



CLERO PORTUGUÊS E UNIVERSIDADES EUROPEIAS NOS SÉCULOS XII E XIII

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Mesmo antes da fundação da primeira Universidade portuguesa em Lisboa (1288/89), o Ocidente Ibérico mantinha contactos estreitos com a emergente cultura académica europeia. O avanço do movimento cluniacense, a penetração de eclesiásticos “franceses” no episcopado peninsular e ainda a crescente influência do Papado na Península Ibérica foram determinantes para o desenvolvimento de tais contactos. No século XII, Santa Cruz de Coimbra converteu-se num dos centros culturais mais dinâmicos do Ocidente Ibérico e desempenhou um papel fundamental no estabelecimento das relações entre a região de Coimbra e os centros de ensino franceses. A partir do final do século, a influência da jurisprudência Bolonhesa cresceu, oferecendo então excelentes oportunidades de carreira nos cabidos catedralícios, especialmente no norte de Portugal. Finalmente, a fundação das Universidades espanholas de Palência e Salamanca constituíram um importante incentivo em Portugal, que contribuiria fortemente para o surgimento da primeira Universidade portuguesa.

THE PORTUGUESE CLERGY AND THE EUROPEAN UNIVERSITIES IN THE 12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES

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Even before the foundation of the first Portuguese University in Lisbon (1288/89), the Western Iberian region maintained close contacts with the nascent European academic culture. The advance of the Cluniac movement, the penetration of the Iberian Episcopate by French clergymen and the growth of papal influence in the Iberian Peninsula were fundamental for the development of those contacts. During the 12th century Santa Cruz de Coimbra became one of the most dynamic cultural centres of Western Iberia and played an important role in linking the region with the leading French centres of learning. By the end of the century, the influence of Bolognese jurisprudence became more important and offered excellent career opportunities in cathedral chapters, particularly in Northern Portugal. Finally, the newly founded Spanish Universities of Palencia and Salamanca exerted a strong impulse upon Portugal, having a large contribution to the emergence of the first Portuguese University.

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By the the end of the 13th century, in 1288/89, the first portuguese University was founded in Lisbon. Previously, however, there had already been close contacts to the cultural centres of Europe and to the Universities of the neighbouring kingdoms of Castile and León; contacts that probably contributed heavily to the emergence of the first portuguese University. The aim of this small overview is to follow some of the traces left by those contacts, the “Primórdios” of the portuguese academic culture, as Artur Moreira de Sá, the well-known historian of the portuguese University termed it¹.

The intensification of the iberian relations with the Papacy and the advance of Cluniac reform movement into the Iberian Peninsula played a crucial role in establishing the connection between the western iberian region and the nascent university culture². French cultural influences grew even more important when the rule over Portugal was taken over by the burgundian Henry. Although french

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¹ Primórdios da Cultura Portuguesa. Ed. Artur Moreira de Sá. 2 vols. In *Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa*. Lisboa. 1: 1 (1966) and 2:1 (1968). For a broader and more detailed discussion, see FLEISCH, Ingo – Sacerdotium – Regnum – Studium: *Der westiberische Raum und die europäische Universitätskultur im Hochmittelalter: Prosopographische und rechtsgeschichtliche Studien*. Münster: Lit, 2006. Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt, 4.

² On the Cluniac movement in Spain and Portugal, see, MATTOSO, José – Le monachisme ibérique et Cluny: les monastères du diocèse de Porto de l’an mille à 1200. Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1968; IDEM – Cluny, Crúzios e Cistercienses na formação de Portugal. In CONGRESSO HISTÓRICO DE GUIMARÃES E SUA COLEGIADA, Guimarães, 23 de Junho 1979 – *Actas*. Vol. 5: *Comunicações*. Guimarães: [s.n.], 1982, p. 281-299; SEGL, Peter – *Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien: Untersuchungen über die Cluniacenserklöster in Kastilien-León vom Beginn des 11. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*. Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1974; IDEM – Die Cluniacenser in Spanien – mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Aktivitäten im Bistum León von der Mitte des 11. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts. In *DIE CLUNIAZENSER und ihr politisch-soziales Umfeld*. Org. Giles Constable, Gert Melville, Jörg Oberste. Münster: Lit, 1998, p. 537-558. Vita regularis, 7; SANZ SANCHO, Iluminado – La política de Fernando I respecto a Roma y Cluny. In CURSO SOBRE LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA Y EL MEDITERRÁNEO DURANTE LOS SIGLOS XI Y XII, 1, 27-30 de julio de 1996 – *La Península Ibérica y el Mediterráneo entre los siglos XI y XII: actas*. Org. Fernando Valdés Fernández. Vol. 1. Aguilar de Campo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 1998, p. 101-119.

political influences began to diminish during the reign of his son, the first portuguese king, Afonso Henriques, there still remained important contacts with french centres of learning, where among others the most important portuguese churchman of the 12th century, João Peculiar, seems to have received his intellectual formation³.

A landmark in the portuguese cultural history was the foundation of Santa Cruz de Coimbra in 1131 by João Peculiar and some other churchmen, which proved to be decisive for the further cultural development of Portugal during the 12th c. Santa Cruz soon became one of the leading cultural centres of the Peninsula and, doubtless, the most important one in Portugal⁴. A large number of portuguese and probably even leonese bishops originated from Santa Cruz⁵, which also played a major part in connecting Portugal with the french centres of

³ On the life of João Peculiar, see FERREIRA, José Augusto – *Fastos episcopais da Igreja primacial de Braga (séc. III-séc. XX)*. Vol. 1. Braga: Mitra Bracarense, 1930, p. 284-333; COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da – D. João Peculiar, co-fundador do mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, bispo do Porto e arcebispo de Braga. In *SANTA CRUZ de Coimbra: do século XI ao século XX*. Coimbra: [s.n.], 1984, p. 59-83; BRANCO, Maria João Violante – The King's Counsellors'two Faces: a Portuguese perspective. In: *THE MEDIEVAL World*. Ed. Peter Linehan, Janet L. Nelson. London: Routledge, 2001, p. 522.

⁴ On the religious, political importance of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, see SANTA MARIA, Nicolau de – *Chronica da Ordem dos Conegos Regrantes do Patriarcha S. Agostinho*. 2. vols. Lisboa: Oficina de Ioam da Costa, 1668. MÁRTIRES, Timóteo dos – *Crónica de Santa Cruz*. Ed. José Pinto Loureiro. 3 vols. Coimbra: Biblioteca Municipal, 1955; AZEVEDO, Rui de – *Documentos falsos de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (séculos XII e XIII)*. Lisboa: José Fernandes Júnior, 1932; DAVID, Pierre – Regula Sancti Augustini. *Revista Portuguesa de História*. 3 (1947) 27-39; O'MALLEY, E. Austin – *Tello and Theotonio, the Twelfth-century Founders of the Monastery of Santa Cruz*. Washington D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1954; CRUZ, António – *Santa Cruz de Coimbra na cultura portuguesa na Idade Média*. Porto: Emp. Ind. Gráf. do Porto, 1964. Bibliotheca Portucalensis. Colectânea de Estudos da Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 5-6; *SANTA CRUZ de Coimbra: do século XI ao século XX*. Apres. António Cruz. Coimbra: [s.n.], 1984; COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – A Jurisdição quase Episcopal do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra em Leiria e seus termos, reivindicada em Processo Judicial perante D. Álvaro Afonso, Bispo de Silves e Legado a latere do Papa Calisto III. *Itinerarium*. 121: 22 (1985) 427-517; ROCHA, Pedro Romano – Le rayonnement de l'Ordre de Saint-Ruf dans la péninsule ibérique, d'après sa liturgie. In *LE MONDE des chanoines (XI^e-XIV^e s.)*. Toulouse : Provat, 1989, p. 193-208. Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 24; MARTINS, Armando Alberto – *O mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, séculos XII-XV: história e instituição*. Lisboa, 1996. Dissertation, PhD in Medieval History: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa; VONES-LIEBENSTEIN, Ursula – Saint-Ruf und Spanien: Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularkanoniker von Saint-Ruf in Avignon auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (11. und 12. Jahrhundert). 2 vols. Paris; Turnhout: Brepols, 1996. Bibliotheca Victorina, 6; NASCIMENTO, Aires Augusto – Santa Cruz de Coimbra: as motivações de uma fundação particular. In CONGRESSO HISTÓRICO DE GUIMARÃES SOBRE "D. AFONSO HENRIQUES E A SUA ÉPOCA", 2, Guimarães, [2000] – *Actas*. Guimarães: C.M., [D.L. 2002], p. 119-127; GOMES, Saul António – In Limine Conscriptio: *documentos, Chancelaria e Cultura no Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra nos Séculos XII e XIV*. Coimbra, 2000. Dissertation PhD: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra.

⁵ Cf. the rich information given in the chronicles of Nicolau de Santa Maria and Timóteo dos Mártires. Although many of the details in those chronicles – especially in the work of Santa Maria – are not reliable or even made up, there is without any doubt a lot of very valuable information which deserves to be carefully examined.

learning. This was already visible in the process of foundation of Santa Cruz which followed the *consuetudines* of the leading french Austin Canon house of Saint-Ruf. The rich, partially conserved library of Santa Cruz⁶ and the evidence of numerous masters, that can be traced in the documents of the monastery⁷, suggest that many of its members went to France in order to pursue studies of Arts, Theology or Medicine. Some proof is furnished by three documents from 1173/74, which are presumably related to the papal legate Cardinal Jacinto, a fervent promoter of the education of the iberian clergy⁸. Those documents tell us about the projected studies of three clergymen – Domingos Bispo, Pedro Martins and Sueiro Anes, the latter probably identical with the future bishop of Lisbon – who planned to go *causa discendi* to France and *apud Gallias*.⁹ A further interesting example is Master Pedro de Montemor, who was the Prior of the collegiate church of Montemor-o-Velho between 1194 and 1212¹⁰. Pedro apparently had studied in Paris, from where he brought a Gospel of St John with the *Glossa ordinaria* back to Portugal, a Codex that still can be found in the library of Alcobaca¹¹.

Very remarkable are the traces left by Santa Cruz in the neighbouring kingdom of León, which not only underline the range of the reform circle of Santa Cruz, but also testify to its high level of education. An associate of Santa Cruz was the bishop of Orense, Pedro Seguin (1157-1169) who is reported to have graduated in Theology from Paris¹². Even more important evidence leads us to the city of León. The leonese benedictine monastery of San Isidoro was

⁶ MADAHIL, António Gomes da Rocha – *Os Códices de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*. Coimbra: [s.n.], 1933; *CATÁLOGO dos Códices da Livraria de Mão do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto*. Ed. Aires Augusto Nascimento; José Francisco Meirinhos. Porto: Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 1997.

⁷ A complete prosopography still remains to be done despite of the rich source material that has survived. Apart from extensive collections of documents, mainly preserved in the Torre do Tombo (IAN/TT) in Lisbon, there are also several cartularies and obituaries from or linked to Santa Cruz, which also contain precious prosopographical information, cf. *LIVRO SANTO de Santa Cruz: cartulário do Séc. XII*. Ed. Leontina Ventura; A. S. Faria. Coimbra: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1990; Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto (BPMP), Ms. 422 (S.† 81), fol. 9-39 (Obituário de São Jorge de Coimbra); BPMP, Ms. 707 (S.† 84) (Livro dos Óbitos de São Vicente de Fora).

⁸ FLEISCH – Sacerdotium, p. 170-173.

⁹ IAN/TT, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, Docs. Partic., m. 9, doc. 2; IAN/TT, *Sé de Coimbra*, I.^a incorp., rolos 1, 2; COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da – *Geórgicas de Virgílio: fragmentos portugueses do século XI*. Coimbra, 1956, p. 8; cf. FLEISCH – Sacerdotium, p. 105.

¹⁰ FLEISCH – Sacerdotium, p. 106.

¹¹ Biblioteca Nacional (BN), Ms. *Alcobaça* XCIII/2, fol. 57v; AMOS, Thomas L. – *The Fundo Alcobaça of the Biblioteca Nacional*. Lisboa. 3 vols. Collegeville, Minnesota: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library 1988-1990. Vol. 1, p. 10. Descriptive Inventories of Manuscripts microfilmed for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library: Portuguese Libraries, 1-3. The date given by Amos – “13 c. ex.” – is quite obviously wrong.

¹² MÁRTIRES – *Crónica*, vol. 1, p. 12; cf. FLETCHER, Richard – *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 49; FLEISCH – Sacerdotium, p. 96.

converted by the emperor Alfonso VII into a House of Austin Canons in 1148¹³. Probably because the reform wasn't sufficiently effective, in 1156, a portuguese of Santa Cruz, Master Mendo, was brought to San Isidoro to rule the abbey¹⁴. Mendo who died in 1167 was an intimate of João Peculiar, with whom he had traveled to Rome in 1139. Mendos *scientia* was praised by the canons¹⁵ and his title of Master probably derived from studies in France, which would fit perfectly in the context of the educational traditions of Santa Cruz and San Isidoro as well. San Isidoro was to become – maybe partly due to the reforms implemented by Mendo – one of the most important cultural centres of the kingdom of León in the second half of the 12th century, with close relations to Paris, like Santa Cruz¹⁶. From San Isidoro also originated, like in the case of its portuguese role model, several bishops¹⁷.

Finally, I have to mention Santa Cruz de Cortes in Ciudad Rodrigo that was founded as a dependancy of Santa Cruz in 1182¹⁸. Santa Cruz de Cortes received the impressive number of 17 books from Santa Cruz de Coimbra which also appointed the new prior of its leonese dependancy, Lupus, a Master like many other canons from Santa Cruz¹⁹.

Relations to french universities can also be proved in the case of S. Vicente de Fora in Lisbon, which was part of the congregation of Santa Cruz. The future bishop of Viseu, Nicolao (1193-1211), an uncle of St. Anthony of Lisbon-Padova, is reported to have been sent to study Arts and Theology in Paris by the Prior of S. Vicente in 1184. In Paris, Nicolau purportedly studied alongside the future

¹³ On the history of S. Isidoro, see PÉREZ LLAMAZARES, Julio – *Historia de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*. León: [s.n.], 1927; MCCLUSKEY, Raymond – The library and scriptorium of San Isidoro de León. In CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL SOBRE SANTO MARTINO EN EL VIII CENTENARIO DE SU OBRA LITERARIA, 1, León, 1985 – *Santo Martino de León: ponencias del I Congreso Internacional sobre Santo Martino en el VIII Centenario de su Obra Literaria (1185-1985)*. León: Editorial Isidoriana, D.L. 1987, p. 231-247; Antonio VIÑAYO GONZÁLEZ – El scriptorium medieval del monasterio de San Isidoro de León y sus conexiones europeas. In COLOQUIO SOBRE CIRCULACIÓN DE CÓDICOS Y ESCRITOS ENTRE EUROPA Y LA PENÍNSULA EN LOS SIGLOS VIII-XIII, Santiago de Compostela, 16-19 de Septiembre de 1982 – *Actas*. Santiago de Compostela: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad, 1988, p. 209-238; IDEM – La abadía de canónigos regulares de San Isidoro de León en el siglo XII: vida espiritual e intelectual. In *PENSAMIENTO medieval hispano: homenaje a Horacio Santiago-Otero*. Coord. José María Soto Rábanos. Vol. 1. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998, p. 117-140.

¹⁴ FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 97.

¹⁵ Cf. his epitaph, PÉREZ LLAMAZARES – *Historia*, p. 142: *Hic quiescit magister Menendus primus abbas ecclesie huius nobili genere scientia et moribus natione portugalen. obit Era M. CC. V. XI. K d s. iunii.*

¹⁶ VIÑAYO GONZÁLEZ – La abadía, p. 135.; MCCLUSKEY, Library, p. 243; FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 98.

¹⁷ VIÑAYO GONZÁLEZ – La abadía, p. 140.

¹⁸ On Santa Cruz de Cortes, see SÁNCHEZ-ORO Rosa, Juan José – *Orígenes de la Iglesia en la diócesis de Ciudad Rodrigo: episcopado, monasterios y órdenes militares (1161-1264)*. [Ciudad Rodrigo]: Centro de Estudios Mirobrigenses, 1997, p. 173-181.

¹⁹ IAN/TT, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, Docs. part., m. 14, doc. 32; cf. CRUZ, Santa Cruz, 80f.; SÁNCHEZ-ORO ROSA, *Orígenes*, p. 176; FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 100.

Cardinal Pelayo of Albano and the Pope-to-be Innocent III²⁰. Another Prior of S. Vicente, Master Pedro Mendes who died in 1229 is also said to have graduated in Theology from Paris²¹. The extant biographical data matches with the surviving bibliographical information: A catalogue of the library of S. Vicente from the beginning of the 13th century lists a considerable number of artistic and theological books, that seem to suggest connections with french centres of learning²².

There is little evidence for a relationship between the portuguese cathedral churches and french universities. Except for a single document of Lamego which mentions books brought from France, possibly related to the bishop Mendo of Lamego (1143-1176)²³, a former founding member of Santa Cruz, evidence survives only for the cathedral chapters of Coimbra and Braga. In Coimbra the canon *Magister Martinus presbiter*, most likely a nephew of bishop Miguel Pais of Coimbra (1162-1176) studied Arts and Theology in Paris where he died in 1175, bequeathing his library to the cathedral chapter of Coimbra²⁴. In Braga, Master Pedro Goncalves died as dean of the cathedral chapter in 1166²⁵. Before pursuing his career in Braga, he had been chancellor of the emperor Alfonso VII of Castile until 1156²⁶, and afterwards chancellor of the portuguese infante Sancho. Pedro was a Master of Arts²⁷ and might be identified with the rhetoric teacher Petrus

²⁰ MÁRTIRES – *Crónica*, vol. 2, p. 90; SANTA MARIA, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 130, cf. FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 108.

²¹ MÁRTIRES – *Crónica*, vol. 2, p. 90; SANTA MARIA, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 132, cf. FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 109.

²² BPMP, Ms. 707 (S† 84), fol. 92; NASCIMENTO, Aires Augusto – *Livros e Claustro no séc. XIII em Portugal: o Inventário da Livraria de S. Vicente de Fora*, em Lisboa. *Didaskalia*. 15 (1985) 229-242; *CATÁLOGO dos Códices da Livraria*, p. 340.

²³ VITERBO, Fr. Joaquim de Santa Rosa – *Elucidário das palavras, termos e frases, que em Portugal antigamente se usárão e que hoje regularmente se ignorão*. Ed. Mário Fiúza. Vol. 1. Porto: Livraria Cvilização, 1962, p. 142; cf. COSTA, Manuel Gonçalves da – *História do Bispado e cidade de Lamego*. Vol. 1: *Idade Média: a Mitra e o Município*. Lamego: [s.n.], 1977, 102; FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 100.

²⁴ *LIBER ANNIVERSARIORUM Ecclesiae Cathedralis Colimbriensis (Livro das Kalendas)*. Ed. Pierre David; Torquato de Sousa Soares. Vol. 1. Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1947, p. 79; MÁRTIRES, *Crónica*, vol. 1, p. 13; cf. COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da – *A biblioteca e o tesouro da Sé de Coimbra nos séculos XI a XIV*. Coimbra: [s.n.], 1983, p. 18; FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 102-105.

²⁵ Arquivo Distrital de Braga (ADB), *Livro II dos Aniversários*, fol. 6v; cf. SÁ, Pinto de – *Catálogo dos Deães de Braga*. In FERREIRA – *Fastos episcopais*, vol. 3, p. 439; CUNHA, Maria Cristina Almeida e – *A Chancelaria Arquiepiscopal de Braga (1071-1244)*. Porto, 1998, p. 103. Dissertation, PhD, in History: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto.

²⁶ MILLARES CARLO, Agustín – *La Cancillería Real en León y Castilla*. *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*. 3 (1926) 260; RASSOW, Peter – *Die Urkunden Kaiser Alfons' VII. von Spanien*. *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*. 10 (1928) 411; LUCAS ÁLVAREZ, Manuel – *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media*. Vol. 5: *Las Cancillerías reales (1109-1230)*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 1993, p. 194.

²⁷ His knowledge in *liberalium artium doctrina* is praised in a partial copy of his last will, which has survived in Braga, ADB, *Gaveta dos Testamentos*, doc. 2. Pedro Gonçalves is also the first portuguese known to have made provisions for the education of his offspring. In his first will, drawn up in 1164, while still archdeacon of Braga, Pedro provided for his male descendants who wanted *legere in ecclesia*

Hispanus (*non papa*), the first important iberian scholar known in the sources of the University of Paris²⁸. There is further evidence from Braga, also connected to the royal chancery: The canon Pedro Feijão, who had been chancellor of king Afonso Henriques from 1173 to 1181, bequeathed in his will a certain sum of money to several clergymen from Braga who desired to study *in Franciam*²⁹.

Apparently, the portuguese relationships with the french centres of learning were, during the 12th century, particularly maintained by Santa Cruz de Coimbra. At the beginning of the 13th century, the importance of Santa Cruz, however, began to diminish, and Santa Cruz had to cede its leading role to Alcobaca, the cathedral chapters and probably also to the mendicant orders. Santa Cruz proved unable to adapt to the cultural changes of the 13th century. It is significant that Santa Cruz did not partake in the rise of jurisprudence that marked the portuguese intellectual climate at the beginning of the new century³⁰. Nevertheless, it is noticeable, that some of the leading iberian canonists of that age – Vincentius Hispanus, Laurentius Hispanus, Silvester Hispanus and possibly one of the canonists known as Menendus Hispanus – were in some way or another linked with Santa Cruz³¹.

During the 13th century evidence for portuguese scholars in Paris and other french universities is even more scant than in the previous century³². We know only by coincidence of six portuguese students in Paris in 1225, because the ship *La Cardinale* which was supposed to bring money to the students had been captured by english pirates³³. Furthermore, we know of the importance of Paris

Bracarensis; LIBER FIDEI Sanctae Bracarensis Ecclesiae. Ed. Avelino de Jesus da Costa. 3 vols. Braga: Junta Distrital, 1965-1992, doc. 599; COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da – *O Bispo D. Pedro e a organização da Diocese de Braga*. Vol. 2. Coimbra, 1959, p. 431, doc. 78; cf. CUNHA – *A Chancelaria*, p. 130.

²⁸ FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 55; on Petrus Hispanus (*non papa*), cf. HUNT, R. W. – *The Summa of Petrus Hispanus on Priscianus Minor. Historiographia Linguistica*. 2 (1975) 1-23; KNEEPKENS, Corneille – *Het iudicium constructionis: het Leerstuk van de constructio in de 2de Helft van de 12de Eeuw*. Vol. 1: *Een verkennende en inleidende Studie*. Vol. 4: *Werkuitgave van Petrus Hispanus' Summa "Absoluta cuiuslibet"*, Nijmegen, 1987.

²⁹ ADB, *Gav. dos Testamentos*, doc. 5.

³⁰ CARDÓ GUINALDO, María Teresa; SANTIAGO-OTERO, Horacio – *Las instituciones jurídicas en algunas escuelas medievales de la Península Ibérica*, Madrid: Instituto Francisco Suárez, 1984, p. 16.

³¹ FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 117.

³² SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo – *Portugueses no Estudo de Toulouse*. Coimbra: Universidade, 1954; IDEM – *Les Portugais à l'Université de Montpellier (XII^e-XVII^e siècles)*. Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian – Centro Cultural Português, 1971; FARELO, Mário – *Les Portugais à l'Université de Paris au Moyen Âge et l'acheminement de leurs ressources. Memini. Travaux et documents publiés par la Société des études médiévales du Québec*. 5 (2001) 101-129; IDEM – *Os estudantes e mestres portugueses nas escolas de Paris durante o período medieval (sécs. XII-XV): elementos de história cultural, eclesiástica e económica para o seu estudo. Lusitania Sacra*. 2.^a série, 13-14 (2001-2002) 161-196.

³³ ROTULI *litterarum clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*. Ed. Thomas Duffy Hardy. Vol. 2: 1224-1227. London, 1844, 89b; cf. PEGUES, Frank – *Royal Support of Students in the Thirteenth Century. Speculum*. 31 (1956) 459; FARELO – *Les Portugais*, p. 121; IDEM – *Os estudantes*, p. 186; FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 110.

in the lives of Pedro Juliães, better known as Petrus Hispanus or Pope John XXI, and of his relative Gil Juliães, who was probably identical with Saint Gil of Santarém³⁴. Only a few more examples have survived.

This does not mean, however, that french universities were not attractive places to be for portuguese scholars during the 13th century; a number of Masters within the portuguese cathedral chapters, who had an artistic, theological or medical education seem to indicate the contrary³⁵. Besides, it is quite probable that a number of portuguese cistercian or mendicant monks studied in France. However, they had their own colleges at their disposal, and it might be due to this reason that they are hardly tracable in the university sources³⁶.

³⁴ On Petrus Hispanus, cf. ANTUNES, José – O percurso e o pensamento político de Pedro Hispano: arcebispo-eleito de Braga e Papa João XXI. In CONGRESSO INTERNACIONAL IX CENTENÁRIO DA DEDICAÇÃO DA SÉ DE BRAGA – *Actas*. Vol. 2/1. Braga: Faculdade de Teologia da Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1990, p. 125-184; IDEM – *A cultura erudita portuguesa nos séculos XIII e XIV (Juristas e Teólogos)*. Coimbra, 1995, p. 37-279. Dissertation, PhD in History: Universidade de Coimbra; on Gil de Santarém, see S. JOÃO, Baltazar de – *A vida do bem aventurado Gil de Santarém*. [Compil.] Aires Augusto Nascimento. Lisboa, 1989; COLÓQUIO COMEMORATIVO DE SÃO FREI DE SANTARÉM, Lisboa, 1991 – *Colóquio comemorativo de S. Frei Gil de Santarém: actas do colóquio comemorativo*. Lisboa: AAP, D.L. 1992.

³⁵ There are no complete prosopographies for the portuguese diocesan clergy. On Braga, see VAZ, A. Luís – *O Cabido de Braga 1071 a 1971*. Braga: José Dias de Castro, 1971; CUNHA – *A Chancelaria*; LIMA – Maria Justiniana Pinheiro Maciel – *O cabido de Braga no tempo de D. Dinis (1278-1325)*. Braga, 1998. Dissertation, MA: Universidade do Minho; COSTA, Maria Antonieta Moreira da – *O Cabido de Braga na segunda metade da centúria de Duzentos (1245-1278)*. Braga, 2000. Dissertation, MA: Universidade do Minho; on Évora, VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos – *As Dimensões de um Poder: a Diocese de Évora na Idade Média*. Lisboa: Estampa, 1999; on Lamego, COSTA – *História do Bispado e cidade de Lamego*. Vol. 1: *Idade Média*; on Porto, PINTO, António Ferreira – *O cabido da Sé do Porto: subsídios para a sua história*. Porto: Câmara Municipal, imp. 1940; on Coimbra, *LIBER ANNIVERSARIORUM Ecclesiae Cathedralis Colimbriensis (Livro das Kalendas)*. Ed. Pierre David and Torquato de Sousa Soares. Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra 1947-1948. 2 vols; cf. also DIAS, Nuno José Pizarro Pinto – *Cortes Portuguesas (1211 a 1383)*. Braga, 1987. Tese de Mestrado: Universidade do Minho; VENTURA, Leontina – *A Nobreza de Corte de Afonso III*. 2 Vols. Dissertação de doutoramento. Coimbra, 1992; NOGUEIRA, J. A. Anes Duarte – *Sociedade e Direito em Portugal na Idade Média: dos primórdios ao século da Universidade*. Lisboa: [s.n.] 1994; PIZARRO, José Augusto de Sotto Mayor – *Linhagens Medievais Portuguesas: genealogias e estratégias (1279-1325)*. 3 vols. Porto: Univ. Moderna Centro de Estudos de Genealogia, Heráldica e História da Família, 1999; *A IGREJA e o Clero Português no contexto europeu*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, 2005; RODRIGUES, Ana Maria S. A., [et al.] – *Os capitulares Bracarenses (1245-1374)*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, 2005; FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*.

³⁶ On the organisation of the cistercian and mendicant colleges, see KWANTEN, F. E. – Le collège Saint-Bernard à Paris. *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*. 43 (1948) 443-472; BERG, Dieter – *Armut und Wissenschaft. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Studienwesens der Bettelorden im 13. Jahrhundert*. Düsseldorf, 1977, p. 85-94, 104-108; for Portugal, cf. COCHERIL, Maur – Les Cisterciens Portugais et les études: état de question. In *LOS MONJES y los Estudios. IV Semana de Estudios Monásticos*, Poblet, 1961. Poblet: Abadía de Poblet, 1963, p. 235-248; PEREIRA, Isaías da Rosa – A “pecia” em manuscritos universitários: estudo de três códices alcobacenses dos séculos XIII a XIV. *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*. 2.^a série. 22 (1973) 245-275; LOPES, Fernando Félix – Franciscanos portugueses pretridentinos escritores, mestres e leitores. *Repertorio de Historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España*. 7 (1979) 451-508;

Paris seems to have remained an important destination for portuguese students in spite of the growing importance of legal studies. The fact that the *gravamina* of the portuguese bishops brought before kings Afonso III and Dinis, mention only Paris as a university place, *pars pro toto*, is quite significant³⁷.

In the 12th century, it had been artistic, theological and medical studies that dominated portuguese education, during the 13th century, however, jurisprudence became more important. After the death of king Afonso Henriques and archbishop João Peculiar, the number of conflicts brought before the papal tribunals increased remarkably³⁸. Especially the archdiocese of Braga was involved in serious conflicts with its rivals Santiago de Compostela and Toledo. The canon law procedure that was developed by the papacy during the 12th century, offered the advantage of more efficient and objective treatment than customary secular jurisdiction and therefore was swiftly adopted in Portugal from the last quarter of the 12th century³⁹. Later on it heavily influenced the ecclesiastic as well as the secular law and legislation.

Along with these developments, jurisprudence began to grow more important in the 1170s. Around that time Bologna became a favourite place for portuguese scholars. A large part of the *Hispani* who became famous in Bologna between 1170 and 1230 were of portuguese origin: Menendus Hispanus, Silvester Hispanus, Vincentius Hispanus, Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis or Johannes Hispanus Egitanensis⁴⁰. The remarkable fact that many of these canonists

ROSÁRIO, António do – Letrados dominicanos em Portugal nos séculos XIII-XV. *Repertorio de Historia de las ciencias eclesiasticas en España*. 7 (1979) 509-598; IDEM – Frades Pregadores em intercâmbio peninsular, séc XIII. In II JORNADAS LUSO-ESPANHOLAS DE HISTÓRIA MEDIEVAL, Porto, 1985 – *Actas*. Porto, 1990, vol. 4, p. 1251-1272.

³⁷ *LES REGISTRES de Martin IV (1281-85)*. Ed. M. Ollivier-Martin. Paris, 1901, p. 239, Nr. 502; PEIXOTO, Eduardo Melo – Derecho concordatário medieval português: de D. Dinis a D. Juan I. *Revista Española de Derecho Canónico*. 35 (1979) 325; FARELO, Les Portugais, p. 123.

³⁸ FLEISCH – Sacerdotium, p. 15-44.

³⁹ FLEISCH – Sacerdotium, p. 47-80.

⁴⁰ On the canonist(s) known as Menendus Hispanus, see KUTTNER, Stephan – Bernardus Compostellanus Antiquus: a Study in the Glossators of the Canon Law. *Traditio*. 1 (1943) 277-340; WEIGAND, Rudolf – *Die Glossen zum Dekret Gratians: Studien zu den frühen Glossen und Glossenkompositionen*. 2 vols. Roma, 1991. *Studia Gratiana*, 25, 26; FRANSEN, Gérard – Les gloses de Melendus et l'apparat d'Alain l'Anglais sur le Décret de Gratien. In *L'ÉGLISE et le droit dans le Midi (XIII^e-XV^es.)*. Toulouse, 1994, p. 21-35. *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 29. FLEISCH – Sacerdotium, p. 120-127; on Silvester Hispanus, see GILLMANN, Franz – Magister Silvester als Glossator. In IDEM – *Gesammelte Schriften zur klassischen Kanonistik*. Ed. WEIGAND, Rudolf – *Gesammelte Schriften*. Vol. 2. Würzburg 1988-1993, art. n° 17; IDEM – Magister Silvester als Glossator. Nachtrag, in *Ibidem*. Art. Nr. 18; POST, Gaines – Additional glosses of Johannes Galensis and Silvester in the early Tancred or so-called Laurentius-Apparatus to Compilatio III. *Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht*. 119 (1939) 365-375; PEREIRA, Isaiás da Rosa – Silvestre Godinho: um canonista português. *Lumen*. 26: 7 (1962) 691-698; COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – *Mestre Silvestre e Mestre Vicente, juristas da contenda entre D. Afonso II e suas irmãs*. Braga: Franciscana, 1963. *Estudos e Textos da Idade Média e Renascimento*, 1. On Vincentius, see GILLMANN, Franz – Wo war Vincentius Hispanus Bischof?. *Archiv für Katholisches*

originated from the cathedral chapter of Braga seems to prove a connection between the emergence of those Jurists in Braga and the conflicts with Santiago de Compostela and Toledo⁴¹. Still during the second half of the 13th century jurists from Braga can be found in Bologna. Eye-catching is a group of scholars linked to archbishop Martinho Geraldês of Braga (1256-1271). Martinho himself had likely been a pupil of his predecessor Silvester Hispanus in Bologna. Afterwards he became *Magisterscolarum* of Braga, and it is quite remarkable that all of his successors in this office until the beginning of the 14th century were related to Martinho and can be traced as students in Bologna: Pedro Moniz, Domingos Peres Vinagre, Domingos Domingues⁴². The fact that they were successively heads of the cathedral school is of special importance for the legal traditions in Braga.

In addition to the french and italian centres of learning, universities emerged in Castile and León which heavily influenced the portuguese cultural developments in the 13th century.

The first iberian university was founded around 1180 in Palencia and persisted there with several interruptions for almost one century⁴³. The history of

Kirchenrecht. 113 (1933) 99-107; IDEM – Der Kommentar des Vincentius Hispanus zu den Kanones des vierten Laterankonzils (1215), in IDEM – *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3, Art. Nr. 33; POST, Gaines – “Blessed Lady Spain” – Vincentius Hispanus and Spanish National Imperialism in the Thirteenth Century. *Speculum*. 29 (1954) 198-209; IDEM – Vincentius Hispanus, ‘pro ratione voluntas’, and Medieval and Early Modern Theories of Sovereignty. *Traditio*. 28 (1972) 159-184; OCHOA SANZ, Javier – *Vincentius Hispanus: canonista boloñês del siglo XIII*. Roma; Madrid: [s.n.], 1960; IDEM – El glosador Vincentius Hispanus y títulos comunes “de foro competentis” canónico. *Apollinaris*. 55 (1982) 677-736; COSTA, Mestre Silvestre; MACHADO, Ana Maria Bracinha de Lima – *Vicente Hispano: aspectos biográficos e doutrinários*. Lisboa: [s.n.], 1965; GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, Antonio – Glosas de Juan Teutónico, Vicente Hispano y Dámaso Húngaro a los *Arbores Consanguinitatis et Affinitatis*. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung*. 68 (1982) 153-185. On Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis (Pedro Salvadores), see KUTTNER, Stephan – *Repertorium der Kanonistik (1140-1234)*. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937, p. 414. Prodomus Corporis Glossarum, 1; IDEM – *Bernardus Compostellanus*; STICKLER, Alfons M. – *Sacerdotium et Regnum nei Decretisti e primi Decretalisti: considerazioni metodologiche di ricerca e testi*. Turin, 1953, p. 27.; PEREIRA, Isaiás da Rosa – *O canonista Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis*. Lisboa, 1968, p. 3-18. Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa, 2, 4; NAPOLI, Maria Teresa – *L’Ordo iudiciarius ‘Quia utilissimum foro’: contributo alla conoscenza delle fonti del processo romano-canonico*. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung*. 62 (1976) 58-105; PÉREZ MARTÍN, Antonio – El Ordo iudiciarius “Ad summam notitiam” y sus derivados. *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos*. 8 (1981) 195-266; 9 (1982) 327-423; FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 127-132. On Johannes Hispanus Portugalensis, see PEREIRA, Isaiás da Rosa – *Lectura arborum consanguinitatis et affinitatis Magistri Ioannis Egitanensis*. *Studia Gratiana*. 14 (1967) 155-182; GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, Antonio – *Estudios sobre la canonística portuguesa medieval*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1976, p. 118-120; FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 119, 152.

⁴¹ FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 117.

⁴² FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 133-150.

⁴³ On the *studium generale* of Palencia, see DENIFLE, Heinrich – *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*. Berlin, 1885, p. 472-474; LA FUENTE, Vicente de – *Historia de las Universidades, colegios y demás establecimientos de enseñanza en España*. Vol. 1. Madrid: [s.n.]. 1885, p. 76-84; SAN

this important centre of learning has not yet sufficiently been studied, nevertheless it is apparent that the range of its cultural impact transcended the borders of Castile. No direct evidence of portuguese scholars in Palencia has survived, although an *ars accentualis* in the library of Alcobaça which quotes from the work of Magister Petrus Palentinus shows that the scholarly production arrived at least partially in Portugal⁴⁴. Furthermore, evidence of contacts between Portugal and Palencia has survived. The marriage of the castilian princess Urraca with the infante Afonso of Portugal in 1208 seems to have played a key role in establishing those contacts. The bestowal of the Chantry of Porto on the famous jurist Master Menendus, the employment of the Palentine Master Lanfranco as procter of Afonso II, the relationship between queen Urraca and the Dean of Palencia, Juan Perez are sufficient to prove the close contacts that linked the crown of Portugal and the university of Palencia, and throw a whole new light on the the remarkable reforms carried out by the portuguese king after 1211⁴⁵.

MARTÍN PAYO, Jesús – Eran profesores de la antigua Universidad de Palencia?. *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses*. 12 (1954) p. 241-242; BARRERO GARCÍA, Ana María – Un formulario de cancillería episcopal castellano-leonés del siglo XIII. *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*. 46 (1976) 671-711; PESET, Mariano – Interrelaciones entre las Universidades españolas y portuguesas en los primeros siglos de su historia. *Boletim da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Coimbra*. 58: 1 (1982) p. 878-880; MENÉNDEZ PELÁEZ, Jesús – El IV Concilio de Letrán, la Universidad de Palencia y el Mester de Clerecía. *Studium Ovetense*. 12 (1984) 27-39; SALCEDO, M. – Vida de D. Tello Téllez de Meneses, obispo de Palencia. *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses*. 53 (1985) 81-266; RICO, Francisco – La clerecía del mester. *Hispanic Review*. 53 (1985) 1-23, 127-150; FAULHABER, Charles – Latin Poems from Palencia. *Romance Philology*. 43 (1989) 59-69; PÉREZ RODRIGUEZ, Estrella – *El Verbiginale: una Gramatica Castellana Del Siglo XIII*. Valladolid: Universidad, 1990; GÓMEZ-BRAVO, Ana María – El latín de la clerecía. Edición y estudio del Ars dictandi Palentina. *Euphrosyne*. 18 (1990) 99-144; MAFFEI, Domenico – Fra Cremona, Montpellier e Palencia nel seculo XII: ricerche su Ugolino da Sesso. *Revista Española de Derecho Canonico*. 47 (1990) 34-51; MARTÍNEZ DÍEZ, Gonzalo – La Universidad de Palencia: revisión crítica. In CONGRESO DE HISTORIA DE PALENCIA, 2, 1989 – *Actas*. Vol. 4. Palencia: Diputación Provincial, Departamento de Cultura, p. 155-191; IDEM – Tres lecciones del siglo XII del Estudio General de Palencia. *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*. 61 (1991) 391-449; MARTINEZ ARCONDA, L. F. – Orígenes de la universidad en España: Palencia: del estudio general a la universidad. In *L'UNIVERSITÉ en Espagne et en Amérique Latine du Moyen Age à nos jours*. Vol. 1. Tours: Université, 1991, p. 11-22; RUCQUOI, Adeline – La double vie de l'université de Palencia (ca. 1180-ca. 1250). *Studia Gratiana*. 28 (1998) 723-748; IGLESIA FERREIROS, Aquilino – Rex superiorem non recognoscens: Hugolino de Sesso and the Studium of Palencia. *Initium. Revista Catalana d'Història del Dret*. 3 (1998) 1-205; FLEISCH – Sacerdotium, p. 154-243.

⁴⁴ NASCIMENTO, Aires Augusto – A “ars accentualis” de Martinho de Alcobaça (Lisboa, B. N., Alc. 149). Especulação e uso do Doctrinale. *Euphrosyne*. 14 (1986) p. 117, 123; GOMES, Saul António – Um Formulário Monástico Medieval Português: o Ms 47 de Alcobaça da B.N. Coimbra, 1999.

⁴⁵ FLEISCH – Sacerdotium, p. 237-241. On the reforms of Afonso II, see PERES, Damião – As Cortes de 1211. *Revista Portuguesa de História*. 4 (1949) 1-8; AZEVEDO, Rui de – O Livro de registo da Chancelaria de Afonso II de Portugal (1217-1221). *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*. 4 (1967) 35-62; COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da – La chancellerie royale portugaise jusqu'au milieu du XIII^e siècle. *Revista Portuguesa de História*. 15 (1975) 151; SILVA, Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da – Ainda sobre a lei da Cúria de 1211 respeitante às relações entre as leis do Reino e o direito canónico. *Clio*. 6 (1987-1988) 29-39; MAURÍCIO, M. Fernanda – As leis de 1211 – alguns “princípios” sociológicos. In: JORNADAS LUSO-ESPAÑHOLAS DE HISTORIA

The relations between Palencia and the portuguese ecclesiastical elite apparently remained close after the death of Afonso II. During the reign of the *rex inutilis* Sancho II, Palencia was one of the favourite places of exile for the portuguese bishops. It is certainly no coincidence that bishop Martinho Rodrigues died there in 1234. Nor is it a coincidence that the elected bishop of Coimbra, Master Tiburcio spent years as archdeacon and treasurer in Palencia. There is also evidence for close contacts to Palencia in the cases of archbishop João Viegas de Portocarreiro and bishop-elect Master João Rol⁴⁶. In the second half of the 13th century proof of such relations can be found for Braga and Coimbra. Especially significant in this respect was the appointment of Master Aymeric Ébrard to the bishopric of Coimbra. Before his appointment Aymeric had been *Magisterscolarum* at the cathedral of Palencia and probably belonged to the reforming party of the university of Palencia. The pontificate of Aymeric was highly important for Coimbra and the history of the portuguese university, because in the train of Aymeric a large number of clergymen from Cahors, among them the nephew of the famous jurist Accursius, Andrea Giovanni, came to Coimbra. The relations between the university of Cahors and the newly founded portuguese university of Coimbra at the beginning of the 14th century which were probably initiated by Aymeric, have yet to be investigated⁴⁷.

Portuguese scholars contributed as well to the short-lived *Escuela General* of Calahorra. The Studium Generale of Calahorra was probably founded by bishop Juan Pérez (1220-1237), whom we already have mentioned as former Dean of Palencia. Juan Pérez had close contacts to Portugal and therefore it is not surprising to find portuguese scholars participating in his university project. At the beginning of the 1230s at least two portuguese seem to have been among the teachers of Calahorra: Master Pedro Salvadores, well known in Bologna and

MEDIEVAL, 2, Porto, 1985 – *actas*. Porto: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1987, p. 893-905; MATTOSO, José – *Identificação de um país: ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal 1096-1325*. 4^a ed. Vol. 2. Lisboa: Estampa, 1991, p. 122; IDEM – A Cúria Régia de 1211 e o Direito Canónico. In *Direito e Justiça. Revista da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade Católica Portuguesa*. 13 (1999) 129-142; BRANCO, Maria João Violante – The General Laws of Alfonso II and his Policy of ‘Centralisation’: a Reassessment. In GOSMAN, Martin; VANDERJAGT, Arjo; VEENSTRA, Jan, org. – *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West: selected Proceedings of the International Conference Groningen 20-23 November 1996*. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997, p. 79-95; SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo – A Chancelaria de D. Afonso II (1211-1223): teorias e práticas. In IDEM – *Ler e compreender a escrita na Idade Média*. Lisboa: Colibri, 2000, p. 11-57.

⁴⁶ FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 241.

⁴⁷ FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 231-233; cf. DAVID, Pierre – Français du midi dans les évêchés portugais. In *Bulletin des Études Portugaises et de l’Institut Français au Portugal*. 9 (1943), 16-70; COSTA, Mário Júlio Brito de Almeida – Um jurista em Coimbra, parente de Acúrsio. *Boletim da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Coimbra*. 38 (1962) 251-256; EDWARDS, Anita – L’Université de Cahors. In *Les Universités du Languedoc au XIII^e siècle*. Toulouse, 1970, p. 266-273. Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 5; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa – La famille d’Ébrard et le clergé de Coimbra aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. In *A IGREJA e o Clero Português*, p. 77-91.

Padova as Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis, who became bishop of Porto in 1235; and João Soares, the future treasurer of Viseu and *consiliarius regis* of Afonso III, who achieved international fame as teacher in *arte dictatoria* of Domingos Domingues, author of a *summa dictaminis* which was wide-spread, especially in central Europe⁴⁸.

At least from the middle of the 13th century onwards Salamanca was of fundamental importance for the Portuguese cultural history⁴⁹. The foundational document issued by Fernando III in 1243 already mentions three Portuguese among the scholars of Salamanca and subsequently large numbers of Portuguese scholars studied at Salamanca. Until the beginning of the 14th century a continually strong presence of Portuguese in Salamanca can be proved. Salamanca seems to have been attractive for scholars from all over Portugal, especially, however, for the northern Portuguese aristocracy. Remarkable are several members of the important families Pereira and Portocarreiro, which can be traced over generations at Salamanca, and several members of the royal clergy, many of whom participated in the foundation of the university of Lisbon⁵⁰.

It is eye-catching that Portuguese scholars emerged only between 1180 and 1230 as law teachers of international renown, while during the remaining decades, none can be found at Bologna – with the sole exception of João de Deus⁵¹. This might be partially due to a change of career patterns in Portugal or might have been related to the rise of legal studies in Salamanca. Between 1180 and 1210 canonists were appreciated and sought-after in Portugal as proctors or counsellors in legal cases, although jurisprudence wasn't yet a first class career enhancer. The picture changed only about 1210, from this time on the former

⁴⁸ ROCKINGER, Ludwig – *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*. München, 1864, p. 517-592; FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 74-77, p. 292-298.

⁴⁹ On the early history of Salamanca, cf. LA FUENTE – *Historia*, vol. 1; BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, Vicente – *Bulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1219-1549)*. Vol. 1. Salamanca: Universidad, 1966; IDEM – *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1218-1600)*. Vol. 1. Salamanca: Universidad, 1970; IDEM – *Los orígenes de la Universidad de Salamanca*. Salamanca: Universidad, 1983; FERNÁNDEZ ÁLVAREZ, Manuel, dir. – *La Universidad de Salamanca*. Vol. 1: *Trayectoria histórica y Proyecciones*. Salamanca: Universidad, 1989; RODRÍGUEZ CRUZ, Águeda – *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*. Salamanca: Congregación de Santo Domingo, 1990; AMASUNO SARRAGA, Marcelino V. – *La escuela de medicina del Estudio Salmantino (siglos XIII-XV)*. Salamanca: Universidad, 1990; GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, Antonio – *La Universidad de Salamanca en la edad Media*. In CONVEGNO INTERNAZIONALE DI STUDI, Milazzo, 1993 – *Università in Europa: le istituzioni universitarie dal Medio Evo ai nostri giorni, strutture, organizzazione, funzionamento: atti*. Messina: Rubbettino, 1995, p. 17-35. On the Portuguese relations with Salamanca during the 13th century, see SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo – *Portugueses no Estudo de Salamanca*. Vol. 1. (1250-1550), Lisboa: [s.n.], 1962; ANTUNES, José – *Portugueses no processo histórico da fundação da Universidade de Salamanca*. *Revista de História das Ideias*. 12 (1990) 19-53; FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 260-292.

⁵⁰ FLEISCH – *Sacerdotium*, p. 260-292, 318-340.

⁵¹ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – *Um mestre português em Bolonha no século XIII: João de Deus*. Braga: [s.n.], 1957.

jurisperiti of Bologna gained important offices in the cathedral chapters and even were appointed bishops⁵². This tendency was probably connected with the takeover of the portuguese crown by Afonso II in 1211. The overwhelming success of those lawyers probably played a major role in establishing law studies as a key element in the curriculum of a successful ecclesiastical career. Therefore law studies seem to have become a standard feature for members of influential aristocratic families like the Pereira or the Portocarreiro. For those noblemen it was most likely not about getting academic degrees or outstanding legal expertise, but rather about acquiring basic knowledge in law. The new foundation of the University of Salamanca by Fernando III and Alfonso X. corresponded to those needs of the aristocratic elite of Castile-León and Portugal. At about the same time career opportunities of non-aristocratic lawyers seem to have lessened in Portugal. While they could gain bishoprics a few decades before, they now were more and more confined to lower positions in the ecclesiastical and secular administrations.

A final aspect that has to be mentioned is the regional differences in career patterns. In Braga almost exclusively jurists entered the cathedral hierarchy, while in Coimbra the cathedral chapter was clearly dominated by Artists, Theologians and Physicians during the 12th and 13th centuries. In the northern dioceses of Porto, Lamego and Guarda, where remarkably fewer masters are found in the cathedral chapters, a fact that might be explained by the predominance of local noble families, legal education seems to have been preeminent like in Braga. Quite different was the situation in Lisbon, where a lot of the members of the cathedral chapters were jurists or physicians or both. A possible explanation might be the lesser influence of aristocratic families, a more dynamic urban development and stronger royal influence. Those aspects were also fundamental in the choice of Lisbon as site of the first portuguese University.

⁵² Menendus Hispanus, Silvester Hispanus, Vincentius Hispanus, Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis – to mention only the most prominent examples – for a general overview of career patterns of 12th and 13th c. canonists, see WEIGAND, Rudolf – Frühe Kanonisten und ihre Karriere in der Kirche, Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. *Kanonistische Abteilung*. 76 (1990) 135-155.