing of methodologies is concerned – not so much in objects of study, although there is room for greater refinement. It is particularly important, however, that conclusions and theoretical explanations specific to other social realities and contexts are not forced on to the interpretation of Portuguese medieval history.

Active research teams are well aware of what needs to be done. It is important that they prepare the field for future generations of scholars, through the identification, publication, and, whenever possible, translation of medieval documental or textual corpora. Conditions are in place to undertake a more rigorous inventory of our medieval written heritage, dispersed throughout libraries and archives, public and private. A good part of the available documents on schools and the university is already published, but still awaits surveys (which could be undertaken in future master’s and doctoral theses) that systematically dissect, explore, and reconstruct the different aspects of teaching policies, governance in scholastic institutions, curricula, the lives and careers of the teachers, throughout the Portuguese Middle Ages. Electronic resources allow us to make documents in print digitally accessible to researchers by means of databases that can be queried and searched; these databases can be expanded with the new, unpublished materials (as is already the case with some literary genres), which would make it easier, for example, to complete and search through the documents in the Chartularium universitatis portugalensis and in other collections. In similar fashion, a Corpus philosophorum Portugaliae could be put together, incorporating works written in various languages on philosophy, theology and other connected areas, with direct relevance to medieval thought in Portugal. Some existing editions still need to be replaced by improved, critical editions. These are long-term projects, and that is why they are viable.

Given the dynamism of Portuguese medieval studies in recent years, it is very likely that many of these projects are already under way. I am grateful to André Vitória for reading the English version of this chapter and for his numerous suggestions enabling greater clarity.