

THE LIFE AND LEGEND OF GILES OF SANTAREM,
DOMINICAN FRIAR AND PHYSICIAN (D.1265):
A PERSPECTIVE ON MEDIEVAL PORTUGAL

Iona McCleery

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



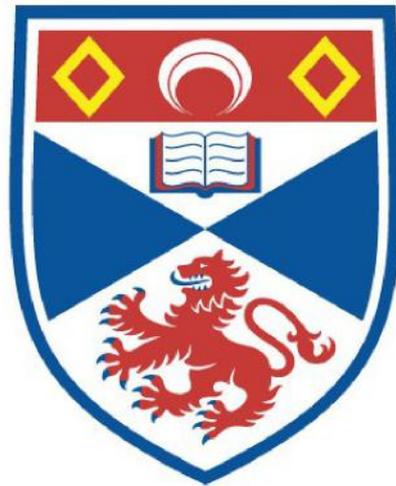
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MEDIEVAL PORTUGAL**

Iona McCleery

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
Department of Medieval History
University of St Andrews
July 2000



DECLARATIONS

i) I, Iona McCleery, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date 31.7.00 signature of candidate .

ii) I was admitted as a research student in Sept. 1995 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in Sept. 1996; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 1995 and 2000.

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* * *

I dedicate this thesis to my father, whose stories of Florence Nightingale, Gordon of Khartoum, and Francis Drake first introduced me to history as a young child.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Aegidius Scallabitanus* V. da C. Soares Pereira, *O Aegidius Scallabitanus de André de Resende: estudo introductório, edição crítica, tradução e notas* (PhD. thesis, University of the Minho [Braga], 1995)
- AFP* *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*
- António, *Compendio* A. de São Domingos, *Compendio dos religiosos insignes da ordem dos Pregadores* (Coimbra, 1552)
- ANTT Archivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo
- AASS* *Acta sanctorum*, eds. J. Bolland and G. Henschenius, new edn by J. Carnandet, 69 vols (Paris, 1863-)
- BHM* *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*
- BNL Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa
- BPE Biblioteca Pública de Évora
- BPMP Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto
- CCCM* *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*
- Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre* A.D. de Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre e Mestre Vicente, juristas da contenda entre D. Afonso II e suas irmãs* (Braga, 1963)
- CUP* *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, eds. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, 4 vols (Paris, 1889)
- CR Corporações Religiosas (document collection of the ANTT)
- Douais, *Provincialium* *Acta capitulorum provincialium ordinis FF. Praedicatorum: Première province de Provence, province romaine, province d'Espagne*, ed. C. Douais, 2 vols (Toulouse, 1894)
- Em definição de fronteiras* *Nova história de Portugal*, dir. J. Serrão and A.H. de Oliveira Marques, 13 vols (Lisbon, 1985-), III (1996): *Portugal em definição de fronteiras*, eds. M.H. da Cruz Coelho and A.L. Carvalho Homem

- Hinnebusch, *History* W.A. Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500*, 2 vols (New York, 1965)
- Humbert, *Opera* Humbert of Romans, *B. Humberti Romanis opera de vita regulari*, ed. J.J. Berthier, 2 vols (Turin, 1956)
- Galbraith, *Constitution* G.R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216-1360* (Manchester, 1925)
- Kaeppli, *Scriptores* *Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, ed. T. Kaeppli, 4 vols (Rome, 1970-93)
- Lawrence, *Friars* C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars: the Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London/New York, 1994)
- LK *Liber anniversariorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Colimbricensis (Livro das Kalendas)*, eds. P. David and T. de Sousa Soares, 2 vols (Coimbra, 1947)
- MOPH *Monumenta ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica*
- PMH *Portugaliae monumenta historica*, eds. A. Herculano and J. da Mendes Leal, 7 vols (Lisbon, 1856-1961). New series, ed. J. Mattoso, 3 vols to date (Lisbon, 1980-)
- Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores* *Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum*, 4 vols (1st publ. 1719-23, fasc. rpt, New York, 1959)
- S. Frei Gil de Santarém *S. Frei Gil de Santarém e a sua época*, ed. J. Custódio, exhibition catalogue (Santarém, 1997)
- Reichert, *Generalium* *Acta capitulorum generalium*, ed. B.M. Reichert, 4 vols (Rome, 1898 [MOPH 3]), I
- Reichert, *Vitae fratrum* *Vitae fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. B.M Reichert (Louvain, 1896 [MOPH 1])
- Sousa, *Domingos* L. de Sousa, *História de S. Domingos*, 2 vols (Oporto, 1977)
- Vida B. de São João, "A vida do Bem-aventurado Gil de Santarém por Fr. Baltazar de S. João", ed. A.A. Nascimento, *Didaskalia* 11 (1981), 113-219

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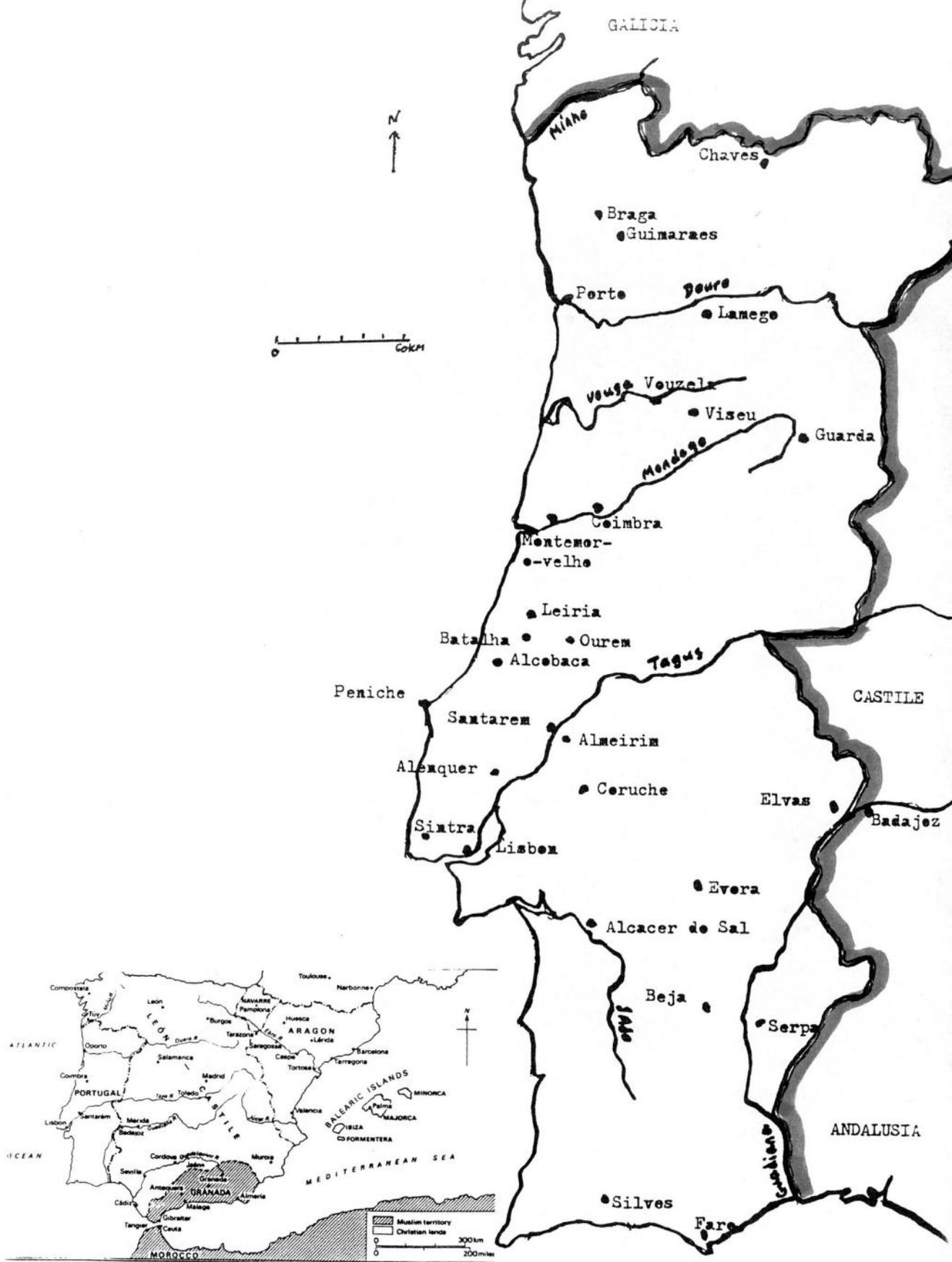
Key to Genealogical Trees

.....	illegitimate relationship
-----	conjectural relationship

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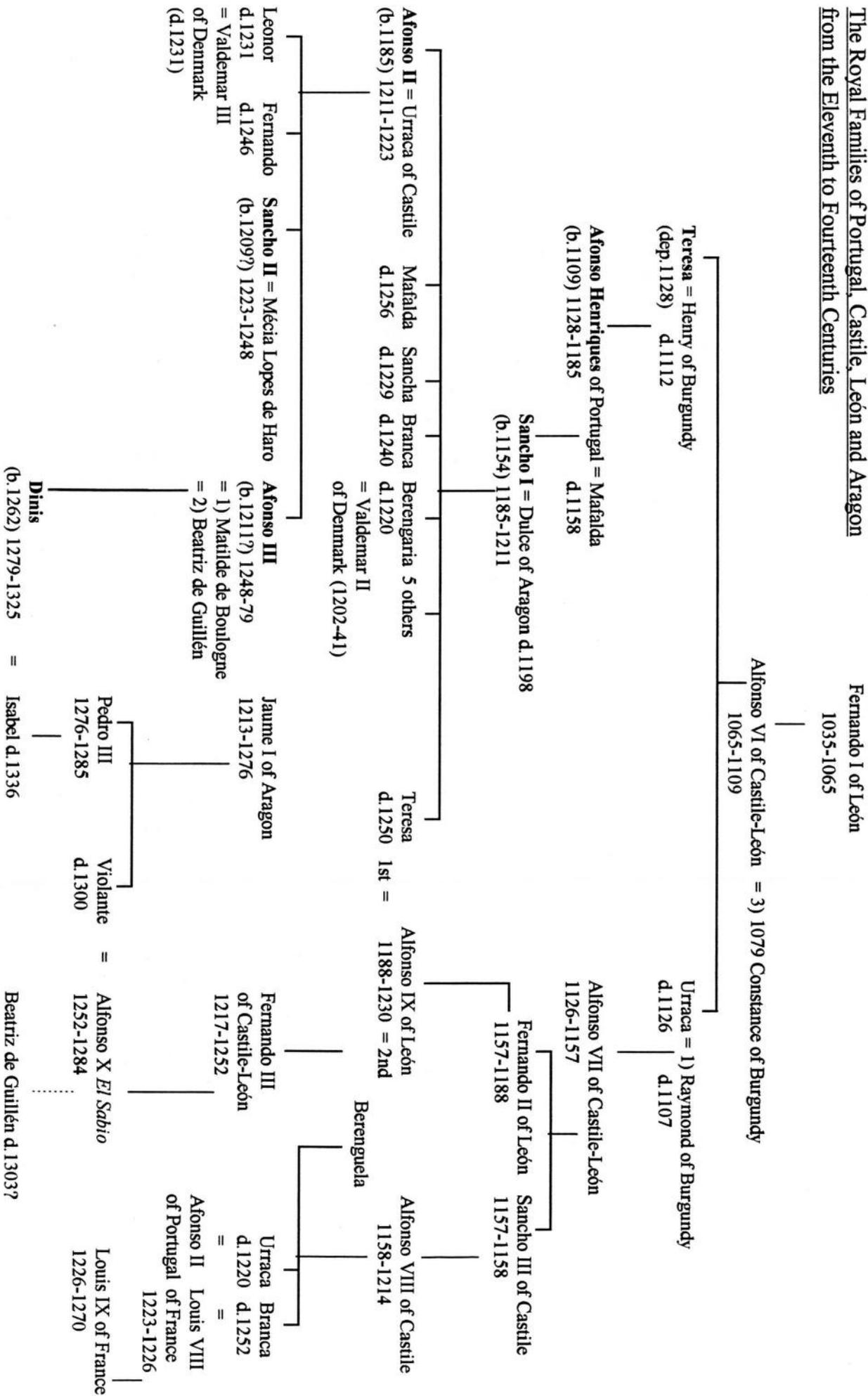
PORTUGAL



Map 4 Iberia at the end of the thirteenth century

Map taken from B. F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge, 1993)

The Royal Families of Portugal, Castile, León and Aragon from the Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries



INTRODUCTION

In the earliest life of St Anthony of Padua, a Portuguese Franciscan who died in 1231, Portugal is said to be “at the utmost ends of the earth”.¹ The main sixteenth-century *vita* of Giles of Santarém, Portuguese Dominican and physician, begins with the words: “At the western confines of Europe, near the Ocean, the renowned and warlike Lusitania is situated”² This concept of Portugal as a place at the end of the world resonates throughout Portuguese literature.³ The Portuguese are best-known for their journeys of exploration to India and Brazil, venturing out into the ocean which they have confronted for centuries. The generations preceding the “Golden Age” of discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have received very little attention from international historians. Portugal’s larger neighbour, Spain, on the other hand, has in recent decades become an important focus of research in medieval history. All the issues which have fascinated and plagued Spanish history - *Reconquista*, crusade, *convivencia*, repopulation, religious reform, and feudalism - are equally relevant to medieval Portugal, but only recently have Spanish and Portuguese historians begun to work together. Spanish literary historians, for example, were reluctant to pursue their sources across the border, and Portuguese historians were more willing to take on board ideas and material from France or Britain than to make comparison with Castile.

It remains the case that medieval Portugal rarely attracts interest outwith Portugal. Abroad, it is fashionable to speak in terms of “the Spanish kingdoms” in the plural: Castile, Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre were separate states whose political and cultural identities were inextricably bound up with each other. In textbooks, Portugal is always acknowledged to exist alongside the other kingdoms but is rarely allowed membership of the exclusive Iberian club. Usually the excuse is given of the

¹ *Vita prima di S. Antonio o “Assidua”*, ed. V. Gamboso (Padua, 1981), p.274: *in extremis mundi finibus sita*.

² *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.220: *In occidentalibus Europae finibus, Oceanum prope, sita est inclita et bellicosa Lusitania*”

³ For example the line *Onde a terra se acaba e o mar começa* can be found in the famous poem of Luís Camões (d.1580), *Os Lusíadas*, Canto III, verse 20. These words are inscribed on a monument on the Cabo da Roca near Sintra, the most westerly point of the European continent. The best-selling novel *O ano da morte de Ricardo Reis* (Lisbon, 1984) by the recent Nobel-prizewinning author José Saramago, begins with Camões’ words inverted: *Aqui o mar acaba e a terra principia*.

lack of time and space, but this makes little sense;⁴ arguably thirteenth-century Castile had far more in common with Portugal than with Aragon. The fact that Castile, Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre make up modern Spain, while Portugal is independent, surely explains much of modern Iberian historiography. It is very much a nationalistic divide.

Non-Portuguese medieval historians are usually aware of two important aspects of early Portuguese history. There is often a section in histories of medieval Spain dealing with the creation of Portugal. As is well known, this stemmed from the grant in 1096 of the counties of Portucale and Coimbra by Alfonso VI of León-Castile to Henry of Burgundy and Teresa, his daughter, on the occasion of their marriage. It is possible to draw parallels between what Henry of Burgundy was doing in the Iberian Peninsula, and the ambitions of Frankish noblemen in other parts of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Close comparison can be made between the kingdom forged by Henry and Teresa's son, Afonso Henriques (1128-1185), and those of Norman-Angevin England, Norman Sicily and Jerusalem.⁵

The second familiar aspect of Portuguese history in this early period is the involvement of northern crusaders in the campaigns of the Portuguese kings against the Moors. It is universally accepted that the one success of the Second Crusade (1147-8) was the capture of Lisbon by Afonso Henriques in October 1147 with the help of an Anglo-Flemish fleet on its way to the Holy Land.⁶ Further aid was received by Sancho I (1185-1211) from northerners sailing to join the Third Crusade (1187-92) in the brief capture of Silves in 1189, and an army of Germans, Frisians and Dutch, hoping to join the Fifth Crusade, helped in the capture of Alcácer do Sal in 1217. The story of these campaigns is rarely pursued further by historians of the crusades. What was the effect of these conquests on the development of Portugal? What awareness did the Portuguese have of crusading ideals? Certainly the crusading army had a profound effect on Lisbon in 1147 since it killed the Mozarab bishop and

⁴ See for example, A. MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500* (London, 1991); B.F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge, 1996); J.N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1976-78).

⁵ R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (Harmondsworth, 1994), pp.42-3.

⁶ G. Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries", *Traditio* 9 (1953), 213-79.

saw him replaced by one of its own, Gilbert of Hastings.⁷ This lasting influence on Portuguese religion and society has been greatly neglected.

In the same year as Lisbon was taken, Afonso Henriques captured what was perhaps an even greater prize: the strongly fortified town of Santarém with its fertile alluvial plain further up the river Tagus. Muslim sources frequently emphasized the strategic and political worth of this sizeable town. The powerful fortress sits a hundred metres above the Tagus, easily navigable up to this point, and the fertility of the region was legendary. So valuable was the area that it changed hands three times before finally being captured by Afonso Henriques in 1147, and it continued to be threatened by the Almohads in 1171 and 1184.⁸ It was not until after the capture of Alcácer do Sal in 1217 that Santarém ceased to be a frontier town. By the time of Giles of Santarém's death there in 1265, Santarém was the second largest Portuguese town after Lisbon and an important centre of the royal court. Despite its importance



Looking downriver from the fortress of Santarém (Portas do Sol)

⁷ For the events of the siege of Lisbon in 1147, see the main source *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. C.W. David (rpt, New York, 1976).

⁸ M.A.V. da Rocha Beirante, *Santarém medieval* (Lisbon, 1980), p.23; *Em definição de fronteiras*, p.176.

as frontier city and cultural focus in the Middle Ages, Santarém, which is now a small provincial town near Lisbon, has not received much attention at home and is virtually unknown abroad. Similarly, the complex formation of Portuguese religion, politics and society in the first 150 years of the kingdom's existence, in which Santarém played an important role, and the extent to which this was influenced by wider European trends have not received the recognition they deserve.

It is possible to illustrate many of the key themes and issues of medieval Portugal, and analyze some of the problems presented by Portuguese historiography, through a study of the career and subsequent reputation of one figure: Giles of Santarém. Giles was not a king, senior nobleman or prominent bishop and therefore the criticism that this is history written through the eyes of "great men" should not arise. Giles is hardly known outwith Portugal; only those dedicated historians who comb the pages of the *Acta Sanctorum* have come across him to any great extent.⁹ Yet when serious study is made of Giles' life it is clear that more can be discovered of his career than can be said of many more prominent men in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the evolution of Giles' legend and the copying of his medical works allowed him an enduring but poorly recognized influence on European culture.

As far as the history of medieval Portugal is concerned, the life of Giles of Santarém closely parallels the rise of Portugal as a successful Iberian state. Tradition has it that Giles was born in 1185, the year in which the first king of Portugal, Afonso Henriques, died. The papacy had only officially recognized the royal title a few years before in 1179. By the time Giles died in 1265, a Portuguese prince, Afonso (III), had succeeded in contesting his brother, Sancho II's, throne with the support of pope Innocent IV, and had then gone on to complete the conquest of the Algarve from the Moors and establish his claim on it over that of Castile. Although the exact boundaries were not finally agreed until 1297, essentially Giles' lifetime saw Portugal develop from a threatened frontier land to the state with the longest-established political border in Europe. As the legend insists that Giles played a crucial role in the deposition of Sancho II, he is a valuable guide to the political events of mid-thirteenth

⁹ For example, Giles of Santarém is found in A. Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1991), pp.378 and 402. Those historians aware of the two encyclopaedias of Dominican writers may also have come across Giles of Santarém: Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores*, I, pp.241-44, and Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, I, pp.15-16.

century Portugal. Careful reconstruction of Giles of Santarém's probable family tree using medieval genealogical works and recent documentary research presents a picture of political affiliation and social relationships in a period of flux and growth.

On a religious and cultural level, Giles of Santarém was one of many highly educated Portuguese intellectuals who studied abroad and involved themselves in ecclesiastical and political events in the European arena. Tracing the education and training of Giles of Santarém reveals the standard of Portuguese learning and the strong links between Portuguese scholars and intellectual currents abroad. Giles also belonged to the first generation of Dominican friars and had high-level contacts within his order. His career as a prominent friar is a revealing example of the powerful attraction the Dominican order had on learned men. Moreover, it provides valuable insight into the Dominican way of life, especially in the Iberian Peninsula. The Dominicans recognized Giles of Santarém as a saint and the information that can be extracted from Dominican *vitae* greatly enhances awareness of Portuguese hagiographical sources. Study of the life and legend of Giles of Santarém both draws on and adds to the extensive scholarship on the lives and writings of the two most famous Portuguese of the Middle Ages: St Anthony of Padua (d.1231) and Pope John XXI (Petrus Hispanus) (d.1277). As prominent ecclesiastics with an important corpus of writings attributed to them and hagiographic or legendary aspects to their posthumous reputations, their careers are closely comparable to that of Giles of Santarém. It is also the case that Petrus Hispanus is believed to have been the author of a wide variety of medical works and that there is a great deal of natural philosophical or medical content in the sermons of Anthony of Padua. Study of the medical works of Giles of Santarém sheds new light on medieval Portuguese medicine and the transmission of Arabic texts to the West. The history of medicine has been virtually abandoned in Portugal and therefore awareness of the career of Giles of Santarém and many other Portuguese scholars who can be shown to have medical interests should have a considerable effect on future research in this field.

Before considering these aspects of the life of Giles of Santarém, three vital elements of context need to be presented. Firstly, a brief survey of political events in Portugal between 1128 and 1325 is relevant. Secondly, there must be some discussion of the history of the Dominican order in Portugal in order to set the scene for Giles' career as a friar. Finally, it is important to consider how Giles has been

perceived in his own country. In order to understand how Giles' medical career is viewed, the position of the history of medicine in Portugal needs to be described. Considering that Giles has largely been remembered as a friar and saint, this extra medical emphasis supplies much needed balance in the overall evaluation of the significance of the life and legend of Giles of Santarém.

Portugal in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

The reign of Afonso Henriques is usually dated from 1128 when he defeated the forces of his mother, Teresa, at São Mamede near Guimarães,¹⁰ and asserted his independence. The break with the past was marked by the removal of royal power from Guimarães to Coimbra in 1131.¹¹ Afonso did not clearly adopt the title of king, however, until 1140, perhaps as a result of victory against the Moors at the near legendary battle of Ourique in 1139. The questions of Portuguese independence and kingship have been discussed to exhaustion by Portuguese historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whatever were the regional loyalties of two small Iberian counties in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there is no doubt that the forging of a viable political state was due in the main to the long and energetic reign of Afonso Henriques (d.1185).

The success of the Portuguese monarchs for the first 150 years was largely based on the steady progress of the *Reconquista*. Both Afonso Henriques and his son Sancho I (1185-1211) were capable military leaders. 1147 was the high point of Afonso's reign with the capture of Lisbon and Santarém. In the following decades the frontier moved far south to include Alcácer do Sal, Évora, Beja and Serpa. This success created competition with León for control of the Alentejo and the Algarve. Fernando II of León felt so threatened by the Portuguese that when they were on the point of capturing Badajoz in 1169, Fernando allied with the Almohads defending the city and briefly imprisoned Afonso Henriques. This was the low point of Afonso's

¹⁰ Count Henry had died in 1112 when Afonso was only three years old. Teresa pursued a pro-Galician policy which angered the long-independent nobles of Portucale and Coimbra, and therefore the young prince became the focus of rebellion. Unless otherwise stated, the information in this section is based on *Em definição de fronteiras*, pp.20-163.

¹¹ This move is discussed further below, see Chapter Five.

reign and thereafter he left campaigning to Sancho.¹² Sancho struggled against the Almohads for much of his reign but he did briefly take Silves in the Algarve in 1189.¹³ Both Sancho and his father followed up their conquests by “repopulating” Estremadura and the Alentejo; that is by granting town charters or *forais*, often in conjunction with grants to religious orders. However, the conquests were highly unstable; the monks of the Cistercian house of Alcobaça were massacred in the Almohad campaign of 1190-91 which took back all conquests south of the Tagus except for Évora. It was not until the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in Andalusia in 1212, at which there was a Portuguese contingent, and the final capture of Alcácer do Sal in 1217, that the Muslim threat retreated for good.

Sancho I's death in 1211 brought an end to this first phase in the creation of Portugal. By the terms of his will Sancho left important strategic possessions to his daughters, Teresa (who married Alfonso IX of León in 1191), Mafalda and Sancha.¹⁴ The *infantas'* brother, Afonso II, disputed the will causing civil war between the siblings. Furthermore, although the marriage of Teresa and Alfonso IX was annulled in 1194 on grounds of consanguinity, Alfonso was willing to invade Portugal in 1212 in order to uphold his former wife's rights. On the surface Afonso II imposed the same royal authority as his father and grandfather - he issued a series of important laws in 1211 - but he antagonized the nobles and clergy who saw their rights threatened. Afonso II also did not pursue the *Reconquista* vigorously. He was frequently ill with what is believed to have been leprosy, and the capture of Alcácer do Sal in 1217 was largely brought about through the efforts of Bishop Soeiro of Lisbon. Afonso died in 1223 leaving a difficult legacy for his thirteen year old son, Sancho II.

¹² Afonso apparently suffered serious injury at Badajoz which traditionally was treated at the thermal baths of Lafões. See below, Chapter Four.

¹³ The capture of Silves helps in dating an important document in the history of Portuguese medicine. See below Chapter Five, pp.154.

¹⁴ On this dispute see Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre*. Their father's will left the castles of Montemor-o-velho, Egueira and Alenquer to Teresa and Sancha, and the monasteries of Arouca and Bouças to Mafalda. All three sisters were later recognized as *beatae* by the Cistercian order. Two other daughters, Branca and Berengaria, are also mentioned in the documents.

The reign of Sancho II is crucial to an understanding of the life of Giles of Santarém and should be outlined in some detail.¹⁵ Source material is very poor for the first half of the thirteenth century and the causes and events of the civil war of 1245-8 have always been obscure. In recent years, the civil war and the character of Sancho II have attracted more attention.¹⁶ It has been argued that the conflict was not just a political clash. The 1230s and 1240s can be seen as a period of accelerating social strife involving upheaval at all levels. In 1237 the Bishop of Oporto reportedly wrote to the Dominican Provincial Chapter at Burgos asking for a convent to be founded in his diocese in the hope that the friars could ease some of the harm done to the region in the conflicts between king, clergy and nobles.¹⁷ At around the same time Fernando de Serpa, the king's youngest brother, hounded the Dean of Lisbon, a candidate for the Lisbon see, using Muslim soldiers to destroy his property and pursue his household even to the altar. This act of violence resulted in Gregory IX placing Portugal under an interdict for two years from 1238.¹⁸

Although the blame for the violence has normally been laid at the door of the king, revisionists have begun to argue for a more positive view. Sancho did not take power until 1228-9 and a royal minority in the Middle Ages was always a difficult time. Sancho had more initial problems than most. Afonso II had died excommunicate with the country placed under interdict. The conflict with Sancho's aunts Teresa, Sancha and Mafalda also had to be resolved. Both disputes were settled in June 1223. The underlying power struggle, however, remained. There was already the tendency for disgruntled nobles and clerics to take advantage of royal weakness, and they saw the minority as a chance to recover control over government and property. When Sancho took power he tried to divert noble energies into the *Reconquista*, abandoned for some time, and captured Elvas and Juromenha in 1229.

¹⁵ For the traditional role of Giles of Santarém in the affairs of Sancho II and a more detailed account of the civil war, see below, Chapters Three and Six.

¹⁶ J. Mattoso, "A crise de 1245", in *idem*, *Portugal medieval: novas interpretações* (Lousã, 1992), pp.57-75. See also *Em definição de fronteiras*, pp.106-23, and E. Peters, *The Shadow King: Rex inutilis in Medieval Law and Literature, 751-1327* (New Haven/London), pp.135-69.

¹⁷ Sousa, *Domingos*, I, pp.198 and 305-7. For this source see below, Chapter One; for discussion of the event see Chapter Six.

¹⁸ Peters, *Shadow King*, pp.148-9; M.J.V. Branco, "Reis, bispos, e cabidos : a diocese de Lisboa durante o primeiro século da sua restauração", *Lusitânia sacra* 2nd ser. 10 (1998) 55-94, at p.87; A. de Sousa Pereira, "O infante D. Fernando de Portugal, senhor de Serpa (1218-1246): história da vida e da morte de um cavaleiro andante", *Lusitânia sacra* 2nd ser. 10 (1998), 95-121.

By 1238 the whole of the Alentejo was Portuguese. Also in 1229, Jaume I of Aragon (1213-76) attacked the Balearic islands and Fernando III of Castile-León (1217/30-52) finally captured Badajoz. In the next two decades Fernando would take Córdoba and Seville, in 1236 and 1248 respectively, and Jaume would capture Valencia in 1238. Sancho of Portugal seemed to be conforming to the image of an Iberian king.

Edward Peters argues that both Sancho's crusading zeal and his ability to hang onto power in 1245-7 suggests that he was not the weak king of tradition.¹⁹ His position was probably no worse than that of his father or of the brother who replaced him. Both king John of England (1199-1217) and the emperor Frederick II (1212-50) managed to hang onto power in this period despite interdict and rebellion.

Nevertheless, Sancho was never able to repair the damage done to his reputation. He made an unwise marriage in 1243-4 to a Castilian noblewoman, Mécia Lopes de Haro, to whom he was related within prohibited degrees. This united the clergy against him and drew disaffected nobles to the heir presumptive, Sancho's brother, Afonso of Boulogne, who saw his own hopes threatened by the marriage.²⁰ Afonso immediately reported his brother's union to the pope and it was annulled in February 1245. The stage was set for civil war and the deposition of the *Rex inutilis*. The events of these years underscore the fragility of the originally foreign and barely-established Portuguese monarchy. They also emphasize the importance of successful furtherance of the *Reconquista* as a means of justifying the authority of one lord over others. As Peters says:

The Kings of Portugal were not anointed, nor were they crowned in a liturgical ceremony. In the eyes of the papacy, the clergy, and Portuguese laymen the king's chief role was that of a crusading warrior whose primary duty was to drive the Moors from the Iberian peninsula accusations of inefficient generalship directed at Sancho carried more weight in Portugal than they might have elsewhere. For the king of Portugal crusading was a *raison d'être*; failure there meant ultimate failure as a Christian ruler.²¹

Innocent IV supported the claim of Sancho's brother, Afonso of Boulogne, to the Portuguese throne because he believed Afonso had the strength and purpose to pursue the *Reconquista* to its ultimate end. Afonso also had the support of his cousin,

¹⁹ Peters, *Shadow King*, p.151-2 and 156.

²⁰ Afonso married Matilda of Boulogne in 1239 and kept the title as king even after his bigamous marriage to Beatriz of Castile in 1253. See S. Corbin, "Notes sur le séjour et le mariage d'Alphonse III de Portugal à la cour de France", *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'Institut Français au Portugal* n.s. 10 (1945), 159-66.

²¹ Peters, *Shadow King*, pp.141-3.

Louis IX of France, at whose court he had lived for many years. It was in Paris in 1245 that he swore an oath before prominent Portuguese nobles and clergy to uphold traditional rights and return to the customs of his grandfather. Afonso's eventual success in the civil war had much to do with this French and papal backing. The popes were prepared to forgive much in order to have their ideals pursued. The king's violent brother, Fernando de Serpa, for example, had to undergo public penance for his nefarious deeds, but in 1239 he was in Rome swearing vassalage to the pope and preparing to fight the infidel.²² Afonso himself had little problem legitimizing the children of his bigamous marriage to the natural daughter of Alfonso X of Castile. What mattered was that Portugal and Castile cooperated in the Algarve. By 1250 Afonso had fulfilled the hopes of the papacy by taking Silves and Faro and completing the conquest of the Algarve. This inevitably brought conflict with Castile which from 1252 was ruled by Alfonso X who, as *infante*, had supported Sancho II. In the end it was agreed that sovereignty lay with Portugal but that Castile should have the usufruct until the child of Afonso's marriage with Alfonso X's daughter reached the age of seven.

The reign of Afonso III (1248-79) ushered in a new period of peace and prosperity for Portugal. Towns grew and were represented at the *Cortes*, incipient parliaments, for the first time, new fairs were set up, royal power was strengthened, and the efficiency of royal officials increased. The prestige of the king and his court, filled with well-educated bureaucrats and cultured nobles, increased, and Santarém and Lisbon became important courtly centres. The Church continued to complain of royal violence but this was a result of royal strength rather than of weakness. In 1268 the kingdom was placed under interdict but Afonso refused to compromise with the papacy, even with the Portuguese John XXI (Petrus Hispanus) in 1276-7. The king only submitted and received absolution a month before he died in February 1279.

Afonso III's achievement was consolidated by his son Dinis. Named after the patron saint of France, St Denis, and grandson of Alfonso X of Castile, Dinis was deeply influenced by the legal, literary and historiographical interests of his grandfather. He supported the foundation of the University of Lisbon in 1288-90 and oversaw the creation of the Order of Christ after the suppression of the Knights

²² Pereira, "Infante D. Fernando de Portugal", pp.107-11 and Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre*, pp.263-

Templars in 1307. The Treaty of Alcañices in 1297 cemented the Portuguese border with Castile. Dinis' wife, Isabel of Aragon, canonized in 1625, was a politically active queen who intervened between her husband and son in the civil war which brought Dinis' reign to an end in 1325. She also gave firm support to the Franciscan Order, refounding the convent of Santa Clara de Coimbra in 1314.²³ Dinis' natural son, Pedro, Count of Barcelos, wrote the most famous genealogical work of medieval Portugal, the *Nobiliario* or *Livro de linhagens*, from which so much of the detail of the royal court and political affiliation can be extracted. The cementing of noble lineages in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and the sense of pride with which the compiler looked back over the past centuries, attest to firmly established Portuguese identity. The two small counties of Portucale and Coimbra handed over to Count Henry and his wife as a dowry package in 1095 had come of age as a kingdom.

The Dominicans in Portugal

The career of Giles of Santarém as one of the most senior Dominicans in the Iberian Peninsula in the mid-thirteenth century makes little sense without an understanding of the activity of the Dominican Order in that region.²⁴ The Mendicant orders have not been studied to any great extent in Portugal and, in spite of the fact that until 1301 all the Iberian kingdoms were contained within the same Dominican province of *Hispania*, and Castile and Portugal were not divided into separate provinces until 1418, there has been very little attempt to study the province as a whole.²⁵ Recently the Portuguese Franciscans have received attention from historians who have become aware of the value of Mendicant studies for the history of towns, analysis of political and religious affiliation and patronage, and intellectual history.²⁶ The Dominicans,

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²³ Santa Clara was originally founded by Giles of Santarém's relative, Mor Dias, in 1283. See below, Chapter Four.

²⁴ Giles' place in the wider European context of the Dominican Order is discussed below in Chapters Two and Six.

²⁵ Hinnebusch, *History*, I, pp.174-5. An essential early work which does study the whole province is M.J. Medrano, *Historia de la provincia de España de la orden de los predicadores*, 5 vols (Madrid, 1725-34).

²⁶ For example, S.A. Gomes in his articles "O convento de S. Francisco de Leiria na idade média", *Itinerarium* 40 (1994), 399-502, and "As ordens mendicantes na Coimbra medieval: notas e

however, do not appear to have attracted the same interest and little has been published on the social or political context of this group of friars.²⁷

The origins of the Dominican order are well-known. It was founded in the early-thirteenth century by Dominic of Caleruega, a cathedral canon of Osma in Castile. From 1203, Dominic travelled around the South of France in the company of his bishop, Diego of Osma, preaching against the Cathar and Waldensian heretics of that region. They came to realize that the papal legations sent to combat the heretics through preaching and debate were not effective. Dominic saw the need for theologically-trained preachers who had the intellectual ability to challenge heretical ideology and who followed an exemplary lifestyle which matched the asceticism and piety of the Cathar *perfecti* or priesthood. Dominic received papal recognition for his small community of preachers in 1216. However, he was not content that the efforts of his brethren should be confined to southern France. Since 1208, papal policy against the Cathars had become one of coercion rather than persuasion, and the resulting invasions of southern France by the northern French nobility, known as the Albigensian Crusades, made preaching difficult. In 1217, therefore, Dominic dispersed his tiny community, sending groups of friars to Paris and Bologna. He also sent four brothers to his home land, the Iberian Peninsula.²⁸

The early history of the Dominicans in Spain is shrouded in obscurity. Of the four brothers sent there in 1217, only two, Peter of Madrid and Gomes (*Guomicius*), reached their objective.²⁹ According to a very firmly entrenched Portuguese tradition, Gomes was the same individual as *Suerio*, *S. Gomez*, *Suggerius*, or simply S. who is

documentos”, *Lusitânia sacra* 2nd ser. 10 (1998), 149-215. Also useful is J. Mattoso, “O enquadramento social e económico das primeiras fundações franciscanas”, in *idem*, *Portugal medieval*, pp.329-45.

²⁷ Research into Portuguese Dominican history is dominated by António do Rosário, OP. He attempted the publication of all surviving Dominican documents and produced the essential articles on early Dominican history: “Primórdios dominicanos em Portugal. Notas para o estudo da excelsa figura portuguesa de D. Fr Sueiro Gomes, O.P. (1217-1233)”, *Bracara augusta* 18-19 (1965), 205-49, and “Frades pregadores em intercâmbio peninsular, séc. XIII”, in *Actas das II jornadas luso-espanholas de história medieval*, 4 vols (Oporto, 1987-90), IV, pp.1251-72. Also important are articles in the *Arquivo histórico dominicano português* which published the proceedings of the various *Actas do encontro sobre história dominicana* in the 1980s. These studies are all now quite dated.

²⁸ See Hinnebusch, *History*, I, pp.20-52, and Lawrence, *Friars*, pp.65-72.

²⁹ Hinnebusch, *History*, I, p.52; Rosário, “Primórdios,” p.209. The main source for the dispersal is the *Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum* of Jordan of Saxony, ed. H.C. Scheeben, *MOPH* 16 (1935), pp.25-88, at p.48.

described variously as *prior de ordine predicatorum* or *primus prior provincialis in Hispania*, in documents of Afonso II and Sancho II of Portugal and Fernando III of Castile, and in some early Dominican sources.³⁰ This person is known to history as Soeiro Gomes, the immediate predecessor of Giles of Santarém as Prior Provincial of *Hispania*.³¹ It is very difficult to document the career of Soeiro Gomes and the only published analysis of the relevant documents is the reverential and aging study of António do Rosário. Much of the evidence only survives in later Dominican chronicles and demands new investigation in the light of modern understanding of early Dominican history. What is interesting about some of the documents in which Soeiro Gomes appears, is that he is found in association with men who were certainly or probably related to Giles of Santarém, one of whom also entered the Dominican order.³² A complex nexus of familial and political alliances, about which little is known, surely underlies the establishment of the Dominican Order in Portugal.

Some details of these alliances can be brought to light. Soeiro Gomes was involved in the accord of June 1223 between Sancho II and his aunts, the *infantas* Teresa and Sancha. Both the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who also came to Portugal in 1217, were supported by the *infantas*. The first ephemeral mendicant houses appear to have been in the region of Alenquer, which belonged to Teresa according to her father's will but was one of the territories claimed by Afonso II.³³ Afonso attacked some unknown *decretos laicales* issued by Soeiro Gomes in 1219. These *decretos* may have been an attempt to enforce the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), but they were perceived as a direct challenge to Afonso's own laws of 1211 and may have been seen as part of his sisters' opposition to him.³⁴

³⁰ Most of the documents are collected in Rosário, "Primórdios," pp.230-44. It will be assumed that all the documents do refer to the same person.

³¹ See below, Chapter Six, for Giles' career as Prior Provincial.

³² For example, in the accord of 1223 which settled the dispute between the king and the church (Rosário, "Primórdios", pp.240-42 and Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre*, pp.123-8) can be found Fernando Peres, former cantor of Lisbon, who is identified as a friar and *consanguineus* by Giles himself in the *Vitae fratrum*, the main medieval source for Giles' life. Also found in this document is Master Julião, Dean of Coimbra, who may have been Giles' brother. See below, Chapters Two and Four.

³³ *Em definição de fronteiras*, p.232, and Gomes, "Ordens mendicantes na Coimbra medieval", pp.156-7. Teresa and her sister Branca also patronized the Dominicans of Coimbra; Teresa donated land for their convent in 1242. See Rosário, "Primórdios", pp.246-7, and Gomes, "Ordens mendicantes", pp.155-6.

³⁴ *Em definição de fronteiras*, p.91, and Rosário, "Primórdios", pp.236-8.

Portuguese historians have spent much time arguing about which was the first Dominican house to be established in the peninsula, and whether there was ever any heresy in medieval Spain and Portugal.³⁵ Further reasons for why Dominic might have sent a group of friars to the Iberian Peninsula do not appear to have been considered. The two other groups of friars sent out from Toulouse in 1217 appear to have had the Universities of Paris and Bologna as their goals. A group of friars sent to England in 1221, where there were hardly any incidences of heresy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, finally settled at Oxford, indicating that academic motives were again important.³⁶ Castile did have a small *studium generale* at Palencia where a Dominican house was founded in c.1220.³⁷ Why else might the region have attracted the Dominicans?

When the Dominicans arrived in the Iberian Peninsula it was already a focus of religious fervour in Western Christendom. Living with the Muslims of Al-Andalus had been a private struggle for survival for the Christians of the Northern Spanish kingdoms from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. From the early twelfth century, however, the expanding energies of Frankish nobles, the ambitions and ideals of Iberian monarchs, and the religious zeal of the reformed papacy, had pushed the peoples north and south of the Pyrenees into closer contact.³⁸ The pilgrim route to the shrine of St James, who had become the patron saint of the *Reconquista*, at Santiago de Compostela, became known as the *camino francés*. Many northern bishops and religious orders appear to have made their way down this route into

³⁵ For examples of such debates, see Rosário, "Primórdios," pp.216-8 and 220, and F. da Gama Caeiro, "Primórdios dos frades pregadores em Portugal: enquadramento histórico-cultural," *Arquivo histórico dominicano português [Actas do II encontro sobre história dominicana 1]* 3:1 (1984), 161-73, at pp.165-72. There is very little evidence that heresy was much of a preoccupation in Portugal in this period. Soeiro Gomes was granted licence to preach by the Bishop of Coimbra in 1218 in order to correct those who had strayed from the Catholic faith, and the *decretos* issued in the same year may have been concerned with heresy, a major preoccupation of the Fourth Lateran Council. Afonso II's laws of 1211 refer to the punishment of heretics. However, there is no evidence for heretical practices. There may have been heretics in Aragon as Cathar beliefs are known to have filtered across the Pyrenees from the South of France. However, Aragon was not the focus of the earliest Dominican activity in the Peninsula.

³⁶ Hinnebusch, *History*, I, pp.94-5.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.78.

³⁸ This understanding of the relationship between crusade and *Reconquista* is indebted to R.A. Fletcher, "Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c.1050-1150", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser. 37 (1987), 31-47. For a similar Portuguese point of view, see *Em definição de fronteiras*, pp.53-4. For the expansion of the Frankish nobility, see Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, pp.24-59.

Portugal.³⁹ The crusading spirit which permeated many northern families and sent them off to fight the infidel in the Holy Land, adapted itself well to Iberian frontier warfare and transformed the nature of the conflict. From the 1120s, the Peninsula was recognized as a valid crusading arena where the vows and indulgences developed for the Holy Land could be fulfilled and enjoyed. By 1147, the bishop of Oporto was able to convince an Anglo-Flemish fleet that helping Afonso Henriques to capture Muslim Lisbon was as valid as going to the East.⁴⁰ In the 1230s the popes issued an almost continuous series of crusading bulls aimed at encouraging Portuguese and Castilian campaigning and settlement.⁴¹ As noted above, papal involvement in the Portuguese civil war of 1245-48 was largely motivated by this goal.

Dominic came from the plains of Castile and crusade and reconquest would have loomed large in his youth.⁴² Dominic's response to the Cathar heresy had been preaching and mission. There is also some evidence that he and Bishop Diego had been interested in working amongst the pagan peoples of northern and eastern Europe, as a result of two diplomatic trips to Denmark.⁴³ Dominic surely had also been aware in this early period of the vast potential for missionary work amongst the Muslims. In 1219 Francis of Assisi, founder of the fellow Mendicant order, the Franciscans, met the Sultan of Egypt at Damietta while accompanying the armies of the Fifth Crusade.⁴⁴ In 1220 five Franciscans, who had passed through Coimbra on their way south, died preaching in Morocco.⁴⁵ Preaching and crusade would go hand in hand throughout the thirteenth century as the Mendicant Orders were increasingly drawn into Papal politics and diplomacy.⁴⁶ In the second half of the century the

³⁹ See below, Chapter Five.

⁴⁰ See *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp.68-85 for the bishop's sermon to the northerners. He argued (p.79): "be not seduced by the desire to press on with the journey which you have begun; for the praiseworthy thing is not to have been to Jerusalem, but to have lived a good life while on the way".

⁴¹ See *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray, 4 vols (Paris, 1890-1955), doc. 515 and doc. 2145 for examples.

⁴² See stories in the early *vitae* and canonization proceedings of Dominic which refer to Saracens and infidels in Spain and southern France. For example, *MOPH* 16 (1935), pp.145 and 149, and Hinnebusch, *History*, I, pp.18-20.

⁴³ Hinnebusch, *History*, I, pp.20-21.

⁴⁴ Lawrence, *Friars*, p.37.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.43, and Gomes, "Ordens mendicantes", pp.162-3.

⁴⁶ Lawrence, *Friars*, chapters ten and eleven.

Dominicans devoted great energy to the study of Arabic, mainly in schools set up in Castile or Catalonia, for the purpose of preaching to Muslims.⁴⁷

It was not only the Muslims who were of concern in the Iberian Peninsula. The spiritual state of its Christian souls had long interested the papacy. The Dominicans arrived only a hundred years after the Mozarabs, arabized Christians of Portugal and Castile, had been subjugated in a long and bitter struggle.⁴⁸ Large areas of the Peninsula were still very much under Muslim influence. When the bishop of Coimbra welcomed Soeiro Gomes and his friars into his diocese in 1218 to correct the errors of those who had strayed, it was not necessarily heresy that was at issue but perhaps disobedience (Coimbra had been the centre of Mozarab traditions in Portugal), or simple ignorance. Papal contacts with the Spanish kingdoms through crusade made Rome aware of how poorly the Iberian church measured up to current ideals of clerical conduct. The introduction of Gregorian Reform and the spread of Cluniac and Cistercian monasteries in the twelfth century had failed to control what the Popes saw as typical Spanish corruption: top-heavy and excessively rich cathedral chapters, rife clerical concubinage, and the virtual non-existence of church councils and pastoral activity.⁴⁹ There was almost no evidence that the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had made any impact in the Peninsula at all. Afonso II's reaction to Soeiro Gomes' *decretos* is an example of resistance to outside intervention. Gregory IX's answer to the problem was to send in a papal legate, Jean d'Abbeville, Cardinal-Bishop of Sabina, who for eighteen months in 1228-9 travelled from Barcelona to Lisbon and back again trying, largely in vain, to enforce the canons of the Lateran Council.⁵⁰ Surely the opportunities available for capturing new souls, and the acute need for a mobile, educated preaching force in a politically-fractured and spiritually-

⁴⁷ See below, Chapters Five and Eight, for the study of Arabic in the Dominican order and Giles of Santarém's knowledge of the language.

⁴⁸ See below, Chapter Five.

⁴⁹ For the state of the Spanish churches see P. Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1971), pp.1-19. The Portuguese perspective is found in P. Odber de Baubeta, *Igreja, pecado e sátira social na idade média portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1997), pp.63-118.

⁵⁰ See Linehan, *Spanish Church and Papacy*, pp.20-34, for Jean d'Abbeville's itinerary and impact. For a Portuguese perspective, see the doctoral thesis of A.A. Martins, *O mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, séculos XII-XV: história e instituição*, 2 vols (University of Lisbon, 1996), I, pp.349-58. It may be significant that Jean d'Abbeville was joined for part of his mission by Ramon de Penyafort, later Master General of the Dominican order (1238-40). See below, Chapter Six, for the argument that Giles of Santarém returned to Portugal in 1229-30 at around the same time as this legation.

isolated land on the edge of the world, was the driving force behind the sending of four friars to the Iberian Peninsula in 1217?

Not only do Portuguese historians neglect the political context of Dominican settlement, but they also appear unaware of the social implications. The seminal articles of Jacques Le Goff on the link between the Mendicant Orders and urbanization are noticeably missing from most Portuguese studies.⁵¹ Although the survey set up by Le Goff appears to have been abandoned, his initial results have largely been maintained in studies of other regions.⁵² In Portugal only José Mattoso and Saul António Gomes have examined Portuguese urbanization in the light of the French findings.⁵³ Much more work needs to be done on why, for example, the Dominicans chose to settle in Santarém so early, rather than going to the larger towns of Coimbra or Lisbon, where houses were not founded until 1227 and 1241

⁵¹ Le Goff suggested in "Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: l'implantation des ordres mendiants. Programme questionnaire pour une enquête", *Annales ESC* 23 (1968), 335-352, and "Enquête du Centre de Recherches Historiques: ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale", *ibid.*, 25 (1970), 924-65 that Mendicant houses could be used to map urban growth during the Middle Ages. It is possible to do this because Dominicans and Franciscans tended to prefer to settle in towns, a fact which has long been recognized and was even commented on by the first friars themselves. Humbert of Romans, Master General from 1254 to 1263, wrote that in towns "preaching is more efficacious because there are more people and the need is greater, for in the city there are more sins." See Lawrence, *Friars*, p.102. The founders, Francis and Dominic, had developed their orders in the highly urbanized regions of northern Italy and southern France in response to the demands and problems of fast-growing populations, the needs of which were not met by traditional church structures. At the same time the emphasis on poverty and mendicancy depended on the surplus wealth, in the form of alms, of expanding commercial centres. Some differences can be observed between the two orders, relating to their original character and aims. In general Dominicans were more selective, preferring larger, university towns, and they had a far slower rate of expansion; their houses tended to be fewer and bigger. The Franciscans were as likely to be found in small urban centres as in big cities and their aim seems to have been to cover as much of the region as possible.

⁵² See for example, J.B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society* (Cambridge, MA, 1977), and J. Röhrkasten, "Mendicants in the Metropolis: the Londoners and the Development of the London Friaries," *Thirteenth-Century England* 6 (1997), 61-75. See also J.-C. Schmitt, "Où en est l'Enquête 'ordres mendiants et urbanisations dans la France médiévale'?", in *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft*, ed. K. Elm (Berlin, 1981), pp.13-18.

⁵³ Gomes makes use of Le Goff's ideas in his articles on the friars of Leiria and Coimbra. In Mattoso's "Estratégias da Pregação no Século XIII," in *idem, Fragmentos de uma Composição Medieval*, pp.191-202, a study of the dispute of 1261 between the Franciscans and Dominicans of Santarém, briefly refers to the urban dynamics mentioned by Le Goff. See below, Chapter Six, for a discussion of the dispute of 1261 in the context of Giles of Santarém's career. Other disputes, such as that between Giles' cousin, Mór Dias, and the Augustinian convent of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, over her foundation of a Franciscan nunnery, are only ever discussed in a spiritual context. Its place in urban conflict between religious orders is never considered. See below, Chapter Four.

respectively.⁵⁴ The most densely populated region of Portugal was the heartland between the Douro and Minho rivers, and yet there was no foundation in Oporto until 1238. In contrast to these dates, a Franciscan house was founded in Coimbra in 1221 and others were founded in Lisbon, Guimarães and Évora before the order arrived in Santarém in 1242, twenty years after the Dominicans.⁵⁵

The Dominicans are known to have been far more selective in their foundations than the Franciscans, and it is probable that Santarém was considered a more suitable location than Lisbon or Coimbra in this early period. Most of the early Dominican foundations in *Hispania*, for example, Salamanca, Segovia, Toledo, Madrid, and Palma de Majorca, were frontier towns. Santarém in the 1220s was theoretically still a frontier town.⁵⁶ It stood in the path of any Muslim force from Badajoz or the Algarve wishing to cross the Tagus. Furthermore, towns could continue to have a frontier mentality decades after the actual frontier left them behind.⁵⁷ Also significant in Santarém would have been Jewish and Muslim

⁵⁴ It is difficult to establish when the convent at Santarém was founded. Afonso II addressed his letter against the *decretos* of Soeiro Gomes *cum fratribus eiusdem ordinis* to the governor and officials of Santarém, which caused some historians, for example, Rosário, "Primórdios", pp.219-20, to think that the house was founded in 1218. This would appear to contradict the clear statements of contemporary Dominican sources that the first Iberian foundation was Segovia, founded by Dominic himself in 1219. Recent historians are therefore more cautious, pointing rather to 1223 as the date for the initial foundation at Montiraz, just outside Santarém near the river Tagus. The convent that Giles would have known was on a different site to the north-west of the town, just outside the walls, which was perhaps occupied from 1225. See M.C. Casanova, "Conventos de S. Domingos em Santarém na época de S. Frei Gil", in *S. Frei Gil de Santarém*, pp.87-97, at pp.89-90, and M.A.V. da Rocha Beirante, "Santarém à chegada dos dominicanos", *Arquivo histórico dominicano português [Actas do II encontro sobre história dominicana]* 3 (1984), 197-200, at p.198.

⁵⁵ Generally, Portuguese Franciscan foundations appear to match the faster growth rate and wider geographic spread of the French houses in Le Goff's project. See the map of Mendicant foundations in *Em definição de fronteiras*, p.251. A similar ratio of two Franciscan houses to one Dominican could be found in Germany: Freed, *Friars and German Society*, p.51.

⁵⁶ The continuing role of Santarém in frontier warfare is illustrated by the fact that the Trinitarian Order, founded in 1198 for the purpose of ransoming Christian captives, founded a house in Santarém in 1208. See J.J. Gross, *The Trinitarian Apostolate of Ransom-Activity and Mercy Work During the Order's First Centuries* (Rome, 1982); Beirante, *Santarém medieval*, pp.121-2, and *Em definição de fronteiras*, p.337. There were only two houses of this very small order in Portugal; the other, in Lisbon, was founded in 1218. It is worth considering whether there was a link between the presence of the Trinitarians in Santarém and the arrival of the Dominicans. For the close association of the Dominicans and Trinitarians of Santarém in 1261, see below, Chapter Six. Murray, *Reason and Society*, p.378, includes Giles of Santarém in his discussion of the types of soul-sickness which led to conversion. He believes that the vision of the armed horseman experienced by Giles in Paris reflected the military ethos of Giles' homeland: frontier Portugal.

⁵⁷ Cuenca, for example, still perceived the Moors as a threat in 1262, long after they had been confined to Granada. See P. Linehan, "The 'Gravamina' of the Castilian Church in 1262-3",

communities to whom the friars could have preached.⁵⁸ A further consideration is that Santarém may have been a larger and more important town than has hitherto been recognized. Under Afonso III and his son, Dinis, it became a major royal and cultural centre and many noble families owned properties in the town.⁵⁹ Either Soeiro Gomes had a premonition of Santarém's later growth or, more likely, it already enjoyed considerable prestige at the time of his arrival in the country. It is worth noting that both Sancho I (1211) and Afonso II (1223) died in Santarém. Afonso's youngest son, Fernando de Serpa, was born there in 1218. The letter written by Afonso to the authorities of Santarém against Soeiro Gomes' *decretos* in 1219 need not imply that the Dominicans had already settled there; Afonso was actually in the town at the time and wished to prevent such an eventuality.⁶⁰

If Santarém were already a royal centre then this could have been a decisive factor. The work of Le Goff and his followers shows that certain urban features were attractive and others were repulsive to Mendicant settlement.⁶¹ The presence of a royal or episcopal palace in a town was useful for the acquisition of patronage and privileges. Having them too close by could cause problems, however, and it may be relevant that Santarém lay 45 miles away from its episcopal lord in Lisbon. Potential conflict could also be had with long-established monasteries. This happened to the Franciscans in Leiria from 1231 with the Augustinian priory of Santa Cruz de

English Historical Review 85 (1970), 730-754, at p.749, and *idem*, "Segovia: a 'Frontier' Diocese in the Thirteenth Century", *ibid.*, 96 (1981), 481-508, at p.502.

⁵⁸ Beirante, *Santarém medieval*, pp.44-5 and 69-71, for references to the Muslim and Jewish quarters.

⁵⁹ By 1290 Santarém was clearly the second largest town in Portugal after Lisbon. This is shown in a list drawn up by King Dinis of public notaries available in various towns. Lisbon had twenty-one, Santarém fifteen, Guimarães seven, Bragança six, and Guarda and Évora five each. See Mattoso, "Primeiras fundações franciscanas," p.331. Other ways of ascertaining the relative importance of towns in medieval Portugal, for example, royal itineraries, lists of churches, size of Jewish communities, all agree that Santarém was second only to Lisbon from the thirteenth century onwards.

⁶⁰ There is probably a connection between the death of Afonso II in 1223 and the firmer establishment of the Dominicans in Santarém. Afonso's successor, Sancho II, was an active patron, founding the Dominican house in Lisbon in 1241-2, and leaving the friars of Santarém funds to complete the construction of their house in his will. See A. Caetano de Sousa, *Provas da história genealógica da casa real portuguesa*, 12 vols (1st publ. 1746, rev. edn by M. Lopes de Almeida and C. Pegado, Coimbra, 1946-54), I, p.62.

⁶¹ J.-C. Schmitt, "Où en est l'enquête", p.15.

Coimbra.⁶² The nearest equivalent in Santarém was the collegiate church of Santa Maria da Alcáçova. The office of prior of this church was probably one of the most highly-sought after and lucrative benefices in Portugal and in 1288 the incumbent was one of a group of senior ecclesiastics who campaigned for a university in Portugal.⁶³ Despite this weighty authority, however, no evidence has been uncovered of a clash of interest between Santa Maria and the Dominicans.

The Dominican convent at Santarém resembled those of other regions in one important respect; its location within the town. Mendicant houses tended to be found close to town walls, near gates, ports, or markets, or along major roads. One should be cautious to assign this to a deliberate policy; these were cheap and less crowded areas, and once the Mendicants established themselves they often moved in from the suburbs. However, there does appear to have been a distinct preference for settling in areas where market forces and a mobile population were found.⁶⁴ In Santarém, the male and female Dominican houses, and the male Franciscan house, were all built in a relatively empty area known as the Chão de Feira, north west of the town just outside the walls and near the gate known as the Porta de Leiria, an important marketplace.⁶⁵ This was the area that Giles of Santarém would have recognized as a friar. Very little is known, however, of how the Dominican convent in which he was buried would have looked. When the author Almeida Garrett described Santarém in the 1840s, some ten years after the dissolution of the religious orders in 1834, the Dominican

⁶² The Dominicans were able to avoid conflict such as that which the Franciscans had with the bishop of Oporto in the 1230s. Both orders made a point of avoiding conflict with the metropolitan of Portugal, the Archbishop of Braga. There was no Dominican foundation in Braga and the Franciscans only went there in 1273. See Mattoso, "Primeiras fundações franciscanas", pp.331 and 339. For royal intervention in the Mendicant dispute of 1261, see below, Chapter Six. It took two years before Gregory IX could force Santa Cruz to recognize the friars' rights. See J. Mattoso, "A cidade de Leiria na história medieval de Portugal", in Mattoso, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval*, pp.95-111 at p.103. Leiria is usually considered an important second-rank town in the thirteenth century and was the location of Afonso III's *cortes* in 1254. However there was no Dominican house there until 1387/8. Useful comparison with these conflicts is found in P. Linehan, "A Tale of Two Cities: Capitular Burgos and Mendicant Burgos in the Thirteenth Century", in *Church and City, 1000-1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, eds. D. Abulafia, M. Franklin, and M. Rubin (Cambridge, 1992), pp.81-110. In Burgos the Franciscans had to struggle with the monks of Silos, and the Dominicans with the cathedral chapter.

⁶³ *Em definição de fronteiras*, p.651; *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis*, ed. A. Moreira de Sá, 8 vols (Lisbon, 1966), I, pp.6-9. The office of prior of Santa Maria was held at one time by Master Julião who may have been the brother of Giles of Santarém. See below, Chapter Four.

⁶⁴ Lawrence, *Friars*, p.107.

⁶⁵ Beirante, *Santarém medieval*, pp.121-30; *idem*, "Santarém à chegada dos dominicanos," pp.197-8. For more details and a map, see below, Chapter Six.

convent was already little more than a barn.⁶⁶ It became the site of a bullring later in the nineteenth century, and today only a street name and a few walls indicate its location. Only a rough idea can be gained of São Domingos from what is left of São Francisco de Santarém and the heavily restored Santa Clara de Santarém.⁶⁷



Santa Clara de Santarém

In 1997-8 there was an exhibition in Santarém of the remnants of stone corbels and iconographic miscellanea which survive from the Dominican houses in Santarém. The exhibition was built around the theme of “Giles of Santarém and his times”.⁶⁸ One of the most important pieces of Dominican *spolia* can be found in the Museu Arqueológico do Carmo in Lisbon, closed for restoration for several years

⁶⁶ A. Garrett, *Viagens na minha terra* (Lisbon, 1966), p.266.

⁶⁷ See F. Pradalié, *O convento de São Francisco de Santarém* (Santarém, 1992) and Casanova, “Conventos de S. Domingos em Santarém”. Recently, an attempt was made to build a scale model of São Domingos based on a wide range of evidence. See M. de Sousa Cardoso, “O convento de S. Domingos de Santarém”, supplement to *O Ribatejo* 645 (March 1998), 13-15. The convent’s ruined tower was not demolished until 1882. Much of the stone was used in the 1880s to build the local prison.

⁶⁸ See the catalogue, *S. Frei Gil e a sua época*.

now. This is the imposing effigy of a Dominican friar which was brought from the Santarém convent in the 1860s. The tomb slab has long been seen as that of Giles of Santarém. Certainly it belonged to an important individual; it is believed that a staff of office was once held in the figure's right hand. However, art historians have dated the tomb to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries and, therefore, if it did belong to Giles it was not his first place of rest, or even his second.⁶⁹ The only surviving depiction of Giles' tomb *in situ* reveals, unsurprisingly, an recumbent figure which might possibly be the one in the Carmo.⁷⁰ At the feet of the surviving effigy lurks a small monster or demon, and it is this which has persuaded observers that it must be Giles' tomb because of the legend of Giles' pact with the devil.⁷¹ Although it is not possible to say for sure that this is the tombstone of Giles of Santarém, it does represent a senior figure of the Santarém community, and therefore testifies to the substance and authority of the Dominican order in Portugal.⁷²

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.126. According to the *vitae* Giles was buried originally in the communal burial ground of the convent; only six years later was he moved to a chapel built in the nave by his cousin. See below, Chapters Three and Four.

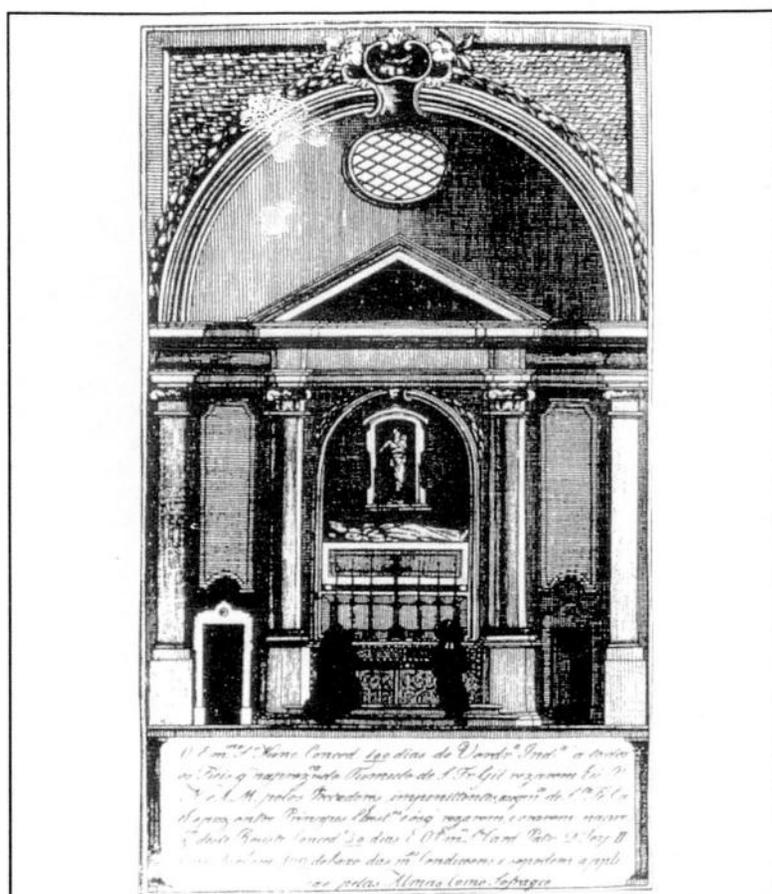
⁷⁰ This is the frontispiece of the anonymous *A Egidéa* (Lisbon, 1788) which has been identified as the work of José do Espírito Santo do Monte, OP, a friar of Santarém. See below, Chapter One.

⁷¹ See below, Chapter Three.

⁷² What happened to Giles of Santarém's body? Almeida Garrett made up a fanciful story in *Viagens na minha terra*, pp.269-74, that his remains were hidden in a Franciscan nunnery. A jawbone reputed to be that of Giles is at Vouzela, see below Chapter Four. Another relic, a shin bone, is in Lisbon in the church of the Corpo Santo. Scientific analysis, limited because the bone could not be removed from its container, suggests that the bone is unlikely to have been that of a very old man. See H. de Sousa e Andrade, L. Lopes and M.C. Neto, "Sobre um relicário de S. Frei Gil", in *Colóquio comemorativo de S. Frei Gil de Santarém* (Lisbon, 1991), pp.55-6. Further relics were returned to Santarém in 1991 from Torres Vedras where they had apparently been taken for safe keeping. See *S. Frei Gil e a sua época*, p.143. Noone appears to have examined these remains.



Tomb stone believed to have been that of Giles of Santarém



An eighteenth-century depiction of the tomb of Giles of Santarém

Early Work on the Life and Career of Giles of Santarém

The first person to study the life and works of Giles of Santarém from a medical perspective was Maximiano Lemos (d.1923), a prominent physician at the beginning of the twentieth century and a pioneer of medical education in the new University of Oporto. In his influential history of Portuguese medicine, now over a hundred years old and still essential, Lemos traced the development of medical science in Portugal, examining medical theory and practice from 1130 to his own day, and examined many medieval manuscripts including the work of Giles of Santarém.⁷³ Many of the documents and manuscripts examined by him have hardly seen the light of day since, and no attempt has been made to write a more modern synthesis using the same

⁷³ M. Lemos, *História da medicina em Portugal: doutrinas e instituições*, 2 vols (1st publ. 1899, 2nd edn, Lisbon 1991).

standards of scholarship. Medical history is not the prominent field of research in Portugal that it has become in other countries. The subject has largely been studied by medical practitioners, and Portuguese historians have only recently learned to appreciate the insights the history of medicine can give into daily life in the past.

For most of the middle years of this century, medical history was the reserve of Luís de Pina, another physician and a pupil of Lemos.⁷⁴ In the 1950s Pina wrote a short article tracing the development of historical awareness in Portuguese medicine, an awareness which he believes began in the seventeenth century.⁷⁵ His own interests were in medieval medicine and he almost single-handedly maintained the medical reputation of Petrus Hispanus (John XXI). With Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira, a classicist by training, he worked on the definitive edition of the *Thesaurus pauperum*, long attributed to Petrus Hispanus.⁷⁶ Much work still needs to be done on the Portuguese context of the *Thesaurus pauperum* which is very similar to works of Giles of Santarém.⁷⁷

Recent studies in the history of medieval medicine in Portugal are more specialized, generally carried out by historians, and largely concern later medieval developments; for example, there are studies on the Black Death, leprosy, public health, and the development of medical licensing.⁷⁸ A rich vein of Portuguese historiography focuses on the development of hospital care, culminating in the study of the Misericórdias run by religious confraternities from the early-modern period.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Examples of Pina's work are "Pedro Hispano: alguns subsídios para a sua biobibliografia", *Revista portuguesa de filosofia* 8 (1952), 325-39, and "Os portugueses na história da geriatria - (Pedro Hispano - Francisco Sanches)", *Studium generale* 5 (1958), 167-93.

⁷⁵ L. de Pina, "História da história da medicina em Portugal", *Imprensa médica* 20 (1956), 5-27. It does not appear that anything like this has been attempted since.

⁷⁶ *Thesaurus pauperum*, eds. L. de Pina and M.H. de Rocha Pereira, *Studium generale* 1-5 (1954-58); *Obras médicas de Pedro Hispano*, ed. M.H. da Rocha Pereira (Coimbra, 1973).

⁷⁷ See below, Chapter Eight.

⁷⁸ V. Rau, A.H. de Oliveira Marques, I. Gonçalves, L.A. de Oliveira Rai, and H.C. Baquero Moreno, "Para o estudo da Peste Negra em Portugal", *Bracara augusta* 14-15 (1963), 210-39; M.S. Alves Conde, "Subsídios para o estudo dos gafos de Santarém (séculos XIII-XV)", *Estudos medievais* 8 (1987), 99-242; M.J.P. Ferro Tavares, "A política municipal de saúde pública (séculos XIV-XV)", *Revista de história económica e social* 19 (1987), 17-32; I. Gonçalves, "Físicos e cirurgiões do tempo quatrocentistas - as cartas de exame", in *idem*, *Imagens do mundo medieval* (Lisbon, 1988), pp.9-52.

⁷⁹ Early studies on medieval hospitals are Lemos, *História da medicina*, I, pp.46-9, 99-105; F. da Silva Correia, "Os velhos hospitais da Lisboa antiga", *Revista municipal* 10 (1942), 3-13; *Idem*, "Os hospitais medievais portugueses", *Medicina contemporânea* 61 (1943) (offprint). Most recently, see M.J.P.Ferro Tavares, "Hospitais, doenças e saúde pública", in *Actas do congresso comemorativo do*

Modern research has been influenced by the fact that until the late nineteenth century, public health care was supplied by charitable institutions which had remained impervious to social and economic change from the sixteenth century.⁸⁰ Historical study is still based on traditional ideas of public assistance and poor relief rather than interest in medical care. This does reflect the nature of most European medieval hospitals, which were often more like hostels and almshouses than medical centres, but it has allowed study of attitudes towards health and medical treatment to become neglected.⁸¹

One problem is that there are not many sources for medicine in the Portuguese Middle Ages. Portugal does not have the archival resources that Michael McVaugh and others have been able to utilize for the study of medical practice in medieval Aragon and Valencia.⁸² Nevertheless, two Portuguese studies have shown that it is possible to understand the available sources in a more imaginative way. Firstly, the chapter on health and hygiene in A.H. de Oliveira Marques' study of daily life in the Middle Ages provided literary, documentary, and archaeological evidence for medieval Portuguese attitudes towards medicine and health. Oliveira Marques is one of the few modern historians to set the medical recipes of Petrus Hispanus and Giles of Santarém in a Portuguese social context.⁸³ Secondly, José Mattoso examined the concepts of "health", "illness" and "cure" in fifteen Portuguese miracle collections or saints' lives dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.⁸⁴ This is not only a rare

V centenário da fundação do Hospital do Espírito Santo de Évora (Évora, 1996), pp.49-64. For the *Misericórdias* see I. Carneiro de Sousa, *Da descoberta da misericórdia à fundação das misericórdias (1498-1525)* (Oporto, 1999) and L. Abreu, *Memórias da alma e do corpo: a Misericórdia de Setúbal na Modernidade* (Viseu, 1999).

⁸⁰ Abreu, *Memórias da alma e do corpo*, p.437.

⁸¹ The most important examples of this approach are the articles in *A pobreza e a assistência aos pobres na Península Ibérica, Actas das I jornadas luso-espanholas de história medieval*, 2 vols (Lisbon, 1973).

⁸² M.R. McVaugh, *Medicine before the Plague: Practitioners and their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285-1345* (Cambridge, 1993); L. García Ballester, M.R. McVaugh, and A. Rubio Vela, "Medical Licensing and Learning in Fourteenth-Century Valencia", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 79 (1989).

⁸³ A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *A sociedade medieval portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1987), pp.87-104. This work was first published in 1963 and there is an English translation, *Daily Life in Portugal in the Middle Ages* (Madison, WI, 1971).

⁸⁴ J. Mattoso, "Saúde corporal e saúde mental na idade média portuguesa", given at the second *Simpósio de Psicopatologia Dinâmica*, 13 Dec 1986, Lisbon, and published in Mattoso, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval*, pp.233-52. The miracles attributed to Giles of Santarém in his *vitae*

theme in Portuguese historiography, but is unusual in hagiographical study in general. Typically, however, the article was a paper given to a medical audience, the subject was never pursued further, and it appears to have had little impact.

The little influence medical history has in Portugal explains why medical manuscripts, and references to medical practitioners or texts in documents, are usually only studied in the context of the institution to which they belonged, or are mentioned in passing in studies of wills or higher education.⁸⁵ The fragments of medical texts found in the municipal library in Oporto, and the oldest Portuguese medical text in the vernacular, found in Évora, in which recipes attributed to Giles of Santarém are collected, have never been fully studied in a medical context.⁸⁶ One of the aims of this thesis is to establish the medical background of Giles of Santarém; it does not attempt a full survey of medicine in medieval Portugal. In order to do this it has been necessary to bring together a wide variety of primary and secondary sources which are essential to the reconstruction of Giles' intellectual milieu. In so doing, it is hoped that this will provide an introduction to the relatively neglected topic of medieval Portuguese medicine.

* * *

Until the 1980s, references to Giles of Santarém were either found in medical studies such as those described above, or in works of Dominican history. Since then the Dominican perspective has been strengthened, but largely as a result of the publication of editions of sixteenth-century Dominican *vitae*. First of all in 1981-2, Aires Nascimento produced an edition of the *Vita beati Gili Sanctarenensis* of Baltazar de São João.⁸⁷ This was followed in 1995 by the critical edition of the *De conversione miranda D. Aegidii Lusitani* of André de Resende by Virgínia Soares Pereira.⁸⁸ The

yield rewarding medical material. However, apart from the few references made below in Chapter Seven, it was decided not to analyze the miracles in full at this time.

⁸⁵ See below, Chapter Five, and my article "Opportunities for Teaching and Studying Medicine in Medieval Portugal before the Foundation of the University of Lisbon (1290)", *Dynamis* 20 (2000), 305-29.

⁸⁶ See below, Chapters Five and Eight, for references.

⁸⁷ *Vida*.

⁸⁸ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*.

former editor is a medievalist with a firm interest in social and intellectual history, but he makes no in-depth study of the text; the latter is primarily interested in the early-modern context of the author and makes only a cursory study of the medieval basis of the *vita*. These texts are probably the most important sources for the life of Giles of Santarém and considerable effort is taken to establish the reliability of such late sources and examine the complex process of legend-building that they reveal.⁸⁹ Other recent work on Giles of Santarém has largely been carried out by local historians, particularly of Santarém and Vouzela, Giles' traditional place of birth. The most significant, and scholarly, of these is the aforementioned exhibition catalogue *S. Frei Gil e a sua época*. This very recent interest suggests that there has been a realization that Giles of Santarém had far more importance in medieval Portugal than has hitherto been accorded him. His life, as will be shown, opens a window onto many vistas: early Dominican settlement, genealogy, education, medical treatment, dissemination of texts, the politics of the civil war, hagiography, and historiography.

In the last twenty or twenty-five years the writing of Portuguese history has undergone a profound transformation. Portugal has become aware of foreign developments in the field of medieval history. Membership of the European Union and the popularity of the Algarve as a holiday destination is beginning to make the rest of the world aware of Portugal. Historians need to realize that the study of medieval Iberia makes little sense without an appreciation of all the Iberian kingdoms. Portugal may have been *in extremis mundi* in the Middle Ages, but it was certainly very much part of the medieval world and needs to be studied, both for its own contribution to European history and for the influence the wider world had on the development of its society and institutions. The following in-depth study of the life and legend of Giles of Santarém seeks to provide a key to this approach.

⁸⁹ These are the subjects of Chapters One to Three.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EARLY-MODERN SOURCES FOR THE LIFE OF GILES OF SANTARÉM

*I wanted to write a history of this holy man in a language a little more elegant, partly because I owe it to my country and partly because of the especial love I have for him.*¹

Before any attempt can be made to analyze the life of Giles of Santarém, it is necessary to examine the sources available for such an analysis. Several of the most important sources are late, dating from the sixteenth century or after, and they are nearly all hagiographical in nature. The Dominican Order and parts of Portugal recognized Giles of Santarém as a saint and he eventually received beatification in 1748.² These factors have influenced the way in which the details of Giles' life have been recorded and it could appear to be an inadequate basis for research into a medieval figure. However, the character of Portuguese historiography is such that historians must rely on later sources for much of the medieval period, and to dismiss hagiography and late chronicles as unhistorical and inappropriate evidence would be virtually to undermine all efforts at understanding medieval Portugal. Furthermore, it is possible to show how these sources are valuable in themselves for what they reveal of historiographical traditions. It will be seen that what is known of Giles of Santarém is a fascinating jigsaw puzzle made up of actual medieval circumstance, which can be checked to some extent against contemporary sources, and a multi-layered construction of legend and error which has been manipulated by chroniclers of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries for whom Giles of Santarém was a highly significant figure of the past.

It is important to explain why historians are so dependent on late sources in the history of medieval Portugal. All European countries have seen their ancient

¹ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.223: *Cupiebam enim sancti viri historiam paulo mundiore sermone conscribere, partim quod id patriae debebam, partim etiam peculiari quodam erga illum adfectu.*

² It would be very interesting to trace the modern cult and the beatification process of Giles of Santarém but it is not possible to do that here. The details of the process are described in the *História da vida de S. Fr. Gil Rodrigues do Valle*, BPE mss. CV/2-4 and CV/2-5, I, fols.223-37. There does not seem to have been any attempt to gain official recognition of the cult of Giles of Santarém until 1625, when the canonization decree of pope Urban VIII (1623-1644) prohibited local cults, unless the subject of veneration had been canonized or beatified. The bishop of Viseu, the diocese in which Giles was traditionally born, wrote to Rome in 1627 requesting dispensation for Giles from this decree. This was granted, although only for the districts of Viseu and Santarém. The bishop died in 1628 and any further plans were abandoned. Two eighteenth-century letters to the pope asking for Giles' beatification exist in the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon (BNL, ms. 1537, fols.294 and 296).

archives succumb to fire, flood, and war at various times. All historians have come across stories of the deliberate destruction of documents no longer deemed valuable. In Portugal, however, the damage caused by natural and political disaster and a gross disregard for “illegible” parchment has been acute.³ It should also be remembered that in terms of bureaucratic innovation, Portugal lagged far behind other European states. There was comparatively little to destroy in the first place. Probably the most destructive incident in Portuguese history was the devastating earthquake which struck Lisbon, Estremadura and the Algarve on All Saints Day in 1755. As many as five thousand people died in Lisbon alone in the subsequent fires and tidal wave. Central Lisbon was completely destroyed along with the archives of the cathedral and the Dominican convent. The royal archive, held in a tower of the castle known as the Torre do Tombo, still the name of the national archives, was also damaged. In Santarém the choir of the Dominican convent in which Giles of Santarém was buried had to be rebuilt.⁴

The effect of the earthquake was equalled in the following century by the Peninsular Wars and three French invasions between 1807 and 1813. Then came civil war and a liberal government which finally succeeded in closing the convents and monasteries in 1834 and confiscating their property. All books and manuscripts were supposed to be taken to Lisbon but many made their way into private collections or were destroyed in riots. The Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça, for example, endured an eleven day sack and contemporaries remembered boys making hats and boats out of manuscript folios.⁵ Some regional libraries, however, benefited greatly from secularization. The Biblioteca Pública Municipal of Oporto (BPMP), for example, managed to acquire 97 codices of the Augustinian house of Santa Cruz of Coimbra,

Exactly why Giles was finally beatified in 1748 is unclear. His cult seems to have lapsed after the 1755 earthquake, but was re-established in 1769.

³ See M.J. de Azevedo Santos, “Remarques sur les conditions de conservation des actes et des livres au Portugal (XII^e-XV^e siècles)”, *Scriptorium* 50 (1996), 397-406.

⁴ For details of the earthquake see A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, 2 vols (New York/London, 1972), I, p.421, and J.V. Serrão, *História de Portugal: O despotismo iluminado (1750-1807)* (Lisbon, 1982), pp.27-31. For the effect of the earthquake in Santarém, see BPE ms. CV/2-5, fol.235. For its effect on archives, see Azevedo Santos, “Remarques sur les conditions de conservation”. The earthquake shocked Europe and influenced writers such as Voltaire (d.1778) who used it in *Candide* (Harmondsworth, 1947), pp.33-6. Some British sources are published in R. Macaulay, *They Went to Portugal* (London, 1947), pp.267-82.

largely due to the efforts of one of its librarians, Alexandre Herculano, probably still to be seen as Portugal's most important medievalist.⁶

Faced with such problems of document survival, it is essential that the work of historians from dissolved religious houses and royal chroniclers is viewed with respect. These writers had access to manuscripts which no longer exist, and they published documents the originals of which have not survived. In many cases it is impossible to check their data. Historiography in Portugal is very much a fledgling science. Only a couple of conferences and a few books and articles tackle the subject.⁷ This means that sixteenth to eighteenth century chronicles have rarely been submitted to critical analysis. Their reliability has usually only been tested for specific areas of study.⁸ Given that progress in the publication and analysis of medieval documents and royal chancery records is slow, it is hardly surprising that little attempt has been made to tackle the later material. With the life of Giles of Santarém, however, it is gratifying that two of the most important early-modern *vitae*, those by André de Resende and Baltazar de São João, have received critical treatment, and this in itself indicates Giles to be a useful historiographical tool.⁹ Other important texts, for example, the histories of Luís de Sousa and António de São Domingos have received less stringent attention.¹⁰ They provide valuable information which consequently must be used with care.

⁵ M. Martins, "Os monges de Alcobaça perante os códices", *Brotéria* 68 (1959), 155-63, and M. Vieira Natividade, *O Mosteiro de Alcobaça* (Coimbra, 1885), pp.181-83.

⁶ H. Bernstein, *Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877) Portugal's Prime Historian and Historical Novelist* (Paris, 1983); A.G. da Rocha Madahil, "Os códices de Santa Cruz de Coimbra", *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* 8 (1926-7), 379-420; *Catálogo dos códices da livraria de mão do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto*, eds. A.A. Nascimento and J.F. Meirinhos (Oporto, 1997), pp.xiv-xxii.

⁷ For example, J.V. Serrão, *A Historiografia Portuguesa: Doutrina e Crítica*, 2 vols (Lisbon, 1972-3), and *A Historiografia portuguesa anterior a Herculano: actas do colóquio* (Lisbon, 1977).

⁸ For example, F. Castelo Branco, "O valor histórico de Frei António Brandão", in *Historiografia portuguesa anterior a Herculano*, pp.119-42, has analyzed the capture of Lisbon in 1147 as found in the chronicle of António Brandão (1584-1637), a monk of Alcobaça. Brandão's section of the *Monarchia Lusitana* (1632), a first attempt at a national history, is usually accepted as a reliable source and quoted without comment by modern historians. Castelo Branco shows that, although Brandão's work is extremely important, his analysis was contradictory even to the extent of ignoring the evidence of the medieval documents he published (the fact that he did include copies of documents is very significant). Castelo Branco calls for a critical study of such chronicles, which does not yet seem to have appeared.

⁹ *Aegidius Scallabitanus, and Vida*.

¹⁰ Sousa, *Domingos*, and António, *Compendio*.

The *Vita* of André de Resende

Study of the life and legend of Giles of Santarém begins with the work of one person. In 1520 a Portuguese Dominican named André de Resende was deeply moved by a miracle attributed to Giles which he witnessed. It caused him to write over a long period of time the *Liber de conversione miranda D. Aegidius Lusitani*, the most important source for the life of Giles and the work which almost single-handedly shaped the way historians view Giles.¹¹ Whether later writers knew it or not, most of their information on Giles had been filtered through Resende. By approaching the life of Giles through the pages of this hagiographical *vita* many of the problems posed by the early-modern sources can be identified.

First of all, it is necessary to provide a summary of the legend of Giles of Santarém which is found in Resende's *vita*. Awareness of its key elements will help in their subsequent analysis. The following is a paraphrase of the legend of Giles of Santarém, much as it is found in the *Acta Sanctorum* (1680), which version, as will be explained, is drawn from the *vita* of André de Resende.¹² The main details of the legend can be found in most of the other versions. Any small variations in detail will be noted.

* * *

Giles of Santarém was born in Vouzela, a village of the Lafões region in the diocese of Viseu, in 1185 or 1190.¹³ He was the son of Rodrigo Pais de Valadares, the *alcaide* or governor of Coimbra and a royal councillor of king Sancho I. Giles' mother was Teresa Gil of Atougua. Both parents were of high noble descent. Giles led an exemplary childhood and youth in Coimbra where he studied arts and medicine, and enjoyed the income from several benefices.¹⁴

¹¹ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*.

¹² *AASS* May III, pp.400-36

¹³ Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores*, I, p.241, mistakenly supposed Vouzela to be near Santarém. The date of birth is discussed below in Chapter Four.

¹⁴ For Giles' benefices and studies see below, Chapter Five. Baltazar de São João, *Vida*, p.130, was the only author to include the common hagiographic *topos* of the *puer senex*, noting that as a child Giles had a gravity beyond his years. For details of São João's work, see below, pp.43-44. Resende,

The young Giles decided that it was only at the University of Paris that he could display his talents to the full. On the way to France he was met by the Devil in disguise and persuaded to go to Toledo in Castile instead, where he could learn the far more profitable Black Arts. Giles made a written pact with the devil, signed with his own blood, and studied magic in Toledo for seven years. He then continued on his way to Paris and became a famous physician with the help of his demonic powers. After some years of this life, Giles was sitting one day in his study reading some books of black magic. Suddenly, he saw a vision of a knight in armour who attacked him and commanded him to change his ways or be damned. After further visions of this knight, Giles became so terrified that he burned his books and began to hurry back to Portugal.¹⁵ On his way he came to Palencia in Castile where he saw some Dominicans building their priory. So impressed was he by their lifestyle, that he asked if he could join them. Wearing the iron belt he wore until the end of his days, he then returned to Portugal and joined the convent at Santarém. After more temptations and torments he eventually received back the bloody pact he had made, thanks to the intercession of the Virgin Mary.

Now finally converted to a religious life, Giles returned to Paris to study theology, this time healing the soul through divine aid rather than the body through magic. He was active in the Dominican Order and was twice made Prior of the Dominican province of *Hispania* which involved him making long journeys across Europe. In 1245 he was appointed to break the news to Sancho II of Portugal that he had just been deposed by Pope Innocent IV.¹⁶ Finally retiring from office due to the ill health which plagued him in later life, he ended his days in the Dominican priory at Santarém dying on Ascension Day (14 May) 1265. Miracles of visions, levitations, and healings, 81 of the latter, were recorded from both before and after his death. Six

rather surprisingly, omitted all reference to a youthful propensity to sanctity in order, perhaps, to render Giles' conversion all the more dramatic. For a discussion of this theme see D. Weinstein and R.M. Bell, *Saints and Society, Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago, 1982), pp. 29-30, and I.P. Bejczy, "The *Sacra Infantia* in Medieval Hagiography," *Studies in Church History* 31 (1994), 143-51.

¹⁵ Baltazar de São João, *Vida*, pp.132-46, devoted much more attention to the episode in Toledo and to the horrifying visions. He referred to three visions as opposed to the two mentioned by Resende.

¹⁶ Baltazar de São João did not mention Giles' involvement in these political events. Resende, *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.270, referred to it briefly. This theme became more prominent from the seventeenth century because Luís de Sousa, *Domingos*, I, pp.203-5 elaborated the episode, using some documentary sources. For Sousa, see below, pp.57-8.

years after Giles' burial in the cemetery his body, sweet-smelling and incorrupt, was transferred to a chapel in the convent church paid for by his cousin, Joana Dias, married to Fernando Fernans Cogominho, one of the most important nobles of the reign of Afonso III.¹⁷ Joana was also lady-in-waiting to Afonso's Castilian wife, Beatriz. Thus the legend ended with the same illustrious family background with which it began. Now it is time to explain where this legend came from.

* * *

On a rainy 12 October in 1520, André de Resende was staying at the Dominican convent in Santarém. The young friar of twenty was only beginning a long career which was to earn him recognition as one of Portugal's foremost humanist writers.¹⁸ Born in Évora in c. 1500, Resende entered the local Dominican convent in his teens and was educated in Alcalá de Henares, Salamanca, Paris, and Louvain. He travelled widely in the retinue of the emperor Charles V (1516-1558), and was tutor to the sons of the Portuguese king João III (1521-1557). Despite pursuing a busy career and having a natural son, he remained attached to his order throughout his life and deeply interested in its history and hagiography. When he died in 1573 he was buried in the Évora convent. Resende was one of Portugal's first archaeologists and gathered around him a great number of artefacts. Apart from his *vita* of Giles of Santarém, Resende wrote a catalogue of Portuguese saints which has not survived, a life of Brother Peter, an early mentor of his at Évora, and a sermon dedicated to the

¹⁷ Baltazar de São João, *Vida*, p. 129, named this noble Pedro da Serra. He did not note that Joana Dias paid for the translation of Giles' body but he did mention (*ibid.*) that Giles had such a cousin.

¹⁸ The term "humanist", often used without further explanation in reference to Resende, relates to his interest in the recovery of the past (and scorn for its "barbaric" beliefs and practices), his emphasis on elegant and well-phrased language, his travels in northern Europe, and his correspondence with Erasmus. Studies of the European Renaissance hardly refer to Portuguese scholars of the period. They do however mention contemporary Spanish intellectuals such as Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) and Antonio de Nebrija (1444-1522), with whom Resende can be compared. For further details concerning humanism and humanists, which are revealing for Resende's character and background, see T. Davies, *Humanism* (London, 1997) and C.G. Nauert, *Humanism and the culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), especially pp. 122-3 for Spain. A very useful encyclopaedia which sets Resende within a wider context is P.G. Bielenholz and T.B. Deutscher, eds., *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols (Toronto, 1987), III, pp. 144-5. For the Portuguese context, see R.M. Rosado Fernandes, "André de Resende e o humanismo europeu", in *O humanismo português, 1500-1600*, ed. J.V. de Pina Martins (Lisbon, 1988), pp. 593-616, and E.F. Hirsch, *Damião de Gois: The Life and Thought of a Portuguese Humanist, 1502-1574* (The Hague, 1967), which is the study of a friend of Resende.

Rainha Santa, Isabel, the Aragonese wife of king Dinis of Portugal (1279-1325). He was most famous for his major though unfinished study of Portuguese history, *De antiquitatibus lusitaniae*.¹⁹

Portugal in 1520 was ruled by Manuel I (1498-1521). This king's reign could be said to mark the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern era in Portugal. It was a period which saw the arrival of Vasco da Gama in India (1498) and Cabral in Brazil (1500), Magellan's circumnavigation of the world (1519-21), and the expulsion of the Jews (1496). Thus it has traditionally been seen as "the Golden Age" of Portuguese self-identity, conquest and exploration, a period which ended in 1580 with the incorporation of the country into Spain for sixty years. The sixteenth-century in Portugal, however, was also a period of serious rural depression: recurrent droughts, earthquakes, famines and regular epidemics of plague and typhoid meant that the population was unstable, discouraged, and inadequate for the demands of overseas expansion. With the political emphasis on colonial and European affairs, there was little internal stimulation, virtually no middle class, and hardly any industrial development, with the result that the immense wealth which Portugal seemed to have in the eyes of the world was merely a superficial glitter.²⁰ It was, in fact, the combined effect of plague and rain which caused Resende to be stranded in Santarém in October 1520. He was not allowed to enter Lisbon, whence he had hoped to sail to Belgium, because of plague, and he could not leave for an alternative centre of studies, Salamanca in Castile, due to the autumn rain. Hence, Resende was in Santarém when the following miracle took place.²¹

After lunch on 12 October the sub-prior of the convent, Tomás de Matos, said to be a powerful but not particularly learned preacher, took André de Resende and some companions to see the new building work which was being carried out on the

¹⁹ On Resende's life and works see, *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.3-7; Serrão, *Historiografia Portuguesa*, I, p.353; J.R.C. Martyn, ed. *On Court Life* (Bern, 1990); *Idem.*, ed., *Biographies of Prince Edward and Friar Pedro by André de Resende* (Lampeter, 1997); *Idem.*, ed., "A Renaissance Picnic at Resende's Quinta", *Portuguese Studies* 3 (1987), 70-76; A. de Resende, *Sanctae Elizabeth Portugalliae quondam Reginae officium* (Coimbra, 1551); *Idem.*, *Libri quatuor de antiquitatibus* (Évora, 1593).

²⁰ See J.V.Serrão, *História de Portugal: o século de ouro* (Lisbon, 1978); Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal*, I, pp.263-266; *Nova história de Portugal*, dir. J. Serrão and A.H. de Oliveira Marques, 13 vols (Lisbon, 1985-): V (1999): *Do renascimento à crise dinástica*, ed. J.J. Alves Dias.

²¹ The following is a paraphrase of the account to be found in *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.360-64.

convent church. This apparently had been ordered by king Manuel's third wife, Leonor (1498-1558), who claimed that she had been helped during the recent birth of the *infanta* Maria by a relic from the convent: the iron belt believed to have been worn by Giles of Santarém. While at the building site, the group of friars noticed a crippled man lying on a straw pallet looked after only by his wife and daughter. When asked, the stone-workers explained that he was a Castilian returning from a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. During his journey he had suffered what reads like a classic description of a cerebro-vascular accident or stroke - a sudden paralysis down one side of his body causing his mouth to twist and become contorted. As the family had come via plague-ridden Lisbon they had not been allowed to enter Santarém. Like Resende, they had then been caught by the rain, thus forcing them to shelter for twelve days in the porch of the Dominican church outside the town walls.

Moved by their plight, the sub-prior decided to give the family food and drink and then after the meal, almost casually, asked whether they had ever heard in Castile of the venerated brother Giles who was buried in that church. Hearing that they had not, the sub-prior persuaded them to visit the tomb. After lamenting and praying there for a quarter of an hour, the paralysed man suddenly began to feel an intense burning pain running through his body which led to him regaining full control of his limbs. Seeing this, the energetic sub-prior had the bells rung, as if in an emergency, causing the local people to arrive thinking the convent was on fire. He then summoned them to a sermon the following Sunday at which he roused up the congregation with his preaching. Two further miracles - the healing of a breast cancer and a child's skin disease - were reported. The miracles were recorded by an official notary and witnessed by the friars, including Resende, and more than thirty stone-workers.

More than twenty years later, probably in 1543, André de Resende returned to Santarém in order to consult some manuscripts. He probably began work on his *Liber de conversione miranda D. Aegidii Lusitani* at Easter 1544, but it was not completed until around 1567, and not finally published until 1586.²² The miracle outlined above

²² Although Resende's work is not dated, it is possible to ascertain the date of various stages of writing from internal evidence. He probably began to write in 1543 because he associated his return to Santarém with a visit made to the royal court in Almerim in that year (*Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.223). He then referred to the death of D. Duarte, the natural son of João III, in November 1543 (*Ibid.*, p.247). Later events referred to took place in the 1550s and 1560s, and the fact that the work

is found right at the end of the work and appears to justify the author's interest in the subject. In its detail and the emphasis on the author's personal involvement it stands out from the other miracles and this in itself would indicate its authenticity.

A close examination of Resende's account does show it to be generally reliable in the sixteenth-century details at least. There is one chronological problem which can easily be resolved. Resende states that the building work being carried out on the convent at Santarém was ordered as a result of the aid Giles was said to have given at the birth of the *infanta* Maria. As this princess was not born until 8 June 1521, Resende appears to have made an error. Queen Leonor did give birth to a son, Carlos, on 18 February 1520 (died 15 April 1521), so it is possible that this is the relevant confinement. One explanation may be that Resende has either confused the births by mistake or, what is more likely, deliberately ignored the short-lived son for Maria (d.1577) who, as a later patron of the arts, was much admired by Resende.²³ There are a variety of other ways in which Resende's account can be checked. The people whom Resende names as prior and sub-prior of Santarém in October 1520 were indeed to be found in those positions at that time.²⁴ It is also known that disease did break out in Lisbon in 1520. According to Maximiano Lemos, reference to the outbreak first appears in royal documents from April 1520.²⁵ Epidemics of some sort or another were common in the area throughout the century, but especially in the first three decades. On 13 December 1521 king Manuel himself died of a fever which, according to the royal chronicler, Damião de Gois, killed many people in Lisbon at that time.²⁶

Apart from this internal evidence, there does exist another account of the events of October 1520. This is the second most important source for the life of Giles of Santarém, the *Vita Beati Giliij Sanctarenensis* of Baltazar de São João, completed

was completed *c.*1567 can be inferred from Resende's comments at the end that the miracles he witnessed in 1520 occurred forty-seven years previously, and that there had been no plague in Lisbon for forty years since the Sack of Rome by Charles V in 1527 (*Ibid.*, p.335-336). The reason for the late publication date will be explained below, pp.55-57.

²³ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, note 23, p.441-2.

²⁴ See *Ibid.* notes 20 and 21, p.441, for Francisco Vargas de Lemos, who was prior of Santarém in May 1520, but by 27 November was no longer to be found in that position, and the sub-prior, Tomás de Matos.

²⁵ *História da Medicina*, II, p.172.

²⁶ Serrão, *Século de ouro*, pp.30-31; *Do renascimento à crise dinástica*, p.654, note 74.

in 1537 and surviving in a single sixteenth- or seventeenth-century manuscript.²⁷ As will shortly be explained, it is likely that Resende used São João's work as a source for his own life of Giles, but it is difficult to accuse him of plagiarism in the case of the 1520 miracles. São João devoted only twenty-three lines of text to the miracle of the old Castilian, in contrast to Resende's three and a half pages, and did not claim any personal involvement. São João's account appears to be based on second-hand information which, nevertheless, backs up the eyewitness report of Resende. São João's account does differ in small details. He referred to the fact that repairs were being made to the convent but did not say why. The cause of the Castilian's illness was different; the bones of both his legs were said to have shrunk. São João named Tomás de Matos as prior rather than sub-prior and referred to him as the Doctor of Theology he later became.²⁸

Thus there are two separate reports of the events which took place in 1520, one given as an eye-witness account and the second as hearsay. Although these miracles come at the end of lengthy works, they appear to be the justification for the whole. It is important to understand why interest in Giles of Santarém was renewed in 1520 and what relationship this early-modern cult had with the medieval cult and the life of Giles himself. The accounts of Resende and São João pose numerous problems. Firstly, why would queen Leonor, a Castilian princess brought up in the Netherlands (she was the sister of the emperor Charles V), turn to a Portuguese cult during her confinement, if she even did so? It is not yet possible to answer this but it may be the case that Resende, later an influential figure at court, knew key people concerned with the birth. Secondly, to what extent was the whole episode in Santarém stage-managed by the demagogue sub-prior, Tomás de Matos? It is clearly an example of the harnessing of popular religious fervour. Thirdly, what relationship does this fervour have with political and economic conditions in Santarém in 1520? When the Dominican convent in Santarém had been founded in the early thirteenth century, the town had had royal and military prestige; is it the case that by 1520 the whole area was in decline and in need of revitalization? Baltazar de São João mentions that it was the roof of the convent that was receiving repair: was it in need

²⁷ *Vida*, pp.212-14. The single manuscript is found in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon, ms. 51-I-56, a copy of the original. The text will be discussed below, p.44.

²⁸ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, note 27, pp.442-3.

of major refurbishment? Why did the friars not notice before that a family was camping in their porch for twelve days, unless it was that they no longer used the main church regularly? Is it significant that a large congregation was summoned only by pretending that there was an emergency?²⁹

Questions like these show that, despite apparently reliable sources for the event, it is difficult to understand what actually happened in October 1520. As there appears to have been a certain amount of manipulation of the event on the part of the Dominicans, as the surviving *vitae* date from after this year, and the campaign for papal recognition did not really start until the seventeenth century, the major question must be faced: was there ever a medieval cult surrounding Giles of Santarém? Was the whole story of his life and legend an invention of the sixteenth-century thought up by the Santarém friars? Perhaps what Resende witnessed in 1520 was the creation, rather than the revitalization of the cult, and he and Baltazar de São João were the, perhaps unwitting, tools of dissemination? Their works provided an historical justification for the cult which gave it authority, and therefore the miracles and biographical details included may be invented. Few people have studied the life and cult of Giles of Santarém thoroughly enough to have made this suggestion before, but it does seem to be one implication of the sources.³⁰

These suspicions can happily be dispelled. There are three pieces of evidence which clearly indicate that there was cult of Giles of Santarém in the Middle Ages. The poor survival of medieval documents, and the slow process of analyzing those which do exist, has meant that Portuguese evidence for the medieval cult of Giles of Santarém has been obscured. This became apparent when António do Rosário uncovered the will of Caterina Eanes, drawn up in 1294. In this will Caterina left an

²⁹ There may have been a decline in the fortunes of the Dominican convent in Santarém. Like most European countries Portugal saw a major population decrease from the middle of the fourteenth-century due to plague and food shortages. Portugal generally came out of this period of depression from about 1450 but some areas, although they remained important regional centres, never regained their original prestige. A speech of 1526 on the occasion of a royal visit to Santarém endeavoured to remind the king of Santarém's loyalty and antiquity: Serrão, *Século de ouro*, pp.235-6. Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, p.166, shows that at the time of the first census in 1527-1532, Santarém had fallen from second largest city after Lisbon to the fourth. He also explains (*Ibid.*, p.182) that traditional religious orders, which included the Dominicans by this time, began to decline. Only the wealthiest houses, such as Alcobça and Santa Cruz de Coimbra, flourished.

³⁰ One example of such a suspicion is S. Waxman, "Chapters on Magic in Spanish Literature," *Revue hispanique* 38 (1916), 325-463, at p.373: "we can safely assume that the legend [of Giles of

olive grove to the Dominicans of Santarém on the condition that they maintained a lamp at the altar of “blessed brother Giles”.³¹ This suggests that there was a cult centred around Giles' tomb within thirty years of his death. Evidence that Giles was revered by the Dominican order in the fifteenth century can be found in a catalogue of forty-one saints put together by Laurence of Pignon (d.1456), a Burgundian friar. The very last name on this list is *S. Egidio de Portugallia*.³² Finally, an Italian manuscript of herbal remedies, clearly attributed to *maestro Gilio diportogallo dellordine di Sancto Domenico* and dated precisely to 24 May 1463, provides incontrovertible evidence for both the cult and the legend of Giles of Santarém. The manuscript refers to the miracles recorded at Giles' tomb and, even more significantly, questions whether these miracles were performed *per arte divina* or *per arte magicha* because Giles was said to have been a *grande negromante*.³³ This manuscript reveals that the main details of the “Black Legend” of Giles of Santarém were in place 73 years before the earliest surviving *vita*, that of Baltazar de São João, was completed in 1537.

All the indications are that the events which took place in 1520 and which were recorded by Resende and São João marked a revival of interest in Giles of Santarém and the revitalization of his cult rather than the creation of a brand new focus of devotion. There is some evidence that this was not a unique situation in sixteenth-century Spain and Portugal. Medieval saints aroused great interest throughout this period. At the beginning of the century, Erasmus and his followers had condemned the florid style and poor Latin of traditional hagiography.³⁴ Later the

Santarém] belongs to the time when it first appeared in printed form, namely the latter part of the sixteenth century”.

³¹ ANTT, S. Domingos de Santarém, antiga coleção especial, maço 1, doc. 15. Document published in A. do Rosário, “Pergaminhos dos Conventos Dominicanos. III série: elementos de interesse para a História da Arte”, *Lusitania Sacra* 2nd ser. 4 (1992), 345-70, at p.359.

³² *Laurentii Pignon Catalogi et Chronica*, ed. G.G. Meerseman, *MOPH* 18 (1936), pp.2-4.

³³ *Rimedi de diverse malatie*, National Library of Medicine, Washington, ms. 22, fol.16. See below, Chapter Eight, for an analysis of this manuscript.

³⁴ D. Sullivan, “Jean Bolland (1596-1665) and the Early Bollandists”, in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, eds. H. Damico and J.B. Zavadil (New York/London, 1995), pp.3-14, at p.4. Particularly criticized was *The Golden Legend*, compiled in the thirteenth century by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine. See for a Spanish view, B.B. Thompson, “‘*Plumbei cordis, oris ferrei*’: la recepción de la teología de Jacobus a Voragine y su *Legenda aurea* en la península”, in *Saints and their Authors: Studies in Medieval Hispanic*

Protestant movement condemned the Cult of the Saints outright.³⁵ The Council of Trent (1545-63) reaffirmed the validity of saints' cults in the Counter-Reformation but emphasized the need for papal recognition and the authentication of miracles and *vitae*.³⁶ André de Resende's *vita* is a fascinating example of a saint's life which was initially inspired by the humanist ideals of Erasmus but, by the time it was completed in the 1560s, was completely in line with Tridentine doctrine.

Resende's interest in medieval saints can be seen elsewhere in his career. He was involved in a project to bring the remains of two of the 11,000 holy virgins of Cologne to Portugal,³⁷ and he wrote a sermon for the *Rainha Santa* Isabel, nearly seventy-five years before she was officially canonized in 1625. This was a celebrated queen whose miracles began to be recorded almost as soon as she died in 1336,³⁸ and who was the focus of a major medieval cult at the Franciscan nunnery of Santa Clara de Coimbra.³⁹ Yet it was only at the insistence of the Philippine kings of Spain, who saw a chance to use an Aragonese-Portuguese ancestral saint in the consolidation of their conquest of Portugal, that Isabel was canonized. It was much harder for a non-royal friar like Giles to receive papal recognition.⁴⁰ A final example of how medieval saints' cults could be revived in the early-modern period is the case of Saint Julián (c.1128-1208), bishop of Cuenca in Castile, whose body was translated and made the subject of renewed devotion in 1516. There was much less evidence for a medieval cult of Julian than there is in the case of Giles of Santarém but the bishop became the

Hagiography in Honor of John K. Walsh, eds. J.E. Connolly, A. Deyermund and B. Dutton (Madison, WI, 1990), pp.97-106.

³⁵ A. Joblin, "l'Attitude des protestants face aux reliques", in *Les Reliques: objets, cultes, symboles*, Actes du colloque international de l'Université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-mer), 4-6 Sept 1997, eds. E. Bozóky and A.-M. Helvétius (Turnhout, 1999), pp.123-41.

³⁶ For the Council of Trent, see A.G. Dickens, *The Counter-Reformation* (New York, 1969), pp.107-33.

³⁷ *On Court Life*, ed. Martyn, p.18, and J.R.C. Martyn, "André de Resende and the 11, 000 Holy Virgins", *Humanitas* 39-40 (1987-88), 197-209.

³⁸ P. de Azevedo, "Inquirição de 1336 sobre os milagres da Rainha D. Isabel", *Boletim da segunda classe da Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa* 3 (1910), 294-303.

³⁹ Another important cult in Coimbra, the Martyrs of Morocco, never received papal recognition. They were themselves the subject of a revival in the fifteenth century when the cult became associated with a peculiar flagellant procession. See Oliveira Marques, *Sociedade medieval portuguesa*, pp.164-5, and Gomes, "As ordens mendicantes na Coimbra medieval", p.161.

⁴⁰ Early-modern canonizations were usually the result of pressure bought to bear on the papacy by kings and religious orders. See P. Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint", in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. K. von Greyerz (London, 1984), pp.45-55.

focus of a vigorous campaign for canonization directed by the cathedral chapter. Ultimately successful, this campaign saw the production of nine *vitae* and a wide range of miracles. This cult can be compared with that of Giles in many respects.⁴¹

It appears that there is considerable evidence that André de Resende witnessed the revival of a medieval cult in a period which recognized the importance of continuity with the religious past. The indications are that Giles of Santarém was being prepared as a proper Counter-Reformation saint and the Dominican *vitae* written in the mid-sixteenth century were presumably part of a campaign for papal recognition. The vagaries of the system, however, ensured that this was not brought to fruition for many generations. Yet the efforts of these writers were not in vain. The hagiographical process in this period demanded authenticity in *vitae* and miracles. Hence, Resende had to be sure of his facts and emphasize the reliability of his sources. In order to establish the reliability of Resende himself, it is very important now to investigate his sources and the ways in which he used them.

The Sources of André de Resende

It is first of all essential to discuss the peculiar manner in which Resende organized his *vita* because this has a bearing on how he viewed his sources. The humanist education and contacts of Resende's were shaping forces in his life of Giles of Santarém. Resende admitted to using certain sources but his dislike of their language and structure caused him to reorganize the material to suit his own purpose. Consequently, Giles' life and his miracles were written as the subject of a series of conversations Resende had with two similarly-minded friends: Luís Pires, and Inácio de Morais.⁴² Their discussion, sometimes critical, of Giles' deeds and the customs and beliefs of his society, transformed a straightforward saint's life into a wide-ranging debate which often diverged drastically from the main topic.⁴³ Among other things,

⁴¹ S.T. Nalle, "A Saint for all Seasons: the Cult of San Julián", in *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, eds. A.J. Cruz and M.E. Perry (Minneapolis, 1992), pp.25-50.

⁴² These were real people: Pires was an obscure figure known to have matriculated in medicine at the University of Coimbra in 1537-8. Morais (c.1500-1561) was a poet and professor of humanities at Coimbra.

⁴³ For example, Pires interrupts Resende at the point at which Giles' benefices in Braga, Coimbra, Santarém and Guarda are listed (*Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.233). As all of these are held *in absentia* by an unordained youth, Pires compares it to the vices of his own day condemned by the Council of

the friends considered the Latin names of fish, the origin and fate of the Knights Templar, Portuguese place names, honorific titles, and the identity of Pseudo-Dionysius. These discussions, much like those Thomas More may have had before the writing of *Utopia*, a contemporary work (1516) also made up of a series of dialogues, were probably based on real conversations.⁴⁴ This strongly personal, informal style is very readable, but it does mean that the story of the life of Giles of Santarém can be submerged beneath a wealth of fascinating but not particularly relevant information.

Resende used a number of sources, some medieval and others closer to his own times.⁴⁵ From one of these more modern sources, said to be written in a "barbarous" style, he claimed to have drawn details concerning Giles' home, family, studies and religious conversion.⁴⁶ Resende's modern editor Virgínia Soares Pereira believes that this was probably the *Vita Beati Gili Sanctarenensis* of Baltazar de São João, completed in 1537, some six years before Resende began his version. There are certain stylistic and structural similarities which cannot be explained solely by the authors' use of a common source.⁴⁷ Pereira thinks it likely that Resende's failure to name the author of this later source is due to his criticism of its "barbarous" language: São João was probably still alive when Resende began his own version. Resende did not, however, use all of São João's material and it is possible to find different miracles in the latter's account. For example, São João did not give the same subsequent miracles as Resende during the events of October 1520 - the healing of a skin disease and breast cancer - but he did report a miracle which occurred while he himself was in Santarém.⁴⁸ As with Resende, personal involvement heightens the description of the

Trent. Resende's work often reveals as much about his own world as about that of Giles of Santarém. This is the view of Martyn, ed., "A Renaissance picnic at Resende's *Quinta*".

⁴⁴ The technique of forming stories around conversations seems to have been a common one. See introduction to *Utopia: Latin text and English Translation*, eds. G.M. Logan, R.M. Adams and C.H. Miller (Cambridge, 1995), especially pp.xx-xxvi. Also useful is V. Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge, 1992).

⁴⁵ Discussion of Resende's sources is indebted to the research of his editor, Pereira, in *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.75-114.

⁴⁶ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.224: *vitae vero series, patria, parentes, studia eius et conversio ab altero recentiore descripta sunt eodem caractere, hoc est plane barbaro.*

⁴⁷ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.78-85.

⁴⁸ *Vida*, pp.212-14. This is an account of an unmarried, pregnant daughter of a Santarém noblewoman. The mother borrowed the relic of Giles' iron belt to aid her daughter during labour.

case. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known of São João apart from this late copy of his *vita*. Nevertheless, his *vita* of Giles of Santarém is a valuable source in its own right. He provides some very bizarre dates in the *vita* but gives the earliest and fullest version of Giles' legendary pact with the devil.⁴⁹

Another possible source for André de Resende was the *Compendio dos religiosos insignes da ordem dos Pregadores* (1552) of António de São Domingos (1531-1596), Dominican theologian at the University of Coimbra.⁵⁰ Again there are certain stylistic similarities, but São Domingos' work also stands alone as an independent source completed much earlier than Resende's. Drawing on António de São Domingo's work is the *Primera parte de la historia general de Sancto Domingo* (1584) of Hernando de Castillo, a Spanish Dominican and envoy of Philip II.⁵¹ Since this work was published two years before that of Resende, it is easy to assume that it is the earlier version. However, it is quite clear that Resende's was completed in manuscript form much earlier. In fact, there is some evidence that Hernando de Castillo had access to Resende's unpublished *vita* in 1579 during a visit to the Dominican convent in Santarém where it was kept.⁵² A further work which appears to predate Resende's version is the *Historia das vidas e feitos heroicos, e obras insignes dos santos* (1585) of Diogo de Rosário. However, this has no independent value for Giles' story.⁵³

The women confessed but, owing to the delicate nature of the circumstances, São João could not reveal their names. São João explained: *tandem hoc miraculum me Sanctarenae existente Egidius fecit.*

⁴⁹ A close look at Ajuda, ms. 51-I-56 reveals that many of the dates are fourteenth century. They are doubly wrong as they are both written out in full in the text and put in numerical form in the margin. For an analysis of São João's role in the development of the legend of Giles of Santarém, see below, Chapter Three.

⁵⁰ The *Compendio* is a collection of lives of Dominican saints and Portuguese religious figures as well as a chronicle of the Order. The section devoted to Giles of Santarém is on pp.109-17. See also *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.85-9.

⁵¹ *Primera Parte de la Historia General de Sancto Domingo* (Madrid, 1584). See *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.108-11. Hernando is the source for seventeenth-century Spanish drama based on the life of Giles of Santarém. However, modern literary historians have failed to trace the source for these plays further back than Castillo. To use Waxman, "Chapters on magic", again (p.373): "as far as I have been able to make out, the first known account of the Frey Gil legend is that of Hernando de Castilla of 1584". See below, Chapter Three, for further details of these plays.

⁵² See below, p.46.

⁵³ *Historia das vidas e feitos heroicos, e obras insignes dos santos* (1st. edn, Braga, 1567). The Life of Giles of Santarém was inserted into the third edition of 1585. It is little more than a transcription of the passage found in António de São Domingos. See *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.111-12.

André de Resende was aware that it was also important to use medieval sources in his life of Giles of Santarém. He described the first of these as “a very old book written on parchment and half-eaten by beetles” which Resende claimed to have found at the Dominican convent in Santarém.⁵⁴ He believed that it was written by an upright, religious man who had known Giles and was convinced of its spiritual value, but he also scorned it as “scattered, disorganized, with grammatical errors, in a stammering form and completely barbarous”.⁵⁵ Resende claimed that he got most biographical material from his more recent source, so this ancient manuscript must have been little more than a list of miracles, providing Resende with the eighty-seven miracles he described throughout his *vita*. He tells us that the manuscript ended with a description of the three miracles he himself witnessed in 1520.⁵⁶ This suggests that the manuscript was the official record of miracles attributed to Giles. Unfortunately, this important source for the cult of Giles of Santarém no longer exists. Some historians even believe that it never existed.⁵⁷ This is a hypothesis which must be explored.

It is evident that dismissal of this manuscript is related to the suspicions of some historians that Giles' entire cult was a modern invention. As the cult can be shown to have existed in the Middle Ages, then so can the mystery manuscript be explained with all probability as a genuine codex which has gone missing. Several other sixteenth-century writers made use of an old manuscript source for the life of Giles of Santarém. In 1537 Baltazar de São João mentioned that Giles' miracles could be found recorded “in a certain codex, put aside because of its great age and eaten away by worms and rot, perhaps due to the carelessness of the priors and the

⁵⁴ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.224: *librum veterrimum membrana scriptum, a blattis semicomsum*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.224: *sparsim, inordinate, soloece, balbe planeque barbore*.

⁵⁶ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.360. Resende appears to have had the manuscript before him as he wrote this, and we have a very vivid picture of the old man looking back at the words of forty-six years before, written “when we were young” (*nobis adolescentibus*). It is possible that as a leading scholar in his middle years, Resende suddenly realized the potential of the manuscript he saw in his youth and this caused him to go back to Santarém and find it.

⁵⁷ For example, Waxman, “Chapters on Magic in Spanish Literature”, who writes on p.373 “it would be interesting to find the manuscript mentioned by the biographers of Gil, so that we might know exactly where to place the legend. It is probably another case of a “lost manuscript” which never existed”.

brothers”.⁵⁸ In 1552 the *Compendio* of António de São Domingos explained that the material for Giles’ life “appears to be drawn” (*parece tirada*) from another version which was in the convent of Santarém.⁵⁹ This rather doubtful reference may be due to the fact that this author was working from a copy or another *vita*, but was aware of the original. He believes that the author was “a man of great authority who saw many of the things that we referred to and heard others from persons of merit”.⁶⁰ In 1584 in his *Historia general de Sancto Domingo*, Hernando de Castillo referred to “manuscripts in Portuguese of some saints of the Order and others in Latin which are held by the convent of Santarém, being nearly three hundred years old”.⁶¹ It is plausible that all these references are to the same codex. All the writers described an anonymous source written in Latin and found at Santarém which was of great age and in a deteriorated state.

However, by the time the Bollandist editors of the *Acta Sanctorum*, the culmination of the rehabilitation of saints by the Counter-Reformation, tried to obtain a copy of the manuscript in 1680 it had vanished.⁶² It is difficult to ascertain when it disappeared. The last Portuguese writer to mention the manuscript, Luís de Sousa in 1662, knew that Resende had used it but seems to have made no attempt to consult it.⁶³ It is likely that by this time it was already missing. As Hernando de Castillo was the last person to refer to it directly, and as he probably consulted it during a visit to Portugal in 1579, it may be that its disappearance occurred during the political crisis of the following year when Philip II of Spain invaded.⁶⁴ As will be seen, the manuscript of Resende's as yet unpublished *vita* of Giles of Santarém, also found in

⁵⁸ *Vida*, p.198: *in codice quodam multa vetustate obdacto, ac forte praelatorum et fratrum incuria, a teredine et carie.*

⁵⁹ *Compendio*, p.109.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.119: *Pareceme ser homem de grande authoridade, que muytos das cousas que referimos vio & outras ouvio a pessoas de credito.*

⁶¹ Prologue to *Historia general de Sancto Domingo* (unfoliated). The manuscripts in Latin referred to by Castillo could have included the *vita* of André de Resende. See above, p.44.

⁶² *AASS* May III (14 May), eds. G. Plenchen and D. Papebroch (Paris/Rome, 1866), p.402.

⁶³ Sousa explained that Resende put his history into *boa lingoa Latina, tirando a de outra muita mais antiga, e meio barbara, que se guarda no Convento de Santarém tambem composta por Frade: Sousa, Domingos, I, p.174.*

⁶⁴ Castillo was sent to Portugal by Philip II on a diplomatic mission concerning the Portuguese succession. He took the chance of this visit to collect material for the history of his Order which he had been considering since at least 1574: *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.109.

the convent at Santarém, vanished temporarily in this period of political and social upheaval. It would not be surprising that a codex, already three hundred years old and apparently in a bad state of repair, did not survive.

A brief glance at other medieval Portuguese hagiography shows that the recording of miracles at a centre of pilgrimage was typical.⁶⁵ It can obviously also be compared with miracle collections elsewhere in Europe, for example, the immense recording carried out in England at the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury. There does not seem to have been very much work done on Portuguese miracle collections and saints' lives but important published collections are those of St Vincent, an early Iberian martyr (d.304), and the Martyrs of Morocco.⁶⁶ All the lives supply a minimum of biographical material followed by a list of mostly posthumous miracles. The earliest published collection of these and other saints' lives in Portugal was a *Flos Sanctorum* of 1513 ordered by king Manuel, a further sign of the renewed interest in saints' cults in the sixteenth century.⁶⁷ It is clear that nearly all medieval Portuguese saints' cults, and not just that of Giles of Santarém, underwent a process of renewal and reinterpretation in the early-modern period.

Few historians have discussed the nature of the lost miracle collection of Giles of Santarém. Mário Martins, who refers rather vaguely to a *Livro dos Milagres de S. Frei Gil* which had disappeared, believes it contained popular accounts of miracles

⁶⁵ There is evidence in the miracles recorded by Resende and the other writers that, although Giles' cult was primarily local in character, people still came from far and wide to his tomb. For example, from Lisbon (*Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.307-8), Coimbra (*Ibid.*, p.334), Guimarães (*Ibid.*, p.341), and Leiria (*Ibid.*, pp.353-4). It is thought that in the modern period people left wine in cavities in the tomb in the belief that it assimilated some of the healing power of the saint and could then be taken away and applied to the body. This is, in fact, how Resende described the healing of a breast cancer in 1520. The evidence for pilgrimages in the Middle Ages is less forthcoming. Some of the people who came to Santarém to be healed were actually seeking medical assistance from the friars. See below, Chapter Seven, pp.238-40.

⁶⁶ *S. Vicente de Lisboa e seus milagres medievais*, eds. A.A. Nascimento and S.A. Gomes (Lisbon, 1988). The miracles of the Martyrs of Morocco are found in *PMH, Scriptores*, pp.111-16. Other important Saints' Lives are those of the founders of Santa Cruz de Coimbra. See *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra: vida de D. Telo, vida de D. Teotónio, vida de Martinho de Soure*, ed. A.A. Nascimento (Lisbon, 1998). The miracles of the *Rainha Santa Isabel* are found in "Vida e milagres de Dona Isabel, rainha de Portugal", ed. J.J. Nunes, *Boletim da segunda classe da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* 13 (1921), 1293-384. These last two collections, however, are considerably more sophisticated than the others, providing much more biographical detail.

⁶⁷ *Ho flos sanctorum em lingoajem* (Lisbon, 1513). See M.C. de Almeida Lucas, *Hagiografia medieval portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1984), p.15. Giles of Santarém is not one of the Portuguese saints found in the *Flos sanctorum*, which has been another reason to doubt that his cult predated 1520. However, this can be explained by the fact that Giles was only revered by the Dominican order and in the regions of Santarém and Viseu.

which had been passed around by word of mouth and reinterpreted.⁶⁸ Martins follows a tradition that this medieval book of miracles had been written by a contemporary of Giles known as Pedro Pais. This was a tradition popularized by Luís de Sousa in his version of Giles' life, who mentioned that Resende followed the words of *Frei Pedro Pais*, and it can be found recorded by several modern historians.⁶⁹ However, Resende himself, and the other sixteenth-century sources are unable to name an author. The modern editor of Resende, Virgínia Soares Pereira, has shown that the attribution to Pedro Pais of the lost *vita* was entirely due to a mistake in punctuation in Resende's text when it was finally published in 1586.⁷⁰ This edition is known to be full of errors and examination of one of the editions of 1586 held by the National Library of Lisbon does indeed show quite clearly how the mistake was made.⁷¹ On pages 111-112 of the edition it is written *et fratre Petro Pelagio, auctore historiae nostrae....* An *et* was probably omitted between *Pelagio* and *auctore*, and a comma inserted instead. This is how Pereira reconstructs the sentence in her edition.⁷² It is probably not the only authorial mistake made about the text. According to Barbosa Machado, a prominent eighteenth-century encyclopaedist, another thirteenth-century Dominican, João de Portalegre, was also the author of a life of Giles of Santarém.⁷³ Amongst the miracles recorded by Resende there are two witnessed by a *Iohannes Alacriportuensis*, and it is possible that, just as with Pedro Pais, a later writer has misread the text.⁷⁴

The second medieval source used by Resende was the important Dominican compilation known as the *Vitae fratrum*. This, as will be seen, is indeed a major

⁶⁸ M. Martins, "Peregrinações e livros de milagres na nossa Idade Média", *Revista portuguesa de história* 5 (1951), 87-236, at p.208.

⁶⁹ Luís de Sousa's words are *O Mestre Frei André de Resende, seguindo a Frei Pedro Paes, hum dos escriptores da vida do Santo, diz que....: Domingos*, I, p.244. For examples of the attribution to Pedro Pais, see J. de Oliveira, *Frei Gil de Portugal: médico, teólogo, taumaturgo* (Braga, 1991), pp.16-17; and J.J. Gallego Salvadores, "São Frei Gil de Santarém: história e lenda", in *Colóquio comemorativo de S. Frei Gil de Santarém* (Lisbon, 1991), pp.25-45, at p.29.

⁷⁰ V. Soares Pereira, "A autoria de uma vida de Fr. Gil de Santarém atribuída a Pedro Pais", in *Miscelânea de estudos em honra do Prof. A. Costa Ramalho* (Coimbra, 1992), pp.351-64.

⁷¹ *Thesaurus arcanus*, ed. E. de Sampaio (Paris, 1586): BNL, Res.4715 P. For the complex history of the publication of Resende's work, see below, pp.55-7.

⁷² *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.348.

⁷³ D. Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 4 vols (fasc. rpt of 1741-59 edn, Coimbra, 1965-67), II, p.725.

source for the life of Giles of Santarém.⁷⁵ For the moment it is only relevant to analyze how Resende used the work. He was very aware that using such an important source for early Dominican history gave credence to his *vita*, and by citing the *Vitae fratrum* he was able to emphasize the high profile career of his subject. However, Resende used the *Vitae fratrum* very selectively. According to his modern editor, Pereira, he approached the material in four ways.⁷⁶ Firstly, he quoted certain passages almost word for word. An example of this is when Resende referred to the friendship of Giles of Santarém with Humbert of Romans, later fifth Master General of the order, during their noviciate.⁷⁷ Secondly, he used some passages more or less as given, but added colour and detail. This is the case in a story of Giles' influence on the vocation of a youth he met while travelling near Poitiers.⁷⁸ Thirdly, Resende used the text ostensibly to prove the historicity of one of the miracles he recorded. This purported to be a story of a cockerel, found in the *Vitae fratrum*, which was killed and then resuscitated.⁷⁹ However, Resende chose to place the story in Azoia, near Santarém, rather than in Madrid where the story was set in the *Vitae fratrum*.⁸⁰ Resende also has Giles as the protagonist, rather than as the narrator. In this case Resende actually ended in manipulating his source.

The fourth way in which Resende used the *Vitae Fratrum* was to ignore parts of it altogether. In particular, he chose to omit all references to Giles' uncertain character in the early part of his life as a Dominican; his tendency for jesting, for example, and the fact that he had difficulty in adapting to the rigours of the order.⁸¹ Obviously, this is because although it was proper for a saint to endure demonic

⁷⁴ See Pereira, "A autoria de uma vida", p.364, and *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.290 and 318.

⁷⁵ The *Vitae fratrum* is the subject of Chapter Two. All the references made here to the passages concerning Giles of Santarém in the *Vitae fratrum* will be discussed in Chapters Two and Six.

⁷⁶ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.90.

⁷⁷ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.243. This passage corresponds to Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.154-5 and 259.

⁷⁸ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.271-72; Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.163-4.

⁷⁹ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.278; Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.224-5.

⁸⁰ Pereira translates *Maioricam* as Majorca and does not notice that in the original the location of the story was Madrid. It is more likely that Resende meant Madrid, using a less common Latin form. According to *Orbis latinus, Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen*, German-Latin, Latin-German edition, eds. J.G.T. Graesse, F. Benedict, H. Plechl and G. Spitzbart (Würzburg, 1971), p.220, *Majoritum* could be used for Madrid.

⁸¹ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.200.

temptation, it was not proper for him to embark on religious life dissatisfied and uncomfortable. Resende explained to his friend Luís Pires that some things were more curious than useful.⁸² He was referring to details of the profligate life Giles led in Paris before his conversion, details which were not deemed suitable for inclusion, but it is likely that other material was also considered inappropriate. It is possible to explain omissions of this kind, but it is far harder to understand why Resende failed to include the ten stories contributed by Giles himself to the *Vitae Fratrum*.⁸³ As Pereira is more concerned with the technique of Resende than with the biography of Giles, she does not remark on this omission. Resende may have omitted the stories because they were not miracles performed by Giles, but simply accounts of the pious deaths of other friars.⁸⁴

Pereira is more interested in André de Resende's statements that Giles of Santarém was made a Doctor of Theology and was *twice* Prior Provincial of Spain. Resende based this on two quotations from the *Vitae fratrum*:

Haec frater Aegidius de Portugallia scripsit, vir simplex et rectus et timens Deum, in saeculo magnus in Artibus et Physica, et in Theologia in ordine doctor

and

*Frater Aegidius Hispanus, qui fuit in saeculo magnus in Artibus et Physica, et in ordine in sacra pagina lector, qui prior fuit provincialis bis in Hispania, vir religiosus, pius et verax.....*⁸⁵

The problem is that in the modern edition of the *Vitae fratrum* by Reichert these exact words are not found.⁸⁶ Pereira was able to show that the word *doctor* is found in a sixteenth-century manuscript of the *Vitae fratrum* belonging to the University of Salamanca and therefore cannot be a mistake of Resende. However, Pereira was aware that without a full study of the manuscripts of the *Vitae fratrum* the origins of

⁸² *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.237.

⁸³ Although there may be traces of one story, that of a Brother Martinho who had been chaplain to the bishop of Lisbon and, dying of a continuous fever, was visited by Giles: Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.262-3. In *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.259 (and also *Vida*, p.180) there is a Martinho of Lisbon, suffering from an acute fever, who was visited by Giles in the infirmary. Neither Resende nor São João connect this person to the *Vitae fratrum* and, as São João makes only one other indirect mention of the *Vitae fratrum* at all, it is possible that there is an independent source for this story. The role of local and oral tradition should not be ignored, although there is little evidence for its presence.

⁸⁴ It is also possible that the manuscript of *Vitae fratrum* to which Resende had access was truncated. Further discrepancies between Resende's quotations and the *Vitae fratrum* are discussed below.

⁸⁵ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.91-3 for Pereira's discussion and *Ibid.*, pp.243-4 for the text.

⁸⁶ The discrepancy was noted even earlier by Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores*, II, p.243.

these two statements could not be traced properly. Recently Simon Tugwell has embarked on such a study and his critical edition reveals that both quotations can be traced back almost word for word to the earliest manuscript of the *Vitae fratrum*, compiled in 1258-9. The addition of *bis* to Resende's quotation, however, cannot be found in any manuscript of the *Vitae fratrum*.⁸⁷ This mysterious addition is the source of a firmly-established tradition that Giles of Santarém was Prior Provincial of *Hispania* twice.⁸⁸

Other early-modern authors also make interesting use of the *Vitae fratrum*. Baltazar de São João made no mention of the work at all. He did not refer to Giles' friendship with Humbert of Romans, and the only story similar to one in the *Vitae fratrum* is a brief reference to the resuscitation of a hen.⁸⁹ It is possible that this striking tale found its way into local tradition. In contrast, Hernando de Castillo placed great emphasis on the *Vitae fratrum* and took care to cite the stories Resende omitted, including those which referred to Giles' initial discomfort as a friar.⁹⁰ Later Dominican writers, such as Luís de Sousa, also used the *Vitae fratrum* heavily.⁹¹ There was a great appreciation of the importance of this text for the history of the Dominican order.

A final medieval source was used by Resende. This is a group of Portuguese genealogical works or *Livros de linhagens* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which have become invaluable in recent years for the study of the medieval Portuguese nobility.⁹² They have been used extensively by modern historians for the

⁸⁷ The Revd Dr Simon Tugwell OP has very kindly provided extensive sections of his forthcoming critical edition of the *Vitae fratrum* and has been a source of considerable information and encouragement.

⁸⁸ See Chapter Six for a discussion of this hypothetical second provincialate. It increasingly appears to be the case that the entire theory is based on this "error" in Resende's text.

⁸⁹ *Vida*, p.198.

⁹⁰ For example, *Historia general de Sancto Domingo*, fols.345v, 348, 349 and 351.

⁹¹ Sousa used the *Vitae fratrum* for the friendship of Giles and Humbert, *Domingos*, I, p.186; the incident which took place near Poitiers, *Ibid.*, pp.189-90; and the resuscitation of the cockerel, *Ibid.*, pp.219-20. He also devoted a chapter to each of the friars whose deaths are recorded by Giles.

⁹² The new emphasis on the *Livros de linhagens* dates from the publication of critical editions in 1980: *Livros velhos de linhagens*, eds. J. Mattoso and J. Piel, *PMH*, n.s. 1 (Lisbon, 1980), and *Livro de linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, ed. J. Mattoso, *PMH*, n.s. 2:1 (Lisbon, 1980). These have proved influential in a number of recent doctoral theses. For example, L. Ventura, *A nobreza de corte de Afonso III*, 2 vols (University of Coimbra, 1990), L. Krus, *A concepção nobiliárquica do espaço ibérico (1280-1380)* (University of Lisbon, 1994), and J.A. de Sotto Mayor Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais: genealogias e estratégias (1279-1325)*, 3 vols (University of Oporto, 1997). See also

reconstruction of Giles of Santarém's family tree. As will be seen, this approach has created tremendous chronological and biographical difficulties, and in the end proves to be a complex "red herring" in research on Giles' life.⁹³ The whole approach derives from André de Resende's attempt to provide careful documentation for Giles' family. Whether he was deliberately manipulative or innocently misled by his sources, generations of historians have been hoodwinked.

As these genealogical texts will be examined at length to establish what light they may or may not shed on the social connections of Giles of Santarém, and as they are hardly known outside Portugal, it is worth describing them in some detail. Genealogy has been described as a dry, thankless task which usually ends in confusion. It is often only concerned with one family, or one group of families and their interests, rather than with the historical development of a society through the generations. Finally, the errors, legends, and misunderstandings accumulated by scribes over the years mean that they often contradict the documentary evidence gleaned from wills and deeds.⁹⁴ All these points are arguably the case for Portuguese genealogical texts, but recent study has shown that very positive insights can be derived from these idiosyncratic works.

The *Livros de Linhagens* are three separate works which survive in a number of later versions. The eldest, the *Livro Velho de Linhagens*, is incomplete and dates from 1285-90. The text was probably written by a monk of the monastery of Santo Tirso near Oporto, and is particularly associated with the Maia family who were the main patrons of this monastic house and one of the most important families of twelfth and thirteenth century Portugal.⁹⁵ The second, fragmentary, genealogy is the so-called *Livro de Linhagens do Deão*. This survives in a copy dated 1343 and was probably written in 1337-40. It may have been written by the author of the third and

most of José Mattoso's work. For example, "A literatura genealógica e a cultura da nobreza em Portugal (s.XIII-XIV)", in *Portugal medieval*, ed. Mattoso, pp.309-28; *A nobreza medieval portuguesa: a família e o poder* (Lisbon, 1981); and *Ricos-homens, infanções e cavaleiros: a nobreza medieval portuguesa nos séculos XI e XII* (Lisbon, 1982).

⁹³ See below, Chapter Four.

⁹⁴ L. Génicot, *Les Généalogies*, Typologies des sources du moyen âge occidental 15 (Louvain, 1975), p.7. Although Génicot does go on to explain the value of genealogies in studies of aristocratic and royal attitudes, values and self-perceptions, his essay is short, generally negative, and limited to a few examples. He makes no reference to the Portuguese examples of the genre.

⁹⁵ The family tree put forward by Resende links Giles of Santarém to this family: see below, Chapter Four.

best known work, the *Nobiliario* of Count Pedro of Barcelos (d.1354), natural son of king Dinis. Pedro was one of the most prominent figures of the first half of the fourteenth-century, a troubadour poet and now accepted as the author of one of the first Portuguese chronicles. The *Nobiliario* was begun probably between 1317 and 1322 and completed in the 1340s. However, the surviving version is the result of several stages of development.⁹⁶

Resende used the *Nobiliario* of Count Pedro to prove his argument that Giles of Santarém was the son of Rodrigo Pais de Valadares, *alcaide* or governor of Coimbra, and his wife Teresa Gil. Later writers have used the *Nobiliario* to prove Resende's argument. All research into this question ran along this circular track until recently. The fact that none of the genealogical texts mentions Giles' cult and saintly reputation, let alone his career as a physician and Dominican, was explained away. Even when it was realized in the mid-twentieth century that the Rodrigo Pais described by Resende was an amalgamation of two men of this name, one of whom could not have been Giles' father on chronological grounds, historians went to great lengths to reconcile the genealogical evidence with the documentary. The influence of Resende on this issue has been paramount, yet it is quite clear that he misquoted the *Nobiliario*.⁹⁷ It is worth giving the relevant passages as an illustration of this. In Resende's version can be found, only after he has identified Rodrigo Pais as the father, the words:

As for his mother, she was called Teresa Gil (or Egidia). He also had two brothers: Paio Rodrigues, who kept his father's names but in reverse, and João Rodrigues, both older I find it thus in the book of the *Families or Lineages* by Count Pedro, natural son of king Dinis.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ These descriptions come from *Livros Velhos de Linhagens*, pp.10-17; *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, pp.41-8; Mattoso, "A literatura genealógica", pp.311-15; *Idem*, "As fontes do nobiliario do Conde D. Pedro", in *Historiografia portuguesa anterior a Herculano*, pp.21-66; and Serrão, *Historiografia Portuguesa*, I, pp.27-30.

⁹⁷ A full discussion of who might have been the father of Giles of Santarém can be found below in Chapter Four.

⁹⁸ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.228: *Mater vero illius domna Therasis Gillia sive Aegidia vocabatur. Habuit et germanos duos, Pelagium Rodericium, qui patris nomen inversum habuit, et Ioannem Rodericium natu maiores Ita reperiio in libro Familiarum sive Geneseon, scripto a Petro Comite, Dionysii regis notho. See Ibid.*, pp.376-7, notes 33 and 34 for Pereira's discussion. Resende also referred to a sixteenth-century genealogist, António de Lima (d.1582), but appears to have misquoted this source as well. Lima mentioned the supposed grandparents of Giles, as they are named in the *Nobiliario* of Count Pedro, but gave no details of descendants. It is not impossible, however, that, since Lima's genealogy survives incomplete and unpublished, Resende, a contemporary of Lima's, knew an alternative draft or had spoken with him on the subject.

In the *Nobiliario*, however, the passage Resende claimed to have used reads:

*And dona Maria Gil was married to dom Rui Paaez de Valadares, and they had Joham Rodriguez and Paai Rodriguez, who died justly, and Gil Rodriguez, who was killed by Pero Soares Galinhato And dona Tereija Gil was married to Huer Nuniz*⁹⁹

Although Resende kept the names of Giles' two brothers, he either mistakenly noted down his mother's name or deliberately changed it. It is likely that the change was deliberate as it was hardly edifying to read in the next line that the saintly Giles was killed by someone, a detail naturally omitted by Resende. By changing the mother's name to that of her sister, Resende retained the genealogy but sidestepped the problem of Giles' fate. All later authors, unwittingly, followed Resende in this deception. Only the anonymous author of an eighteenth-century manuscript from Évora went back to the original *Nobiliario*. Noting the discrepancy about the mother, he declared Resende and everyone else to be mistaken. He still chose to ignore the problem of Giles' death.¹⁰⁰

No historian has really considered the question of whether Resende completely invented the relationship between the subject of the cult at Santarém and this passage of a relatively obscure genealogical text. He needed a background for the shadowy figure he was writing about, preferably a noble background which would give prestige to the cult. He may have sought to attract the support of the influential descendants of the families thereby associated with Giles. In particular, Resende was very keen to link Giles to the Cogominho family. Resende composed a genealogy of this family which was believed to be the ancestor of the Ataídes, an extremely influential family at the court of João III. Significantly, Resende composed and dedicated two of his poems to Luís de Ataíde, Viceroy of India from 1568 to 1572.¹⁰¹ It would be interesting to discover whether this family had anything to do with the revival of Giles' cult in 1520. Certainly the author of the Évora manuscript claimed

⁹⁹ *Livro de linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, p.414: *E dona Maria Gil foi casada com dom Rui Paaez de Valadares, e fez em ela Joham Rodriguez e Paai Rodriguez, que foi morto per justiça e Gil Rodriguez que foi morto por Pero Soares Galinhato E dona Tereija Gil foi casada com Huer Nuniz.*

¹⁰⁰ BPE, ms.CV/2-4, fol.9v.

¹⁰¹ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.379, notes 38-40. See below, Chapter Four. In the fifteenth century the Ataídes came into possession of the honour of Atouguia which had belonged to Joana Dias, traditionally seen as Giles' maternal cousin, who married into the Cogominho family. For this relationship, see below, Chapter Four.

that the Ataíde Duke of Lafões and Atougia had an interest in the cult in the eighteenth century.¹⁰² Did he have a hand in Giles' eventual beatification? It appears that little research has been done on the influence of early-modern religious and political interests on the survival of medieval Portuguese cults.

The Development of the Legend of Giles of Santarém

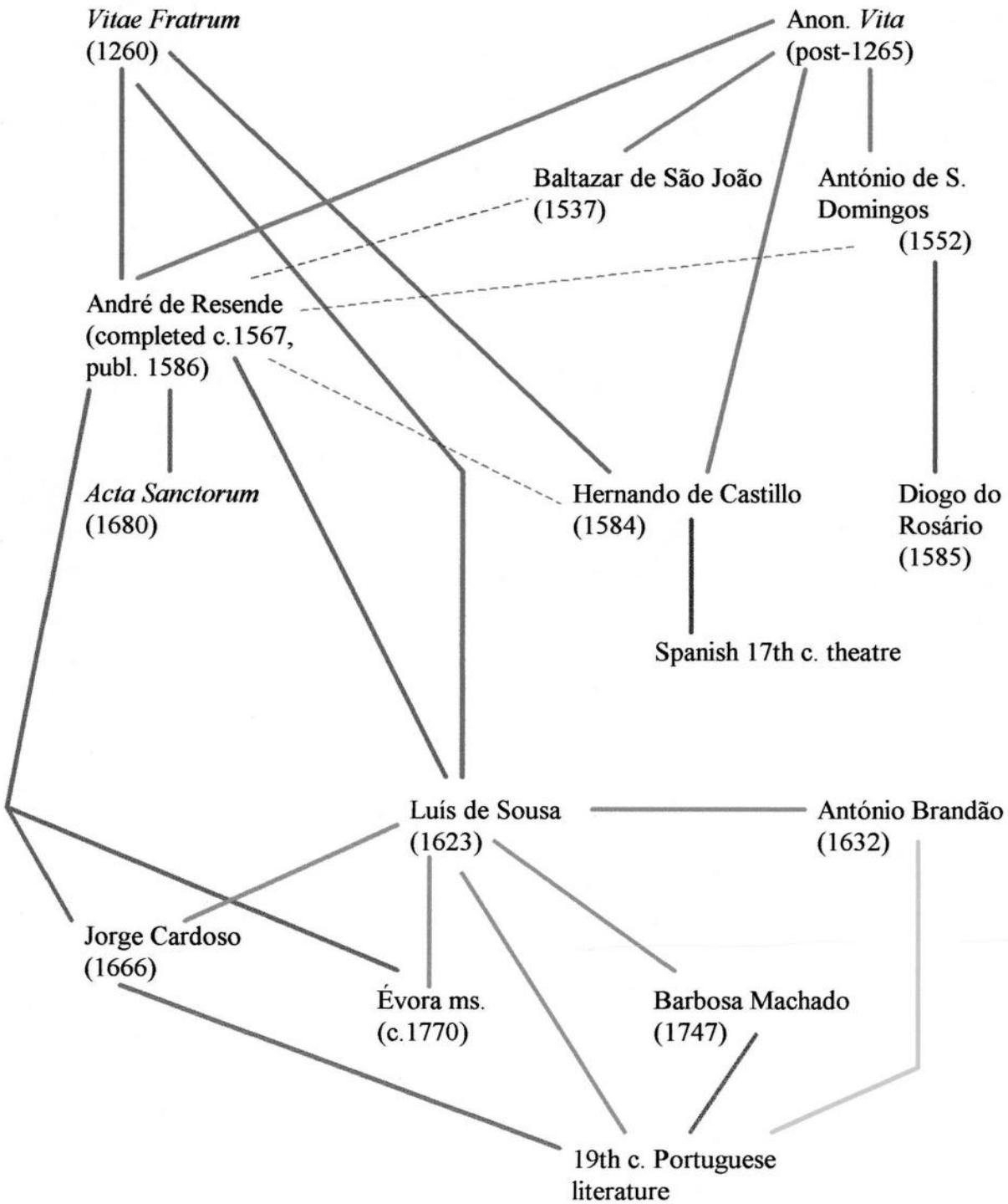
It has become clear that the life and legend of Giles of Santarém largely springs from the *vita* of André de Resende. It is also evident that Giles' story attracted a number of other writers, many of them also Dominican. It is necessary to follow the versions of Giles' legend through the centuries in order to understand how information about Giles has been transmitted to the present day. As will be seen, the account of Resende became absorbed into later versions and forgotten, but its influence, although unrecognized, was immense.

It is possible to draw a diagram (fig. 2) which illustrates in the clearest way possible the relationships and descent of the various sources for the life and legend of Giles of Santarém. As can be seen, the line of descent begins with the thirteenth-century sources, the *Vitae Fratrum* and the lost *Vita* of Santarém, and ends with the immediate sources of modern historical and literary versions of the story, such as that found in the *Acta Sanctorum* and those which were used for nineteenth-century novels. It can be seen how André de Resende's work acts as a focus for all this activity. It is also possible to see a second focus, the work of Luís de Sousa.

Initially, Resende's *vita* had little impact in Portugal. This is because of the length of time it took for him to complete it, and the fact that it was only published after he died, and then in Paris rather than in Portugal. The story is obscure but it appears that Resende's manuscript of the *vita* was left in the convent in Santarém when completed. António de Sena (d. c.1585), a Dominican exiled during the Portuguese succession crisis of 1578-80, took a copy of it to France and in rather mysterious circumstances the manuscript came into the hands of another Portuguese Dominican in exile, Estevão de Sampaio (d.1603), who published the work with his own prologue in 1586 in Paris, and seems to have deliberately obscured Resende's name. He also admitted to altering the text. Sampaio continued the personal

¹⁰² BPE, ms.CV/2-4, fol.234v.

Fig. 2: Key Authors and Dates in the Development of the Legend of Giles of Santarém



involvement in Giles' cult, which was seen in Resende and São João, by claiming in his prologue that Giles healed his eye during a stay in Santarém.¹⁰³ Sampaio was actually responsible for two editions in 1586. The first of these was the basis of the *Acta Sanctorum* version nearly a hundred years later. A third edition came out in 1596.¹⁰⁴

For a long time knowledge of Resende's work within Portugal was limited to manuscript versions made by anonymous interested people, two of which survive in eighteenth-century copies.¹⁰⁵ When Luís de Sousa (1555-1627) included a lengthy account of Giles of Santarém's life and miracles in the *História de S. Domingos*, he seems to have had access to an earlier manuscript copy. He also had a copy of one of the printed editions.¹⁰⁶ Sousa was a well-known Dominican whose private life aroused great curiosity and became the the subject of novels and plays. Before becoming a friar, Sousa was married to Madalena de Vilhena. Her first husband was presumed to have died in the disastrous battle of Alcácer Quibir in 1578 in which the young king Sebastião was killed, allowing Philip II of Spain to assert his claim to the Portuguese throne. In around 1614, Sousa and his wife suddenly separated in order to enter religious orders. The legendary reason for this was the return of Madalena's first husband from a Moroccan prison.¹⁰⁷ Luís de Sousa's history became extremely popular as a result. It is also written in Portuguese, rather than Latin, in a much more readable style. Therefore, although Resende was Sousa's acknowledged source, most

¹⁰³ AASS, May III, pp.402-3.

¹⁰⁴ The complex history of the manuscript's wanderings and publication process is explored by Pereira in *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.180-99 (see p.199 for a *stemma* of the various manuscripts and editions), and by A. da Costa Ramalho, "A conversão maravilhosa do Português D. Gil - um diálogo latino quase ignorado - da autoria de André de Resende", *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 27 (1979), 239-62. The editions of Sampaio are now very rare. A worm-eaten, burnt and heavily annotated copy of one of the 1586 editions, the *Thesaurus arcanus*, can be found in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon under the classmark 110-II-66. Another copy of the same edition is BNL Res.4715 P. The most accessible edition, of course, is the *Acta Sanctorum* version of 1680, which still contains Sampaio's prologue. It would be very interesting to know if António de Sena also took the lost medieval *vita* when he went to France with Resende's text.

¹⁰⁵ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.192.

¹⁰⁶ Sousa's history is a reworking and continuation of the notes of an earlier Dominican, Luís Cácegas. Luís de Sousa is usually given the credit for its completion and publication. See Serrão, *Historiografia Portuguesa*, II, p.221.

¹⁰⁷ For Sousa's career see *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.113, and Serrão, *Historiografia Portuguesa*, II, pp.219-28. For an example of the legend see the play *Frei Luís de Sousa* by Almeida Garrett, first published in 1844 (Lisbon, 1964).

later versions were actually drawn from Sousa. Some authors, such as Jorge Cardoso¹⁰⁸ and the writer of the anonymous eighteenth-century manuscript in Évora,¹⁰⁹ still referred back to Resende. Generally, however, Luís de Sousa's version made its way into the main seventeenth- and eighteenth-century encyclopaedias and historical works which eventually provided the source material for nineteenth-century romantic novels and poems.¹¹⁰

It was these romantic authors who popularized the story of Giles of Santarém. As Sir Walter Scott and Tennyson were doing in Britain at this time, so Eça de Queiroz, Alexandre Herculano, Teófilo Braga and Almeida Garrett did for legendary figures of the Portuguese past, adding to the traditional story love interest, dramatic landscapes, and clashes dear to nineteenth-century politics.¹¹¹ It was Garrett who first described Giles as "the Portuguese Faust" in his *Viagens na minha terra*, a description of a journey from Lisbon to Santarém in 1843. He had probably come across Goethe's *Faust* (first part published in 1808) in 1834, while he was carrying out diplomatic duties in Belgium, and he recognized the magical and demonic

¹⁰⁸ J. Cardoso, *Agiologio lusitano*, 4 vols (Lisbon, 1652-1744).

¹⁰⁹ The *História da vida de S. Fr. Gil no seculo Gil Rodrigues do Valle* found in B.P.E. mss. CV/2-4 and CV/2-5 is a life of Giles of Santarém written by an unknown Dominican of Évora in around 1770 (there is a passage in the present tense referring to events of 1769). The author draws on several sources, including Resende. The manuscripts are most useful in their description of the cult of Giles in the seventeenth- to eighteenth-centuries, including details of his beatification process and the condition of his shrine up until the time of writing. See also *Catálogo dos Manuscritos da Bibliotheca Publica Eborensis*, eds. J.H. da Cunha Rivara, 4 vols (Lisbon, 1850-71), III, p.116, which dates the manuscript to 1770 or 1775.

¹¹⁰ Examples of these encyclopaedias are Cardoso, *Agiologio Lusitano*; Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana* and A. Brandão's section of the *Monarchia Lusitania* (parts 3 and 4), published in Lisbon in 1632 but more easily accessible today in *Crónicas de D. Sancho II and D. Afonso III*, ed. A. De Magalhães Basto (Oporto, 1946). One other eighteenth-century work should be mentioned, *A Egidéa* (Lisbon, 1788), an anonymous poem which has been attributed to a friar and physician of Santarém, José do Espírito Santo do Monte. Although it did not itself have much to add to the story, it is an indication of the continued interest in Giles of Santarém into the modern period.

¹¹¹ Almeida Garrett (1799-1854) used Giles twice as a character: in the play *Dona Branca* (first publ. 1826, *Obras de Almeida Garrett*, [Oporto, 1966], II, canto 8, verses nine and ten, pp.461-626, at p.569) and in *Viagens na minha terra* (1st. Publ. 1846, Lisbon, 1966). (English trans., *Travels in my Homeland*, trans. J.M. Parker [London, 1987]). Eça de Queiroz (1845-1900) left an unfinished novel dealing with the life of Giles published in *Últimas páginas (Manuscriptos inéditos)* (Oporto, 1937). The historian Teófilo Braga (1843-1924) offered a dramatic poem on the same theme: *Frei Gil de Santarém. Lenda faustiana da primeira renascença* (Oporto, 1905). Another novelist, Rebelo da Silva (1822-1871), wrote *Ráusso por homizio* (1st. Publ. 1842, Lisbon, 1907), a novel dealing with Giles' role in the civil war of 1245-1248.

elements from the story he had read in Luís de Sousa as a child.¹¹² Whether there was indeed a connection between the Faust myth and the legend of Giles of Santarém is a question which will be considered in great detail.¹¹³ Garrett, one of the first Portuguese to be exposed to Romanticism, certainly saw a link between a saint of his homeland and the culture of the north. He pointed out that Giles only needed a Goethe to become famous.

Giles however never did become famous. The contribution of his legend to modern literature has been ignored and the sources of his life were obscured until the thesis of Pereira was published in 1995. Even with Pereira, the main focus is obviously on André de Resende's humanist text rather than the life of his subject. Noone has attempted to put together all the sources for the life of Giles of Santarém and place them both within their own context and in the context of what can be learnt about thirteenth-century Portugal from these sources. The modern perception of Giles of Santarém has been filtered through the works of early-modern writers who have influenced the account with their own interests and attitudes. Giles' story is hidden under layers of textual history which provides insight into the problems of Portuguese historiography. There is no doubt, however, that these first *vitae* were based on the traditions of a genuine medieval cult. Peeling back the layers has also laid bare the medieval sources which lie at the heart of the legend. Most important of these is clearly the *Vitae fratrum*, and it is to this work that attention must now turn.

¹¹² Garrett, *Viagens na minha terra*, pp.266-8. For an account of Garrett's life as a traveller, writer, revolutionary soldier and diplomat, see the somewhat dramatic biography: J.O. de Oliveira, *O Romance de Garrett* (Lisbon, 1952).

¹¹³ See below, Chapter Three.

CHAPTER TWO

GILES OF SANTARÉM AND THE *VITAE FRATRUM*

*Brother Giles of Spain, who in secular life was mighty in the arts and **physica** and in the order was a **lector** in holy scripture, and who was Prior Provincial of **Hyspania**, a religious, pious, and truthful man, sent in a letter to his colleague, Brother Humbert, Master of the order, these **exempla** which follow.¹*

It may have seemed strange to examine sixteenth-century sources for the life of Giles of Santarém before looking at those written in his own time. However, by focusing on later sources first, it is possible to show how the legend of Giles of Santarém has developed. The layers of text have deeply influenced the way a modern historian approaches the medieval sources. The most important of these sources is the *Vitae fratrum*. Some historians have relied on the *Vitae fratrum* as a way of returning to what is believed to be the “reality” of Giles’ life.² At first sight, the dozen or so passages in the *Vitae fratrum* penned either by Giles himself or by his friend, the Dominican Master General, Humbert of Romans, appear to be gems of information: contemporary, eyewitness, autobiographical accounts. These passages have been used to counteract what are perceived to be the evils of the later texts, namely, the hagiographical and magical elements. Yet historians usually retain misconceptions and traditions which derive from sixteenth-century manipulation of earlier sources. Although much can indeed be gleaned from the *Vitae fratrum*, it is forgotten that it is itself riddled with problems of interpretation. There is little attempt made to understand the nature of its contents and its context in the Dominican order. Until recently the *Vitae fratrum* was a greatly neglected text.³ It is to be hoped that the forthcoming critical

¹ This is translated from part five of the *Vitae fratrum* in the unpublished edition of Simon Tugwell: *Frater Egidius Hyspanus, qui in seculo magnus in artibus et in physica et in ordine in sacra pagina lector, qui prior fuit provincialis in Hyspania, vir religiosus et pius et verax, consocio suo fratri Humberto magistro ordinis scripta misit hec que sequuntur exempla*. This corresponds to Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.259.

² Portuguese local historians are particularly guilty of this. For example, C.L. de Seabra, *São Frei Gil de Vouzela: um escritor medieval português* (Vouzela, 1996). Seabra publishes all the passages of the *Vitae fratrum* relevant to Giles, and says that although the figure of Giles is swathed in legend, he, personally, believes none of it and is going to ignore the legend completely (p.7). See the astute comments of J. Custódio, a local historian himself, in *S.Frei Gil de Santarém*, pp.21-2.

³ Historians have had to rely on the Latin edition of Reichert which is now over a hundred years old. The English translation, *Lives of the Brethren of the Order of Preachers*, ed. B. Jarrett, trans. P. Conway (London, 1924) is incomplete and often too free in its interpretation. Only a few recent articles have focused on the *Vitae fratrum*: A. Boureau, “*Vitae fratrum, vitae patrum*:

edition prepared by Simon Tugwell paves the way for future research into a fascinating text which is a mine of information on early Dominican idealism and spirituality. The intention here is to explain what the *Vitae fratrum* is and to set the stories which concern Giles of Santarém into their proper context. Only then can they be examined for what they reveal about Giles himself.

The *Vitae fratrum* has received some adverse criticism in the past. According to its own editor in the English translation, it is guilty of “repetition, prolixity, irrelevance an almost fantastic love of the marvellous”. Bede Jarrett does at least go on to admit that “without the *Vitae fratrum* our knowledge of early Dominican history, early difficulties, early divisions and reconciliations, would be meagre indeed”.⁴ W.A. Hinnebusch, although he uses the *Vitae fratrum* as a source, merely repeats Jarrett’s negative criticism.⁵ Edward Brett, Humbert of Romans’ biographer, says the work “contains an overabundance of miraculous stories which detract from the value of the work. Since Humbert commissioned and approved the work it serves as further proof of his penchant for such tales”.⁶ Here Humbert’s involvement with the work is presented as an unfortunate aspect of his career.

It seems strange that the wealth of material in the *Vitae fratrum* should be ignored or condemned in such a manner, without recognition of its value for the history of ideas, hagiography, and institutions. Part of the reason may lie in comparison with the Franciscan order and its spiritual texts. When Jarrett spoke of the prolixity of the *Vitae fratrum* he was comparing it to the much later *Little Flowers of St Francis* (c.1322). He complained about the Dominican work: “those who go to it for pious devotion and those who would hope to find in it the fragrance of thirteenth-century romance. It is too dreary for them, too

l’ordre dominicain et le modèle des Pères du Désert au XIII^e siècles”, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome* 99 (1987), 79-100; J. Van Engen, “Dominic and the Brothers: *Vitae* as Life-Forming *Exempla* in the Order of Preachers”, in *Christ Among the Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, eds. K. Emery and J. Wawrykow (Notre Dame, 1998), pp.2-25, especially pp.14-18; and B. Montagnes, “Comment meurent les Prêcheurs méridionaux d’après le *Vitae fratrum*”, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 33 (1998), 41-64.

⁴ *Lives of the Brethren*, p.xiii.

⁵ Hinnebusch, *History*, II, p.282.

⁶ E.T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans: his Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto, 1984), p.95.

downright, with so few touches of poetry, so few tears". In the *Little Flowers of St Francis* and in the early lives of Francis, the saint was seen talking to birds and animals. In the *Vitae fratrum* on the other hand, Giles of Santarém reported a story in which a friar killed a cockerel which was interrupting his sermon.⁷ The Franciscans have been perceived by modern observers as the fount of spirituality and romanticism; grey-clad poverty-stricken friars led by the sublime St Francis of Assisi. When observation is turned to the Dominicans all that is seen is their rigid institutionalism, their involvement in the Inquisition, and the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas and his followers. It is important that the *Vitae fratrum* is re-evaluated as an important source and that the constitutional strength and idealism of the Dominican order in the early years of its existence is recognized. The Dominicans were as firmly a part of medieval society as the Franciscans.

The *Vitae fratrum* is a celebration of the lives of the early Dominicans. Divided into five parts, it begins with a description of the foundation of the order followed by a life of Dominic and one of his successor, Jordan of Saxony, Master General from 1222 to 1237. Then comes a long fourth part describing the progress of the order and the virtues, struggles, temptations and miracles of the friars. The last part focuses on the virtuous deaths and posthumous miracles of the brethren. The *Vitae fratrum* presents the early history of the Dominican order as a great period of devotion and sacrifice and looks forward to a glorious future. In reality, the late 1250s, the years in which the *Vitae fratrum* was compiled, were years in which the Dominican order reached the lowest point of its existence.

Eight of the stories contributed by Giles of Santarém to the *Vitae fratrum* are said to have been contained in a letter written to Humbert of Romans, Master General of the Dominican Order. It is highly likely that the letter was written in response to a decree issued by Humbert at the General Chapter of 1256 held in Paris. The decree stated:

⁷ In *The Little Flowers of St Francis in St Francis of Assisi, Writings and Early Biographies: English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St Francis*, ed. M.A. Habig (Chicago, 1973), pp.1269-1530, at pp.1348-52, Francis converted a wolf and cared for turtle doves. Similar stories could already be found in the earliest *vita*, the first Life by Thomas of Celano, in *St Francis of Assisi*, pp.227-355, at pp.277-80. The story of the cockerel is found in Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.224-5.

Let every Prior who has heard or known of any miracle or edifying deed happening in the order, or concerning it, write diligently to the Master so that they can afterwards be preserved for future use.⁸

The response to this decree was immense. It is believed that not only the *Vitae fratrum* was inspired by it but also the *Bonum universale de apibus* of Thomas of Cantimpré (d. before 1266).⁹ Humbert of Romans appointed an editor, Gerard of Frachet,¹⁰ who was faced with the task of receiving and organizing a mass of stories which much have far outnumbered those finally chosen.¹¹ Simon Tugwell has been able to identify three manuscripts which preserve Gerard's original versions of 1258-9. He will be able to show in his forthcoming edition how the *Vitae fratrum* went through a complex process of revisions and additions from 1259-60, when Humbert of Romans himself revised the text, to changes made by the time the manuscript reached the General Chapter at Strasbourg in 1260 which approved the text, and finally to additions which were probably still being made to certain manuscripts in the modern period.¹² The process was encouraged in the beginning by Humbert when he wrote in the prologue:

Let those to whom similar things have since occurred, omit not to write an account to us or whoever be Master at the time, that for the use of the order they may be written at the end of this work or inserted into the appropriate places.¹³

⁸ Reichert, *Generalium*, p.83: *Quicumque prior sciverit vel audiverit aliquod miraculum vel factum edificatorium contigisse in ordine vel propter ordinem scribat magistro diligenter ut possint in posterum reservari ad utilitatem futurorum.*

⁹ Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, ed. G. Colverinus (Douai, 1627), pp.1-2, dedicated his work to Humbert. See Hinnebusch, *History*, II, pp.282-83.

¹⁰ Gerard of Frachet was born near Limoges in 1205 and joined the Dominican Order in Paris on 11 November 1225. He was prior of Limoges (1233-45), Marseilles (1251) and Montpellier (1259-63). In 1251 he was made Prior Provincial of Provence, a position he held until 1259. He died in Limoges in 1271. See Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, II, p.35. It is probable that Humbert of Romans knew Gerard well. Both men came from the south of France and joined the Order at Paris in the mid-1220s. They both moved quickly up the Dominican hierarchy.

¹¹ That there were many more stories than were included is implied in Humbert of Romans' prologue, Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.4. He commended those who sent him so much material and referred to his appointment of Gerard of Frachet as editor, *rogantes et imponentes eidem quod perlectis et examinatis singulis, de hiis que laudabiliora reperiret, libellum aliquem ederet.*

¹² From personal correspondence with Revd Dr Tugwell from January and February 2000. His edition is based on about half of the more than fifty surviving manuscripts. See the list in Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, II, pp.35-7.

¹³ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.5: *Illi vero apud quos aliqua similia contingent in posterum, nobis vel magistro, qui fuerit pro tempore, scribere non obmittant, ut ad utilitatem ordinis hec post predictum opus scribantur, vel in locis debitis in ipso opere inserantur.*

Analysis of the *Vitae fratrum* thus provides a fascinating glimpse of the organic development of a widespread manuscript text.¹⁴

It is clear from Tugwell's analysis that the driving force behind the *Vitae fratrum* was the Master General, Humbert of Romans. Why might he have issued such an influential decree in 1256 and why might he have seen such a collection of stories as necessary? Humbert of Romans was born in Romans near Valence in south-east France in c.1200. In his youth he was sent to the University of Paris where he studied the Arts and then secretly attended classes in theology while pursuing a higher degree in Canon Law. According to the *Vitae fratrum*, his parish priest convinced him that learning for its own sake was only *pompa sathane*.¹⁵ This persuaded him to join the Dominican order on St Andrew's Day (30 November) 1224.¹⁶ During his noviciate his companion or *socius* was Giles of Santarém.¹⁷ This suggests that Giles joined the Dominican order at around the same time. Little is known about Humbert's career until 1237 when he was already Prior of Lyons. He said in the *Vitae fratrum* that he spent a long time (*diu*) with Giles in Paris but it is unclear how this should be interpreted.¹⁸ Kaeppli suggests a date of c.1226 for Humbert to have taken up his first position at Lyons, that of *lector*.¹⁹ He became Prior Provincial of the Roman province in c.1240 and in 1244 he was made Prior Provincial of France. He was elected Master General of the order in May 1254. Resigning from this position in May

¹⁴ If the process was ongoing, then one must ask why no information on Giles' death and cult was added to the manuscripts after 1265. It may be that once Humbert resigned as Master General in 1263, the connection between Giles and the editorial work on the *Vitae fratrum* was lost. It is also likely that Giles' cult did not develop for some years after his death.

¹⁵ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.171-2 for Humbert's conversion. See Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, for his life and works.

¹⁶ The date of Humbert's entry into the order appears to have caused unnecessary confusion. It is stated in Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.173, that he took the habit on the St Andrews Day preceding the entry into the order of Hugh of St Cher, his theology master, in Lent on the feast of St Peter's chair (22 February). Any medieval calendar reveals that it has to be a very early Easter for Lent to incorporate 22 February; in this period it only happened in 1225. Therefore, Humbert must have joined in November 1224. In *Lives of the Brethren*, p.153, note 1, and the normally more accurate Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, I, p.283, it is recorded as 1225. Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p.5, says "it is certain that it was actually 1224" but does not explain the confusion of others.

¹⁷ See below, pp.71-3.

¹⁸ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.155.

¹⁹ Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, I, p.283.

1263, perhaps due to ill-health, he spent the rest of his life at Lyons where he died in 1276. Throughout his life, Humbert wrote prolifically and was one of the most important witnesses to medieval religion and society.²⁰

Humbert's election as Master General took place at a time of intense struggle between the two Mendicant orders and the secular clergy, particularly the University of Paris. Although initially welcoming to the new orders, the secular clergy and the university became increasingly alarmed by the popularity and ambition of the friars. Since 1231, when the bull *Nimis iniqua* of pope Gregory IX had accorded them extensive privileges, the orders had begun to be perceived as a threat. They were virtually independent of episcopal authority, preaching freely in their own churches, and coming into conflict with parish clergy over offerings and burial fees.²¹ This was not only the case in Paris, but the competition became particularly acute there because of the involvement of both groups of friars in teaching. Since Dominic had sent a small group of friars to Paris in 1217, apparently attracted by the theological training available there, the order had flourished. The Franciscans were slower to recognize the need for learned brethren but had a house in Paris from 1230.²² Both orders alarmed parents and masters alike by recruiting large numbers of young students as well as senior academics such as Roland of Cremona, Alexander of Hales, and John of St Giles.²³ The result of this was that by 1252, the Mendicants had secured for themselves three out of the twelve university chairs and were close to adding a fourth. As three other chairs were reserved to canons of the cathedral this meant that the secular masters saw their influence and authority greatly reduced.²⁴

²⁰ See below, Chapter Seven, for discussion of some of Humbert's writings.

²¹ Lawrence, *Friars*, pp.152-3.

²² *Ibid.*, p.130. The different attitudes of the two orders towards learning partly reflected the respective lay and clerical backgrounds of the founders Francis and Dominic. It was not until after Francis' death in 1226 that the Franciscans were able to adapt to the intellectual demands of an expanding order. See also J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), p.123.

²³ Lawrence, *Friars*, p.127, and Hinnebusch, *History*, I, pp.319-21. There are numerous examples in the *Vitae fratrum* of the conversion of students and masters: see, in particular, Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.168-80.

²⁴ Lawrence, *Friars*, p.153; Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, p.126.

The attack on the friars, led by the secular scholar, William of St Amour, began in 1252 when the secular masters attempted to limit each religious order to a single regent master. If the Dominicans had obeyed this they would have been deprived of one of their chairs. Then, in 1253, following a student brawl, the university suspended teaching and insisted that an oath be sworn to respect university regulations.²⁵ The friars refused to cooperate. They behaved much as they had done in a previous strike in 1229 when their continued teaching had been one of the factors in the growth of the orders. This time it resulted in excommunication and expulsion from the university. The Franciscans seem to have submitted to the demands of the university quite quickly after this,²⁶ leaving the Dominicans isolated in a worsening situation. The Master-General of the Order, John of Wildeshausen (or Teutonicus), had died in November 1252 leaving the friars leaderless and with nobody to represent them at the papal curia for eighteen months. The final straw, though, was the publication in 1253 of the *Liber introductorius ad Evangelium Eternum* by the Franciscan, Gerard of Borgo San Donnino. This work linked the Mendicant orders to millenarian prophecies associated with Joachim of Fiore and was the ammunition needed by the enemies of the friars.²⁷

William of St Amour managed to persuade pope Innocent IV that the friars were a serious threat, and in November 1254 the pope issued the bull *Etsi animarum* which cancelled all their privileges.²⁸ Not being able to preach or hear confession without episcopal permission, the Mendicant orders lost all that made them distinctive. The situation was further complicated by the death of Innocent IV at the end of 1254. This caused deadlock until April 1255 when a more sympathetic pope, Alexander IV, restored all the friars' privileges in the bull *Quasi lignum vitae*.²⁹ However, he could not save the Minister General of the

²⁵ See *CUP*, I, pp.242-4, for the oath. The story of the next few years can be traced in *Ibid.*, I, pp.247-50 and 252-58.

²⁶ Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p.18; Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, p.127

²⁷ For these events see *CUP*, I, pp.272-6, Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, pp.17-21, Lawrence, *Friars*, pp.53-7 and pp.154-9, and Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, pp.127-9.

²⁸ *CUP*, I, pp.267-70.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.279-85 and Lawrence, *Friars*, p.155. Alexander IV (Rainaldo di Segni) had been Cardinal-Protector of the Franciscans before becoming pope. He had no real need to support the

Franciscans, John of Parma, from the taint of Joachite prophecy. It is significant that John of Parma was forced to resign in 1257 but the new Master General of the Dominicans, Humbert of Romans, elected in May 1254, survived.³⁰

It was largely thanks to Humbert of Romans that the Dominican Order came through this intense period. He reorganized the Order and better equipped it for its perceived role in society. For example, he settled a long-standing dispute over the incorporation of female houses claiming to follow the Dominican rule,³¹ and saw the need for working with the rival Franciscan order.³² Humbert also believed that what he saw as the order's ideals and spiritual identity needed to be reconfirmed after the turmoil of recent years. The order had survived but had lost something of itself in the process. What was perceived as the ideal of the early roving friars who had travelled the roads of Europe, barefoot and preaching, had become submerged beneath the demands of an expanding international organization. In Peter Linehan's nostalgic words, "those glad confident mornings and high-striding days were fast becoming a distant memory".³³ A quick look at the admonitions of General Chapters in the 1240s and 1250s affords many examples of a more relaxed attitude: friars travelling on horse-back, carrying money, using silk and ornament, the need for prisons.³⁴ Yet the heroism of the early Dominicans: "those loose-limbed friars roaming Europe's roads, striding along beneath wide skies",³⁵ remained an inspiration to all, and their deeds needed to be recorded in order to set an example to new generations.

This is where the decree of 1256 came in. At a time when the crisis was not yet over, Humbert of Romans desperately needed to remind the Order of the glories of its past and the exertions of these principled early heroes. A

Dominicans and therefore they had to make concessions in order to ensure goodwill. See Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, pp.23-6.

³⁰ Lawrence, *Friars*, p.56; Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, pp.115-6.

³¹ Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, pp.57-79.

³² There was a joint campaign between Humbert and John of Parma from 1255 to bring about reconciliation between the two orders. They were instructed by their leaders not to speak ill of each other's saints or steal sermon audiences or alms. Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, pp.27-30.

³³ P. Linehan, *The Ladies of Zamora*, (Manchester, 1997), p.134.

³⁴ See Reichert, *Generalium*, pp.11-12, 15-16, 32, and 76 for examples.

³⁵ Linehan, *Ladies of Zamora*, p.133.

compilation of stories, similar in some respects to contemporary *exempla* collections such as those of Caesarius of Heisterbach and Stephen of Bourbon, would be a source of inspiration.³⁶ The nature of the stories chosen by Gerard of Frachet for inclusion in the *Vitae fratrum* described the sufferings, miracles and wanderings of numerous individual friars whose lives reflected the struggle and ultimate success of the order as a whole. The geographical expansion of the order is emphasized through the hugely varied locations mentioned.³⁷ The need for cooperation with the Franciscans is also a prominent theme. For example, a Dominican, Maurice of Toulouse, is found helping the Franciscans of Albi to find a water source and there is a lengthy section on the martyrdom and miracles of a mixed group of Franciscans and Dominicans at Avignonnet in 1242.³⁸

The theme of martyrdom is extremely important to the *Vitae fratrum*. Despite the fact that most of the friars in the text were not killed for their faith but died peacefully in their beds,³⁹ their sufferings are still seen as part of the ongoing battle against Satan. For example, Brother Reginald of Orleans was given Extreme Unction as he drew near death “because now the struggle of death and the Devil was near”.⁴⁰ Similarly, Brother Peter of Lyons cried out in defiant agony at the Devil who haunted his sickbed, and Brother James of Lombardy would once have died for Christ, but now had to contend with the sufferings of illness.⁴¹ There was a close link between the *Vitae fratrum* and the early-church martyrs. The title of the compilation is reminiscent of the *Vitae patrum*, the

³⁶ For guidance on what was meant by *exempla*, see C. Brémond, J. Le Goff, and J.-C. Schmitt, *L'Exemplum*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 40 (Turnhout, 1982). The collection of stories of the Cistercian, Caesarius of Heisterbach, was compiled in the 1220s: *Caesarius Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange, 2 vols (Cologne/Bonn/Brussels, 1851); English translation, *The Dialogue of Miracles*, trans., H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland (London, 1929). The *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* of the Dominican Stephen of Bourbon was compiled around 1240; partial edition, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877).

³⁷ One of the more diverse chapters, Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, part V, ch.3, pp.257-69, has contributions from Santarém, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Norwich, Cork, Breslau, and Bologna. Subsequent chapters visit Cologne, Derby, York, Santarém, Toulouse, Limoges, and Naples. It is possible that the aim was to widen the appeal of the order in these far-flung regions.

³⁸ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.221-2 and 201-5.

³⁹ As was the case with the ten friars whose deaths Giles of Santarém reported. See below pp.75-6.

⁴⁰ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.248: *quia iam lucta mortis et demonum prope erat*.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.284 and 253-4.

traditional collection of stories of the early church. That it was a conscious imitation seems implied by Humbert of Romans' prologue to the *Vitae fratrum* where he compared it to the works of patristic writers and martyrologists such as Eusebius of Caesarea, Jerome, Gregory the Great, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Cassian.⁴² Such links are also made elsewhere in the text: it is the *Vitae patrum* and the *Acta sanctorum* that the learned Giles of Santarém preferred to hear above all works. The *Vitae fratrum* was not the only Dominican work at the time that endeavoured to create for the Mendicants a firm Christian tradition. The much more famous compilation of the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, placed the recently canonized Francis, Dominic, and Peter of Verona in the same company as early church martyrs.⁴³

It can be seen how the *Vitae fratrum* illustrated a wide range of contemporary concerns and ideals which it was felt needed to be re-emphasized. It is highly likely that in order to address the problems of the Dominican order and make the compilation as instructive and celebratory as possible, a certain amount of selectivity and manipulation of the stories was necessary from Humbert of Romans and Gerard of Frachet. The stories in the *Vitae fratrum* should therefore not be treated as straightforward historical documents, as has often been the case with those which concern Giles of Santarém. The emphasis on martyrdom and the *Acta Sanctorum* in the *Vitae fratrum* signals the presence of another potential problem with using it as a source. It is often forgotten that the *Vitae fratrum* fundamentally belongs to the genre of hagiographic literature. It contains the *vitae* of St Dominic and St Jordan of Saxony, describes the posthumous miracles of numerous friars, and refers repeatedly to the Virgin Mary, good deeds, and the temptations of the Devil. As such it is subject to the same problems associated

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp.3-4. See Boureau, "*Vitae fratrum, vitae patrum: l'ordre dominicain et le modèle des Pères du Désert au XIII^e siècles*".

⁴³ Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea vulgo historia Lombardica dicta ad optimorum Librorum fidem*, ed. T. Graesse (Dresden, 1846); English translation, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. W. Granger Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton, 1993). See also A. Vauchez, "Jacques de Voragine et les saints du XIII^e s. dans la *Légende dorée*", in *Legenda aurea: sept siècles de diffusion*, Actes du colloque international sur la *Legenda aurea*, texte latin et branches vernaculaires à l'université du Québec à Montréal, 11-12 Mai 1983, ed. B. Dunn-Lardeau (Montreal/Paris, 1986), pp.27-56.

with the sixteenth-century *vitae* of Giles of Santarém.⁴⁴ It could be said that the picture given of Giles of Santarém's humility and piety in the *Vitae fratrum* is a conventional one of a holy man found in any saint's life. On the other hand, some of the encounters with the Devil in the *Vitae fratrum* echo aspects of Giles' later legend. For example, there are several instances of the Devil writing down the sins of certain friars on parchment, which then has to be destroyed or recovered.⁴⁵ This is a reminder that Giles' legend had a strong basis in the beliefs and concepts of the Middle Ages.

One of the most striking features of the *Vitae fratrum* is the great variety of locations mentioned in the text. With great facility the work jumps from the deeds of English friars to those of Polish, German, and Spanish converts. As one might expect from an order whose roots lay in the south of France and whose path to recognition and power lay through Italy, the majority of friars mentioned are French and Italian. The regular mention of the order's activities in peripheral areas served as a reminder, nevertheless, of Dominican success across Europe. Even so, regular reference to one peripheral area, Portugal, is perhaps surprising. References to Portugal in the *Vitae Fratrum* can be summarized in the following manner: there are fourteen stories supplied by Giles of Santarém or having reference to him,⁴⁶ an account of the foundation of the Lisbon convent,⁴⁷ a description of a young Portuguese named Dominic who lived in Majorca,⁴⁸ and a story about a bishop of Lisbon who joined the order.⁴⁹ There is also a list of the miracles attributed to Paio or Pelagius of Spain, who lived and died in Coimbra in Portugal.⁵⁰ Other individuals described as *Hispani* who could also have been Portuguese are not considered.⁵¹ This may not appear to be a large number of

⁴⁴ It will become clear below, in Chapter Three, how rhetorical devices and hagiographical *topoi* common to both the *Vitae fratrum* and the early-modern sources influence the legend of Giles of Santarém.

⁴⁵ For examples, Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.168 and 213-4.

⁴⁶ See below, pp.71-6.

⁴⁷ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.23-4. See below, pp.81-2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.246-7.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.281. See below, pp.82-4.

⁵⁰ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.294-6. See below, pp.80-1.

⁵¹ For example Brother Matthew of Spain whose career in the schools of Paris and of his own

references out of a lengthy work, but they are certainly more numerous than mentions of other peripheral areas such as Ireland or Poland.⁵²

It is not surprising that Gerard of Frachet included stories from the Iberian Peninsula in the *Vitae fratrum*, bearing in mind that the founder originated from Castile. Portuguese stories would have been included amongst the general Iberian contribution as the Dominican province of *Hispania* incorporated the whole peninsula in this period. However, the length and detail of these Portuguese stories and the frequency of one contributor, Giles of Santarém, is interesting. No single Castilian counterpart exists. Furthermore, Giles not only received considerable space for his stories, but his status and position within the order were repeatedly emphasized. It was said more than once that Giles had been Prior Provincial of *Hispania* and several times that he was the close friend of Humbert of Romans. It is worth quoting and describing the relevant passages in some detail.

The two longest passages in the *Vitae fratrum* concerning Giles of Santarém were clearly submitted by Humbert of Romans. According to Tugwell, they were added after 1259, written up by Gerard of Frachet and then revised by Humbert again.⁵³ They testify to the close friendship between Humbert and Giles during their time in Paris and provide the historian with an idea of Giles' character:

The venerable father Master Humbert said of Brother Giles of Spain, a man of exceptional sanctity and distinguished authority, in secular life of great estate, who was for a long time his companion (*socius*) and great intimate in Paris and was sick with him in the same room in the house of the brothers, that he saw many signs of humility and obedience and other virtues in him. For when the brothers were in the schools, he went himself to the latrines (*cameras*) and, those which he found dirty, he cleaned, carried out the waste of the infirmary, and washed the bowls and dishes, as far as he was secretly able to do so. Rejecting nothing, he took ever so many contrary things gracefully.⁵⁴ Always praying

province is described immediately before the list of Paio's miracles. *Ibid.*, pp.294-5.

⁵² For an idea of the geographical range in part five of the *Vitae fratrum*, see Montagnes, "Comment meurent les Prêcheurs méridionaux", p.43: 58% of friars were from the region now covered by modern France, 14% from Italy, 9% from Germany, 8% from England and 8% from Spain. Presumably Portugal is included in the latter statistic. One fifteenth-century copy of the *Vitae fratrum* survives in Portugal: BPE, ms. CXXIV/2-6.

⁵³ These comments and the translations which follow are based on the edition prepared by Tugwell. They are far more accurate than the passages found in Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.154-56 and 199-200.

⁵⁴ When Humbert revised this passage he added that Giles took "contrary things", i.e. combinations of foods or medicines not advised medically, in spite of having been a physician: *et esset medicus*.

or reading or teaching or meditating, viewing study to be less useful for the ordinary, he listened to the Lives of the Fathers and the Saints and referred to them gladly.⁵⁵ Edifying everyone by his holy conversation, he inspired them to love of the order, of holy poverty, and true obedience, for which reason tempted novices were led to him and many came away consoled. He encouraged the sick, although he himself was often sick, with his consoling advice, warning that they should not treat themselves with medicines, but with faith in Christ they should joyfully accept what was served them and it would benefit them greatly, because grace is stronger than nature, and Christ more powerful than Galen. For he himself wrote from Spain to the aforesaid Master that there was a certain interior light by which the hearts of saints are illuminated in this life, just as the exterior eyes are by external light, and of this he was certain, because he would not assert this unless he had experienced it. Thus a certain brother who was his companion on a journey told that he saw him once on the road sitting down suddenly, rapt in spirit, unaware of external things, and afterwards returning to himself with great groaning; from which it was seen that he was removed from celestial and internal illumination painfully.⁵⁶

Humbert surprisingly followed this passage celebrating Giles' humility and holy virtue with one which described his difficulties in adapting to life in the Dominican order:

When Brother Giles of Portugal suffered in his noviciate from the hardness of the habit and the bed, having been very delicate in secular life, he humbly revealed to his confessor how great was temptation The same brother Giles was very witty and full of jokes in secular life and very friendly towards people. But when in the order he wanted to force himself to silence and refrain from empty speech, he was burning and could not contain his spirit; indeed it seemed to him that a certain flame burned his chest and throat if he remained quiet for too long.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Humbert added later that this was in spite of Giles' high level of education: *licet esset magne litterature.*

⁵⁶ *De fratre Egidio Hispano, uiro eximie sanctitatis et auctoritatis preclare, qui in seculo fuit in statu magno, narravit uenerabilis pater magister Humbertus, qui eius socius et valde familiaris fuit diu Parisius et cum eo in eadem camera in domo fratrum infirmus, quod humilitatis et obedientie et aliarum uirtutum insignia multa uidit in eo. Cum enim fratres essent in scolis, ibat ipse ad cameras et quas inueniebat deturpatas mundabat, sordes infirmarie efferebat, lauabat scutellas et ollas, quantum ualebat occulte. Nichil reiciens, omnia quamuis contraria cum gratiarum actione sumebat. Semper autem orans aut legens aut docens aut meditans, studium minus utile pro modico reputans, uitas patrum et sanctorum audiebat et referebat libenter. Omnes sancta sua conversatione edificans, ad amorem ordinis et sancte paupertatis et uere obedientie animabat, unde et temptati nouitii ducebantur ad eum et multum consolati redibant. Infirmos autem ipse infirmus multum suis consolationibus recreabat, monens ut non curarent de medicinalibus sed in fide Christi que apponerentur letanter acciperent et optime proficeret illis, quia plus poterat gratia quam natura, Christus quam Galienus. Scripsit etiam ipse de Hispania predicto magistro quod erat quedam lux intrinseca qua etiam in hac uita illuminantur corda sanctorum, sicut exteriores oculi exteriori luce, et de hoc certus esset, quod non assereret sic nisi fuisset expertus. Unde et frater quidam qui eius socius in uia fuerat dixit quod ipsum aliquando in uia uidit sedentem subito et raptum in spiritu, non attendentem exteriora, et post eum redeuntem ad se cum multo gemitu, de eo scilicet quod ab illis supernis et internis illuminationibus abstrahebatur dolentem.*

⁵⁷ *Cum frater Egidius de Portugalia in suo nouitiatu de uestium et lecti duritia grauaretur, utpote qui multum in seculo fuerat delicatus, confessori suo huiusmodi temptationem humiliter reuelauit. Idem frater Egidius in seculo multum fuerat facetus et iocundus et hominibus affabilis ualde. Cum autem in ordine uellet se ad silentium coartare et vagos refrenare discursus, estuabat et spiritum non poterat continere, immo uidebatur sibi quod flamma quedam combureret pectus et guttur eius si diutius taceret.*

After God strengthened Giles' resolve and took away his "giddy spirit" (*spiritum vertiginis*), Humbert wrote that while

he stayed with him in one room in the infirmary in Paris for a long time, he could not remember that he ever heard him say idle words, but was either consoling the desolate or speaking of divine things or remaining humbly silent; he never sought out anything, although he was almost continuously ill and had been a good physician, unless it were offered him, but took everything gracefully, even though it appeared contrary to complexion or custom or illness. Therefore because all his worries lay with God, he Himself was his cure, and by means of hope, after many temptations and illnesses, he was strengthened to the end that afterwards he became an eloquent preacher, useful *lector*, and for many years remained a hard-working Prior Provincial of *Yspania*; losing little or nothing, through so many tasks, of his initial sanctity and religiosity.⁵⁸

This is a friendship that, strangely, has not been given greater emphasis by historians.⁵⁹ It is also an unusual pen-sketch of an individual in the medieval period. Although the piety and humility described were, arguably, standard in medieval religious prose, the account of his jocular nature, his medical profession, his initial difficulties, his former high status, and his frequent ill health all provide revealing insights into Giles' background and character. As will be seen, some of this information made its way into Giles' later legend.⁶⁰

The twelve stories contributed by Giles of Santarém himself are much less personal in detail, but it is still possible to extract biographical information from them. The first story reported a meeting between Giles and an unnamed companion and a young nobleman near Poitiers. The young man fed the two weary friars who were travelling back to the Iberian Peninsula after having completed their theological studies at Paris.⁶¹ The story is an example of the great

⁵⁸ *Hec autem sciuit per eum uenerabilis pater magister ordinis Humbertus, qui diu cum eo Parisius in infirmaria stetit in una camera, nec recordatur quod umquam audierit eum otiosa dicentem, sed uel consolantem desolatos uel de diuinis loquentem uel humiliter tacentem; numquam aliquid, cum egrotaret quasi continue et bonus medicus esset, nisi quod ei offerebatur quesisse, sed omnia cum gratiarum actione sumpsisse, etiam que complexioni vel consuetudini uel infirmitati contraria uidebantur. Quia igitur omnem sollicitudinem suam proiecit in deum, ipsi fuit cura de eo, et preter spem post multas temptationes et infirmitates adeo fortificauit eum quod post gratiosus predicator et utilis lector et laboriosus prior prouincialis in Yspania multis annis permansit, in tot occupationibus parum aut nichil de priori sanctitate et religiositate obmittens.*

⁵⁹ Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p.6, notes that Humbert worked in the Paris infirmary with a Giles of Spain, but does not even attempt to identify this person. The friendship is alluded to once more in Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.259. See above, the epigram to this chapter and footnote one.

⁶⁰ See below, Chapters Three and Four.

⁶¹ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.163-4.

journeys undertaken by the early friars. They were always accompanied by a formal companion or *socius*, a tradition which probably derived from the sending of the seventy-two in pairs in Luke 10:1. The understanding was that each friar had another to watch over the other's moral virtue.⁶² The story followed two others that referred to long-distance travel in a section devoted to the power of prayer. Giles had prayed for the well-being of the young noble and was delighted, on a later journey to Paris to attend a General Chapter, to discover him as a novice in the Poitiers convent.

It is possible that this story can be used for reconstructing Giles' chronology. If it could be assumed that the journey south was his first return to Portugal since becoming a Dominican, then the first meeting may have taken place between 1228-30.⁶³ The second meeting was associated with a General Chapter in Paris which Giles returned north to attend "some considerable time later" (*aliquanto autem transacto tempore*).⁶⁴ General Chapters of the 1230s took place in Paris in 1232, 1234, 1236 and 1239. As will be seen, Giles was Prior Provincial of *Hispania* from 1233 and under normal circumstances would only be obliged to attend every third General Chapter. In the two intervening years provinces were represented by elected *diffinitores*. Giles was, therefore, either an elected *diffinitor* for 1232 or in attendance as a Provincial Prior in 1236.⁶⁵

⁶² Hinnebusch, *History*, I, pp.364-5; M.-H. Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, trans. K. Pond (London, 1964), p.317. As Humbert of Romans described himself as having been Giles' *socius* at Paris, it is probable that their friendship was founded on this type of formal companionship.

⁶³ See below, p.80, and Chapters Five and Six for the reasons why this date is put forward.

⁶⁴ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.164.

⁶⁵ See Hinnebusch, *History*, p.177, for details of who attended General Chapters. For lists of the General Chapters and whether they were of *diffinitores* or Priors, see Galbraith, *Constitution*, pp.255-8, and Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores*, I, pp.xvi-xviii. Galbraith only begins with the General Chapter of 1244 at Bologna and her note (a), p.255, criticizes the fuller list of Quétif-Echard as they do not state their sources. As we are concerned with chapters earlier than 1244, it is necessary to use Quétif-Echard's list, bearing in mind Galbraith's objection. Galbraith admits that Quétif-Echard corroborate her list for the years 1250-1332, so perhaps they should be trusted for the earlier period. The Chapter of 1236 was a *Generalissimus* which combined the legislative powers of three Chapters in one. However, there have only ever been two of these: in 1228 and 1236. See below, Chapter Six, for further details of Prior Provincials and Dominican chapters.

The second story contributed by Giles has already been discussed as far as its confused use by André de Resende is concerned.⁶⁶ This is the tale of the friar who, disturbed by its crowing, killed a cockerel and then, filled with remorse, prayed for it to be revived. The incident took place at the Dominican nunnery in Madrid and did not involve Giles; he heard about it later from the contrite friar and reported the miracle to Humbert of Romans:

Brother Giles of Spain, a holy and true man, recorded this ... which he heard from the same friar to whom it happened, whom he trusted because he was a true and good brother.⁶⁷

It is interesting that this miracle took place in the nunnery at Madrid. It was one of the earliest Dominican houses, founded by Dominic himself in 1220 and this explains the convent's high status in the story; the nuns were referred to as *quibus beatus Dominicus dedit habitum sancte religionis*. Women had to struggle for recognition within the order and in 1235 even Madrid lost its affiliation. The General Chapter of 1256 which inspired the *Vitae fratrum* and the two following ones worked hard to try and solve the problem of the *cura mulierum*. Humbert of Romans was heavily involved in the organization and regulation of the Dominican Second Order and the inclusion of a story set at the Madrid convent is an example of how the *Vitae fratrum* addressed contemporary Dominican concerns. It may also indicate that Giles had positive views on the position of women in the Order.⁶⁸

The other ten stories contributed to the *Vitae fratrum* by Giles of Santarém are all accounts of the deaths of friars and are to be found in the last section of the compilation which deals entirely with death and posthumous miracle. The theme of martyrdom is dominant. The section begins with a description of the martyrdom and miracles of a group of Dominican and Franciscan Inquisitors at Avignonnet in 1242, and goes on to describe the life and

⁶⁶ See above, Chapter One, p.49.

⁶⁷ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.224-5: *Hoc frater Egidius Hispanus, uir sanctus et uerus, inter cetera scripsit, qui ab ipso fratre cui acciderat hoc audiuit, cui tamquam fidem adhibuit eo quod esset frater uerax et bonus.*

⁶⁸ See Hinnebusch, *History*, I, p.376, Vicaire, *Saint Dominic*, pp.252-4, and Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, pp.57-79. According to tradition, Giles supported Dominican nuns in Santarém; see below, Chapter Six.

works of St Peter Martyr, a Dominican Inquisitor murdered near Milan in 1252.⁶⁹ This sets the scene for the deaths of more ordinary friars, like Giles' companions. Although all the deaths took place peacefully, Giles' stories should be interpreted in the light of martyrdom. For example, he described how a lay brother, Domingo, dying of dropsy, was granted a vision of the early-church martyr, St Agatha, because he had suffered greatly for Christ in his illness.⁷⁰

The other stories can be briefly summarized as follows: Brother Pedro of Santarém was a physician known to levitate who appears to have been murdered by a fellow friar. However, his death was attributed to the Devil; a lay-brother, Martinho, told Giles that he would die in eight days' time; on the night of the death of the sub-prior of Santarém, the former prior appeared in a dream to another friar and predicted the imminent death of his colleague; Gonçalo, another lay-brother, saw a vision of his deceased mother and sister on the eve of his death; Fernando, a former cantor of Lisbon cathedral and Giles' kinsman, spent the last four years of his life at Santarém and before death received certain knowledge that he would go to Heaven; Martinho, former chaplain of the bishop of Lisbon, dying of a continual fever, predicted that he would die the following day, although Giles doubted this; Pedro Ferrandi, author of a life of St Dominic, died in Zamora in León having seen a vision of the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist; Domingo, prior of Santarém, saw a vision of the Virgin Mary just before death and later appeared in a vision to warn others of misdemeanours; and finally Fernando appeared in a dream to another friar and gave news about a brother Diego. Proof of his vision was that the bells would not be rung the following Palm Sunday.⁷¹

In amongst the pious deaths of these friars quite a remarkable amount of information can be gleaned about Giles. Firstly, it is clear that Giles spent a considerable amount of time in the infirmary visiting the sick and dying. He explained his presence at the bedside of Brother Martinho by saying that he was

⁶⁹ For details of the deaths see Lawrence, *Friars*, pp.191-2. The Dominicans had to contend with widespread hostility towards their inquisitorial role. These deaths needed to be justified and glorified in order to make what was perceived as the primary role of the Dominicans in the Church acceptable.

⁷⁰ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.261.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp.259-64 and 279-80.

visiting the sick on the vigil of the Ascension *secundum consuetudinem*.⁷² The dying knew him and addressed him by name, seeking spiritual comfort. Although it is unknown what position Giles held in the convent of Santarém during all these episodes, it is obvious he was held in high regard and viewed as a source of advice. When lay-brother Martinho saw Brother Pedro levitate it was to Giles that he came for guidance. It is difficult to assess Giles' role in these passages, however, because they are written in the first-person and may reflect his own self-image as a father-confessor figure. On the other hand, this role does equate with the portrait of Giles given by Humbert of Romans.

Giles might deliberately have given himself a confessorial role because it presented him in a purely spiritual capacity in the infirmary. This was perhaps to draw attention away from his medical activity. Humbert of Romans had already explained that Giles had formerly been a physician. However, Giles' professional interest in health did filter through and he appeared as a figure of medical as well as spiritual authority. Although Giles often referred to the presence of other friars in the infirmary,⁷³ he appeared to be able to make decisions about the patients. For example, the lay-brother Domingo, asked Giles if his bed could be moved to a quieter part of the dormitory. It was often also Giles who perceived that death was imminent and ordered the necessary preparations. For example, he ordered that the lay-brother Martinho be turned towards the East as he appeared to be about to die.⁷⁴ In the case of another Martinho, who predicted that he would die the following day, Giles disagreed with his prognosis as he appeared to be so strong and should live another week.⁷⁵ He could only be making such observations by drawing on his own medical knowledge. It should be pointed out that one of the medical works attributed to Giles of Santarém is a list of signs that

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.262.

⁷³ Conway's English translation assumes that these people are infirmarians, for example, *Lives of the Brethren*, pp.227, 228 and 243. However Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.261 and 279, refers only to *frater*, *fratrem*, and *fratri cuidam coram* in each case. In one case, however, (*Ibid.*, p.261, note 23), some of the manuscripts add *cui preerat* which would denote a person in charge.

⁷⁴ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.260.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.262.

indicated death or recovery in a patient.⁷⁶ It may be knowledge from which Giles could not escape, despite many years as a friar. In fact there is some evidence that medical practice remained a part of his life at Santarém. One of the friars whose death Giles attended, Pedro, was described as a *medicus mire mansuetudinis* who treated the sick who came flocking to him.⁷⁷ Is it possible that the convent of Santarém had a reputation as a medical centre?⁷⁸

The stories contributed by Giles of Santarém are also interesting in themselves. For example, in one of the passages, Fernando appeared after death in a vision and, in order to prove the authenticity of the vision, predicted that no bells would be rung in Santarém on the next Palm Sunday. This came true as the town was laid under an interdict. Parts of Portugal were frequently under interdict in the 1230s as a result of conflict between Sancho II and the church. In some cases the interdict was attached to the immediate vicinity of the king or members of his family, such as the notorious Fernando de Serpa, and would therefore affect Santarém as soon as the royal court arrived there.⁷⁹ This story can therefore be used as an example of the increasing political and social strife of the period.

Two of the friars whose deaths were witnessed by Giles of Santarém are identifiable people. Giles attended the death in Zamora (Castile) of Pedro Ferrandi, described in the text as *qui et vitam beati Dominici, patris nostri, descripsit*.⁸⁰ From this reference it is believed that Pedro Ferrandi was the author

⁷⁶ This is the *Synaees dos enfermos quaes som mortaes e quaes som vidaes* which is found in BPE, ms.CXXI/2-19, fols.91-92v. See below, Chapter Eight, for a discussion of this work and the genre of *signa mortifera*.

⁷⁷ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.259.

⁷⁸ See below, Chapter Seven, for discussion of this hypothesis.

⁷⁹ See Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre*, pp.199-202, for an example of this kind of interdict in 1233. Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.280, note (a), dates the death of Fernando to 1223 but provides no evidence for this. It may be awareness of the interdict under which Afonso II ended his reign in 1223. Giles of Santarém was probably still in Paris at this time (see below, Chapters Five and Six) and, indeed, the story did not involve Giles. It may simply have been supplied by him as an example of an early spiritual experience in his convent. Reichert also suggests that this Fernando is the same as Giles' kinsman Fernando, the former cantor. However, this other Fernando, who can be firmly identified, died after 1225. It does not seem likely that two remarkably different stories would be given about the same individual.

⁸⁰ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.263-4.

of an early life of St Dominic, written between 1235 and 1239.⁸¹ This theory has caused some controversy in recent years,⁸² but it is obvious that Giles knew Pedro Ferrandi extremely well: *ego igitur, qui vitam et conscienciam eius plene cognoveram*, and was entrusted with Peter's dying vision of the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist. He was therefore a reliable source of information on Pedro's career. Giles' presence in Zamora is another indication of the constant travel undertaken during his career.

The other figure who has been identified is Fernando, former cantor of Lisbon cathedral, who spent the last four years of his life in the Santarém convent.⁸³ Maria José Azevedo Santos has revealed him to be Fernando Peres, a royal notary, cantor and friar whose versatile career can be documented from 1196 to 1225.⁸⁴ Peres is first found as notary to Sancho I; sixteen documents drawn up by him during this period are still extant.⁸⁵ The next stage of his life saw Peres as cantor of Lisbon cathedral, a position that he seems to have held from before 1208 to before 1217.⁸⁶ He is then found as patron of the small monastic community of S. Paulo de Almaziva near Coimbra. This is a region with which Peres seems to have had close links, judging by the property he bought there or received in donation from 1214. He appears to have been responsible for the incorporation of the monastery into the Cistercian order in 1221, richly endowing the house with goods.⁸⁷ The last stage of Peres' life was presumably spent as a Dominican friar. Unfortunately, other than the testimony of the *Vitae*

⁸¹ See H.C. Scheeben, "Petrus Ferrandi", *AFP* 2 (1932), 329-47, and *Legenda sancti Dominici auctore Petro Ferrandi*, ed. H-M. Laurent, *MOPH* 16 (1935), pp.197-260.

⁸² A. D'Ors, "Petrus Hispanus OP, *Auctor summularum*", *Vivarium* 35 (1997), 21-71, at pp.50-52, doubts that Pedro Ferrandi would have been the author of an official *vita* of Dominic. He thinks it is likely that another Pedro, sometimes confused with the innumerable *Petri Hispani* associated with pope John XXI, was the author of the *vita*. This theory is firmly rejected by S. Tugwell, "Petrus Hispanus: Comments on Some Proposed Identifications", *Vivarium* 37 (1999), 103-13.

⁸³ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.262.

⁸⁴ M.J. Azevedo Santos, "Fernando Peres, ex-chantre da Sé de Lisboa", *Arquivo histórico dominicano português [Actas do II encontro sobre história dominicana 1]* 3:1 (1984), 243-58.

⁸⁵ For the document references, see Santos, "Fernando Peres", pp.250-53.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.244-5.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.245 and pp.254-8. The dispersal of Peres' worldly goods to a Cistercian house, rather than to the Dominicans, is seen by Santos, *Ibid.*, p.248, as possible preparation for joining a Mendicant order which matched more fully his religious ideals.

fratrum, there is no evidence of this. Surprisingly, for such a well-documented figure, nothing survives which identifies him as a friar.⁸⁸ In 1225, more than four years after the endowment of S. Paulo, Peres was still described as*quondam cantoris Ulixbonensis*.⁸⁹ If, at the earliest, he joined the Dominican order in 1225/26 and then spent four years in Santarém, as Giles related, Peres' death would have occurred around 1230. This, therefore, gives a plausible date by which Giles had to have returned to Portugal from Paris. Giles' presence at the bedside of this friar acquires an extra dimension with the admission that Fernando Peres was his kinsman (*consanguineus*). Luís de Sousa, indeed, suggested that it was this kinship which caused Peres to choose the Dominican order.⁹⁰ From what is known of Peres it will be possible to put together a detailed family tree for Giles of Santarém.⁹¹

It is worth considering briefly the other stories in the *Vitae fratrum* which refer to Portuguese friars. Although they are not attributed to Giles in the text, they do concern his contemporaries and possibly his colleagues. The first story is an account sent in by *fratres de Hyspania* of the miracles attributed to the deceased Paio (*Pelagius*) of Coimbra.⁹² What appears to have happened is that when the grave next to Paio's was being dug, his was disturbed and an *odor mirabilis* was perceived. The gravedigger dedicated his bed-ridden daughter to Paio and she immediately recovered. Then some of the earth from Paio's grave allowed the new bell of the convent to be perfectly cast. Thirteen healing miracles were subsequently recorded involving, amongst others, five people possessed by the Devil and two Saracens with fever. There are many examples in this section of the *Vitae fratrum* of this kind of incipient cult, many of them linked to friars of southern French or Iberian origin. In most cases, nothing else is known of them. Paio, however, has become well-known because of the belief that he was the

⁸⁸ Santos, *Ibid.*, p.248, note 28, notes that two seventeenth-century chroniclers refer to an obituary of Santa Cruz de Coimbra which lists Peres as *frater praedicatorum*. Santos has been unable to find this obituary or other reference to it.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.258.

⁹⁰ Sousa, *Domingos*, I, p.159-61.

⁹¹ In-depth analysis of Giles' family and a number of genealogical trees can be found below in Chapter Four.

⁹² Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.295-6.

author of 406 sermon outlines written by the Portuguese friar, Paio Pequeno or the Little (*Pelagius Parvus*), and surviving in a copy made by a Cistercian monk of Alcobaça in 1250. He is also identified with a Paio Abril (*Pelagius Aprilis*) who was Prior of Coimbra in the 1240s.⁹³ Paio appears to have been a prominent figure in Portugal during his own lifetime and Giles of Santarém, as Prior Provincial during the 1230s and 1240s, would surely have known him.⁹⁴

It has been argued that another story in the *Vitae fratrum* was contributed by Giles of Santarém, although not credited to him. This is an account of the foundation of the Lisbon convent in 1241-42.⁹⁵ The story describes how the location of the future convent was indicated in a vision to a group of local women. The *ego* of the story then said how he, as Prior, built a monastery on that site. As no contributor was named, it was always assumed that the *ego* concerned was Gerard of Frachet himself, consequently conferring on him the otherwise unrecorded position of Prior of Lisbon.⁹⁶ This tradition has proved remarkably enduring, but was challenged in the 1930s in a rare article by Antoine Thomas.⁹⁷ He argued that the *ego* of the story was the then Prior Provincial of Spain, Giles of Santarém, and had nothing to do with Gerard. All that had happened was that the *explicit* identifying Giles as the contributor had been lost. All these arguments, however, will be rejected on the publication of Simon Tugwell's

⁹³ See M. Martins, "O sermão de Fr. Paio de Coimbra", *Didaskalia* 3 (1973), 337-61; J. Tuthill, *The Sermons of Brother Paio, Thirteenth Century Dominican Preacher: Sermons in Latin Text* (PhD. thesis, University of California, 1982); *Idem.*, "Fr. Paio and his 406 sermons", *Arquivo histórico dominicano português [Actas do II encontro sobre história dominicana 1]* 3:1 (1984), 347-63; *Idem.*, "The School Sermon Exported: the Case of Pelagius Parvus", *Viator* 22 (1991), 169-88; and B. Odber de Baubeta, "Towards a History of Preaching in Medieval Portugal", *Portuguese Studies* 7 (1991), 1-18. The most recent edition by B.F. da Costa Marques, *Sermão de Frei Paio de Coimbra: edição e interpretação da estrutura e formas de pregação* (Masters diss., University of Oporto, 1994), does not discuss the identity of the author. In personal correspondence, Simon Tugwell has queried the identification of these various Paio's as one person.

⁹⁴ For details of how Giles and Paio may have become confused in the sources, see below, Chapter Six.

⁹⁵ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.23-4.

⁹⁶ Bede Jarrett in his introduction to *Lives of the Brethren*, p.xii, and Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.xii, believe that Gerard of Frachet was the author of this story and Prior of Lisbon. The recent exhibition catalogue, *S. Frei Gil de Santarém e a sua época*, p.142, refers to the "provável intervenção" of Gerard of Frachet in the foundation of Lisbon.

⁹⁷ A. Thomas, "La fondation du couvent des Dominicains de Lisbonne (1241-1242) d'après l'histoire et d'après la légende", in *Miscelânea científica e literaria dedicada ao Doutor J. Leite de Vasconcellos* (Coimbra, 1934), pp.417-24.

critical edition. He is able to show that the story of the foundation of Lisbon cannot be found in any manuscript of the *Vitae fratrum* and may date from the eighteenth or even the nineteenth century.⁹⁸ It is a tradition which has nothing to do with the Middle Ages. A much more plausible account of the foundation of Lisbon is given by Luís de Sousa in the seventeenth century, with no mention of a foundation legend.⁹⁹

The last story in the *Vitae fratrum* which is of interest to the life of Giles of Santarém was contributed by an unnamed Bishop of Lisbon.

The venerable and religious father bishop of Lisbon, a brother of our order, related that a certain brother, who had been very bound up in and attached to certain books, appeared in flames to a certain member of his household and, when asked why he was burning like that, answered "it is those books which are burning me so much".¹⁰⁰

This story introduces the idea that the love of learning for its own sake was unsuitable for friars and, taken to an extreme, was a punishable sin. As will be seen, this became an essential element of Giles' legend.¹⁰¹ It would be interesting to learn whether this Bishop of Lisbon was the same as the one who joined the order with chaplain Martinho whose death was witnessed by Giles.¹⁰² It is likely that they were the same, simply because it is improbable that two bishops of an important see joined the Dominican order in this early period. Furthermore, there is something of a mystery about this bishop. Why was he not given a name in the *Vitae fratrum*? Who was he?

It has never been clear from what is known of the succession of bishops of Lisbon in the first half of the thirteenth century, which of them joined the Dominican order. Luís de Sousa made no attempt to discuss the question, so it was only in the mid-seventeenth century that Rodrigo da Cunha (1577-1643)

⁹⁸ Both Thomas and Reichert claim that the story comes from ms. Chigi F.IV.86 of the Vatican Library. In personal correspondence, Tugwell has told me that this is not the case.

⁹⁹ Sousa, *Domingos*, I, pp.327-30. Sousa published documents which show that the foundation was instigated by Sancho II and the first stone was laid by Fulk de Caille, bishop of Riez in Provence, as the see of Lisbon was vacant. See also below, p.83.

¹⁰⁰ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.281: *Narrauit uenerabilis et religiosus pater episcopus Ulixbonensis, frater ordinis nostri, quod frater quidam qui circa quaternos multum fuerat sollicitus et tenax apparuit exustus cuidam familiari suo et querenti cur ita arderet respondit, Ve ue de quaternis istis qui tantum me cremant. Cum autem frater quereret ab eo de sua conscientia, quia erat admodum scrupulosus, respondit, Consule discretos et acquiesce eis.*

¹⁰¹ See below, Chapters Three and Seven.

¹⁰² Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.262.

picked up the thread of the mystery.¹⁰³ He was aware of the evidence of the *Vitae fratrum* and believed that the bishop in question was Soeiro Viegas, fourth bishop of Lisbon from 1211/12. Soeiro played a significant role in Portuguese history because he largely directed the campaign of Alcácer do Sal in 1217 and was involved in the canonization process of Anthony of Padua in Rome in 1231.¹⁰⁴ It is usually believed that he died in 1232 or 1233. Rodrigo da Cunha, however, presented obituary notices, which are no longer extant in the original, which placed the bishop's death in both 1232 and 1249.¹⁰⁵ It has therefore been postulated that Soeiro resigned the episcopacy in 1232 to join the Dominican order and did not die until many years later.¹⁰⁶

This theory is challenged by Simon Tugwell who sees no reason to doubt that Soeiro died in 1232/3 and suggests instead that João Raolis, papal chaplain, physician and Dean of Lisbon, who was consecrated bishop of Lisbon by Gregory IX in Rome in 1239, was the mystery Dominican bishop.¹⁰⁷ Soeiro's death or disappearance in 1232/3 left a vacancy in Lisbon which was not filled satisfactorily until the election of Aires Vasques was confirmed by Rome in 1244. The only person who appears to have succeeded in establishing himself as bishop, albeit with great difficulty,¹⁰⁸ in the intervening twelve years was João. By October 1241, however, when according to the documents preserved by Luís de

¹⁰³ R. da Cunha, *Historia ecclesiastica da Igreja de Lisboa. Vida, e acçoens de seus preladados, & varõens eminentes em santidade, que nella florecerão* (Lisbon, 1642), fols.229-32v. Da Cunha was himself Archbishop of both Braga and Lisbon. See Serrão, *Historiografia portuguesa*, II, pp.228-31.

¹⁰⁴ For Soeiro Viegas' political career, see Branco, "Reis, bispos e cabidos: a diocese de Lisboa", pp.70-84. He was the principal source of information for the early life of Anthony in Portugal. See *Vita prima*, ed. Gamboso, pp.272-3.

¹⁰⁵ Da Cunha, *Historia ecclesiastica*, fols. 229v and 232v.

¹⁰⁶ Both Branco, "Reis, bispos e cabidos", pp.83-4, and F. de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, 4 vols, new edn by D. Peres (Oporto, 1967-71), I, p.274, refer to this theory but neither accord it much credence.

¹⁰⁷ Argument put forward in personal correspondence. For the career of João Raolis, see Branco, "Reis, bispos e cabidos", pp.85-90 and Sousa Costa, *Mestre Vicente*, pp.213-77. He appears to have belonged to a well-represented family of Lisbon and according to Gregory IX had been *dilecto filio Magistro Johanni, capellano et phisico nostro*. See Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre*, pp.253-4, and *Registres de Grégoire IX*, no.1525.

¹⁰⁸ João was the dean and episcopal candidate hounded by the king's brother, Fernando de Serpa, in 1237. See above, introduction, p.8. He was very much a papal candidate for the see of Lisbon and Tugwell hypothesizes that it was the death of Gregory IX in August 1241 which caused João to resign; he knew he was too isolated to succeed in his position without the

Sousa the foundation of a Dominican house in Lisbon was embarked upon, the see was again vacant. Tugwell suggests that bishop João and his chaplain Martinho, otherwise unidentified, joined the Dominican order sometime in 1241. Although it is impossible to say with all certainty that this was the case, João was described as an “educated, prudent and discreet man” of great honesty and purity of life, which equates well with the venerable and religious bishop of the *Vitae fratrum*.¹⁰⁹

Close analysis of the stories in the *Vitae fratrum* which mention or are contributed by Giles of Santarém reveal a considerable amount of information about his life and character. Some idea of Giles’ chronology can be gained through careful interpretation of the text, but the most interesting feature is the personal description of Giles by his friend, Humbert of Romans, the Master General who instigated the *Vitae fratrum*. It is from this appealing account that a full picture of Giles’ high standing in the order is gained. Humbert also gave revealing information about Giles’ attitude towards medicine and his former lifestyle. From Giles’ own stories it is possible to get a glimpse of his routine and way of life at Santarém. Although it will be shown how this information is invaluable in the reconstruction of Giles’ life and career, it must not be forgotten that the *Vitae fratrum* emerged from a very particular set of circumstances in Dominican history. Humbert of Romans had precise aims in mind when he called for a compilation of stories about the order in 1256 and the text continued to undergo a process of revision and manipulation long after the stories were submitted. Without an awareness of the background to the *Vitae fratrum* and the place of Giles of Santarém within the work, any analysis of the stories concerning him is meaningless. Some ground has been covered here and it is hoped that in the future new research on the *Vitae fratrum* will allow greater depth in understanding of the text and its contents.

support of the pope.

¹⁰⁹ Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre*, p.236, and *Registres de Grégoire IX*, no.5004: *virum litteratum, providum et discretum*, and no.5316: *vite munditia, honestas morum, prona devotio et laudabilis conversatio*.

CHAPTER THREE

GILES OF SANTARÉM AND THE DEVIL:

BLACK MAGIC AND THE BLOODY PACT

*Somewhere, I have already called him our Dr Faust; and he really is. All he needs is a Goethe We need someone to put in verse the splendid struggles - comic and awesome by turns - of our Friar Giles of Santarém and the Devil. What I did in **Dona Branca** is little more than a rough sketch. The great Lusitanian mage only appears there episodically; and he needs to be shown as the central figure of a substantial plot, a full length portrait under the spotlight, occupying the centre of the stage.¹*

Now that the main sources for the life of Giles of Santarém have been established, it is important to study in detail what they actually say about him. Some of the biographical information which can be extracted from the *Vitae fratrum* has already been considered and these details will be studied more fully in due course.² The “Black Legend” of the sixteenth-century *vitae*, on the other hand, has only been summarized and discussed in a tantalizingly brief fashion. It is necessary to discover to what extent this legend is based on medieval fact and why it developed around this particular friar of the thirteenth century. Explaining the context of key elements throws light on a key stage of medieval European intellectual development. It will become apparent that the legend of Giles of Santarém is a much neglected variant of a wider European literary theme. Discussion of this inevitably extends far beyond the Middle Ages. However, by undertaking a full analysis of the legend the significant place of Giles of Santarém in European history and literature can be emphasized.

It should be remembered that most of the sources for the life of Giles of Santarém are hagiographical. It is considered old-fashioned nowadays to use saints’ lives as straightforward factual sources. As Patrick Geary points out, the effort to separate “fact” from “fiction” belongs rather to the age of the Bollandists than to modern historical research.³ Interest today has moved away from the saint himself, to the wider society; not the society in which the saint himself lived, but that of the

¹ Almeida Garrett, *Travels in My Homeland*, trans. Parker, p.205; *Viagens na minha terra*, pp.266-7.

² For example, in Chapter Four, where Giles’ family background will be reconstructed, in Chapter Six, where his life in the Dominican order will be traced, and in Chapter Seven, where the medical references in the *Vitae fratrum* will be examined.

³ P. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), p.9.

society which made him a saint.⁴ It has been recognized that saints' lives are not straightforward biographical accounts; they were effectively propaganda, written by and for particular groups in order to glorify the saint and God, and drew on a rich vein of *topoi*, literary echoes and narrative devices to emphasize the message. Thus, the existence of *vitae* and miracle collections has a very precise relationship to their social and political context. Even the selection of particular *topoi* and rhetorical techniques can have significance in certain contexts. This explains why canonization processes, the operation of a shrine or pilgrimage, miracle collections, or a background analysis of all the saints of a given century, have been used to give insight into medieval health and medical practices, daily life, spirituality, *mentalités*, ritual, and political allegiances.⁵

All the above features, the sociological opportunities inherent in saints' lives and the study of hagiographical *topoi*, are, of course, relevant to a study of the various *vitae* produced for Giles of Santarém. It would seem, therefore, somewhat perverse deliberately to go against the tide of modern historical research, and to attempt to use the *vitae* as historical sources; to attempt to extract the "truth" from the "fiction" given to us by André de Resende and other authors. However, Giles of Santarém has not been the subject of a full-scale study before, and the sources have not been properly analyzed for what they reveal. This, of course, will be done while bearing in mind the problems of hagiography, much as the biases and prejudices of any narrative source need to be weighed and considered. Also, it is not Giles the saint who is at issue here, but Giles the physician and friar. His cult developed over such a long period of time and is documented almost entirely in sixteenth-century sources that it can throw little light on medieval spirituality. A study of what Giles might have meant to the medieval compiler of miracles at his tomb, to Resende, and to the eighteenth-century pope who finally beatified Giles would, indeed, reveal much about

⁴ For this view see Geary, *Living with the Dead*, p.17, and also Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint", p.48: "most students of the saints have assumed that they are witnesses to the age in which they lived. For a historian of mentalities, however, they have to be treated as witnesses to the age in which they were canonized."

⁵ For recent examples of such studies see P.-A. Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle dans la France Médiévale (XI^e-XII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1985); R.C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (new edn, London, 1995); M. Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: the Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart, 1982); A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1997); and R. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and their Religious Milieu* (Chicago, 1984).

the changing patterns of European spirituality and sanctity. It is, however, far beyond the scope of this study.

What is at issue in this chapter is to discuss which aspects of the legend are derived from hagiographical *topoi* and should be treated with caution and which, if any, can be viewed as reliable biographical material.⁶ There are many interesting elements in the legend of Giles of Santarém and some of them clearly belong to the genre of hagiographic literature and surface time and time again in medieval saints' lives. These should not necessarily be accepted as "real" characteristics of Giles of Santarém and his life. On the other hand, they cannot simply be set aside and forgotten. All the sources emphasize that Giles belonged to a noble Portuguese family; should this be dismissed as a common ploy to exalt the background of a saint, or should it be accepted cautiously? It should be remembered that Humbert of Romans referred to Giles' great estate in the *Vitae fratrum* and his former "delicate" life.⁷ Some parts of the legend are obviously imitative: the promising start to life, the temptation, the "Road to Damascus" conversion - an analogy made by all the sources - the types of miracles attributed to Giles, and "the good death". They are all elements which can be found in virtually any saint's life and must be treated with caution.

Other aspects of the legend also appear to be artificial constructions. There is a spiritual symmetry in the location of some of the episodes in Giles' life. It does not seem to be a coincidence that both the scenes of demonic temptation and divine inspiration take place in Castile at Palencia and Toledo. The *studium* of Palencia was where the founder of the Dominican order began his own education in c. 1186-7.⁸ The priory which Giles was supposed to have seen under construction was one of the

⁶ A summary of the legend can be found above, in Chapter One, pp.32-4.

⁷ See above, Chapter Two, pp.71-2. Whether or not Resende was guilty of establishing a noble background for the subject of his *vita* was briefly discussed in Chapter One and will be returned to in Chapter Four. It seems clear that nobles were far more likely to be sanctified than those of lower status in the medieval and early-modern periods, for a whole variety of sociological, political and religious reasons. See Goodich, *Vita Perfecta*, p.69, for figures illustrating the predominance of noble saints in the thirteenth century. Few historians, however, analyze the extent to which sanctity itself enobled the holy candidate. Was Giles made a saint because he was a noble, or was he required to be a noble because he was a saint? See A. Vauchez, "Beata stirps: Sainteté et lignage en occident aux XII^e et XIV^e siècles", in *Famille et parenté dans l'occident médiéval*, Actes du colloque de Paris (6-8 Juin 1974), eds. G. Duby and J. Le Goff (Rome, 1977), pp.397-406.

⁸ S. Tugwell, "Notes on the Life of St Dominic", *AFP* 67 (1997), 27-59, at p.49.

earliest Iberian houses, founded in c.1220 Both Toledo and Palencia were presented as centres of study, whether sacred or infernal, and served as a southern counterpoint to Paris. The double role of Paris as scene of damnation and salvation is another example of symmetry, one which reflected a common ambiguity towards cities.⁹ Giles set out to conquer Paris intellectually and succeeded in receiving applause for his medical skill from the entire *Academia*,¹⁰ but in order to do so he had endangered his soul. His second stay in Paris for the purpose of studying theology within the shelter of the Dominican order balanced the earlier notorious visit.

This artificial balance has persuaded both Pereira and Aires Nascimento that the first visit of Giles to Paris and his entry into the Dominican Order in Palencia were not authentic episodes in Giles' life.¹¹ Furthermore, Giles' first visit to Paris was closely associated with the pact he made with the Devil and the subsequent seven years in Toledo. These are also seen as "non-authentic" episodes. This does not mean, however, that they have no meaning. These artificial constructs must be explained within a medieval and early-modern context before they can be put aside.

The Magicians at Toledo

Although the school of Black Magic at Toledo and the Demonic pact are closely related in the legend of Giles of Santarém - handing over his soul to the Devil was the price of Giles' study at Toledo - they belong to entirely different narrative strands. Giles of Santarém's presence in Toledo can be explained by the fact that the Iberian Peninsula, and Toledo in particular, was believed in the Middle Ages to have been an important centre of magic. The role of Toledo has been given very little emphasis in modern histories of magic.¹² As will be seen, this is despite the fact that there are

⁹ J. Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago, 1992), p.172, identifies this "ambivalent desire for the city"; on the one hand the medieval city was "a prey to be captured and conquered" and, on the other, at a deeper level, "there was the ambiguity of the city itself: Babylon or Jerusalem - or Babylon and Jerusalem, that is, harmony combined with disorder, desire with fear, ruin with salvation". See also *Idem, Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, trans. T.L. Fagan (Cambridge, MA, 1993), pp.20-24. E.F. DiAmico, *The Diabolical Pact in Literature: its Transmission from Legend to Literary Theme* (PhD., University of Michigan, 1979), p.66, mentions that cities often feature in stories of devil-pacts.

¹⁰ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.236.

¹¹ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.388, n.80 and *Vida*, p.14.

¹² I have only identified two articles which focus on this theme: Waxman, "Chapters on Magic in Spanish Literature", and J. Ferreiro Alemparte, "La escuela de nigromancia de Toledo", *Anuario de*

numerous medieval sources which relate Toledo and the Black Arts during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The type of intellectual magic believed to have been studied at Toledo was quite distinct from the magical beliefs attacked in the late European witchcrazes. As such it represents a new stage in the history of magic.

It is significant that during the same period as this magical tradition became established Toledo became known for the translation of scientific and medical texts from Arabic and Hebrew into Latin.¹³ Was there a connection between these two contemporary intellectual traditions? Was there a relationship between the pursuit of knowledge and magic, between the Arabic/Islamic culture which began to prove a new source of knowledge, especially scientific and medical, and magic, and, finally, between the Iberian Peninsula, the conduit of this new knowledge, and magic? Jaime Ferreiro Alemparte believes that in many ways the “schools” of magic and translation at Toledo were two sides of the same coin; the former acting as the negative side of the latter.¹⁴ An investigation into the magical aspects of the legend of Giles of Santarém and his visit to Toledo must be placed within the context of the translation activity in Spain and the careers of several scholars whose interest in the scientific knowledge found in the newly-translated texts at Toledo, and the consequent association with non-Christian and pagan beliefs and languages, brought down upon them great suspicion and distrust.

The first of these scholarly clerics whose studies in Spain led to accusations of black magic was Gerbert of Aurillac, later Pope Sylvester II (999-1003). It is revealing that the legend of Gerbert did not surface fully developed until it appeared in the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury, an English Benedictine

estudios medievales 13 (1983), 205-68. Both authors include a discussion of Giles of Santarém's place in Spanish magic. Neither R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989) nor J. Russell, *A History of Witchcraft: Sorcerers, Heretics and Pagans* (London, 1980), discuss the place of Toledo in the history of magic. For a definition of magic in all its alternative forms: sorcery, witchcraft, necromancy, black magic, see Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, pp.1-2 and 10-16.

¹³ See M.-T. d'Alverny, “Translations and Translators”, in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. R.L. Benson and G. Constable (Oxford, 1982), pp.421-62, and C. Burnett, “The Translating Activity in Medieval Spain”, in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. S.K. Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), pp.1036-58, reprinted as article four in C. Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot, 1996). The reason why it became possible to access the new knowledge at this time is because the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI of León-Castile in 1085 opened Toledo up to new influences and contacts from the north.

¹⁴ Ferreiro Alemparte, “La escuela de nigromancia”, p.205.

monk, which was completed in around 1125.¹⁵ Gerbert did visit Spain in 967 but probably went no further south than Catalonia. A brilliant figure in the development of European logic, philosophy, and mathematics, Gerbert is strongly associated with the introduction of both Arabic numerals and the abacus into Latin Europe.¹⁶ Why would William of Malmesbury, a monk from Wiltshire, have devoted so much attention to this pope in his chronicle of the deeds of the Kings of England? The vilification of a pope was hardly uncommon in the early twelfth century and it is possible to trace the accusations against Sylvester II to the imperial conflict with pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) at the end of the eleventh century.¹⁷ However, William of Malmesbury's interest in Gerbert of Aurillac may have had much more to do with his geographical location in England than with anti-papal propaganda.

It is possible that William linked an earlier scholar, whose interests in Spain and Arabic science opened him up to suspicion, with contemporary scientific activity in a region of England not far from Malmesbury. During the twelfth century, the West of England, and especially the towns of Hereford, Worcester, Chester, and Bath, saw a succession of scholars whose interests in Arabic science and astrology brought them into contact with Spain. Walcher of Malvern, for example, edited in 1120 some astronomical tables compiled by Petrus Alfonsi, a converted Jew from Spain, who spent some time in England during this period. Both men were linked to

¹⁵ William of Malmesbury related that Gerbert went to Spain in order to learn astrology and other sciences from the Saracens. In order to have ultimate knowledge, Gerbert stole a book of magic and, in flight from its owner, summoned the Devil and made a pact with him in return for protection. Returning to the north, Gerbert's rise to the papacy was attributed to demonic power. For the legend, see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum anglorum, The History of the English Kings*, eds. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998-99), I, pp.278-95.

¹⁶ See C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), p.311, and Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*, pp.163-5, for the changing historical opinion concerning Gerbert of Aurillac. It is perhaps significant that Arabic numerals in the Islamic world appear originally to have been used mainly in magic and divination, rather than in mathematics. It is possible that the distrust of the study of Arabic texts in the Iberian Peninsula can partly be explained by the recognition that from Spain and the Islamic world came magical signs which few could understand, brought by those whose dealings with non-Christians were suspect, and whose undeniably superior intelligence and curiosity was misunderstood. Charles Burnett, "Translating Activity in Medieval Spain", p.1038, points out that "before the days of mass education and universal literacy the ability to read and the possession of magical powers often merged in the popular imagination. If the books were not directly concerned with the truths of religion, then the gift of understanding them was thought to be due to the inspiration of demons". It is therefore likely that the interest in mathematics, logic, and astrology which Gerbert seems to have had, and the connection with scripts (Arabic and perhaps also Hebraic) and alien numerals would have caused alarm to Latin clerics who did not understand the new learning.

¹⁷ Ferreiro Alemparte, "La escuela de nigromancia", pp.207-8.

Adelard of Bath, one of the foremost English intellectuals of the twelfth century, who, although his main contact with Arabic culture seems to have been in Sicily and Syria, did produce a first Latin translation of the astronomical tables of al-Khwarizmi, a ninth-century astronomer who worked in Baghdad. This also survives in two manuscripts attributed to Petrus Alfonsi.¹⁸ As far as it is known none of these people, nor any of the similar English scholars later in the twelfth century, were ever accused of dabbling in magic.¹⁹ However, it does seem possible that ignorance or suspicion could have arisen in some quarters.²⁰

William of Malmesbury is one example of a conservative monk who could have viewed the new scientific developments with alarm. Fairly well-travelled in England, he had an interest in Worcester and may have known people like Adelard of Bath and Petrus Alfonsi through court patronage.²¹ It is also worth noting that

¹⁸ For the localizing of twelfth-century scientific activity in the West of England, see C. Burnett, "Mathematics and Astronomy in Hereford and its Region in the Twelfth Century", in *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. D. Whitehead (Leeds, 1995), pp.50-59, and R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: the Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1992), pp.xliv and liii-liv. For a brief account of Petrus Alfonsi's life and for his most famous work of literature, see *The Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfonsi*, ed. E. Hermes, (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1977). For the astronomical tables and the connection between Walcher of Malvern and Petrus Alfonsi see Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp.xxxix-xlv, and R. Mercier, "Astronomical Tables in the Twelfth Century", in *Adelard of Bath: an English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. C. Burnett (London, 1987), pp.87-118 at p.95. For Adelard of Bath see the articles in the above volume edited by Charles Burnett, especially M. Gibson, "Adelard of Bath", pp.7-16. Also useful are L. Cochrane, *Adelard of Bath: the First English Scientist* (London, 1994); Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp.xlv-xlvii and 85-88 and C.H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, MA, 1924), pp.20-42.

¹⁹ Examples of later scholars are Robert Ketton, Robert of Chester, Robert of Hereford, Alfred of Shareshill, and Daniel of Morley. All of these men spent some time studying in Spain. For their careers, see Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp.xxxiv-lv. Southern does not accept that Robert of Chester and Robert of Ketton are the same person, as has often been assumed: for example, Haskins, *Studies in Medieval Science*, p.120.

²⁰ It is interesting that on his return from Spain, Daniel of Morley was closely questioned by the Bishop of Norwich as to his studies there. He had to explain how pagan knowledge could be useful to Christians. See R. French, "Astrology in medical practice", in *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, eds. L. García Ballester, R. French, J. Arrizabalaga, and A. Cunningham (Cambridge, 1994), pp.30-59, at p.31. The difference between astrology and necromancy (that is, Black Magic) was a narrow one in the twelfth century. In the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsi there was some debate whether necromancy was the seventh Liberal Art after astronomy. See C. Burnett, "Talismans: Magic as Science? Necromancy among the Seven Liberal Arts", in Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot, 1996), pp.1-15.

²¹ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307* (London, 1974), pp.167 and 174. William translated a life of St Wulfstan and seems to have visited Wulfstan's tomb in Worcester. He dedicated his chronicle to Robert of Gloucester, illegitimate son of Henry I. Petrus Alfonsi was probably the king's physician, and Adelard seems to have drawn up horoscopes for Henry. See J. North, "Some Norman Horoscopes", in *Adelard of Bath*, ed. Burnett, pp.147-61. William of

Adelard seems to have settled in Wiltshire towards the end of his life.²² William mentions none of these scholars in his chronicle but, as Antonia Gransden points out he was reluctant to comment on his own times.²³ Was the introduction of the legend of Gerbert of Aurillac an indirect warning to those contemporaries of whom he disapproved?²⁴ An idea of William's conservative views can be gained from a story reported in his history of the bishops of England about Archbishop Gerard of York who died with a book of magic under his pillow in 1108.²⁵

William of Malmesbury was the first in a long line of northern monks and clerics who recorded accounts of scholars who studied in Spain and whose curiosity led them to have dealings with demons. The fact that these stories are invariably northern in origin must be related to the numbers of northerners who travelled south to study in Toledo. Apart from the English scholars mentioned above, there was also Hermann of Carinthia, a translator in the Ebro valley in the 1140s, who worked with Robert of Ketton, under the direction of Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny, to make the first Latin translation of the Koran.²⁶ In the mid-thirteenth century another Hermann *Hermannus Alemannus*, translated the works of Aristotle and Averroes in

Malmesbury also knew Walcher of Malvern, see *Gesta regum anglorum*, eds. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, II, p.xli, note 67.

²² An *Adelardus de Bada* was mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 1130 as receiving 4s. 6d. from the Sheriff of Wiltshire. See C. Burnett, "Introduction", to *Adelard of Bath*, ed. Burnett, pp.1-6, at p.3, and Haskins, *Studies in Medieval Science*, p.34.

²³ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, p.172

²⁴ An example of the more explicit hostility of a twelfth century cleric towards magic comes from John of Salisbury (d.1180), a younger contemporary of William of Malmesbury. In the *Policraticus*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *CCCM* 118 (Turnhout, 1993), pp.57-61 and 147-69, he rejected astrology, condemned the magical practices of courtiers, and commented on his personal experience of necromancy: see Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, pp.97, 119 and 151-2. Medieval condemnation of necromancy was mainly based on the attitude of St Augustine, *The City of God* (Harmondsworth, 1984), pp.383-385, who discussed at some length the illicit arts of Black Magic, sorcery, and demon-worship.

²⁵ William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum anglorum*, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, *Rolls Series* 52 (London, 1870), p.259, note 6. Also V.I.J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1991), pp.8-9, and Murray, *Reason and Society*, p.247. It is interesting that Gerard had formerly been Bishop of Hereford.

²⁶ Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, pp.43-66, for the career of Hermann of Carinthia, and J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964) for the translation programme in which Hermann and Robert of Ketton were involved. The systematic study and translation of Islamic texts in the twelfth century might seem enlightened but Peter the Venerable's motives and aims were neither sympathetic nor conciliatory. His aim was to learn how to preach against and resist the "error" of Islam and resulted in such treatises as the *Summa totius heresis ac diabolicae sectae Sarracenorum*: see Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, pp.30 and 204-11 for the text of the treatise. The association between Muslims and diabolical activity is very clear here.

Toledo.²⁷ Even more prominent were Gerard of Cremona (c.1114-1187) and later, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, Michael Scot (d.1236). Gerard was a northern Italian who spent his entire career translating scientific, and especially medical, works in Toledo.²⁸ Michael Scot was court astrologer to emperor Frederick II in the 1220s and 1230s, and featured in several tales concerning the scientific curiosity of the emperor; a curiosity which alarmed and disturbed his contemporaries.²⁹ Scot was translating scientific and astronomical works from Arabic in Toledo from around 1215 to perhaps 1220. Already known for his claim to be able to predict the future, it is not surprising that by 1314 Dante had placed Michael Scot in that part of Hell reserved for sorcerers.³⁰

Several of the stories circulating about Scot can be found in the chronicle of Salimbene de Adam, a Franciscan from Parma writing in the 1280s.³¹ Salimbene was keenly interested in prophecy, heretical beliefs, and miraculous events, and therefore it is not surprising that he included in his chronicle several stories concerning scholars of magic at Toledo. These stories are particularly associated with the career of Philip of Pistoia, Archbishop of Ravenna, who was said to have studied necromancy in Toledo and believed a prediction that he would succeed Pope Urban IV in 1264.³² There are echoes of Gerbert of Aurillac here, also Archbishop of Ravenna before becoming pope, but the story is a good indication of the connection between Toledo and magic

²⁷ J. Ferreiro Alemparte, "Hermann el alemán, traductor del siglo XIII en Toledo", *Hispania sacra* 35 (1983), 9-56.

²⁸ d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators", pp.452-4; D. Jacquart, "Les traductions médicales de Gérard de Crémone", in *Gerardo da Cremona*, ed. P. Pizzamiglio (*Annali della Biblioteca statale e libreria civica di Cremona* 41 [1990]) (Cremona, 1992), pp.57-70; and R. Lemay, "Gerard of Cremona", in *The Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 18 vols (1970-90), XV (1978), pp.173-92.

²⁹ D. Abulafia, *Frederick II: a Medieval Emperor* (London, 1992), pp.254-64; C. Burnett, "Michael Scot and the Transmission of Scientific Culture from Toledo to Bologna via the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen", *Micrologus* 2 (1994), 101-26; and Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, pp.272-98, for the career of Michael Scot. Also d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators", pp.455-7. It is interesting that Frederick II's alarming curiosity is believed to have derived from his Sicilian heritage; Sicily was of course the other important crossroads between Arabic and Latin culture.

³⁰ Dante, *La Divina Commedia*, eds. C.H. Grandgent and C.S. Singleton (Cambridge, MA, 1972); Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. D.L. Sayers, 3 vols (Harmondsworth, 1976): Canto XX, lines 115-117.

³¹ *Chronica fratris Salimbene de Adam ordinis Minorum*, MGH, *Scriptores* 32, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hanover/Leipzig, 1905-1913), pp.353, 361, 512 and 530; *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, trans. J.L. Baird, G. Baglivi and J.R. Kane (New York, 1986), pp.355-6, 363, 522, and 539.

³² *Chronica*, pp.393-4, 401-2 and 433; *Chronicle*, pp.395-6, 402-3, and 439-40.

which had been built up by the late thirteenth century. Salimbene also wrote that another pope, Innocent III, had only to hear the remarks of a certain scholar to know that he was a necromancer who had studied in Toledo.³³

Salimbene de Adam was not the only thirteenth-century chronicler to believe in magical activity at Toledo. Caesarius of Heisterbach, a Cistercian from the Rhineland writing in the 1220s, also reported on the studies of German students in Toledo.³⁴ Add to this references in German vernacular literature to Toledo as a centre of magic and there seems to be ample evidence for a thriving tradition in northern Europe.³⁵ Kieckhefer refers to these stories, particularly those of Caesarius of Heisterbach, as exercises in propaganda.³⁶ They express the fear of magical practice felt by monks and serve as a warning to their congregations. Indeed, at the end of each story Caesarius pointed out that the one way to salvation was through the Cistercian Order. Similar references to Toledo can be found in collections of sermons and *exempla* by Hugh of Cheriton, Stephen of Bourbon, and Martin of Troppau.³⁷ However, Kieckhefer fails to discuss the significance of Toledo as a location for these stories and does not set them in the wider context of the translations.

³³ *Chronica*, p.32; *Chronicle*, p.6.

³⁴ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, I, pp.39-40 and 276-81; *Dialogue on Miracles*, I, pp.42-3 and pp.315-20. Caesarius reported that one of the students appeared to another after death and described the torments of hell to which his necromancy had condemned him; another student, amongst a group from Swabia and Bavaria, was snatched from a circle by a demon and never truly recovered; several stories concerned the career of the necromancer Philip, a clerk famous for his skill in the Black Arts. It is unclear whether he was the same Philip mentioned by Salimbene.

³⁵ Toledo was mentioned in *Parzival* by Wolfram von Eschenbach (written in 1200-10) and in other contemporary works. See Ferreiro Alemparte, "La escuela de nigromancia", pp.226-37.

³⁶ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, pp.172-5.

³⁷ Ferreiro Alemparte, "La escuela de nigromancia", pp.213-4 and 217-20 for the references to Toledo in the *Sermones dominicales in epistolas* of Hugh of Cheriton (d.1246/7), perhaps a Cistercian, the *Promptuarium exemplorum* of Martin of Troppau OP (d.1278), and the *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* of Stephen of Bourbon OP (d.1261).

The Demonic Pact

The second narrative strand found in the legend of Giles of Santarém is the story of the demonic pact. The pact with the devil is the key element of a story-pattern which for convenience sake may be called the Faust-myth after its most famous modern example.³⁸ The life of Georgius or Johann Faust, a shadowy figure who lived in Germany between 1480 and 1540,³⁹ inspired a series of puppet plays and chapbooks which provided the raw material of a play by Christopher Marlowe in the late sixteenth century, and one of the most celebrated works of German literature, Goethe's *Faust*, in the early nineteenth.⁴⁰ In both these works Faust was depicted as an intellectual who made a pact with the Devil signed in blood and sold his soul in return for absolute knowledge. Whoever the historical Faust may have been, the idea of the demonic pact can be traced back much further than the early-modern period. The legend of Giles of Santarém is a variant of the Faust-myth which has been greatly neglected despite the huge literature available on this subject.⁴¹ Yet it can be shown

³⁸ The words *myth*, *legend*, *folktale*, and *folklegend* are often used interchangeably and there appears to be considerable confusion as to their meaning. For the purposes of this study *legend*, meaning a tale with a historical basis but possible fictional or traditional elements, will be used with reference to particular variants, such as the story of Giles of Santarém, of a much larger story pattern which can be called the Faust-*myth* due to its timeless nature which transcends historical and social contexts. See I.P. Couliano, "Dr Faust, Great Sodomite and Necromancer", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 207 (1990), 261-88, and W. Burkert, *Creation of the Sacred: Tracks of Biology in Early Religions* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), especially chapter three, "The Core of a Tale", pp.56-79. Also G.S. Kirk, *Myth: its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures* (Cambridge/Berkeley, 1970), pp.1-41. It is sometimes argued that the word "myth" can only be applied to the deeds of gods or stories of creation. However, as virtually everyone who has studied Faust refers to his *myth*, it seems a convenient term to use here.

³⁹ For the historical Faust see F. Baron, *Doctor Faustus from History to Legend* (Munich, 1978), and I. Watt, *Myths of Modern Individualism: Faust, Don Quixote, Don Juan, Robinson Crusoe* (Cambridge, 1997).

⁴⁰ C. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus: A- and B-Texts (1604, 1616)*, eds. D. Bevington and E. Rasmussen (Manchester, 1993); J.W. von Goethe, *Faust: Part One*, trans. D. Luke (Oxford, 1987). Goethe began to work on Faust in the 1770s when he was a young man, but it was not published until 1808. A second part, published in 1832, has only a tenuous connection to the Faust-myth.

⁴¹ Full bibliographies can be found in P.M. Palmer and R.P. More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition from Simon Magus to Lessing* (New York, 1936); C. Dédéyan, *Le mythe de Faust dans la littérature européenne*, 6 vols (Paris, 1954-1967); J.W. Smeed, *Faust in Literature* (London, 1975); and A. Dabezies, *Le mythe de Faust* (Paris, 1972). References to Giles of Santarém in this context are few and far between. Only Waxman, "Chapters on Magic in Spanish Literature", and Ferreiro Alemparte, "La escuela de nigromancia de Toledo", discuss his role to any extent and the former is out-of-date. Dabezies, *Mythe de Faust*, p.48, shows an awareness of the Giles legend but only in connection with Mira de Amescua's play (see p.101 below). DiAmico, *Diabolical Pact in Literature*, pp.129-30, compares Giles to Gerbert of Aurillac, but is dependent on Waxman. W.S.

that features of the *vitae* of Giles of Santarém may have influenced the development of the Faust-myth.

The roots of the demonic pact are probably lost in early Christian history; it can be found in a recognizable form as early as the fourth century.⁴² This earliest variant of the Faust-myth, the story of the conversion of saints Justina and Cyprian, did not fit the later pattern in all respects, as there was no formal pact with the Devil involved.⁴³ That element and the use of a high-ranking churchman as the main protagonist were developed several hundred years later with the legend of Theophilus, a saint of the sixth century.⁴⁴ The Theophilus variant of the story seems to have been much more popular in medieval Europe than that of Cyprian.⁴⁵ Although both variants can be found in *The Golden Legend*,⁴⁶ it was the story of Theophilus which was continuously translated and edited throughout the Middle Ages and can be found in numerous Latin and vernacular, verse and prose renditions. The reason for this popularity may be that with a simple scribal error the legend of

Seiferth, "The Concept of the Devil and the Myth of the Pact in Literature Prior to Goethe", *Monatshefte* 44 (1952), 271-89 (rpt in *Witchcraft and Demonology in Art and Literature*, ed. B.P. Levack [New York/London, 1992], pp.313-33), makes no mention of Giles.

⁴² It could be argued that the temptation of Christ by the Devil in the New Testament was a potential devil pact. For an anthropological discussion of the symbolism and ritual of the devil pact in early Christianity, see Dabezies, *Mythe de Faust*, especially pp.307-11. The pact can be seen as a rite which formed the reverse of the Christian alliance/contract with God as symbolized by the Eucharist and perhaps was a natural reaction to the retention of pagan beliefs. Making the pact marked the apostasy of the individual; it often involved the foreswearing of Christ and baptism. In this context it is probably significant that the pact eventually came to be seen as an act of blood (see below p.98-102). In order to be saved, it was not enough that Giles had repented; he had to regain the physical contract signed with his blood before he could negotiate a new contract with God with the help of the Virgin Mary. Giles had to endure seven years of torment, mirroring the seven years spent at Toledo, before he regained the document. It is quite clear that the pact symbolized his denial of Christ and the Church.

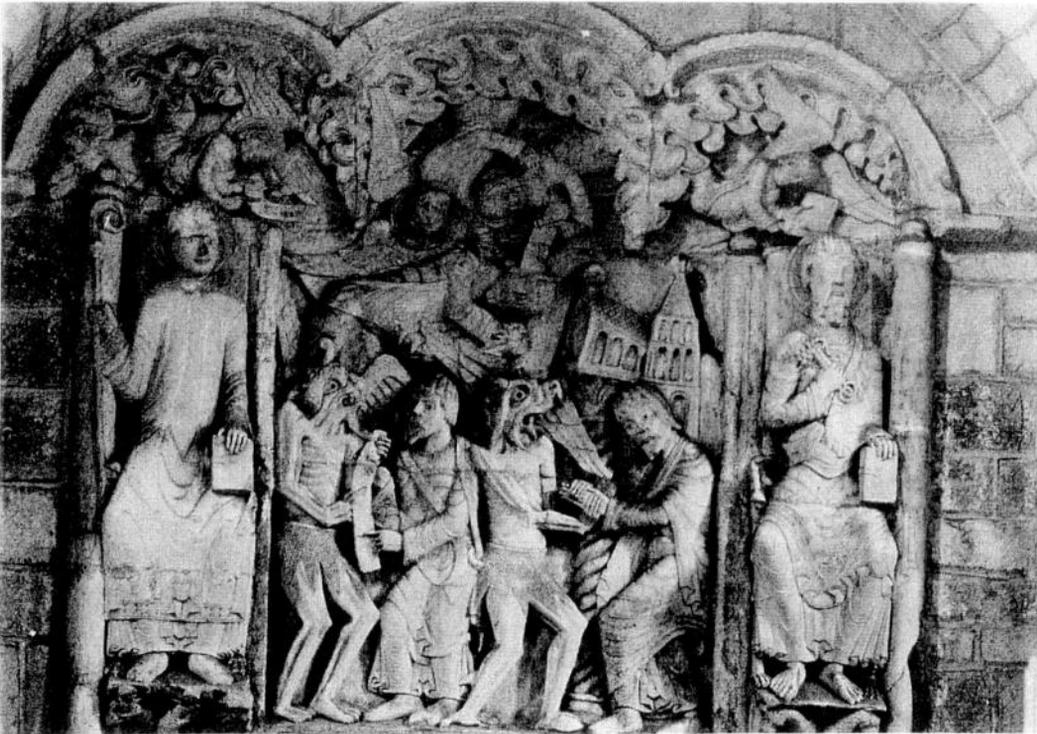
⁴³ The legend related that Cyprian, a magician of Antioch, summoned a demon and ordered it to seduce a Christian maiden, Justina, on behalf of a noble, Aglaidas. He then desired the maiden for himself. Finally, Cyprian saw the error of his ways, converted to Christianity, and both he and Justina died in the third-century Diocletian persecution. For the text see Palmer and More, *Sources of the Faust Tradition*, pp.41-58, and the *AASS*, Sept VII (Paris/Rome, 1867), pp.180-243.

⁴⁴ Theophilus was a priest of Adana in Cilicia who was removed from his office by a new bishop. Desirous of regaining his position, Theophilus went to a Jew known for diabolical practices and through him made a written pact with the devil, sealed with a ring. Theophilus received back his lost status, but then began to repent and, through the intercession of the Virgin Mary, finally won the document from the devil and burned it. Three days later he died. See Palmer and More, *Sources of the Faust Tradition*, pp.58-77, and the *AASS*, Feb I (Paris, 1863), pp.486-97.

⁴⁵ The legend of Cyprian did become popular in the early-modern period. See below, p.102.

⁴⁶ *Legenda aurea*, pp.632-6 (Cyprian and Justina) and pp.595-6 (Theophilus); *Golden Legend*, II, pp.192-5 (Cyprian and Justina) and p.157 (Theophilus).

Theophilus can be transferred from Cilicia to Sicilia, thus bringing the action into a European arena.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the legend of Theophilus is one of the earliest examples of the intercessory role of the Virgin Mary in medieval religious literature. With the development of the cult of the Virgin Mary from the twelfth century the legend of Theophilus became a popular iconographical theme. For example, the legend was depicted in the illuminated psalter of the Danish queen Ingeborg of France (c. 1210),⁴⁸ and can also be found in southern French sculpture of the twelfth century.⁴⁹



The legend of Theophilus in the Romanesque church at Souillac

⁴⁷ Waxman, "Chapters on Magic in Spanish Literature", p.368. There are also two Spanish versions of the Theophilus legend which give Sicily as the location. See R.E. Marsan, *Itinéraire espagnol du conte médiéval (VIII^e-XV^e siècles)* (Paris, 1974), pp.284-5. For the dominance of Theophilus in medieval literature, see also DiAmico, *Diabolical Pact in Literature*, pp.47-97.

⁴⁸ Paris, Musée Conde, ms. 9/1695, fols.35v-36. The images reproduced here on pp.99-100 are taken from *S. Frei Gil de Santarém*, pp.38-9.

⁴⁹ M. Schapiro, *Romanesque Art* (London, 1977), pp.102-30. I would like to thank Lorna Walker for this reference.

The other famous demonic pact of the Middle Ages, of course, was that enacted between the Devil and Gerbert of Aurillac, which has already been discussed in relation to the magicians of Toledo.⁵⁰ Like Theophilus, Gerbert was a high-ranking cleric in search of knowledge and power, but in a new twist to the plot this knowledge was stolen from a Saracen of Seville. What the story of Gerbert and the earlier legends of Theophilus and Cyprian still lacked in comparison to the legend of Giles of Santarém and the later Faust stories, was a demonic pact signed and sealed with blood. There was usually a written document, but it appears to have been signed with a seal until the thirteenth century. According to Waxman, the first example of a bloody pact appeared in a version of the Theophilus legend by the French poet, Rutebeuf (c.1254-85).⁵¹ Waxman claims that there was no sign of it in Iberian versions, but this can be shown to be wrong.⁵² There are several Iberian versions of the Theophilus story, all of which could have influenced the later development of the legend of Giles of Santarém. Of greatest significance are the poems found in the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* of Gonzalo Berceo (d.1254) and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X of Castile (d.1285).⁵³ Although in Berceo's poem *El milagro de Teófilo*, the pact is sealed with a ring, another poem in his collection, *La abadessa encinta* (The Pregnant Abbess), quite clearly refers to the signing with blood.⁵⁴ Not only does this poem show that the motif was known in the Iberian Peninsula, but it also predates Rutebeuf's poem.

⁵⁰ See above, pp.89-90.

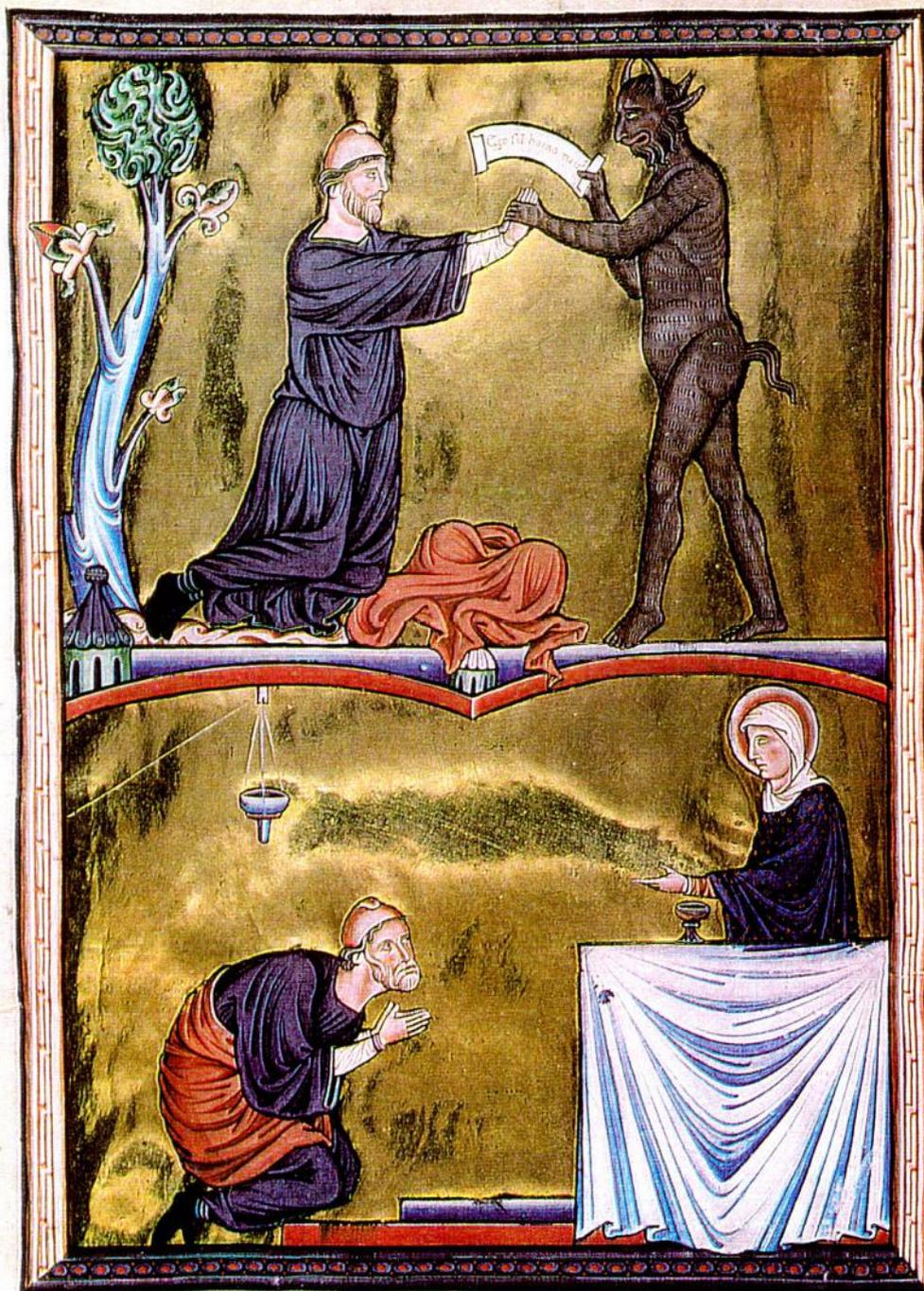
⁵¹ Rutebeuf, *Le miracle de Théophile, miracle du XIII^e siècle*, ed. G. Frank (Paris, 1925), line 652, p.26; Waxman, "Chapters on Magic in Spanish Literature", p.369.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.370. Waxman's list of medieval Spanish versions of the Theophilus legend is limited. For a fuller exploration of the theme see Marsan, *Itinéraire espagnol*, pp.280-85. Two minor examples are the thirteenth-century *Castigos y Documentos del Rey Don Sancho*, in *Escritores en prosa anteriores al siglo XV*, ed. P. de Gayangos, *Biblioteca de autores españoles* 51 (Madrid, 1952), pp.85-228, at p.215, which was written in 1292 by Sancho IV of Castile; and the fifteenth-century *Libro de los Exenplos*, also in *Escritores en prosa*, ed. Gayangos, pp.447-542, at p.493.

⁵³ Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. A.G. Solalinde (Madrid, 1972), miracle 24, pp.162-92, and Alfonso X, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ed. W. Mettman, 2 vols (Madrid, 1986), I, miracle 3, pp.61-2. See also J.M. Montoya, "El milagro de Teófilo en Coinci, Berceo y Alfonso X el Sabio: estudio comparativo", *Berceo* 87 (1987), 151-85.

⁵⁴ Berceo, *Milagros*, miracle 21, pp.120-36. The poem relates the relatively common medieval story of a nun who succeeded in having all trace of her pregnancy removed with the help of the Virgin Mary. In her prayers the nun mentioned other apparently irredeemable sinners who had been saved by the Virgin Mary, including Theophilus. The lines referring to the blood pact are 520-21 (p.124): *Tu acorriste, Sennora, a Theophilo que era desesperado/Que de su sangre fizo carta con el peccado.*

Si come theophilus fait ommaige au deable.



Si come theophilus se repēt. 7 il prie merci. 7 madāme sainte marie
saparut a lui.

Theophilus makes his pact with the Devil in the psalter of queen Ingeborg. Note the classic homage scene in the first picture. Theophilus granted his soul to the Devil in the same way as he would have sworn vassalage to his lord.

Si come madame sainte marie tout le deable la charç.



Si come madame sainte marie raporte la charçre.

Theophilus regains the pact he signed with the Devil through the intercession of the Virgin Mary

There is unfortunately no way of determining exactly what influence either of these poems had on Giles' legend, although the influence of Alfonso X on Portuguese literature during Giles' life time was immense.⁵⁵ Another variant of the Theophilus legend in which a bloody pact featured is found in *The Golden Legend*. Coming from the same Dominican milieu as the *Vitae fratrum*, this version may have had a hand in forming Giles' legend.⁵⁶ It is interesting, however, that in André de Resende's *vita* of Giles there was a keen awareness of the legend of Cyprian but no mention of Theophilus.⁵⁷ It was also Cyprian who was the subject of two sermons written by a friar surely known to Giles, Paio of Coimbra.⁵⁸ A pact signed in blood, however, does not appear to have been a feature of the Cyprian legend in the Middle Ages.

When the Spanish "Golden Age" dramatist, Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-81), was commissioned to write a play for the Corpus Christi feast in Yepes in 1637, he chose the subject of St Cyprian (*Cipriano*) and included a formal pact between Cipriano and the Devil, signed and sealed with blood.⁵⁹ Where did Calderón get this idea? Did it come from knowledge of the Theophilus legend? In fact, it is generally believed that Calderón borrowed the idea of a bloody pact from a little known play, *El esclavio del demonio* of Antonio Mira de Amescua (1574/77-1644), first published in 1612.⁶⁰ This play is based on the legend of Giles of Santarém,

⁵⁵ It is a mistake to separate Castile and Portugal into distinct cultural units in the thirteenth century. The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* are written in the Galician-Portuguese vernacular and, together with various collections of profane poems preserved today in Portugal, some also attributed to Alfonso X, they form the foundations of the language and literature of both Spain and Portugal. A collection of medieval Portuguese literature usually includes verses by Alfonso X. For example, *Poesia e prosa medievais*, ed. M.E. Tarracha Ferreira (Lisbon, 1988), pp.51, 104 and 105.

⁵⁶ *Legenda aurea*, pp.595-6; *The Golden Legend*, II, p.157. It is also worth remembering the stories of the *Vitae fratrum* in which the Devil was seen to write down the sins of friars. See above, Chapter Two, p.70.

⁵⁷ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.225-6. The reference to Cyprian prompted a discussion between Resende and one of his interlocutors, Luís Pires, about the very real confusion that existed between the Cyprian who was a third-century bishop of Carthage and the magician, Cyprian of Syria. Although Resende was aware of Cyprian, it is unlikely that he borrowed from the legend when he was writing about Giles. The legends differ in too many ways. For example, the theme of the magicians of Toledo had nothing to do with Cyprian or Theophilus in the Middle Ages.

⁵⁸ See above, Chapter Two, and below, Chapter Six, for Paio. The Cyprian sermons are partially edited by Tuthill, *Sermons of Brother Paio*, pp.383-91, and in full by Costa Marques, *Sermonário de Frei Paio de Coimbra*, pp.398-401.

⁵⁹ P. Calderón de la Barca, *El mágico prodigioso*, eds. M. McKendrick and A.A. Parker (Oxford, 1992).

⁶⁰ A. Mira de Amescua, *Teatro*, ed. Á. Valbuena Prat, 2 vols (Madrid, 1960), I, pp.5-153. For the relationship between this play and that of Calderón de la Barca, see *El mágico prodigioso*, pp.40-1,

probably as it was found in the *Historia general de Sancto Domingo* of Hernando de Castillo.⁶¹ Giles' legend was used again later in the century by António Moreto (d.1669) in his play *Caer para levantar o San Gil de Portugal*, published in 1652.⁶² Devil pact plays were in fact quite popular in this period.⁶³ It is perhaps to be explained by the popularity of the theme of saints and martyrdom in Counter-Reformation Spain, and interest in several cases of demonic possession and devil pacts which came before the Inquisition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶⁴ The reason why Cyprian's story became predominant is perhaps because of the love interest developed between Cyprian and Justina.⁶⁵ The story offered great dramatic opportunities for a playwright of the calibre of Calderón de la Barca.

There does appear to have been a natural evolution of the devil-pact motif in Spanish literature from the Marian poems of Theophilus in the Middle Ages to the seventeenth-century play *El mágico prodigioso*. It is apparently easy to fit the Portuguese legend of Giles of Santarém into this context. It has been described how the Dominican writers of the sixteenth-century probably developed Giles' legend in line with Counter-Reformation ideals in much the same way as Calderón transformed Cyprian in the following century. Unfortunately, this is only part of a very complex picture, much of which is still obscure to literary historians.

and DiAmico, *Diabolical Pact in Literature*, p.176. Although they are aware of the legend of Giles of Santarém, neither of these literary studies bother to trace the Portuguese roots of the legend.

⁶¹ See above, Chapter One.

⁶² *Comedias escogidas de D. A. Moreto y Cabaña*, ed. L. Fernández Guerra y Orbe, *Biblioteca de autores españoles* 39 (Madrid, 1873), pp.583-600. See also J.A. Castañeda, "El Esclavo del demonio y *Caer para levantar*: reflejos de dos ciclos", in *Studia hispanica in honorem R. Lapesa*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1974), II, pp.181-88.

⁶³ See Dédéyan, *Le Thème de Faust*, I, pp.145-226.

⁶⁴ See *El mágico prodigioso*, pp.29-36 and 44-6, and DiAmico, *Diabolical Pact in Literature*, p.166.

⁶⁵ The majority of the stories in the Faust-myth contain a sexual theme. Perhaps because it symbolizes the forbidden knowledge they have acquired, most of the protagonists desire a woman at one time or another and attempt to use their magical powers to obtain her. Although this element is not immediately apparent in the legend of Giles of Santarém, it can be found in the version of Baltazar de São João, *Vida*, pp.150-54. This was a story which, significantly, was not picked up by André de Resende, perhaps for reasons of personal morality, and therefore was not recorded anywhere else. After he had become a Dominican, but *before* receiving back the bloody pact, Giles was tempted by a noble woman. She propositioned him, he rejected her, and she therefore accused him of assaulting her. Giles' reputation was only saved by the woman's confession during grave illness.

Giles of Santarém was first described as “the Portuguese Faust” by Almeida Garrett in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶⁶ Together with the Cipriano of Calderón de la Barca, the “Spanish Faust,” these legends can be seen as the southern counterpart of the German and English Faust legends. Did these legends develop independently of each other, based on common sources such as *The Golden Legend*, but presenting markedly different characters due to the incorporation of local traditions? Also influential must have been the way in which the lives of real people were sucked into the legend from time to time. The particular aspirations, lifestyles and social contexts of Giles of Santarém and the historical Faust probably had a profound effect on the direction their legends took. The development of these legends is even more complicated than this, however. It has been seen how the school of magic at Toledo is only found in French, English, and German sources. For it to have appeared in a work by a Portuguese author, there must have been some sort of north-south interaction across Europe.

It is possible to make a superficial study of the interchange between north and south in the variants of the Faust myth. Unfortunately, little can be said with any great certainty. Calderón de la Barca may have seen a performance of a Faust puppet show whilst in the Netherlands between 1623 and 1625.⁶⁷ It is probable that he had heard of Faust because the story was current at the University of Salamanca from the 1560s. It is also the case that in the autograph manuscript of *El mágico prodigioso*, the name of the main female character before her conversion to Christianity was originally to have been Faustina. The name makes little sense unless Calderón was making a mental link between the Cyprian and Faust stories.⁶⁸ Did André de Resende also hear of Faust through academic connections at Salamanca and in his travels in northern Europe? It is interesting that in Christopher Marlowe’s play, Faust summoned the ghost of Alexander the Great to the court of the emperor Charles V, in whose entourage Resende travelled for a time.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ See the epigram to this chapter and footnote one. Also, Chapter One, pp.58-9.

⁶⁷ Couliano, “Dr Faust”, p.267.

⁶⁸ *El mágico prodigioso*, pp.41 and 64-5; Dédéyan, *Mythe de Faust*, I, p.145.

⁶⁹ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, Act IV, scene i, p.175 (A-text).

Literary historians also consider whether Calderón's play had any influence on Goethe in the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ Generally, the answer has been given that the Faust story and the Calderón play are parallel but independent developments both of which reflected tensions and conflicts of the Reformation. Calderón is usually seen as providing the Catholic version of the theme, and there is some evidence that Martin Luther was associated with the idea of using the historical Faust as a lesson in sin and damnation.⁷¹ Finally, Almeida Garrett was explicit in his admiration of Goethe's *Faust*, which he appears to have come across in Belgium in the 1830s.⁷² It was only when Garrett noticed the similarities between Faust and Giles of Santarém that Giles' place in this European myth-cycle was recognized. It would be rewarding to see more direct links between the northern and southern legends and explore further the possibility that Giles' legend represented an important stage in the development of the concept of the devil pact signed with blood. However, these are questions which ultimately probably cannot be answered. They are also more closely associated with literary rather than historical themes and therefore will be left to those working in more relevant fields.

What Does it All Mean? Interpretation of the Faust-Myth

Now that the place of the legend of Giles of Santarém in an influential European myth has been established, it is necessary to explain why he was drawn into it in the first place. It could be said that all the versions of the Faust-myth which have been considered have little in common except for the theme of the demonic pact.⁷³ Is it really possible to relate the lives of Cyprian, a third-century martyr, Giles, a thirteenth-century physician and friar, and Faust, a sixteenth-century intellectual? The

⁷⁰ According to Dabezies, *Mythe de Faust*, p.68, Goethe did read *El mágico prodigioso* but not until it was translated into German in 1818 ten years after the first part of *Faust* had been published. According to H.W. Sullivan, *Calderón in the German Lands and the Low Countries: his Reception and Influence, 1654-1980* (Cambridge, 1980), p.187, he read it in 1794 and referred to it in a letter in 1812.

⁷¹ See Waxman, "Chapters on Magic", p.386, Baron, *Doctor Faustus*, pp.70-82, and Couliano, "Dr Faust," p.267.

⁷² Garrett was unusual in his knowledge of German literature. Goethe's *Faust* was not performed in Portugal until 1867 and not properly translated until 1943. See E. Feder, "Faust in Portuguese Garb", *Books Abroad* 18 (1944), 123-6.

⁷³ This is said implicitly by Waxman, "Chapters on Magic", p.386, and more firmly by Couliano, "Dr Faust", pp.279-80 and p.287.

historical contexts, literary styles, symbolism, and purpose of all these versions differ hugely. One other theme which all the stories share is the desire for knowledge or power. On the one hand, there is the high-ranking churchman like Theophilus, Gerbert or Giles who sells his soul in return for status and, on the other hand, there is a wandering scholar, eager for knowledge, who is at best dismissed as a wastrel or quack, or at worst, a worker of evil or a sorcerer. Cyprian fits into this category as do both Gerbert and Giles again. In the *Fausts* of Marlowe and Goethe, the scholar eager for knowledge has become the dominant element; neither character is a cleric. The plays begin with Faust's discussion of the use and purpose of different types of knowledge - law, medicine, philosophy, theology - and his conclusion that all study has been in vain.⁷⁴ The medieval figures are still seeking knowledge of these things but in the modern period it is absolute knowledge which is desired. Marlowe and Goethe were both influenced by the discoveries, expansion, industrialization and new philosophies of their centuries, the sixteenth and eighteenth respectively.⁷⁵ It could be said that the legends of Gerbert of Aurillac and Giles of Santarém developed as a result of the tensions and prejudices created by the discovery of new knowledge in the south.

Ioan Couliano would doubt this theory. In his innovative interpretation of Faust he challenges the view of myth as a symbolic story with numerous variants. He believes that instead "there are *only* variants, myth is a non-entity".⁷⁶ There is no archetypal "Faust-myth" with an inherent symbolic meaning. Couliano's own definition of "myth" is as follows: "myth is nothing but a hollow narrative pattern which can be filled up at will with the most disparate messages".⁷⁷ In the particular case of Faust, Couliano believes that the messages contained in each story are created for the purposes of evangelical propaganda and vary depending on the religion and nationality of the audience and writer.⁷⁸ In the medieval saints' lives and Marian poetry, the saints were presented as examples of temptation and salvation and were

⁷⁴ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, Act 1, scene i, pp.109-14 (A-text); Goethe, *Faust: Part One*, p.15, lines 354-385.

⁷⁵ See Watt, *Myths of Modern Individualism*, pp.xvi and 46.

⁷⁶ Couliano, "Dr. Faust", p.287.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.261.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.262.

demonstrations of the intercessory powers of the Virgin Mary. They were setting the limits of sexual and intellectual yearning within an evolving Church and a rapidly expanding physical and academic world. By the early modern period the propaganda message transmitted by both Catholic and Protestant reformers was one which dismissed the excesses and “magic” of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. This could be seen in André de Resende’s learned discussion of the peculiarities and abuses of both his age and Giles’. One of the reasons why Giles’ life and miracles become submerged under apparently irrelevant material is because Resende was using the legend as a vehicle for his own message. It was still a desire for knowledge and a spiritual and intellectual curiosity which was to be curbed and held under suspicion, but by the sixteenth century the technological, geographical, and political expansion of Europe made both the intellect and the message immeasurably more powerful.⁷⁹

Couliano’s theories suggest that although a comparison of the legend of Giles of Santarém with other similar legends which contain the plot mechanism of the devil pact can be fruitful, ultimately the particular meaning of this legend must be studied in relation to its own social, political, and religious context. On the other hand, Couliano does not go far enough in explaining why the mechanism of the devil pact and the theme of seeking knowledge do actually repeat themselves century after century. Each legend might have a different meaning but there must still be a reason why this particular method was used to transmit it. According to Couliano, one reason for the repetition is the human need for continuity. “Myth” actually implies that the previous historical or symbolic meaning of something has been forgotten, and that therefore a new one needs to be thought up, although one which retains the idea of the past. It is also a means of holding up a mirror to humanity, presenting human needs, tensions and anxieties at a certain moment in time.⁸⁰ One would think that an anthropological interpretation of the myth-making process would be useful in this

⁷⁹ One of the reasons why we refer to the “Faust-myth” rather than to the “Cyprian-myth” is because the development of printing in Germany opened the story up to countless more people. It is significant that the name, “Faust”, was probably confused with that of “Fust”. Johann Fust of Mainz (d. 1466) ran a printing shop in association with Gutenberg. The invention of printing was sometimes attributed to Fust rather than Gutenberg: see Smeed, *Faust in Literature*, pp.99-109. If we reconsider Charles Burnett’s comment above, note 16, on the power of writing on human imagination and the magical connotations it naturally created, then it is easy to understand the suspicions aroused by this new mechanical form of writing.

⁸⁰ Couliano, “Dr. Faust”, p.281.

context. Couliano is sceptical of such an approach,⁸¹ but Valerie Flint in her study of magic argues: “I am sure that it is toward the social anthropological that medievalists must now, and increasingly, turn for help”.⁸² It is fortunate that anthropological study of this subject does exist, although one which is somewhat old-fashioned in its basis.⁸³

Eliza Marian Butler’s research into Faust led her naturally to analyze the sources for the story. Like most other scholars she looked at the evidence for the historical Faust, and at the plays of Calderón and Marlowe and the early medieval saints’ lives of Cyprian and Theophilus, making no reference to the life of Giles Santarém. In contrast to Couliano, Butler did not see the demonic pact as the connecting factor between these stories. Rather, she looked at the character-type of the protagonist of each tale. For Butler believed that:

all Faust’s predecessors and successors as well as Faust himself were essentially one and the same person under many different guises and bearing as many different names. Founders and teachers of religion; sacrificed saviour-gods; rebels and martyrs; sinners and saints; mystery-men and occultists; conjurers, charlatans and quacks; they all behaved in a similar manner and their lives went according to the same plan.⁸⁴

Moving out of the narrow confines of plot and narrative structure, Butler asked why stories of this type would attach themselves to these kinds of people. What was it about these people and their hold on the human imagination, what was their role in society, religion and the intellect which created legends? Answering this question may help to explain what it was about the life of Giles of Santarém which caused him to be drawn into the myth.

Butler argued that what connects all the variants of the Faust-myth was what she called “the myth of the magus.” Couliano may dismiss this as a deeper level to the “hollow narrative pattern” but it is an interesting alternative method of interpreting the clutch of ideas gathered around the Faust figures. Butler’s approach is unusual in that it projects the search for the roots of the Faust-myth back to pre-Christian times. This is one valuable contribution of anthropology in that it breaks the

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.280: “Anthropology is doomed to perpetuate ad infinitum the analysis of the hollow plot, unrelated to any historical context”.

⁸² Flint, *Rise of Magic*, p.404.

⁸³ E.M. Butler, *The Myth of the Magus* (1st publ. 1948, Cambridge, 1993), and *Idem*, *The Fortunes of Faust* (Cambridge, 1952). Butler’s work was influenced by the work of Sir James Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, 12 vols (New York, 1911-1936), especially his key theme of the ritual hero or dying god-king.

⁸⁴ Butler, *Magus*, p.2.

stranglehold of Christianity and Europe on historical analysis. The struggle Cyprian had with the devil was old even by the third century. Furthermore, Butler goes on to include individuals whose connection with the myth seems at first tenuous. Christ and Moses, Virgil, Merlin, and even more modern figures such as Rasputin. All these figures are *magi*, they acted as intermediaries between the known and the unknown and they manipulated this unknown in a way which, depending on the time and culture, was seen as magic or religion.⁸⁵ Faust's and Giles' manipulation of knowledge and their contracts with the Devil are set on this same stage. In their particular times their association with the unknown was viewed with fear and suspicion. They become souls who had to be damned if they could not be converted and saved. This rejection of their magical role can be related to the development of the Christian alternative to the heroic magician: the saint.

It has always seemed to be of significance that three of the Faust-figures: Giles of Santarém, Theophilus and Cyprian, were revered as saints. The question arises as to whether the path to sanctity was a natural passage for these converted necromancers. From arbitrators and intermediaries of a dubious sort they become easily rewritten as holy links between humanity and God: a connection even more powerful once the mediator was dead. It seems apt that two of these future intercessors were converted by probably the most important medieval mediator: the Virgin Mary. The Protestant Faust, of course, could not resort to this means of salvation.

The link between saints and the ancient cult of heroes has been recognized in the past.⁸⁶ However, historians generally avoid anthropological analysis of holy people and their function in medieval minds. Everyone recognizes that saints have political, social, and psychological roles but few have viewed this in spiritual or metaphysical terms. Most research recently seems dominated by statistics, canonization politics, and medical analyses. Patrick Geary remarks that as a result "something is lost" in the study of hagiography.⁸⁷ This "something" could perhaps be

⁸⁵ For a more modern discussion of *magi*, see Flint, *Rise of Magic*, pp.331-92.

⁸⁶ P.R.L. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1982), p.5. It is significant that one of the demands of sanctity came to be the possession of a heroic quality. The link between sacrifice and martyrdom is also worth considering. Despite their age the anthropological perceptions of Frazer do still have validity in the study of hagiography.

⁸⁷ Geary, *Living with the Dead*, pp.28-9.

defined as the loss of the spiritual dimension. It is an unfortunate development because whatever the personal beliefs of the historian, hagiography has an undeniable spiritual purpose.

Peter Brown is one of the few historians who has looked at the concept of the holy man and the function which he had in his society.⁸⁸ His ideas have yielded fruitful results when applied to Anglo-Norman and Angevin England but do not appear to have influenced research in other areas of Europe.⁸⁹ Brown argues that holy men played a key role in mediating between the late Roman village or urban community and the world outside, giving the people a sense of continuity and stability within a crumbling society. Ironically, however, the holy man was usually an ascetic who lived on the margins of the community or was a stranger to it, a strangeness which was accentuated by his efforts to free himself from the demands of the body, the family, and the social and religious hierarchy. The authority his role gave him made the holy man a man of power, a power usually proven by the ability to perform miracles. In a world where all that was unknown and not explained by the Church was demonic, the power he was believed to have over physical phenomena was perceived as a power over the Devil. It is not a coincidence that one of the most striking acts of the holy from the Gospels onwards was the exorcism of demons. This manipulation of the demonic within the church was the direct counterpart of the Faust-magicians.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ P.R.L. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity", *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), 80-101, and *Idem*, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man, 1971-1997", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6:3 (1998), 353-76. It is interesting that Burkert, *Creation of the Sacred*, p.116, coming from a completely different and independent perspective to that of Brown, also refers to the role of the mediators: "The seer, the oracles, the shamans, the medicine men, the rabbis - in short persons who 'know more.'"

⁸⁹ H. Mayr-Harting, "Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse", *History* 60 (1975), 337-52; K. Leyser, "The Angevin Kings and the Holy Man", in K. Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond* (London/Rio Grande, 1994), pp.157-75.

⁹⁰ Brown, "Rise and Function of the Holy Man", p.88. The relationship between miracles, the marvellous, and magical deeds is considered by Le Goff, *Medieval Imagination*, p.30, and B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (Aldershot, 1987), pp.8-19. Magic and miracles are two methods of coming into contact with the supernatural and the debate over the difference between them is as old as Christianity. One example of the ambiguities possible in this debate is a consideration of the title of Calderón's play *El mágico prodigioso*. Just who is the prodigious magician referred to? Is it Cipriano, is it the Devil, or is it God? According to *El mágico prodigioso*, pp.62-64, the answer is probably all three, a deliberate riddle set up by the playwright. See also H.C. Kee, *Medicine, Miracle and Magic in New Testament Times* (Cambridge, 1986).

How does this relate to the life of Giles of Santarém? It can be shown that aspects of Giles' real life explain the various strands of his legend and that these strands were available in European literature long before the sixteenth-century authors picked them up. Giles fits the ancient stereotype of a holy man, a magus, a mediator between the community and the unknown, whether this is the society outside, the natural world of the body, the divine, or the supernatural. Mediators made sense out of the unknown and supplied a religious, scientific, or magical framework which helped explain the incomprehensible.⁹¹ Giles was drawn into this role because of his career as a physician and Dominican friar from the Iberian Peninsula.

The Toledo episode of the legend is not difficult to explain. It has already been demonstrated how an interest in Arabic learning and science would have aroused suspicion in the minds of more conservative clerics. Examples of these may have been the secular clergy of the University of Paris. At the time of Giles' stay in Paris, probably in the 1220s, Giles would more often than not have been described as *Hispanus*. The separate identities of the Iberian kingdoms would not always have been understood and when he joined the Dominican order he would have belonged to the province of *Hispania*. Indeed, in the *Vitae fratrum*, Giles is usually described as *Egidius Hispanus* and only once as *de Portugallia*.⁹² During the thirteenth century, as Ferdinand III and Alfonso X sought to bring Castile into the arena of European politics amidst an atmosphere of crusade and mission, more people would have come to hear of the multicultural and sophisticated society of the Iberian Peninsula and perhaps view it with suspicion. It is therefore likely that any reference to a man from *Hispania* would have made a northerner think of Castile, Toledo, and the stories of magic which already circulated in ecclesiastical and literary circles. The tradition of magic at Toledo would later have been strengthened by the scientific interests of Alfonso X "the Learned". These included the study of clocks and astrological tables and the continued translation of medical and astrological works, often by Jewish physicians at court.⁹³ Suspicion towards this learning lingered for a long time in

⁹¹ See Brown, "Rise and Function of the Holy Man", p.99: the holy man brought "for innumerable individuals, an oasis of certainty in the conflicting aims and traditions of the world".

⁹² Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.199. This is only the case in some manuscripts as, in his revision of the text, Humbert of Romans removed most personal names altogether.

⁹³ N. Roth, "Jewish Collaborators in Alfonso's Scientific Work", in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. R.I. Burns (Philadelphia, 1990),

Giles' own Dominican milieu. Concern about books of Black Magic, Arabic numerals, and astronomy can be found in Dominican legislation in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁹⁴

It was not just Giles' origins which would have linked him to Toledo. Attributed to Giles of Santarém is a translation of a medical text by the tenth-century Arab physician Rasis.⁹⁵ Several treatises of Rasis had been translated by Gerard of Cremona at Toledo in the second half of the twelfth century. Gerard of Cremona also added considerably to the Latin corpus of texts written by Aristotle, especially works of natural philosophy.⁹⁶ At the time of Giles' stay in Paris these works were officially prohibited at the University.⁹⁷ This would probably have been enough to associate him with magic and Toledo. There is no evidence that this link was made during Giles' lifetime but, added to the strong tradition which had developed in the north from the early twelfth century concerning the magical activity at Toledo, it seems a likely hypothesis.

Many of the works translated by Gerard of Cremona at Toledo were medical texts and the fact that Giles was a physician and author of medical works made him a highly suitable candidate as the protagonist of a new variant of the Faust-myth. It has been suggested that Giles may actually have carried out his own translation work at Toledo, either in the 1220s when Michael Scot was there, or at the court of Alfonso X from the 1250s.⁹⁸ There is no proof of this and it is, in fact, not necessary for the development of the legend. Before Giles' conversion the only way his healing powers

pp.59-71. Also J. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia, 1993), pp.141-44, and F. Márques Villanueva, *El concepto cultural alfonsí* (Madrid, 1994), pp.183-202.

⁹⁴ In the General Chapter of 1252 at Bologna, Reichert, *Generalium*, p.64, the friars were banned from using *figuras algorismi*. The Roman Provincial Chapter at Viterbo in 1258, Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.511, banned the study of astronomy. In the Provincial Chapter of Provence at Castres in 1279, Douais, *Provincialium*, I, p.231, firm measures were instituted against friars who had been frequently admonished about their *libros nigromanticos vel alia supersticiosa vel curiosa*.

⁹⁵ This is the *De secretis in medicina*. See below, Chapter Eight.

⁹⁶ d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators," pp.453-454. The lists of Gerard's works compiled by his pupils after his death is published in *A Source Book in Medieval Science*, ed. E. Grant (Cambridge, MA, 1974), pp.35-8.

⁹⁷ Aristotle's natural philosophy does not seem to have been taught at Paris until the 1240s after it was banned in 1210 and 1215. See *CUP*, I, pp.70 and 78-9, and M. Haren, *The Western Intellectual Tradition from Antiquity to the Thirteenth Century* (Basingstoke/London, 1992), pp.147-50.

⁹⁸ S. Frei Gil de Santarém, p.34, and I. Fleisch, *Kirche, Königtum und gelehrtes Recht im hochmittelalterlichen Portugal* (Masters diss., University of Bamberg, 1998), p.71.

could be explained was by reference to the demonic and the magical. After his conversion they became miraculous. In as much as the preservation of health and the explanation and cure of illness have always been primary human concerns, medical, magical, and religious treatments, rituals, and beliefs have all had their roots in a common cause. It is therefore not surprising that the three domains can blur one into the other from time to time and that the distinction between successful medical recipe, miracle and spell can be hazy.⁹⁹ The medical practitioner, the magician, and the priest are all the professionals of their respective disciplines. They are all mediators between humans and the unknown, helping to explain and alleviate the onslaught of sufferings let loose in the world.¹⁰⁰ As Giles was both medical man and priest, he was doubly a mediator between the human and the unknown.

When Giles of Santarém joined the Dominican Order, his role in society altered. In many ways the early friars can be seen as the thirteenth-century version of the wandering, marginal, holy men who formed a link between the community and the outside world. The story of Giles and his companion who arrived hungry and footsore at a village near Poitiers on their way from Paris is typical of this.¹⁰¹ Many of the early Dominicans were also intellectuals who had to balance their learning with the ideals and regulations of the order.¹⁰² Judging by the story in the *Vitae fratrum* of the friar who was burned in hell by his books, this was perceived to be a difficult task,

⁹⁹ The relationship between medicine, magic, and religion has long been recognized. In the first century A.D. Pliny the Elder wrote that:

noone will doubt that the origin of magic lay in medicine, and that it crept in surreptitiously under the pretence of furthering health as if it were a loftier and holier form of the healing art. In this way it acquired the enticing and welcome promises of religion which even now remains very much a closed book to the human race; and with this success it also took control of astrology, because there is no one who is not eager to learn his destiny or who does not believe that the most accurate method of so doing is to observe the sky.

See *Historia naturalis, Plinius Naturkunde*, eds. R. König and G. Winkler, 37 vols (Munich, 1973-97), XXX, ch. 1, p.116, and *Natural History* (Harmondsworth, 1991), p.268.

¹⁰⁰ See Flint, *Rise of Magic*, p.240: "it is to medicine and healing as a whole that we should look for our truest guides to all those processes whereby magic came to be incorporated into the Christian religion". Also *Idem.*, "The Early Medieval "Medicus", the Saint - and the Enchanter", *Social History of Medicine* 2 (1989), 127-45; J. Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion, c.1300: the Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford, 1998), p.123; and W.H.R. Rivers, *Medicine, Magic and Religion* (London, 1924). The relationship between medicine and religion will be revisited below in Chapter Seven.

¹⁰¹ See above, Chapter Two, pp.73-4.

¹⁰² See below, Chapter Seven.

involving great emotional strain.¹⁰³ Part of the initial appeal of the order lay in its ability to cross barriers and break down the social hierarchy. The origins of the order, for example, lay in Dominic's advice to privileged clerics that their preaching mission to the Cathars of Southern France would have more effect if they went barefoot and adopted mean clothing.¹⁰⁴ According to the legend a key stage in Giles of Santarém's conversion was seeing the friars at Palencia build their own convent like common labourers.¹⁰⁵ Even if the episode at Palencia is fictional, the impact was entirely realistic.¹⁰⁶ Humbert of Romans also stressed that Giles had abandoned his former great estate and cleaned latrines.¹⁰⁷

It is therefore not surprising to find that, as a Dominican, Giles was forced to continue as a mediator of a different kind, and that this mediation was the final stage of his growth into a legend and a saint. A key episode of Giles' legend was his involvement in the deposition of Sancho II and his apparent position as a go-between for Sancho and his brother, the future Afonso III. Giles behaved here exactly like the holy man who appears in a crisis to advise a ruler or scold the bishop.¹⁰⁸ He was the mediator in his community. Brown identifies "a widespread preoccupation among small, fissile communities to find some figure who would resolve tension and explosions of violence in their communities".¹⁰⁹ This small, violent community perfectly describes thirteenth-century Portugal in the midst of a civil war which threatened to tear it apart. Whether or not Giles did mediate between the royal brothers, all commentators from sixteenth-century chroniclers to nineteenth-century

¹⁰³ See above, Chapter Two, p.82.

¹⁰⁴ See above, Introduction, p.12.

¹⁰⁵ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.238 and *Vida*, p.149.

¹⁰⁶ Murray, *Reason and Society*, pp.402-403, for the impact of social classlessness on future converts. He also refers to saints as "socially amphibious", *Ibid.*, ch. 16, especially pp.386-93.

¹⁰⁷ See above, Chapter Two, p.71.

¹⁰⁸ Compare with the relationship between Hugh of Lincoln and Henry II and Richard I of England analyzed by Leyser, "Angevin Kings and the Holy Man". Giles' later involvement with Afonso III; for example, his curing of the king's gout by swapping staffs with him (*Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.283), is also reminiscent of the intimacy enjoyed by Hugh of Lincoln or Wulfric of Haselbury with the powerful.

¹⁰⁹ Brown, "Rise and Function of the Holy Man", p.89.

novelists thought that he ought to have done.¹¹⁰ It was his role and function as a saint.

There is one other way in which Giles could have attracted stories of Black Magic and this was simply through being a high ranking church man from the Iberian Peninsula. It has already been noted that many popes between Sylvester II (Gerbert of Aurillac) and Gregory VII were accused of Black Magic because of anti-papal feeling in the Investiture conflict. Other popes were also open to such accusations. For example, Giles of Santarém's younger contemporary, the Portuguese pope John XXI (1276-7), was subject to virulent Dominican criticism after his death, which occurred, rather miserably for a medieval pope, when the roof of his study collapsed on him.¹¹¹ Ptolemy of Lucca OP (d.1327), said that the accident happened when the pope was fulminating against regular clergy, for whom he was said to have had little time.¹¹² Elsewhere the same writer described him as *in actionibus spiritu Hispanico plenus*.¹¹³ Another Dominican chronicler went further to describe him as *hereticus et nigromanticus oppressus in palatio a dyabolo*, and that when he was dying there was found around his neck a document (*cedula* - the same word used to describe the Devil-pact) *cum karacteribus suspectis*.¹¹⁴ All the chroniclers recognized John XXI's expertise in medicine and philosophy.

¹¹⁰ See below, Chapter Six, for a discussion of whether this episode took place.

¹¹¹ The roof of the study he had had built on to the papal palace at Viterbo collapsed on him and he died of his injuries about a week later. See L.M. de Rijk, "On the Life of Peter of Spain, Author of the *Tractatus* Called Afterwards *Summule Logicales*", *Vivarium* 8 (1970), 123-54, at p.153. Primary and secondary sources give a variety of different dates for the pope's death. Francesco Pipini, *Chronicon*, in *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. L.A. Muratori, 24 vols (Milan, 1723-38), IX, cols. 587-752, at col. 723, gives 15 May 1277 as the date of the accident. G.M. Radke, *Viterbo: Profile of a Thirteenth-Century Papal Palace* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.49-50, discusses the evidence for this architectural disaster. Archaeologists have been able to identify the base of John's study.

¹¹² Ptolemy of Lucca, *Historia ecclesiastica*, in *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. Muratori, XI, cols. 753-1242, at col. 1176. For discussion of this Dominican criticism, see A. Lobato, "El Papa Juan XXI y los dominicos", *Mediaevalia: textos e estudos* 7-8 (1995), 303-27.

¹¹³ *Die Annalen des Tholomaeus von Lucca*, ed. B. Schmeidler, *MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum*, n.s. 8 (Berlin, 1955), p.184. Lobato, "Juan XXI y los dominicos", p.318, explains this reference to "Hispanic spirit" as a Quixotic inclination to tilt at windmills which, of course, has no relevance to the Middle Ages. It is more likely to be a reference to the intransigence and error of the people and clergy of the Iberian Peninsula complained about so bitterly by the thirteenth-century papacy. See Linehan, *Spanish Church and the Papacy*.

¹¹⁴ *Monumenta Erphesfurtensia*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* (Hanover, 1899), p.689.

Another pope, the anti-pope Benedict XIII (1394-1417), was also accused of necromancy at the Council of Pisa in 1409. He was supposed to have summoned *malignos demoniorum spiritus* and sought out a *librum nigromancie* in the lands of the Saracens. Various sinister-looking Catalan and Provençal monks and friars were supposed to have aided him in his nefarious deeds.¹¹⁵ There are several common elements to these two sets of accusations. Both the popes involved were from the Iberian Peninsula, the former Portuguese, the latter Aragonese; in both cases the popes' learning was emphasized and one of Benedict XIII's associates is believed to have had interests in alchemy; in both cases a connection was made between the accusations and the Peninsula. It is clear that there are close links between these stories, and particularly that of Benedict XIII, and the legend of Sylvester II. It was not easy to attack a pope, especially one known to be pious, and so when political circumstances demanded it, accusations of Black Magic were one of the few options. Benedict XIII was accused in an attempt to depose him and end the Great Schism (1378-1417), and John XXI appears to have been the target of Dominicans angered by the 219 propositions condemned at the University of Paris in early 1277, which attacked some of the ideas of Thomas Aquinas.¹¹⁶ Since so little work has been done on the political context of the Dominican order in Portugal,¹¹⁷ it is not possible to say what circumstances may have caused accusations of Black Magic to be made about Giles of Santarém. Also it still does not explain how accusations which almost certainly originated outwith the Peninsula took root so firmly within Portuguese tradition. It is clear that far more work needs to be done on the role of Spain and Portugal in the popular imagination in late medieval and early-modern Europe.

¹¹⁵ M. Harvey, "Papal Witchcraft: the Charges Against Benedict XIII", *Studies in Church History* 10 (1973), 109-16.

¹¹⁶ Lobato, "Juan XXI y los dominicos". However, John XXI did little more than issue a couple of bulls ordering an investigation, one of which may never have been sent, and the person really behind the condemnations appears to have been the bishop of Paris, Étienne Tempier. See E. Grant, "The Condemnation of 1277, God's Absolute Power and Physical Thought in the Late Middle Ages", *Viator* 10 (1979), 211-44; J.M.M.H. Thijssen, "What Really Happened on 7 March 1277? Bishop Tempier's Condemnation and its Institutional Context", in *Texts and Contexts in Ancient and Medieval Science: Studies on the Occasion of John E. Murdoch's 70th Birthday*, eds. E. Sylla and M.R. McVaugh (Leiden, 1997), pp.84-114; and Haren, *Medieval Thought*, pp.204-11. A translation of the condemnations can be found in A. Hyman and J.J. Walsh, *Philosophy in the Middle Ages: the Christian, Islamic and Jewish Traditions* (Indianapolis, 1973), pp.540-49.

¹¹⁷ See above, Introduction, pp.13-14.

The aim of this chapter has been to analyze those aspects of the legend of Giles of Santarém which could be regarded as “fictional” in that they are related to common hagiographical or literary themes and are unlikely to have been real episodes in the life of Giles of Santarém. It has become apparent through this that the *vitae* of Giles of Santarém are much richer and more important texts than they at first appeared, and open up wide vistas of comparative research. Giles is a much neglected figure in the history of European literature and society, and the concepts of the magicians of Toledo and the bloody pact reflect both medieval prejudices and fears and universal patterns of human behaviour which are worth exploring further. In the following chapter an attempt will be made to reconstruct the actual details of Giles’ life, but it must be remembered that the nature of the sources will always make this a difficult task. Ferreiro Alemparte believes that it is useless to try to extract the historical nucleus of the story from the legend; the two are so closely interwoven that to do so would be to misinterpret the intended meaning of the tale.¹¹⁸ The fact that noone has even attempted to present the historical figure of Giles of Santarém suggests, however, that it is a very necessary to separate “fact” from “fiction” and show what basis the legend had in reality.



Giles of Santarém in a very Faustian depiction of the 1950s on the facade of the Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon

¹¹⁸ Ferreiro Alemparte, “La escuela de nigromancia,” p.221.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FAMILY OF GILES OF SANTARÉM.

*Our esteemed father, Brother Giles of Portugal, came from a village which is called Vouzela, situated in the region of Coimbra His father was called D. Rodrigo Pereira counsellor of King Sancho. His mother was D. Teresa of Atouguia, a relative of D. Joana of Atouguia.*¹

The sources for the life and legend of Giles of Santarém have been considered and the legend itself has been closely examined. It is now necessary to analyze the biographical details they present and establish the details of Giles' family, education and career. It will become apparent that what the sixteenth-century sources say is based on reality but can only be accepted with documentary support which is often lacking. Nevertheless, enough can be extracted to build a plausible family network for Giles which, even if it remains obscure in places, helps to determine his social and political milieu.

Giles of Santarém's date of birth is traditionally calculated from the information given by André de Resende that he was more than eighty years old at the time of death.² Most of the sources also tell us that Giles died on Ascension Day, 1265,³ a date supported by an obituary in the *Livro das kalendas* of Coimbra cathedral which is assumed by most modern historians to be that of Giles of Santarém.

In 1303 (Spanish era = 1265) on 14 May, which in that year was the feast of the Ascension of the Lord, died Master Giles, former presbiter, canon and treasurer of this church of Coimbra, who passed away as a Friar Preacher and left to the chapter of Coimbra for his anniversary his property of Cervela with all right and things pertaining to it, and half of Cervela was exchanged with everything which the bishop had in Spino and in its region so that it is contained in full in the books of exchange made between us and lord Estêvão, bishop of Coimbra, signed with his seal and stored in the chapter's treasury; who lies honorably in the monastery of the Friars Preacher at Santarém.⁴

¹ *Vida*, p.129: *Eximius noster Pater Frater Egidius natione Lusitanus, oriundus fuit ex villa quae dicitur Bouzella (sic), infra Conimbricenses situata terminos Pater eius Dominus Rodericus Peyreyra nuncupabatur Hunc rex Dominus Sanchus consiliarum habuit Mater vero eius Domna Tharasia d'Atouguia appellata est cognata Domnae Ioannae d'Atouguia.*

² *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.295: *octogenario iam maior*. Resende appears to have forgotten that he placed the date of birth in 1190. See below, note five.

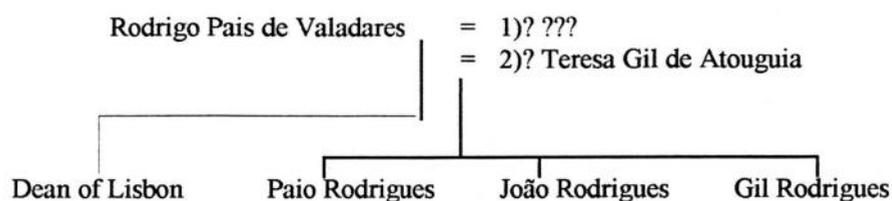
³ For example, *Ibid.*, p.295 and António, *Compendio*, p.114. *Vida*, p.203, inexplicably has the year 1379. The collection of recipes in ms. 22 of the National Library of Medicine in Washington, fol.22, gives 1266. See below, Chapter Eight.

⁴ *LK*, I, p.246: *Era MCCCIII XIII die mensis maii in qua die tunc temporis occurrit festum Ascensionis Domini obiit magister Egidius presbiter quondam canonicus thesaurarius istius ecclesie Colimbriensis qui descensit frater predicatorum et reliquit capitulo Colimbriensi pro suo anniversario hereditatem de Cervela cum omnibus iuribus et pertinenciis suis, et medietas de Cervela est permutata cum omnibus que habebat episcopus in Spino et in eius terminis ut in libris permutationis facte inter nos et dominum Stephanum Colimbriensem episcopum sigillatis eius sigillo et capituli in thesauro reconditis plenius continetur; qui iacet monasterio Fratrum Predicatorum*

As a result of these details of Giles' death, his date of birth should be set in or before 1185. For some reason, however, 1190 was equally popular amongst the early-modern chroniclers.⁵ There was agreement, nevertheless, that Giles was born in the last quarter of the twelfth century in the reign of Sancho I (1185-1211).

According to the legend, Giles of Santarém was the son of Rui/Rodrigo Pires/Pais/Pereira de Valadares, the governor (*alcaide*) of Coimbra and counsellor of Sancho I. His mother was Teresa Gil of Atouguia. Resende went on to record that Giles had two older brothers, Paio and João Rodrigues, and another, perhaps half-brother, who was Dean of Lisbon.⁶ Thus, a simple family tree based on his information would appear as follows:

fig. 3



Throughout his *vita* Resende also referred to cousins of Giles: Joana Dias, who paid for his tomb and chapel, Gonçalo Mendes, royal chancellor, Martinho Gonçalo Chancino, and Teresa Martins.⁷ They were all involved in or were witnesses to Giles' miracles, but only the exact relationship of Joana was explained. She was always said to be Giles' first cousin on his mother's side. As will shortly be seen, there is a wealth of contemporary evidence for Joana's life, and the existence of some of the other cousins can also be documented. The same cannot be said for Giles' supposed siblings.

honorifice apud Santarenam. The earliest chronicler who appears to have been aware of this entry is Jorge Cardoso, *Agiologio lusitano*, III, p.251. He also cites an otherwise unknown document of the royal archives in Lisbon which gave the same date of death. The significance of the property details in this obit will be discussed below, p.140.

⁵ Examples of those who give the date 1185 are the anonymous BPE, ms. CV/2-4, fol.12, and Cardoso, *Agiologio*, III, p.250. For 1190, see *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.227 and Sousa, *Domingos*, I, p.176. The latter was a little more hesitant, giving *pelos annos do Senhor de 1190, pouco mais ou menos*. Baltazar de São João gave no explicit date of birth but, from some of the rather strange dates and ages for later stages of Giles' life, e.g. *Vida*, pp.146 and 160, a highly unlikely date of 1208/9 seems to be implied.

⁶ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.228. *Vida*, p.130, also gave Giles three older brothers.

⁷ For Joana Dias, see *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.228, 296 and 334; Gonçalo Mendes: *Ibid.*, p.262; Martinho Gonçalo Chancinho: *Ibid.*, p.280; Teresa Martins: *Ibid.*, pp.306-7.

Resende gave as evidence for these family details, two genealogical works, the first by his own contemporary, António de Lima, and the second by the fourteenth-century Count Pedro de Barcelós. It has been shown how these works were either misquoted or deliberately manipulated.⁸ He also referred to a lost inscription of Santa Cruz de Coimbra which went as follows:

*HIC SITVS EST DOMNVS RVDERICVS PATER FRATRIS AEGIDII SANCTIRENENSIS
MAIOR PRAEFECTVS ARCIS ET VRBIS CONIMBRIGENSIS.*⁹

It was noticed by some chroniclers that Resende's genealogy was not supported by his own evidence. Only one or two noticed the discrepancies between the genealogical works and Resende's citations, but the inscription recorded by Resende was heavily criticised by Luís de Sousa. He doubted its authenticity on the grounds that it was inappropriate that a father should be remembered through his son. He also considered the term *maior praefectus* to be anachronistic, believing *pretor* to be the appropriate medieval translation of *alcaide-mor*, the office Rodrigo was believed to have held.¹⁰ These are valid points, but Sousa failed to notice that Resende rendered into sixteenth-century Latin an inscription which would originally have been written in medieval Portuguese. It would have been similar to the following translation made by Pereira:

*AQUI JAZ DOM RUI PAI DE FREI GIL DE SANTARÉM ALCAIDE-MOR DA CIDADELA E
DA CIDADE DE COIMBRA.*

As such, it is very like the tomb inscription of Fernão Fernans Cogominho and his wife Joana Dias, Giles' cousin, which begins:

*AQUI JAZ DOM FERNANDO FERÑZ COGOMINHO SENHOR DE CHAVES E ALCAIDE
MOR DE COIMBRA E JOANNA DIAS SUA MOLHER*

and which can still be seen in Santa Cruz.¹¹

⁸ See above, Chapter One, pp.53-5.

⁹ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.227-8.

¹⁰ Sousa, *Domingos*, I, p.176.

¹¹ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, note 31, p.375. The inscription can be seen just within the church porch on the right hand wall. According to A.A. Martins, *O mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, séculos XII-XV: história e instituição*, 2 vols (PhD., University of Lisbon, 1996), I, pp.496-7, note 248, the Cogominho tomb was moved in the sixteenth century to its present location because of restoration work carried out by king Manuel.

Resende's inscription may have verisimilitude on one level but there are still grave doubts as to its authenticity. Resende claimed that it was found in Santa Cruz whilst he was still a child. According to Pereira, it may have appeared and then disappeared during the major reconstruction work which took place between 1507 and 1545.¹² The problem is that however plausible Resende's story might appear, he is known to have faked or altered inscriptions and documents in order to support his own historical theories. One of Portugal's first archaeologists, he left a large collection of inscriptions and other artefacts to his natural son in his will. Still unfinished at his death in 1573 was a major study of Portuguese archaeology, *De antiquitatibus lusitaniae*, which includes fantastical ideas of the Roman and pre-Roman origins of Portugal: for example, that Lisbon was founded by Ulysses. It is entirely possible that the inscription referring to D. Rodrigo of Coimbra was an invention.¹³

It has already been suggested that Resende may have fabricated a noble family for Giles of Santarém in order to give his saint a loftier background and flatter contemporary families who claimed descent from Giles' supposed relations.¹⁴ In order to give verisimilitude to the fraudulent genealogy, Resende picked a real family in the old *Livros de Linhagens*. It is not, however, easy to dismiss the whole genealogy as a pious fraud. How could one explain, in that case, the information given by Baltazar de São João that Giles' father was Rodrigo de Pereira, his mother Teresa de Atouguia and his relative Joana de Atouguia? São João finished his work some years before Resende began his. There is no indication that he used the *Livros de Linhagens*. As São João is probably the source which Resende claimed to use for details of the *patria, parentes, studia et conversio* of Giles, then the names and relationships given by both Baltazar and Resende must have had some original significance. It is necessary to look more closely at the identities of the people to whom Giles was said to be related.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ See J.R.C. Martyn's introduction to Resende's *On Court Life*, pp.33-5 (for will), and p.44 for Resende tampering with artefacts. Also *idem*, "A Renaissance Picnic at Resende's *Quinta*", p.74, note 8, and Rosado Fernandes, "André de Resende e o humanismo europeu", pp.608-14. The latter advises caution, but not wholesale rejection, when faced with evidence to which Resende alone testifies.

¹⁴ See above, Chapter One, pp.54-5.

The Dias-Cogominho Family

Joana Dias and her husband Fernão Fernandes Cogominho are both well-documented figures of the thirteenth century. Fernão, born in around 1200, descended from a family of *alcaides* who held lands around Chaves in northern Portugal. Later he gained lands and properties in other areas, including Coimbra and Santarém.¹⁵ He had close links to the important Portocarreiro family, one of whom became Archbishop of Braga.¹⁶ Fernão is described in one document as a *dilectus et fidelis vassalus* of Afonso III.¹⁷ He seems, however, to have supported Sancho II during the civil war of 1245-48, along with some of his Portocarreiro cousins, as he was with the deposed king in Toledo in 1248.¹⁸ He probably did not return to Portugal until 1253, perhaps in the train of Afonso's new bride, Beatriz, the natural daughter of Alfonso X of Castile.¹⁹ Fernão married Joana Dias late in life, before 1257, and was thereafter a regular participant in the life of the royal court; eleven courtly poems written in Galician-Portuguese are attributed to him.²⁰

Joana was the daughter of Vicente Dias and Boa Peres, grand-daughter of Julião Pais (d.1215), celebrated chancellor of Afonso Henriques, Sancho I and Afonso II.²¹ Vicente was descended, via an illegitimate link, from the Maia family, which was important from the end of the tenth century and one of the five key noble lineages of

¹⁵ J.A. de Sotto Mayor Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais: genealogias e estratégias (1279-1325)*, 3 vols (PhD. University of Oporto, 1997), II, pp.649-52, and L. Ventura, *A Nobreza de corte de Afonso III*, 2 vols (PhD., University of Coimbra, 1992), II, pp.633-38.

¹⁶ For this family see J. Antunes, *A cultura erudita portuguesa nos séculos XIII e XIV (juristas e teólogos)* (PhD., University of Coimbra, 1995), pp.178-93 and *Idem*, "Portugueses no processo histórico da fundação da Universidade de Salamanca," *Revista da história da ideias* 12 (1990), 19-53. An important member of the family, Fernando Anes de Portocarreiro, Dean of Braga and first cousin of Fernão Fernandes Cogominho's father, was involved in a long-drawn out dispute with the future John XXI between 1263 and 1268, over the Priorate of the collegiate church of Santa Maria de Guimarães. He was also involved in the foundation of the University of Salamanca. The family tree below, between pp.143 and 144, will show these connections more clearly.

¹⁷ ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III*, bk 1, fol.20.

¹⁸ The Portocarreiro family was divided in two by the civil war. João Viegas de Portocarreiro, Archbishop of Braga, acted on the pope's behalf and was present at the Council of Lyons in 1245 after which Sancho was deposed. His brother, Raimundo Viegas, kidnapped Sancho's queen, Mécia, in the summer of 1246. Several other cousins, however, remained partisans of Sancho until the end. See *Em definição de fronteiras*, pp.119-22.

¹⁹ See Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais*, II, pp.649.

²⁰ *Dicionário da literatura medieval galega e portuguesa*, eds. G. Lanciani and G. Tavani (Lisbon, 1993), pp.255-6.

²¹ Ventura, *Nobreza de corte*, II, p.654. Julião's obit in *LK*, II, p.56, emphasizes that he worked for three kings of Portugal.

Portugal celebrated in the *Livros de Linhagens*.²² Vicente's most important immediate ancestor was probably his grandfather, Pero Pais da Maia, who held the military office of *alferes* (*signifer*), probably the most senior position in the royal government, from 1147 to 1169 under Afonso Henriques. Presumably due to a disagreement with this king, Pedro then served under Fernando II of León from 1171 to 1186, returning to Portugal once Afonso Henriques had died.²³ Vicente Dias himself was described in 1220 as a *miles* of Coimbra and in 1225 he was *alcaide* of Coimbra, the same position that Giles of Santarém's father is said to have held. He also had connections with Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Vicente died some time between March 1256 and March 1258. His wife, Boa's, will of November 1258 left property to a wide variety of churches, good causes and religious orders, including the Franciscans and Dominicans of Oporto, Lisbon, Coimbra and Santarém.²⁴

Vicente and Boa had three daughters, Joana, Teresa, and Mór/Maior. Mór Dias founded the Franciscan convent of Santa Clara de Coimbra and consequently became embroiled in a dispute with Santa Cruz de Coimbra which lasted for forty years.²⁵ Joana was, as all the versions of the legend state, the lady of Atouguia near Ourém, about forty miles north of Santarém.²⁶ It is unclear how the honour came into

²² J. Mattoso, *Identificação de um país: Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal, 1096-1325*, 2 vols (Lisbon, 1995), I, pp.135-6, and *Idem*, "A família da Maia no século XIII," in J. Mattoso, *A Nobreza medieval portuguesa: a família e o poder*, (Lisbon, 1980), pp.331-51.

²³ Mattoso, *Identificação de um país*, I, p.177, and Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais*, I, pp.251-63.

²⁴ Ventura, *Nobreza de corte*, II, pp.654-57. In the civil war Vicente started out on the side of Sancho II but appears to have crossed over to Afonso once Sancho left for Castile at the end of 1247. See *Em definição de fronteiras*, pp.121-2.

²⁵ Mór appears to have taken the habit of an Augustinian canoness at Santa Cruz in 1250 and her first will of 1268 was made out in their favour. For some reason, though, in 1283 Mór began to use her considerable inheritance to found a Franciscan convent across the river from Santa Cruz and declared her intention to become a nun there. Santa Cruz, understandably, protested at this and, despite Mór's insistence that she had not professed as a nun in Santa Cruz but merely lived there for over thirty years for security reasons, eventually managed to secure the dissolution of Santa Clara and the return of what they saw as their property in 1311, long after Mór's death in 1302. Under the patronage of the *Rainha Santa Isabel*, however, the convent was refounded in 1314 and became the site of this royal saint's burial and later veneration. See F. Félix Lopes, "Fundação do mosteiro de Santa Clara de Coimbra: problema de direito medieval", *Colectânea de estudos* 2nd series 4 (1953), 166-92, and M.T. Monteiro and J.J. Rigaud de Sousa, "Notas sobre o pleito entre D. Mór Dias, fundadora do convento de Santa Clara de Coimbra, e os cónegos do mosteiro de Santa Cruz (Coimbra)", *Estudos medievais* 1 (1981), 81-93. Also more recently, see Martins, *Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, I, pp.445-60.

²⁶ The Atouguia found in the district of Ourém is often confused with the town which is now called Atouguia da Baleia on the coast near Peniche. Both places are associated with two brothers of Licorne, Flemish or French crusaders who were rewarded with lands by Afonso Henriques for their

the Dias family, but it eventually passed from the Cogominhos to the Crown in 1307 after a legal battle.²⁷ According to the document that records this transfer, Joana and Fernão had eight surviving children, one of whom, Nuno, achieved fame as the Chief Admiral of king Dinis and died in 1316.²⁸ Both Joana and her husband had died by 1307; Fernão in 1277 and Joana in 1301. Although Joana had set up a chapel in hers and her husband's memory in Coimbra cathedral and her death is recorded in the *Livro das kalendas* of the cathedral, they were buried in Santa Cruz.²⁹

Amongst the wealth of documentation on this family it is necessary to note that nowhere is Giles of Santarém mentioned, whether as a witness or, after his death, in memory of an influential kinsman with a reputation for sanctity. The absence of his name is particularly striking in the dispute between Mór Dias and Santa Cruz, as Dominicans were sometimes used as arbitrators between the two parties.³⁰ One would think that kinship between this prominent nun and an important friar would be noted. On the other hand, Giles was also conspicuously absent from a major dispute which took place in Santarém itself in 1261.³¹

Also problematic is the difficulty encountered in showing how Joana Dias might have been related to Giles of Santarém. André de Resende said only that she was a maternal cousin and did not attempt to fit her into the family tree that he supposedly drew from Count Pedro's *Nobiliário*. Some authors suggest that Giles' mother, Teresa Gil, was the sister of Vicente Dias, thus making Giles and Joana first cousins, but they do not explain where this idea comes from.³² Through careful reading of the *Livros de Linhagens* it is possible to show, by tracing back from Giles'

part in the capture of Lisbon in 1147. See *Enciclopédia luso-brasileira de cultura*, 23 vols (Lisbon, 1963-95), II, pp.1782-3, and J. Mattoso, "As fontes do *Nobiliário* do Conde D. Pedro", in Mattoso, *Nobreza medieval portuguesa*, pp.57-100, at p.73.

²⁷ Ventura, *Nobreza de corte*, II, p.643. The document recording the judgement is in ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, bk 5, fols.80v-81 and 86v.

²⁸ The research of Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais*, II, pp.652-61, has been able to document all these children as well as three others.

²⁹ Their tomb in Santa Cruz is referred to above, p.119. Joana's lengthy obit is in *LK*, II, pp.169-71.

³⁰ See Monteiro and Rigaud de Sousa, "Pleito entre Mór Dias e Santa Cruz", pp.86-7, and Félix Lopes, "Fundação do mosteiro de Santa Clara", pp.173-4 and 177-8.

³¹ See below, Chapter Six.

³² This relationship is given by Monteiro and Rigaud de Sousa, "Pleito entre Mór Dias e Santa Cruz", pp.82-3, drawing on information given by M. da Esperança, *Histórica Seraphica da Ordem dos Frades Menores* (Lisbon, 1656), p.19.

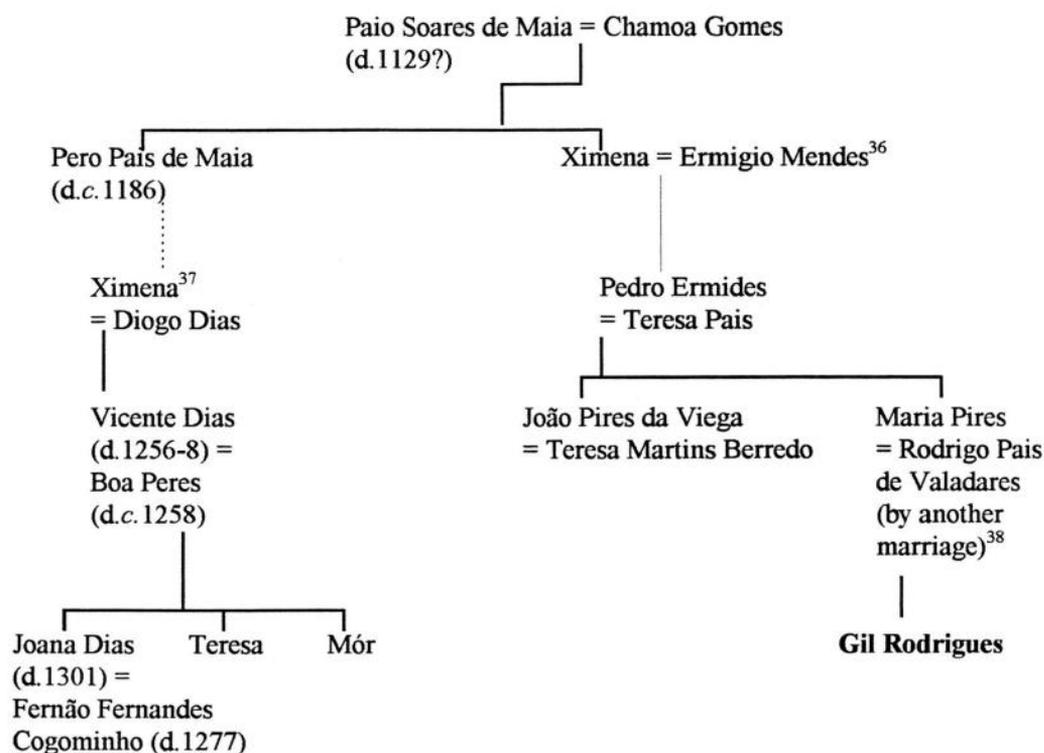
mother and Joana's father, how Joana and Giles could be third cousins by marriage.

This is an awkward connection. First of all, the relationship is fairly remote by modern standards, although it should be remembered that kinship in the Middle Ages was a far larger concept than it is today; Fernão Fernandes Cogominho had close links with his second and third Portocarreiro cousins. Secondly, there is the problem of the confusing and contradictory nature of the *Livros de linhagens*. The genealogical texts contradict both themselves and each other. There are differences of detail between the *Livro velho de linhagens*, for example, and the *Nobiliário* of Count Pedro, a later but fuller text, and the one used by Resende.³³ Furthermore, the spelling of names is highly inconsistent and the cross-referencing between families not always accurate. Also, it was the main aim of these genealogical works to show kinship and patronage across a few key family lines.³⁴ Consequently it is not hard to show that everyone who was anybody in thirteenth-century Portugal was related to everyone else, with the result that there is a certain degree of artificiality about these texts. The most crucial problem with this approach, however, is the fact that it is dependent on Resende's identification of one family of the *Nobiliário* as Giles of Santarém's. Bearing in mind the mistake Resende made about the mother's name and Giles' strange fate, it is necessary to be very cautious about using this material. It will be seen how other possibilities are available, but meanwhile it is useful to give a maternal family tree based on Resende's information.³⁵ Reference will be made to Gil Rodrigues rather than to Giles of Santarém in this hypothetical family tree.

³³ For details of the different texts, see above, Chapter One. Mattoso, "A família da Maia", p.331, feels that the *Livro velho de linhagens* is generally more reliable for the Maia family as it seems to have been written by a cleric in the service of the Maias or a monk of Santo Tirso, the family monastery.

³⁴ See J. Mattoso, "Os Livros de linhagens portuguesas e a literatura genealógica europeia da Idade Média", in Mattoso, *Nobreza medieval portuguesa*, pp.37-55, at p.51.

³⁵ This family tree is based on the *Livros velhos de linhagens*, ed. Mattoso and Piel, pp.31 and 51-55, and the *Livro de linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, ed. Mattoso, pp.188-91, 300 and 413-14.

fig. 4: The Maternal Relations of Gil Rodrigues

Who was the Father of Giles of Santarém?

In the genealogical works, the father of Gil Rodrigues, was given as Rodrigo Pais de Valadares. The Valadares were an extremely influential family throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and controlled a huge swathe of territory in the northern Minho along the border with Galicia. Soeiro Aires de Valadares appears in the documents of Afonso Henriques between 1169 and 1179, and his son, Paio Soares de Valadares, controlled territory in this northern region in 1190 and appears in

³⁶ Ximena, the daughter of Paio Soares, is married to Gonçalo Pais Curvo in the *Nobiliário* of Count Pedro. Mattoso, "A família da Maia", pp.218 and 423, believes it is more likely to be Ermigio Mendes because of the link between the *Livro velho* and the Maias. Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais*, II, p.226, accepts the marriage with Gonçalo. If this is the case then that alone renders this family tree erroneous.

³⁷ Ximena was the natural daughter of Pero Pais. He also had children by his wife Elvira Viegas de Ribadouro.

³⁸ Gil Rodrigues was the son of Rodrigo Pais de Valadares by a different marriage to Maria Gil. See paternal family tree below. However, it is only by his marriage to Maria Pires that any connection can be made with Joana Dias.

documents until 1204.³⁹ Documentary evidence for a Rodrigo Pais de Valadares and his family was only recently discovered by Pizarro in his study of the *Livros de linhagens*.⁴⁰ According to the *Livros de linhagens*, Rodrigo married twice; first to Maria Pires, by whom he had four children, all of whom can be documented, and secondly to Maria Gil Feijó, by whom he had three children, one of whom was Gil Rodrigues. Pizarro can show that, although the *Livros de linhagens* entry used by Resende, and most other observers, indicates that Gil was killed and died without issue, he was almost certainly the Gil Rodrigues de Pias mentioned elsewhere in the genealogical works. In which case Gil married twice and had two children.⁴¹ Even if suspicions had not been raised by Resende's alterations of the text, this new information confirms that this Gil Rodrigues could not possibly be Giles of Santarém. Nevertheless, for the sake of clarity a simplified Valadares family tree is given below.⁴²

It is also quite certain that Rodrigo Pais de Valadares was not the same Rodrigo Pais who governed the city of Coimbra and whose inscription, indicating that he was the father of Giles of Santarém, Resende claimed was found in Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Who was this other Rodrigo and could he have been Giles' father? Giles of Santarém is always closely associated with the region between Coimbra and Viseu, and particularly with the district of Alafões, or Lafões as it is now known. All the sources state that Giles was born in the village of Vouzela in that region.⁴³ To this day the festival of S. Frei Gil is celebrated in Vouzela on 14 May and a street and chapel can be found dedicated to him. When Giles' tomb in Santarém was opened in

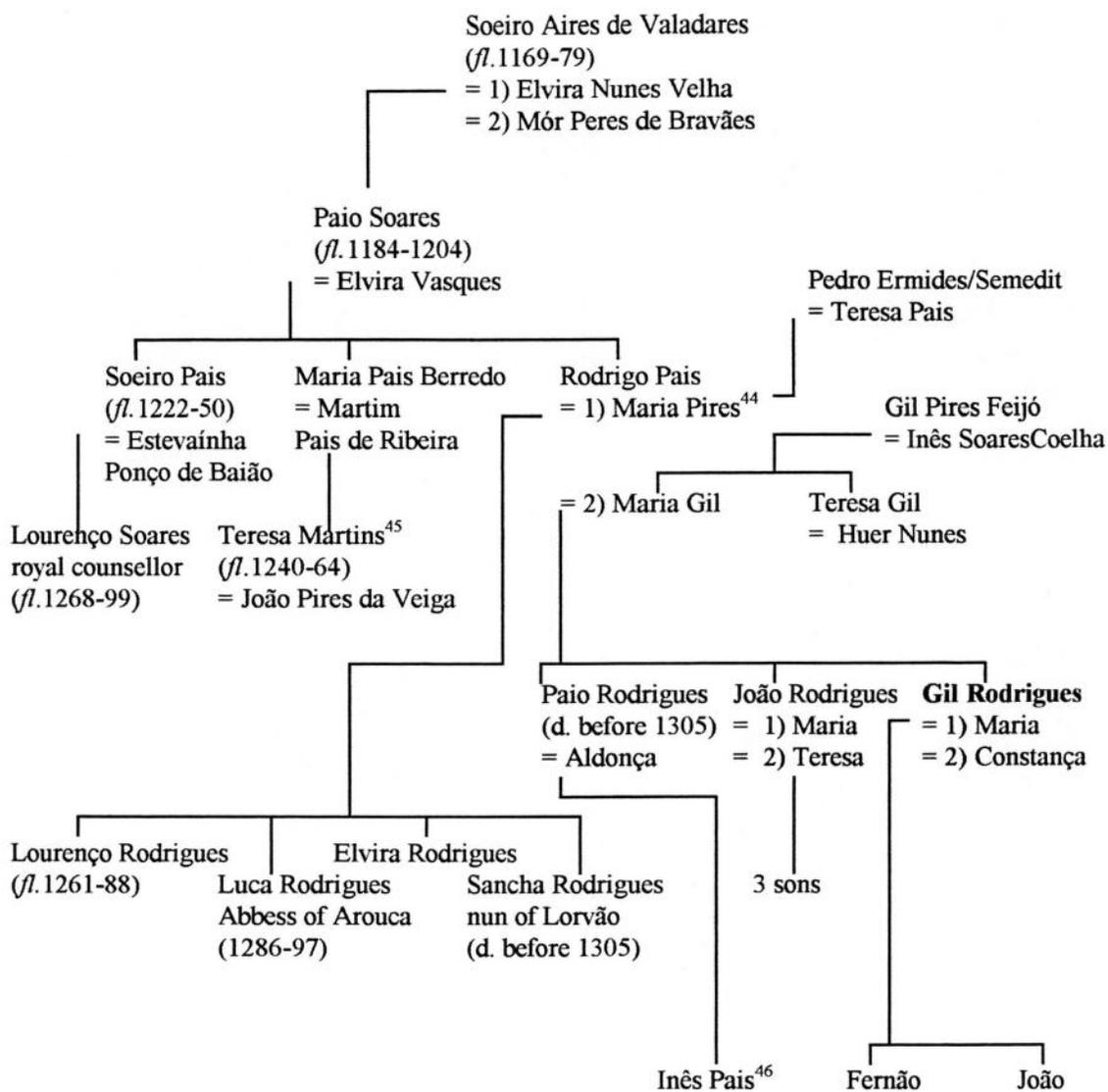
³⁹ J. Mattoso, *Ricos-homens, infanções e cavaleiros: a nobreza medieval portuguesa nos séculos XI e XII* (Lisbon, 1998), p.136, and Mattoso, *Identificação de um país*, II, pp.137-38. The most up-to-date work on this family is by Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais*, II, pp.783-96.

⁴⁰ Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais*, II, p.789. He is first documented in 1240.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, pp.789-92. See also Ventura, *Nobreza de corte*, II, pp.724-5.

⁴² See fig. 5, which is based on Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais*, II, pp.786-92.

⁴³ One private estate, the Quinta da Cavalaria, a little way out of Vouzela, is particularly associated with Giles. According to J. de Oliveira, *Frei Gil de Portugal, Médico, Teólogo, e Taumaturgo* (Braga, 1991), pp.21-22 and p.27, this is because the owner of the Quinta in the fourteenth century was said to have descended from Paio Rodrigues de Valadares, the brother of Gil. The Quinta was bought by the noble Almeida family in 1497 with the result that they too began to claim a relationship with Giles.

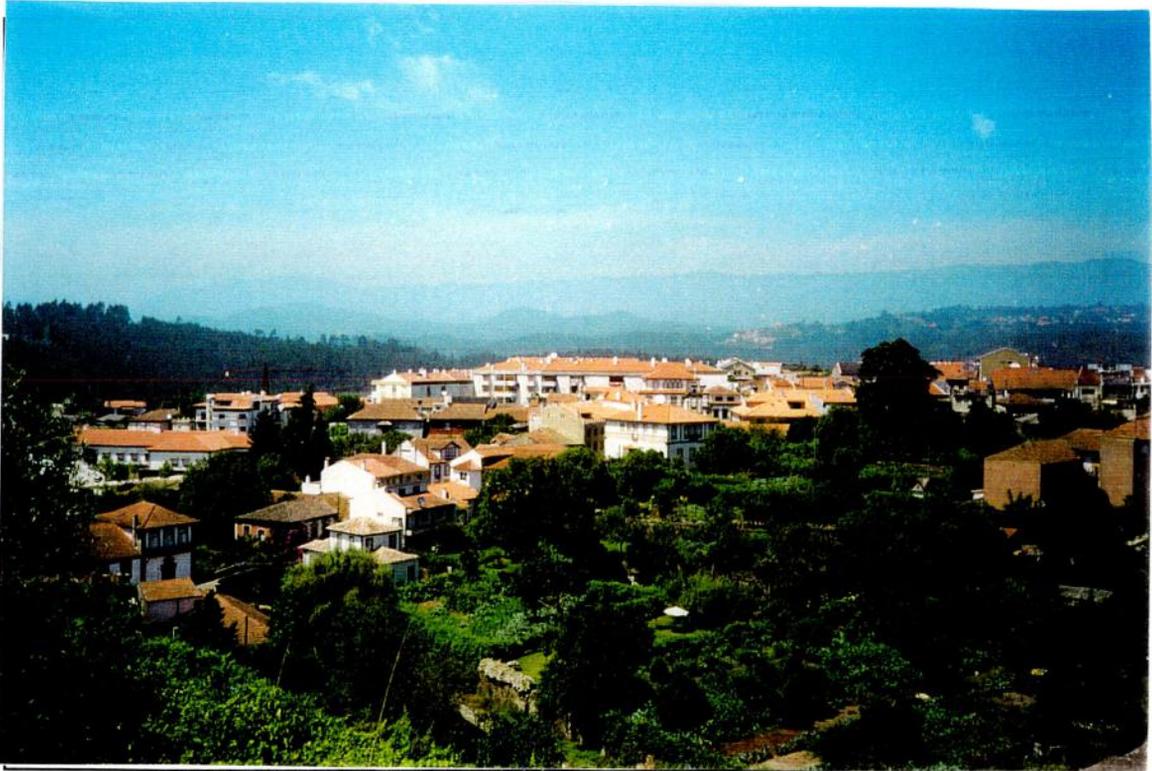
fig. 5: The Valadares Family

⁴⁴ For the family of Maria Pires, see genealogical tree above, p.125.

⁴⁵ According to Resende, Teresa Martins was the name of a cousin of Giles who witnessed a miracle in the Lafões area. See below, p.128. She appears to be related to Gil Rodrigues by marriage also, as her husband is the brother of his father's first wife. For Teresa and her husband, see *Em definição de fronteiras*, pp.113-4.

⁴⁶ It is through this woman that the Quinta da Cavalaria near Vouzela traces its connection to Giles. See above, note 43.

1626, his body was discovered to be incorrupt, as was appropriate to a saint, and his lower jawbone, which had become detached (a clear sign that standards of corporeal decay have changed), was sent to Vouzela where it can still be seen.⁴⁷ A further link with Lafões is one of Giles' posthumous miracles which took place there. The adopted son of Giles' cousin, Teresa Martins, fell into the thermal baths for which the region is famous and was half-boiled and drowned. He revived after the name of the recently-deceased Giles was called upon.⁴⁸ The local detail of the miracle is unusual and suggests it has some basis in a real accident. It is also recorded by São João in a much simplified form.⁴⁹



Vouzela

⁴⁷ BPE, ms. CV/2-5, fols.225-227v. The author seems to have been present when the tomb was disturbed again in the eighteenth century in the course of repairs after the earthquake, *ibid.*, fol.236.

⁴⁸ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.306-7. Pereira remarks that the temperature of the waters in the Lafões region can reach 68.7°C: *ibid.*, p.427, note 20. The town of São Pedro do Sul, not far from Vouzela, is still a thriving spa town. There is a Teresa Martins in the Valadares family tree (see above, p.127) who would have been Gil Rodrigues' first cousin. It was not an uncommon name in medieval Portugal.

⁴⁹ *Vida*, p.210. São João did not give any names, save that of the child, Pedro, which agrees with Resende, nor did he make any mention of kinship. He did, however, emphasize that the thermal baths of Lafões are near Giles' birthplace.

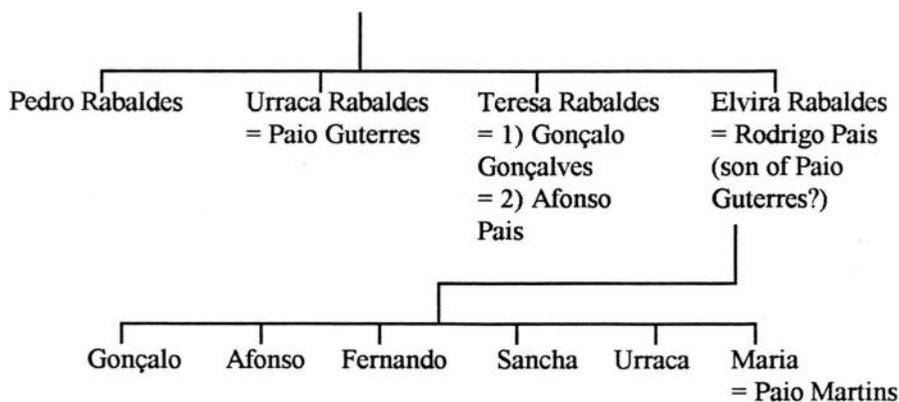


Giles of Santarém's jawbone in its reliquary in Vouzela

A much more famous visitor to the thermal baths of Lafões was king Afonso Henriques, who stayed there for some weeks after his disastrous defeat by Fernando II of León at the Battle of Badajoz in June 1169. A contemporary hagiographic source, as well as an Arab chronicler, reported that Afonso Henriques not only suffered capture by the king of León but also severely injured his leg.⁵⁰ When his Court is then found lingering from September to November 1169 in Lafões, rather than returning directly to Coimbra, it has been assumed that Afonso was recovering his health with the help of the thermal waters. Amongst the royal charters that were issued during this period is a document confirming the donation of a local property to Santa Cruz de Coimbra by the *alcaide* of Coimbra, Rodrigo Pais, and his wife, Elvira Rabaldes. Is this document, as António Cruz suggests, drawn up in the favour of Giles' father, showing his activity in his own territory?⁵¹

What is known about this Rodrigo Pais? He was *alcaide* of Coimbra between 1137 and 1154, and of Lisbon between 1154 and 1158, and appears in documents of Afonso Henriques between 1134 and 1158. He is never associated with the name Valadares. His marriage to Elvira Rabaldes is testified to from 1146 and there are five or six children recorded.⁵² Their family tree is as follows:

fig. 6: The Rabaldes Family



⁵⁰ A. Cruz, "A corte portuguesa em Alafões (1169)", *Studium generale* 12 (1968-69), 133-50, at pp.137-8.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.148. The document can be found in ANTT, CR, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra* (1ª incorporação), maço 1, doc. 46.

⁵² L. Ventura and A. Santiago Faria, *Livro Santo de Santa Cruz* (Coimbra, 1990), pp.58-9. For aspects of Rodrigo's career and family, see also Mattoso, *Ricos-homens*, pp.184-6 and 190.

Rodrigo Pais' lands were mainly in the region of Coimbra but he and his wife also held territories in Lafões. The charter of 1169 confirmed by Afonso Henriques in Lafões concerned the donation of property to Santa Cruz de Coimbra which had originally been granted ten years earlier. By 1169 Rodrigo was already dead, having died some time after drawing up his will in 1159.



The chapel and street dedicated to Giles of Santarém in Vouzela

Obviously, there are a great many problems with linking this family to Giles of Santarém. Firstly, there is no connection with the toponymic, Valadares. Secondly, the only known wife of Rodrigo Pais was neither a Teresa nor a Maria but an Elvira and Giles was never listed in documents as one of their children. Thirdly, Rodrigo never appears in the records of Sancho I, as the legend insists, but only in those of Afonso Henriques. Finally, and most importantly, the chronologies of Rodrigo and Giles as they stand are irreconcilable. Rodrigo died between 1159 and 1169 after an adult career of thirty years. For Rodrigo to have been Giles' father, even if he had been the child of an elderly man,⁵³ Giles would have had to have been born in the 1150s or 1160s. This would have made him more than a hundred at the time of death and completely dismantles a long-standing tradition which placed his birth some twenty years later and had him die in his eighties.⁵⁴

The few historians who have become aware of these chronological difficulties have understandably been reluctant to reject the paternity of Rodrigo Pais. António Cruz seemed happy to accept that Giles was born before 1169 and implied that Elvira Rabaldes was his mother.⁵⁵ Elsewhere a birth date of 1155 has been suggested, as has a second late marriage of Rodrigo Pais with Maria Gil.⁵⁶ The same historians are also unwilling to accept that Giles lived to be more than a hundred, with the result that the obituary entry in the *Livro das kalendas* has been re-examined. Cruz believed that there were problems with the whole book.⁵⁷ Although the original material of the codex was put together before 1268, Giles' obit and those with which it is found are written in a fourteenth-century hand. It may, therefore, be unreliable.

This explanation for the chronological discrepancies does seem to be a little reactionary. If it was such a late entry, why was more not made of Giles' sanctity and cult? Cruz felt that the emphasis given to the fact that the day of death was Ascension Day was an indication in itself that Giles enjoyed special consideration, but this was

⁵³ São João in *Vida*, p.131, emphasized that Giles was the child of older parents. However, this could be a hagiographic *topos* with Biblical precedents.

⁵⁴ The problem of the dates was first highlighted by A. Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra na cultura portuguesa da idade média* (PhD. University of Oporto, 1964), pp.228-30. See also *S. Frei Gil de Santarém*, p.30.

⁵⁵ Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, pp.228-9.

⁵⁶ See *S. Frei Gil de Santarém*, p.30, and *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.376, notes 32 and 33.

⁵⁷ Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, pp.231-2.

normal medieval dating. Is it possible that the obits were copied in the fourteenth century or later into the *Livro das kalendas* from another thirteenth-century codex which had become damaged for some reason? This does seem to be the answer. There exist three copies of the *Livro das kalendas*. The first, identified as A by its editors and containing Giles' obit, is a fourteenth-century copy of an older text of the thirteenth century which was then continued to 1340. Copies B and C are of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁸ Rejection of the date of death seemed to be related to the consideration that, if Rodrigo Pais were not Giles' father, then who was?

What Cruz does not seem to have remembered is that Giles had to have been alive in at least 1256 because he was a contributor to the *Vitae fratrum*. It still seems highly unlikely, in this case, that he had been born in the 1150s. It is not impossible that a man could have lived so long in the thirteenth century, but surely, if he had reached adulthood during the reign of Afonso Henriques, some mention would have been made of it in the legend? An age of a hundred would also have been worthy of note by hagiographers. Further indication that Giles was born in the last quarter, rather than in the middle, of the twelfth century is his friendship with Humbert of Romans. In 1224 Humbert was around twenty-five years old. It would also be strange for the Dominicans to elect a Prior Provincial nearing eighty, bearing in mind the heavy administrative and visitation duties the office involved.⁵⁹ The evidence seems to suggest that Master Generals and Prior Provincials were relatively fit and active.⁶⁰ They were either absolved from their duties due to old age and/or ill-health, as was the case in 1259 with Gerard of Frachet (Prior of Provence) and in 1263 with Humbert of Romans (Master General), both men being in their sixties, or they were promoted. For example, the Prior of England, Robert Kilwardby, was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1272.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Part of the problem is that the editors failed to publish a projected third volume of their edition of the *LK* which would have provided an analysis of the text and the manuscripts. However, one of the editors, Pierre David, provided some information in *A Sé velha de Coimbra* (Oporto, 1943), p.12.

⁵⁹ See below, Chapter Six.

⁶⁰ Galbraith, *Constitution*, pp.130-31, is the only person who attempts to analyze the fates of Provincial Priors. Of eleven Priors of Provence and nine Priors of England in the thirteenth century, seven died in office, one was elected Master General, and the rest were absolved.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.131.

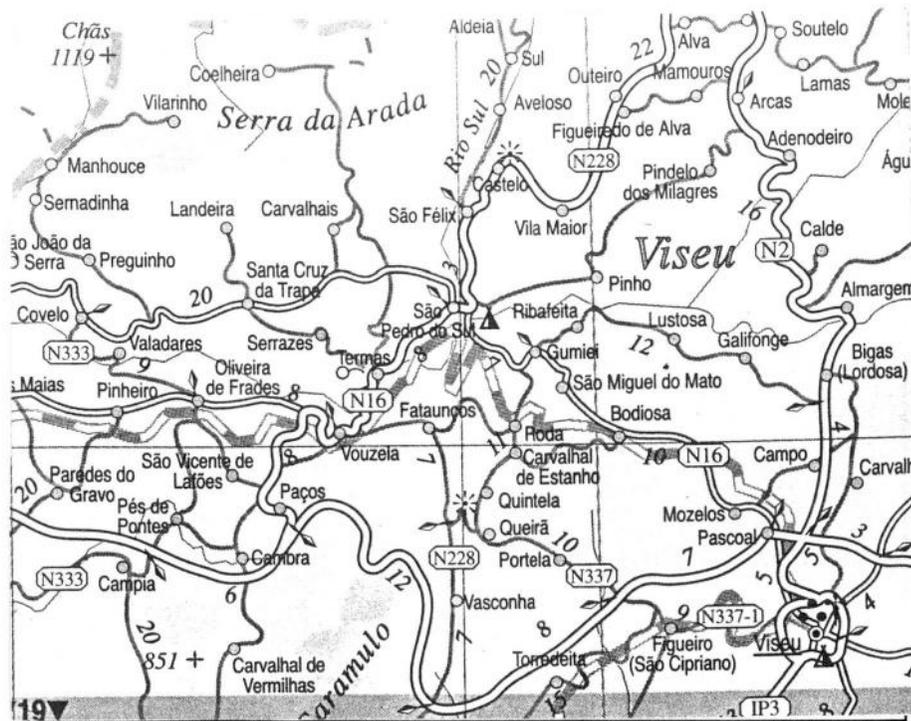
All the evidence points to the fact that Rodrigo Pais, *alcaide* of Coimbra, was also not the father of Giles of Santarém. The inscription recorded by Resende may have been invented by him. Alternatively, there could have been a real confusion in the minds of the canons of Santa Cruz between an important official who was indeed buried in their house,⁶² and a similarly named figure who was held to be Giles' father in local tradition. Perhaps Resende, intrigued by the inscription, delved into the *Livros de linhagens*, in much the same way as historians do today, and came up with the name Rodrigo Pais de Valadares.

The name Valadares should not itself be dismissed too lightly. Although no connection can be made with the important northern family of that name, it may be significant that there is a village called Valadares not far from Vouzela in Lafões. There may be some obscure link between local knowledge of this place name and Giles' father. There is no reason to doubt that Giles was born in Vouzela, and it will be seen that there is every likelihood that he was brought up and educated in Coimbra or its region.⁶³ It is possible that there are undiscovered documents relating to Giles and his family in archives of the Lafões region. Apart from local histories, it seems that little work has been carried out on the families of Lafões.⁶⁴

⁶² The will of Rodrigo Pais and Elvira Rabaldes drawn up in 1159 expressly stated that they were to be buried in Santa Cruz. See Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, p.229, note 55.

⁶³ See below, pp.138-42, and Chapter Five.

⁶⁴ One example of a local history is M. Barros Mouro, *A Região de Lafões (Subsídios para a sua História)* (Coimbra, 1996), which is a collection of brief articles originally published in local newspapers. This author does mention the theory that Giles was born in Valadares near Vouzela (*Ibid.*, p.131) but gives it little credence. More interestingly, Barros Mouro states that Valadares had been given to the Cistercian monastery of São Cristóvão de Lafões in 1137 and the same house was granted rights over the parish of Valadares in 1155. It would seem likely that any information concerning local families would be found in the archives of São Cristóvão. However, these were destroyed in a fire in Viseu in 1841. See Santos, "Conservation des actes et des livres au Portugal", p.398, note 7. The monastery itself was burned down and rebuilt in the eighteenth century. The property Rodrigo Pais and Elvira Rabaldes granted to Santa Cruz de Coimbra in 1159, Oliveira de Frades, is very close to both Valadares and São Cristóvão. It may be significant that Fernão Fernandes Cogominho also owned property in Lafões, see Pizarro, *Linhagens medievais*, II, p.651, note 14.



Map of the Vouzela region

One last point should be made in relation to this stage of reconstructing Giles of Santarém's parentage. There is so far no apparent reason to reject all connection between Giles and Joana Dias. The Cogominho family had connections with Santarém and would probably have often been there with the royal court. They may even have been there when Giles died. The author of the earliest *vita*, São João, referred to Joana as Joana de Atouguia. She was Lady of Atouguia for much of the thirteenth century, yet she is not mentioned under this title in the *Livros de linhagens* nor, as has been shown, is she easily linked to Gil Rodrigues in these works. It is, therefore, a strange relationship for São João to mention if it had no basis in fact. Resende was interested in developing the connection with the Cogominho family because of his patrons, the Ataídes, but he did not invent it.⁶⁵ It is therefore likely that the Cogominhos were an important feature of both the local and royal circles in which Giles may have found himself. As will be seen, this idea is strengthened by the next stage of research into Giles' parentage.

⁶⁵ See above, Chapter One, pp.54-5.



The twelfth-century parish church of Vouzela which may have been known by Giles of Santarém

The Family of Chancellor Julião Pais

If it is accepted that all the information given by André de Resende must be rejected, except perhaps for the connection with the Cogominho family, then what is left? It is time to return to the only medieval sources which give any evidence of Giles' family background. If historians had not pursued the "red herrings" set up by Resende, then it is possible that Giles' family would have been better established long ago. The only medieval sources available are the obit of the *Livro das kalendas* and the *Vitae fratrum*. It should be remembered that in the *Vitae fratrum*, Giles himself identified the former cantor of Lisbon, Fernando, as his *consanguineus*.⁶⁶ At the end of the day, this is the only relative of Giles that can be accepted with absolutely certainty.

Although the *Livro das kalendas* entry does not mention any relatives, it provides useful information on property held by Giles and identifies him as a former canon and treasurer of Coimbra cathedral. As will be seen, this strengthens the argument that he

⁶⁶ See above, Chapter Two, pp. 79-80.

was related to a prominent family with connections to Coimbra cathedral.

The former canon of Lisbon, Fernando, has been firmly identified by Maria João Azevedo Santos as Fernando Peres, royal notary and cantor, who appears to have joined the Dominican order in 1225-6 and died four years later in the presence of Giles of Santarém, recently returned from Paris.⁶⁷ The importance of this discovery cannot be stressed enough. For Santos has been able to reconstruct a full family tree for Fernando Peres into which it should be possible to insert Giles of Santarém.⁶⁸ It is known from chancery records that Fernando was a grandson or a nephew of Julião Pais, chancellor to Afonso Henriques, Sancho I and Afonso II, who died in 1215.⁶⁹ Thanks to the research of José Antunes and Maria Teresa Nobre Veloso, it is possible to trace the influential family of Julião Pais.⁷⁰

Julião Pais first appears in the records of Afonso Henriques in 1176 and was chancellor from 1183. Retaining this position until his death in 1215, Julião, together with his colleague and successor, Gonçalo Mendes, from 1202, was responsible for standardizing royal chancery records, and was an essential figure in the centralization policies carried out by the first three Portuguese kings.⁷¹ Julião was highly unusual in medieval Europe in that he was a lay chancellor. Afonso Henriques had previously granted the office to the Archbishops of Braga. Julião may have taken minor orders as he appears to have studied law, probably in Bologna, but he was certainly able to marry and have children. His wife, Mór Mendes, had died by 1212.⁷² They had two sons, Master Julião, canon and notary of Santa Cruz de Coimbra and Dean of

⁶⁷ See above, Chapter Two, p.80.

⁶⁸ Santos in "Fernando Peres, ex-chantre da Sé de Lisboa", p.244, is aware of the relationship between Fernando and Giles, but does not attempt to explain the connection. She bases her information on Luís de Sousa.

⁶⁹ Fernando is described as both *nepos* and *soprinus* of Julião in documents. Since *nepos* can mean both nephew and grandson in this period, Santos, "Fernando Peres", pp.244, note 4, 252, and 254, believes he is most likely to have been a nephew. However, it is not easy to see how he could have been a nephew. See below, p.139.

⁷⁰ Antunes, *Cultura erudita portuguesa*, pp.129-42; M.T. Nobre Veloso, *D. Afonso II: relações de Portugal com a Santa Sé durante o seu reinado* (PhD. University of Coimbra, 1988), pp.354-69.

⁷¹ Veloso, *D. Afonso II*, pp.354-6. Resende referred to a Gonçalo Mendes, royal chancellor, who was Giles' cousin. Is this Gonçalo, successor to Julião Pais, the one who was meant? Gonçalo Mendes does not appear as Julião's relative in documents. Is it possible that he was related to Julião's wife, Mór Mendes?

⁷² In *LK*, I, p.321, Mór's and Julião's daughter, Dórdia, and son-in-law, Pedro Martins, set up an anniversary in memory of her mother in 1212.

Coimbra cathedral, who died in 1262 and was buried in the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça, and Master Gil, canon and treasurer of Viseu and treasurer of Coimbra.⁷³ There was also a daughter, Dórdia, who married Pedro Martins.⁷⁴ Julião Pais had one documented brother, Gonçalo Dias, Dean of Coimbra, who died in 1201.⁷⁵ The whole family was closely connected to Coimbra, either through ecclesiastical office or patronage. They also received lands in the region of Coimbra from Sancho I and Afonso II, with both of whom the family appear to have had excellent relations. The evidence strongly suggests that Julião Pais originated from Coimbra.

Since Veloso carried out her research, José Antunes has attempted to extend the family of Julião Pais in a lateral direction. He argues that Julião may have been the son of Paio Delgado, a noble who took part in the capture of Lisbon in 1147. This suggestion rests almost entirely on the patronymic, *Pais*.⁷⁶ Antunes explores the theory that Julião Pais was the father of pope John XXI (Petrus Hispanus), whose name before becoming pope was Pedro Julião, suggesting that his father was indeed a Julião.⁷⁷ Antunes can show that Pedro Julião was related in some way to Paio

⁷³ The most important references to these two men are in the lists of donations granted by Afonso II to a number of cathedral chapters at Easter 1218. The concession to Coimbra was made *pro amore Magistri Juliani Decani eiusdem ecclesie filii domni Juliani et pro amore Fernandi Petri quondam Cantoris Vlixboñ* See Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre*, p.68, note 147. The concession to Viseu was made *pro amore magistri Egidii filii domini Juliani eiusdem ecclesie canonici* See *Ibid.*, p.72, note 151. Julião's obit can be found in *LK*, I, p.319. He is recorded as dean of Coimbra from 1209-1233 and was also prior of the collegiate church of Santa Maria da Alcáçova in Santarém. See Ventura, *Nobreza de corte*, I, pp.91-2. Ventura, *Ibid.*, II, p.771, refers to a Pero Julião, former canon of Coimbra, as another son of chancellor Julião, and gives references to *LK*, I, p.133, and II, p.187. If Pero was Julião's son, then he did not mention the relationship with the chancellor, unlike many others in the family.

⁷⁴ *LK*, I, p.321, and *ibid.*, II, p.218. The latter is Dórdia's own obit: 25 October 1321. This late date must be a mistake; it is more likely to be 1221. Two other entries in *LK*, I, pp.113 and 182, belong to Pedro Pires (d.1227) and João Pires (d.1208) respectively, both of whom claim relationship with chancellor Julião. They are plausibly the sons of Dórdia and Pedro Martins. Much of the evidence for family relationships in Portuguese documents is based on patronymics. For example, *Pedro/Pero* → *Peres/Pires*; *Soeiro* → *Soares*; *Paio* → *Pais*. For a list of common Portuguese patronymics, see I. Gonçalves, *Imagens do mundo medieval* (Lisbon, 1988), pp.73-4.

⁷⁵ *LK*, I, p.112.

⁷⁶ Antunes, *Cultura erúdit portuguesa*, p.129, note 4, bases the hypothesis on Mattoso, *Identificação de um país*, II, p.105, who in turn based it on personal correspondence with one L. Soares Ribeiro who appears to have died without publishing any of his findings. Noone seems to know what was the basis of this scholar's research into the family of Paio Delgado.

⁷⁷ It is interesting that Petrus Hispanus' mother was traditionally called Teresa Gil. This immediately presents a link with the Giles' mother, said to have had the same name. See Antunes, *Cultura erúdit portuguesa*, pp.142-3. Antunes establishes that the tradition is a modern invention but fails to trace it further back than the 1920s. The tradition certainly extends back to the nineteenth century, however, as Petrus' mother is called Teresa Gil in a serialized fictional account

Delgado, as the lost book of obits of Lisbon cathedral recorded a chapel set up in 1316 in memory of John XXI and his *consanguineus* Gil Rebelo, Dean of Lisbon and grandson of Paio Delgado, by a João Martins, cantor of Évora, who might be Gil Rebelo's brother.⁷⁸ This extremely complex argument rests on very slender evidence. The most recent research on John XXI (Petrus Hispanus) suggests that he was probably born in c. 1220, in which case he could not have been the son of Julião Pais.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, Antunes' ideas have been fruitful as far as Fernando Peres is concerned. Since Julião's only known brother, Gonçalo Dias, was a cleric, Antunes suggests that Fernando could have been a son of Paio Delgado's son, Pero Pais. Until another brother of Julião is identified, this is the only way Fernando Peres can be shown to be Julião's nephew. An alternative hypothesis is that Fernando was the son of Julião's daughter, Dórdia, and her husband, Pedro Martins. He would then be Julião's grandson, an idea supported by some documents.

How does all this relate to Giles of Santarém? Recently, the German scholar, Ingo Fleisch, suggested in his thesis that Master Gil Juliães, the son of chancellor Julião, was none other than Giles of Santarém.⁸⁰ He based this theory on the way Gil Juliães was described in the grant made to the cathedral chapter of Viseu in 1218. It was made *pro amore et Johannis Petri Archidiaconi Toletani et magistro Egidii filii domini Juliani eiusdem ecclesie canonici ...*⁸¹ Fleisch has assumed that the *eiusdem ecclesie* in question was Toledo because Toledo was the previous church mentioned in the list. If Giles of Santarém had been a canon of Toledo, then this would explain his association with Toledo in the Black Legend. However, Gil Juliães is known to have been canon of Viseu and it seems more likely that this is the *ecclesie*

by L. de Vilhena Barbosa: "Pedro Julião", *O Comércio do Porto* 56, 62, 79, 88, 96 and 97 (1873). This newspaper story may well be the source of the tradition.

⁷⁸ Although the book of obits was lost in the earthquake of 1755, this particular entry was recorded by António Brandão in the *Monarchia lusitana*. See *Documentos para a história da cidade de Lisboa: cabido da Sé, sumários de Lousada, apontamentos dos Brandões, livro dos bens próprios dos reis e rainhas* (Lisbon, 1954), p.213.

⁷⁹ The date of birth of Petrus Hispanus always used to be set in 1220 but it was pushed back by L.M. de Rijk, "On the Life of Peter of Spain", p.141, to 1205-10. This date has been challenged by J.F. Meirinhos, "Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis? Elementos para uma diferença de autores", *Revista espanhola de filosofia medieval* 3 (1996), 51-76, at p.24, and Á. Dors, "Petrus Hispanus O.P., *Auctor Summularum*", *Vivarium* 35 (1997), 21-71, at p.54.

⁸⁰ I. Fleisch, *Kirch, Königtum und gelehrtes Recht im hochmittelalterlichen Portugal* (Masters diss., University of Bamberg, 1998), p.71, note 395.

⁸¹ See above, footnote 73, for the reference.

referred to in the list.

Fleisch's other evidence is much more convincing. The obit of chancellor Julião in the *Livro das kalendas* was set up by his sons *domnus Iulianus olim decanus* and *frater Egidius quondam thesaurius*.⁸² Why was Gil described as *frater* rather than as *Domnus*, like his brother, or *Magister*, as he was in 1218? Is this because he had joined the Dominican order? This being the case, the obit must have been set up years after Julião died in 1215. Julião junior's office of Dean of Coimbra is described as *olim*, which also suggests a belated act because Julião used this title as late as 1233.⁸³ The second piece of evidence is Giles of Santarém's own obit. He was described there as treasurer of Coimbra, just as Gil Juliães was in his father's obit. Veloso, in fact, simply assumes that the obit always seen as Giles of Santarém's was that of Gil Juliães.⁸⁴ This is an example of how historians working in different fields fail to notice each other's work. It is not just the office of treasurer which is revealing. Fleisch's findings can be strengthened further. The property mentioned in the obit, Cervela near Montemor-o-Velho, which Giles left to Coimbra cathedral to set up his anniversary was granted to Gil Juliães by Sancho I in February 1209.⁸⁵ It is quite clear from this that the obit of 14 May 1265 is that of Gil Juliães, son of the royal chancellor. Gil Juliães, therefore, joined the Dominican order and died in Santarém. He was either Giles of Santarém, friar and physician, or the obit must be rejected completely as evidence for Giles' life.

It is not necessary to reject the obit. There are yet other ways to show how Gil Julião and Giles of Santarém are the same person. Giles claimed Fernando Peres as his *consanguineus* in the *Vitae fratrum*. If Giles were Gil Juliães, then Fernando would have been either his nephew or his cousin. Also, the relationship with Joana

⁸² See above, footnote 21, for reference.

⁸³ ANTT, CR, *Santa Maria de Celas de Guimarães de Coimbra* (1ª incorporação), maço 4, doc. 1(a). The document is dated May 1233 and *Ego magister Julianus Decanus Colimbrie* can be read quite clearly.

⁸⁴ Veloso, *D. Afonso II*, p.364.

⁸⁵ ANTT, Nucleo Antigo, Forais antigos, maço 12, doc. 3, fol.19. See also Veloso, *D. Afonso II*, pp.361-2. It is interesting that the donation specified who was to inherit Cervela; either Gil's father or his brother or sister, yet he gave it to Coimbra in the end. According to Gil's obit, half of Cervela was exchanged by the cathedral chapter for bishop Estêvão's property in Spino. Under this guise, Cervela appears twice more in *LK*, I, p.206, and II, p.322. In the former it is mentioned that half the income of Cervela was to be used *pro anniversario magistri Egidii*. This is dated to 1233 which suggests that the anniversary was set up long before Giles' death.

Dias and the Cogominho family which, it was explained, was the only aspect of Resende's genealogy which still made sense, can be incorporated into the new schema. Joana Dias, of course, was chancellor Julião's great-grand-daughter. She would have been Gil Julião's great-niece. Surely paying for a tomb and chapel was a fitting tribute from Joana and her husband to a revered great-uncle? Yet another family connection with the Dominican order can be made. Julião's grandson, Pedro Pires, probably Joana's uncle, chose to be buried *apud Sanctarenam in domibus Predicatorum*.⁸⁶ There is evidence here for close links with Santarém and with the Dominicans. The likelihood that this was the family of Giles of Santarém is very great.⁸⁷

There are of course a number of questions which still need to be answered. If Giles of Santarém was Gil Juliães, canon of Viseu, then this opens up a whole range of issues in the reconstruction of Giles' early career. To what extent can Gil's activity in the cathedral chapter of Viseu be traced? A number of documents of 1207-10 mention *Egidio thesaurario* but not necessarily as a witness to the acts of sale and donation they record.⁸⁸ He was obviously also still a canon of Viseu at the time of the royal grants of 1218. None of these documents prove that Gil was present when they were drawn up and, therefore, his position as treasurer need not have prevented him from being abroad at these dates. He was usually given the title *Magister* which indicates that he did obtain a university degree and, as will be seen, it is possible that

⁸⁶ *LK*, I, p.113. It is interesting that the younger generation, Joana Dias' children, did not choose the Dominican order. No less than seven of her eleven children entered the church. Afonso and Gonçalo were senior clerics of Lisbon cathedral; Martim became a Franciscan; Beatriz entered Santa Clara de Coimbra, founded by her aunt, Mór; Branca, Sancha and Urraca were all Cistercian nuns. The whole family from the time of Julião Pais and his brother was very prominent in the religious orders and churches of Coimbra.

⁸⁷ For a full family tree of the connections and relations, conjectural and otherwise, of Gil Juliães, see below, fig. 7.

⁸⁸ For example, ANTT, CR, *Sé de Viseu*, maço 4, doc. 30 (1207); ANTT, CR, *Sé de Viseu*, maço 6, doc. 5 (1209); ANTT, CR, *Sé de Viseu*, maço 6, doc. 6 (1210). I would like to thank Maria João Branco for sending me copies of these documents and the reference to Fleisch's thesis, and for her invaluable insights on Gil Juliães. The situation at Viseu is complicated by the fact that there was a Gil, Dean of Viseu and bishop-elect, who joined the Dominican order in 1234. See Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre*, pp.280-5. This could not have been Giles of Santarém, as by this time Humbert of Romans had long been in Lyons and Giles had already become Prior Provincial, but it is an indication of how several high-ranking Portuguese clerics were attracted to the Dominican order in this period. Gil's position at Viseu probably means that the location of Giles of Santarém's birthplace at nearby Vouzela has some actual significance. He either really was born there or took an interest in the place at some time.

Giles was in France for much of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.⁸⁹ Most of the early-modern sources claim that Giles funded his studies abroad with benefices granted for this purpose by the king. Although no benefice in Viseu was mentioned, the chroniclers were unanimous in indicating that Giles enjoyed a benefice in Coimbra.⁹⁰ Although Gil Juliães cannot be documented as canon or treasurer of Coimbra, the evidence of the *Livro das kalendas* appears conclusive to this effect. It is also tempting to see the grant of Cervela by Sancho I as the provision of funds for study.

André de Resende and most of the other hagiographers were adamant that Giles of Santarém was supported in his medical studies by Sancho I, and that Giles' father was Sancho's counsellor.⁹¹ If Julião Pais were Giles' father, then this belief had a firm basis in the truth. It was under Sancho that Julião enjoyed the greatest favour and influence. As will be seen, Sancho was specifically given an interest in medical studies in one late source.⁹² Afonso II also showed favour to royal physicians. Several of them were mentioned in the grants to various churches in 1218. For example, the grant to Oporto was made *pro amore Magistri Roderici fisici mei*, and that of Évora mentioned Masters Salvador and Amberto, *fisicorum meorum*.⁹³ Did Gil Juliães ever serve Afonso II in a medical capacity? Why are his medical interests never mentioned in documents?⁹⁴ Why is he never referred to as Julião's son after his entry into the Dominican order? This in itself is not an insurmountable problem. Fernando Peres, ubiquitous in royal documents prior to 1225, also disappeared from the records once he became a friar. It appears that these prominent men took their conversion to religious life very seriously and severed many

⁸⁹ See below, Chapter Five.

⁹⁰ See below, Chapter Five. Note also that Resende gave Giles a brother who was Dean of Lisbon; Gil Juliães had one who was Dean of Coimbra.

⁹¹ See below, Chapter Five.

⁹² This is the chronicle of Nicolau de Santa Maria; see below Chapter Five.

⁹³ Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre*, pp.67 and 70. Altogether five physicians are mentioned in these documents of 1218. Master Amberto was probably not Portuguese. Considering that Afonso II traditionally died of leprosy (or, according to *LK*, I, p.164, he died of being fat: *ex crasitudine mortus est*), this number of royal physicians receiving high mention is interesting. See Veloso, *D. Afonso II*, pp.86-8.

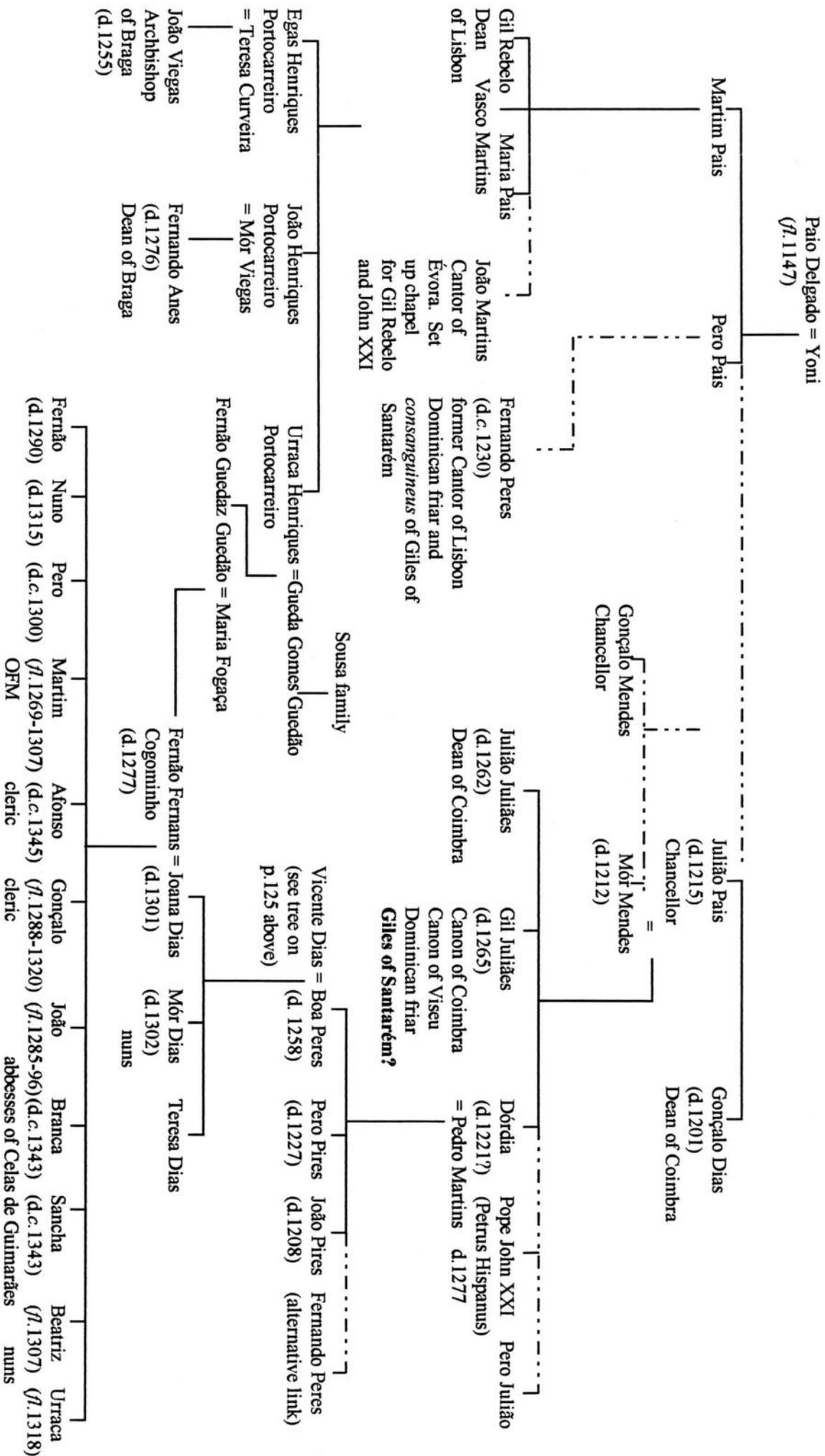
⁹⁴ Was he the *Magister Egidius phisicus domini Regis* mentioned in a document of Sancho II recorded only by the seventeenth-century chronicle of António Brandão? See *Crónicas de D. Sancho II e D. Afonso III*, ed. A. de Magalhães Basto (Oporto, 1946), p.263.

of the links to their former life. It does not imply, however, that these links did not remain important. Giles of Santarém's authority in the Dominican order in Portugal and his relations with the royal family surely rested on early exposure to the complex political and social network that can be seen in Gil Juliães' background.

If Giles' family background was so prominent, then why did so little of it survive into the *vitae* by Resende and the other sixteenth-century writers? Ingo Fleisch believes it possible that there has been confusion between Gil Juliães and an Archdeacon of Santarém, Gil Rodrigues.⁹⁵ It is entirely believable that this was the name which was recorded in the miracle collection used by Resende, and it was this which caused him to search for a Gil Rodrigues in the *Livros de linhagens*. There is no doubt that neither Rodrigo Pais, *alcaide* of Coimbra, nor Rodrigo Pais de Valadares, who were merged into one by Resende, could have been Giles' father. Luckily, Resende preserved the connection with the Cogominho family which he found in his primary source because it was relevant to his own times. It is through the substantial evidence for the ramifications of this family that a new candidate for Giles' father can be put forward. It is highly probable that Giles was the son of the influential chancellor Julião Pais, and better known to Portuguese history as Gil Juliães, canon of Viseu. The difference between this hypothesis and the biographical information of the *vitae* is a striking example of the mistakes and exaggerations involved in building a legend.

⁹⁵ Fleisch, *Kirche, Königtum und gelehrtes Recht*, p.71, note 395. For Gil Rodrigues, Archdeacon of Santarém, see Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre*, pp.240 and 271-2

Fig. 7. The Family of Chancellor Julião



CHAPTER FIVE

THE EDUCATION AND INTELLECTUAL MILIEU OF GILES OF SANTARÉM

From his earliest childhood, Giles began to frequent the masters of Coimbra. In this city, which at that time was the seat of the kings of Portugal, the study of letters then flourished. Through both his own inclination and parental design, he followed the study of philosophy and especially medicine, in which he quickly made progress even to the extent of gaining renown.¹

It was quite clear in the last chapter that all the theories concerning the family background of Giles of Santarém involve a close connection with the city of Coimbra. Consequently, it is not surprising to see that the traditional location for Giles' upbringing and education was indeed Coimbra. Before analysing Giles' medical or ecclesiastical career at home and abroad, it is necessary to examine the foundations of his learning in Portugal and the intellectual milieu from which he came. What kind of education could he have received in Portugal? Would it have been possible for him to have studied medicine in Portugal?² What level of learning did Giles' Portuguese contemporaries enjoy and how many of them shared Giles' medical interests? At what stage did Giles go to Paris and what did he do there? Did he ever teach medicine and was Petrus Hispanus one of his students as has been claimed recently?³ Answering these questions will help in determining when Giles wrote his medical works, and what aspects of his education informed them. As will be seen, it is extremely difficult to answer some of these questions but discussion of the issues they raise provides insight into the social and cultural background of Giles of Santarém and the intellectual development of medieval Portugal.

Early Education

The various sixteenth-century *vitae* gave little information on Giles' youth. It seems to have been pious and exemplary, as one might expect from a future *beatus*; his life did not begin to achieve dramatic significance until he embarked on his journey to

¹ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.233: *Aegidius magistros coepit frequentare a prima statim pueritia Conimbrigae, in qua urbe utpote ea tempestate regum Lusitanorum sede litterarum studia tunc vigeabant. Suopte vero ingenio et instituto paterno philosophica studia sectatus est, praecipue autem medicinam, in qua brevi multum etiam usque ad nominis famam profecit.*

² Much of this chapter is a developed version of my article "Opportunities for Teaching and Studying Medicine in Medieval Portugal Before the Foundation of the University of Lisbon (1290)".

³ M. Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: the Viaticum and its Commentaries* (Philadelphia, 1990), p.84.

Paris and had his rendez-vous with the Devil. However, the sources do emphasize the importance of Coimbra in Giles' early education. All the indications are that Giles was a cleric of Coimbra from an early stage. André de Resende, António de São Domingos, and Hernando de Castillo all recorded that Giles enjoyed the income of no less than five benefices: he was said to be a canon of Braga, Coimbra, and Guarda cathedrals, and Prior of churches in Santarém (Santa Iria) and Coruche (Santa Maria).⁴ It should be remembered that André de Resende was opposed to pluralism and benefices held *in absentia*, in accordance with decrees of the Council of Trent, and could therefore have invented these benefices to make a contemporary point.⁵ Furthermore, Baltazar de São João did not mention them at all. On the other hand, Resende was supported by some other authors and, therefore, it is worth investigating to see if these benefices are plausible.

The hagiographers implied that Giles enjoyed the patronage of king Sancho I who wished to have him trained up as a personal physician, so the benefices may have been signs of royal favour which could have funded Giles' studies.⁶ This cannot be substantiated from documentary sources, although Sancho probably was interested in education.⁷ It is known that pluralism was fairly common amongst Portuguese clerics of the thirteenth century⁸ and that fourteenth-century students at the University of Lisbon/Coimbra could receive papal dispensation to remain absent from their benefices while retaining the income.⁹ The only documentary evidence for Giles' benefices is his obit in the *Livro das kalendas* of Coimbra cathedral which states that he had been a canon and treasurer of Coimbra before entering the Dominican order.¹⁰ It has been shown how this obit is actually that of Gil Juliães, son of chancellor Julião

⁴ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.233, and note 63, p.383; António, *Compendio*, fol.109; Castillo, *Historia general de Sancto Domingo*, fol.343v. São Domingos did not mention the canonry of Guarda. Later chroniclers followed Resende with the full list.

⁵ See above, Chapter One, pp.42-3.

⁶ See above, Chapter Four, for a discussion related to this theory.

⁷ See below, p.151.

⁸ For examples of clerics with multiple benefices, see M.A. Marques, *O Papado e Portugal no tempo de D. Afonso III (1245-1279)*, (PhD., University of Coimbra, 1990), pp.156-61 and 296-301.

⁹ *Chartularium universitatis portugalensis*, I, pp.89-90 and 107-9. Pope John XXII dispensed students from residence for five years in 1325, and renewed the favour at the request of King Afonso IV in 1329.

¹⁰ *LK*, I, p.246 and above, Chapter Four.

Pais, who is probably to be identified with Giles of Santarém.¹¹ In this case, Giles also enjoyed a benefice in the cathedral of Viseu, knowledge of which did not survive into the sixteenth-century sources. It would be unwise automatically to discount the other benefices in Guarda, Braga, Santarém and Coruche. The Coimbra recorder was clearly only interested in Giles' relations with his own church. It is significant, nevertheless, that the one medieval source which supports Giles' holding of benefices emphasised further his link with Coimbra.

What information do the *vitae* give on where Giles was educated and what studies he followed? Resende recorded that Giles began to frequent the *magistros* of Coimbra from early childhood, commenting that the study of letters (*litterarum studia*) flourished there. Both through personal and parental choice he studied philosophy and medicine, becoming so expert at the latter that Sancho I thought one day to make him his physician (*archiatrum*).¹² It was only when he became more ambitious for fame that Giles decided to go to Paris in order to further his studies in medicine, but he intended eventually to return to Portugal more learned (*eruditior*).¹³

Baltazar de São João gave very little information on Giles' early studies. He simply stated that after some years studying at the *academia* of Coimbra, he was sent to Paris with the help of his parents and the king.¹⁴ There is no indication of what he studied in Coimbra, but in Paris he excelled at medicine.¹⁵ After his entry into the Dominican order he returned to teach at the "Academy of Coimbra" for a time, although it is not stated what he taught.¹⁶ António de São Domingos reported that from childhood Giles was keen on the sciences, particularly medicine. He was sent by his parents to study medicine in Paris.¹⁷ Hernando de Castillo added little to this but did comment that Giles studied logic, philosophy, and medicine *before* leaving Portugal.¹⁸ It was his later visit to Paris to study theology which was supported by

¹¹ See above, Chapter Four.

¹² *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.233.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.235.

¹⁴ *Vida*, p.133.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.141.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.161.

¹⁷ António, *Compendio*, fol.109.

¹⁸ Castillo, *Historia general de Sancto Domingo*, fol.343v.

Sancho I.¹⁹ Neither São Domingos nor Castillo indicated where in Portugal Giles studied.

Reference to the *academia* of Coimbra is sometimes taken to have been an anachronism.²⁰ These sixteenth-century authors were writing at a time when the University of Coimbra was finally beginning to flourish, after having moved back and forth between Coimbra and Lisbon five times since its foundation in Lisbon in 1288-90.²¹ Were the chroniclers projecting back on the Middle Ages the prestige and success of their University? António de São Domingos taught theology at Coimbra from 1574 to 1596, and Resende, although himself educated in Spain, France and the Low Countries, returned to teach at Coimbra between 1551 and 1554.²² One of Resende's interlocutors in the series of dialogues which made up his *vita* of Giles, Inácio de Moraes, was Vice Chancellor of the University.²³ Hardly anything is known about Baltazar de São João but it is possible that he studied or taught at Coimbra. It may be significant that his *vita* was completed in 1537 in the same year that the Portuguese University finally settled in Coimbra.

The possibility that the *Academia* at which Giles is said to have studied was a sixteenth-century concept should be considered seriously. Another important source for the education of Giles of Santarém, the chronicle of Nicolau de Santa Maria, may also have had an interest in promoting the early presence of academic studies in Coimbra. Santa Maria was the first author to state specifically that Giles studied medicine at Santa Cruz de Coimbra, the Augustinian house of which he was the official chronicler.²⁴ He is also the main source for much of the evidence for Santa Cruz's medical interests. When the Portuguese university returned to Coimbra for

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol.347v.

²⁰ For example, *Vida*, p.132, note 3.

²¹ In 1308 the University moved from Lisbon to Coimbra. In 1338 it returned to Lisbon for a few years, leaving again for Coimbra in 1354. It went back to Lisbon in 1377 and then finally opened for good in Coimbra in 1537. The moves north were motivated by a desire for greater quiet and morality; the moves south by the fact that Coimbra was too quiet. See H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1936), II, pp.110-11.

²² A. Sousa Lamy, *A Academia de Coimbra* (Lisbon, 1990), p.778; *Biographies of Prince Edward and Friar Pedro by André de Resende*, ed. J.R.C. Martyn (Lampeter, 1997), p.5.

²³ *Biographies*, ed. Martyn, p.7.

²⁴ *Crónica da ordem dos Cônegos Regrantes do patriarcha S. Agostino*, 2 parts (Lisbon, 1668), II, p.58.

good in 1537, classes, including those in medicine, were given in Santa Cruz itself for a few years before moving to the new Alcáçova palace.²⁵ The relationship between the University and Santa Cruz was thereafter long maintained; the priors were Chancellors of the University until 1834.²⁶ Santa Maria could therefore have been motivated by a desire to emphasize his order's cultural and scientific influence in a much earlier period.²⁷ It is interesting that by the time he was writing it had been conveniently forgotten that the University had ever been in Lisbon.

As will be seen, Santa Cruz did have a dominant role in the intellectual development of Portugal, and Santa Maria conceivably had access to internal traditions and archives. However, Santa Maria has the unfortunate claim to being one of the most universally criticised writers in Portuguese historiography. His work is one of the few early-modern sources consistently viewed with suspicion by modern historians and he stands accused both of plagiarism and of manipulating and even fabricating his evidence.²⁸ Is it possible to see past this problematic source and perceive the social and intellectual reality of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Coimbra?

It is very likely true that these early-modern writers were proud of their university and its links with Coimbra and were eager to project its success onto the past. On the other hand the weighty tradition of learning in Coimbra and particularly the emphasis on medical knowledge cannot simply be explained by later pride. The foundation of the Portuguese university was supported by several religious houses and

²⁵ Sousa Lamy, *Academia de Coimbra*, p.22; M.A. Rodrigues, *A Universidade de Coimbra: marcos da sua história* (Coimbra, 1991), p.26.

²⁶ Rodrigues, *Universidade de Coimbra*, p.29.

²⁷ Santa Maria, *Chronica*, II, pp.59-61, emphasized the role of Santa Cruz in the university's foundation.

²⁸ For example, Serrão, *Historiografia portuguesa*, II, p.234, describes the chronicle as "uma fonte pouca digna pelas muitas falsidades de que está recheada", and A. Cruz. "D. Teotónio, Prior de Santa Cruz", in *Santa Cruz de Coimbra do século XI ao século XX: estudos do IX centenário do nascimento de S. Teotónio, 1082-1982* (Coimbra, 1984), pp.21-58, at p.25, comments that it is the most cited and used source but the least reliable. Martins, *Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, I, p.9, remarks that Santa Maria is made up of hundreds of pages full of traps for the more inattentive and credulous reader. One of the problems with Santa Maria is that he is generally not corroborated by the chronicle of Timóteo dos Mártires, "A crónica do Mosteiro de S. Cruz de Coimbra de D. Timóteo dos Mártires", ed. A.G. da Rocha Madahil *O Instituto* 103-122 (1944-60). It is also known that Santa Maria basically stole and cannibalized the notes for the chronicle of one of his colleagues, José de Cristo, who had been responsible for the first catalogue of the Santa Cruz library and knew its archives well. See Cruz, "D. Teotónio, Prior de Santa Cruz", pp.24-5. Santa Maria's ultimate weapon against these more reliable authors was the relative accessibility of his work; his was the only one that was published.

churches, most of which were already important centres of learning in the Middle Ages. These included Santa Cruz and its daughterhouse São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon.²⁹ There were institutions in medieval Coimbra which deserved the title *academia* or at least came closest to what later chroniclers perceived to be one. One of these was Santa Cruz itself and the other was the cathedral school. If the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers really modelled Giles' *alma mater* on their own then why did they not do it more explicitly? It is Paris, not Coimbra, which is the crucial scene both of Giles' academic success and his conversion. The attention given to his studies in Portugal is too scanty to reflect the later university. Consequently the information which is given must surely be founded on some factual basis. The final argument against more than a residual awareness that there were links between Coimbra and the university is provided by the figures for enrolment in the university faculties in 1537. There were only eleven medical students as opposed to eighty-five in theology, ninety in law and forty-four in Arts.³⁰ The medical faculty of this period in the university's history certainly does not explain the medical tradition of the Middle Ages.

Education in medieval Portugal, as in most other European countries, was influenced by the decree of the Third Lateran Council in 1179 which called for the establishment of cathedral schools and the maintenance of a *magister scholarum* who would teach free of charge. Thus, schools in the cathedrals of Lisbon, Coimbra, Braga, Oporto, Guarda, Évora, Viseu, and Lamego flourished from the last quarter of the twelfth century.³¹ It is known that Fernando Martins, later the celebrated Franciscan preacher, St Anthony of Padua, began his education as a child in the

²⁹ The foundation of the University in Lisbon was the result of an appeal for a *studium generale* made in 1288 by leading ecclesiastics including the Priors of Santa Cruz and São Vicente, the Abbot of the influential Cistercian house, Alcobaça, and the prior of Santa Maria da Alcáçova of Santarém. The foundation was confirmed in 1290 by king Dinis and Pope Nicholas IV. See the *Chartularium universitatis portugalensis*, I, pp.6-9, and Rodrigues, *Universidade de Coimbra*, p.5.

³⁰ Sousa Lamy, *Academia de Coimbra*, p.22.

³¹ F. da Gama Caeiro, "As escolas capitulares no primeiro século da nacionalidade portuguesa", *Arquivos de história da cultura portuguesa* 1 (1966), 3-47, and *Idem*, "A organização do ensino em Portugal no período anterior à fundação da universidade", *Arquivos de história da cultura portuguesa* 2 (1968), 3-23. The schools of Lisbon, Coimbra and Braga considerably predated the Lateran decree. It is interesting that Portuguese historians believe that the educational canons of the Lateran Councils were observed, when there is evidence that the Portuguese generally took little notice of them. See above, Introduction, p.16.

cathedral school of Lisbon in around 1200.³² It has often been suggested that another important ecclesiastical career, that of Petrus Hispanus, the future pope John XXI, was also begun in this school. He himself became *magister scholarum* of Lisbon in 1263, although this position was probably largely honorific as he was often to be found in Italy at the papal court during this period.³³

If it is accepted that Giles of Santarém was brought up in Coimbra and later became a canon of Coimbra, it is plausible that he began his early education in Coimbra cathedral at around the age of seven or eight. One would expect him to have followed a similar course of instruction to that proposed for St Anthony at Lisbon: religious instruction, reading and writing and grammar, probably using the Psalter as a base, along with a little dialectic (logic), rhetoric, music, and basic computation.³⁴ This rudimentary mixture of the subjects of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, however, hardly constituted an *academia* of the kind Resende and his fellow chroniclers would have recognized. After all, Resende used this word to refer to the University of Paris.³⁵ It is necessary to find further evidence for higher education in Coimbra, whether in the cathedral or in another institution.

Higher Education

One could assume that, since there was no university in Portugal until 1288-90, there could have been no prospect of a higher education for Giles of Santarém in Coimbra and he would have been forced to go abroad to study. There are numerous references to his Portuguese contemporaries at the Universities of Paris and Bologna.³⁶ Later, in

³² F. da Gama Caeiro, *Santo António de Lisboa: introdução ao estudo da obra antoniana*, 2 vols (Lisbon, 1995), I, pp.6-8, and *Idem*, "Fontes portuguesas da formação cultural do santo", *Itinerarium* 17 (1981), 136-64, at pp.144-5.

³³ F. da Gama Caeiro, "Novos elementos sobre Pedro Hispano: contribuição para o estudo da sua biografia", *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 22 (1966), 157-74, at p.173.

³⁴ Gama Caeiro, *Santo António*, I, p.10-11.

³⁵ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.235.

³⁶ For example, Durão Pais, present in royal documents from 1250 to 1283 and Bishop of Évora between 1267 and 1283, studied in Paris and wrote an economic treatise. He and Petrus Hispanus were amongst the Portuguese representatives at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. See Ventura, *Nobreza de corte*, I, pp.138-9 and M.B. Amzalak, *D. Durando Pais e o seu comentário ao tratado "Da Economia"* (Lisbon, 1955). João de Deus was a canonist trained at Bologna frequently called upon to arbitrate in disputes of the 1250s and 60s, particularly those which involved Petrus Hispanus. See A.D. de Sousa Costa, *Um mestre português em Bolonha no século XIII: João de Deus, vida e obras* (Braga, 1957). Two other lawyers, Masters Vicente and Silvestre, were also trained in

the mid-thirteenth century, unknown numbers attended the University of Salamanca.³⁷ There is some evidence that this academic migration was supported by Portuguese kings, particularly from the reign of Sancho I. Nicolau de Santa Maria preserved a document in which this king granted four hundred *morabitinos* each year towards the expenses of canons of Santa Cruz de Coimbra who were studying *in partibus galliae*.³⁸ The problems with using Santa Maria's chronicle have already been discussed. This, however, is one of the few cases in which his evidence does stand up to scrutiny.

Gama Caeiro believes that the document does have verisimilitude. It is dated to 14 September 1190 and refers to Sancho I as *Sancius Dei gratia Portugalliae et Algarbii Rex*. Since Sancho could only have claimed the title of king of the Algarve at the time at which the document was issued - he captured Silves on the Algarve in 1189 only to lose it again to the Moors in 1191 - Gama Caeiro argues that it must be a copy of a genuine document. It is now accepted without comment in high-profile histories of medieval Portugal.³⁹ This evidence, taken with the insistence of the sources that Giles of Santarém was supported in his studies by Sancho I, may imply that Giles' further education took place entirely abroad. He did, of course, eventually go to Paris, but at what stage?

Bologna and were involved in the volatile dispute between Afonso II and his sisters over their father's will. See Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre*.

³⁷ J. Antunes, "Portugueses no processo histórico da fundação da Universidade de Salamanca", *Revista da História das Ideias* 12 (1990), 19-53. Also useful is J.V. Serrão, "La universidad de Salamanca y Portugal hasta el Renacimiento", in *Estudios sobre la cultura portuguesa actual y um prólogo retrospectivo* (Salamanca, 1973), pp.7-15.

³⁸ Santa Maria, *Chronica*, II, p.58. The vague phrase *in partibus galliae* is an interesting feature of this document. It is remarkably similar to the description of the origins of João Peculiar, one of the founding canons of Santa Cruz de Coimbra (see below, pp.172-3), which is given in a twelfth-century life of one of the other founders, St Telo. Here it is said of João Peculiar that *de Gallie partibus adventu*, which is usually taken to mean that he was French or studied in France. It is possibly further evidence of the Portuguese studying abroad from a contemporary source. See A. de Jesus da Costa, "D. João Peculiar, co-fundador do mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, bispo do Porto e arcebispo de Braga", in *Santa Cruz de Coimbra: estudos*, pp.59-83, and *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra: vidas de D. Telo, D. Teotónio, and Martinho de Soure*, ed. A.A. Nascimento (Lisbon, 1998), p.60. João Peculiar (d.1163) is usually believed to have been Portuguese, perhaps belonging to the Rabaldes family mentioned above in Chapter Four (fig. 6) which had lands in the regions of Coimbra and Lafões. In 1126 he founded the monastery, S. Cristóvão de Lafões, to which the *alcaide* of Coimbra, Rodrigo Pais, donated property.

³⁹ Gama Caeiro, *S. António de Lisboa*, I, pp.65-7. An example of a modern work which cites this document is *Em definição de fronteiras*, p.648.

The main problem with locating the centre at which Giles of Santarém pursued his higher education is that it is assumed that his course of study was medical. Where could he have gone to have studied medicine? All the early-modern sources agree that at some point he studied medicine in Paris. However, Paris was not known for medicine in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.⁴⁰ If a king wished to educate a future personal physician, one would assume that he would have sent him to a much better known medical school. This, at this time, was Montpellier in southern France.⁴¹ Could Giles have studied medicine there before travelling north to Paris?

Montpellier

Portuguese historians have often viewed the document of Sancho I which made grants to canons who were studying *in partibus galliae* as a possible reference to medical students in Montpellier.⁴² There is some evidence that the Portuguese did attend the University of Montpellier and there are reasons why it would be an obvious choice for them to do so. The main evidence that Portuguese students studied medicine in Montpellier is literary, not documentary, and is found in two thirteenth-century satirical poems, preserved in the *Cancioneiro* of the National Library in Lisbon. Both poems refer to a real physician of the Castilian court, Mestre Nicolás, who appears in documents from the middle of the thirteenth century until 1306. Neither, however, are written in praise of his skill:

*Sabedes vós: meestre Nicolao
que antano mi no guareceu*⁴³

*Meestre Nicolás, a meu cuidar, é o
mui bon físico; por non saber
el assi as gentes ben guarecer*⁴⁴

⁴⁰ See V.L. Bullough, "The Medieval Medical University at Paris", *BHM* 31 (1957), 197-211, and C. O'Boyle, *The Art of Medicine: Medical Teaching at the University of Paris, 1250-1400* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 1998), pp.10-20.

⁴¹ See V.L. Bullough, "The Development of the Medical University at Montpellier to the End of the Fourteenth Century", *BHM* 30 (1956), 508-23, and L. Demaitre, "Theory and Practice in Medical Education at the University of Montpellier in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 30 (1975), 103-123.

⁴² For example, J.V. Serrão, *Les Portugais à l'Université de Montpellier (XIIe-XVIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1971), p.27.

⁴³ M. Rodrigues Lapa, ed., *Cantigas de escarnho e mal dizer dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses* (Lisbon, 1965), no.332, pp.494-5, lines 1-2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, no.42, pp.75-6, lines 1-3. See also Serrão, *Les Portugais*, pp.32-4, for a discussion of these poems.

The poems go on to say that Nicolás studied medicine in Montpellier but brought back only pride and medical books which he did not understand:

*mais vejo-lhe capelo d'ultramar
e trage livros ben de Mompisler;
e latin come qual clérigo quer
entende, mais nõno sabe tornar*⁴⁵

There are many reasons why Montpellier would be a likely place of study for a Portuguese medical student. There were natural links between Montpellier and Portugal, with important communication and trade networks connecting the two regions. From 1204 Montpellier was under the control of the Count-Kings of Aragon and Catalonia, and Sancho I of Portugal was married to Dulce of Aragon from 1174.⁴⁶ The South of France lies on the main route from the Iberian Peninsula to Burgundy, Italy, and beyond. Most Portuguese travellers would have passed through Montpellier at some time, particularly if they were clerics on their way to the papal curia.⁴⁷ Most importantly both Montpellier and Coimbra lay on branches of the *camino francés*, the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostella. It is often forgotten that Portugal, like neighbouring Castile, was affected by the social and economic changes brought from the north via this routeway.⁴⁸ There is no reason why the traffic could not have been two-way; if the outside world reached Portugal down the *camino francés* then why could the Portuguese not have ventured forth by the same route?⁴⁹

The one Portuguese physician who is usually said to have studied at Montpellier is not Giles of Santarém but his contemporary, Petrus Hispanus. It is

⁴⁵ Lapa, *Cântigas*, no.42, p.75, lines 4-7.

⁴⁶ Daughter of Raymond Berengar IV of Aragon-Catalonia.

⁴⁷ A senior Portuguese ecclesiastic, Egas Fafes, Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, died in Montpellier on his way back from Rome in 1268. See Serrão, *Les Portugais*, p.25, and the Archbishop's obit in *LK*, I, pp.198 and 203. The founding canons of Santa Cruz de Coimbra became influenced by the liturgy and customs of the Augustinian house of St Ruf of Avignon when they were travelling to see the Pope. See P.R. Rocha, "Le rayonnement de l'Ordre de Saint-Ruf dans la péninsule ibérique, d'après sa liturgie", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 24 (1989), 193-208, particularly at pp.195-7, and also below, p.171.

⁴⁸ Serrão, *Les Portugais*, p.16, and J. Mattoso, "Monges e clérigos portadores da cultura francês em Portugal (séculos XI e XII)", in Mattoso, *Portugal medieval*, pp.365-87.

⁴⁹ Another Southern French university which later may have attracted Portuguese students is Toulouse, founded in 1229. A number of documents in the 1240s refer to a physician and regent master, Luppus or Loup Hispanus, who is identified as Portuguese by D. Jacquart, *Le Milieu médical en France du XII siècle au XV siècle* (Geneva, 1981), p.72.

worth discussing the evidence which has been put forward to support this. The historian who has had, until very recently, most influence on the chronology of Petrus' life is L.M. de Rijk.⁵⁰ He believes that Petrus Hispanus studied medicine at Montpellier after having studied Arts and Theology at Paris and before leaving for Italy to teach medicine at the University of Siena in 1245.⁵¹ This theory is based on the links de Rijk establishes between an important logical treatise, the *Summulae logicales*, attributed to Petrus Hispanus, and the South of France. Two early commentaries were written on this work in Toulouse and Montpellier, and the Dominican house in Toulouse seems to have been involved in the early diffusion of Petrus' works.⁵² Further evidence comes from two early-modern sources which indicate that Montpellier was the place of Petrus' medical study.⁵³

The early-modern evidence is probably the strongest point of de Rijk's argument and it is on this, and the fact that medical study at Montpellier was an obvious choice, that Montpellier is probably still to be viewed as Petrus Hispanus's medical school. The rest of de Rijk's argument is unfortunately difficult to prove. He believes that to have been employed as a physician and teacher by the commune and University of Siena from 1245, Petrus must have attended a medical school of repute, i.e. Montpellier.⁵⁴ However, one only has to glance at the documents relating to Petrus Hispanus's stay in Siena to realize that the *studium generale* there, only founded in 1240, had to struggle to survive and that Petrus seems to have been a struggling physician. Although the first document to mention him is dated 11 January 1245, there is no evidence that he was being paid by the commune until Autumn 1248. Furthermore, in February 1248 he had to sell a valuable bible and was living in

⁵⁰ L.M. de Rijk, "On the life of Peter of Spain, Author of the *Tractatus* called afterwards *Summule Logicales*", *Vivarium* 8 (1970), 123-54. Much of his argument has been heavily criticised by J.F. Meirinhos, "Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis? Elementos para uma diferenciação de autores", *Revista española de filosofía medieval* 3 (1996), 51-76, and Á. D'Ors, "Petrus Hispanus O.P., *Auctor Summularum*", *Vivarium* 35 (1997), 21-71.

⁵¹ De Rijk, "On the Life of Peter of Spain", pp.146-7.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.150.

⁵³ R. da Cunha, *História Ecclesiástica dos arcebispos de Braga e dos santos e varoes illustres que florecerão neste arcebispado* (Braga, 1634-5), pp.152-60, and N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus*, 2 vols (Rome, 1696), II, p.50. De Rijk, "On the Life of Peter of Spain", p.146, appears to be unaware of the second source.

⁵⁴ De Rijk, "On the Life of Peter of Spain", p.146.

a poor quarter of Siena.⁵⁵ As for the important commentaries on the *Summulae logicales*, a more recent analysis suggests that they were in fact written at the end of the thirteenth century rather than in the 1240s.⁵⁶

There is unfortunately no documentary evidence which links Petrus Hispanus to the University of Montpellier. This is not surprising as it is only from a chance remark in one of his papal bulls that John XXI is known to have studied at Paris.⁵⁷ Many important academics passed through European universities in this period without leaving a trace of their presence in the surviving documentation. There is also the problem that increasingly historians of philosophy doubt that the Petrus Hispanus who became pope was the same one who wrote the *Summulae logicales* and therefore the evidence of the commentaries in southern France is inadmissible.⁵⁸ On the other hand John XXI was certainly Portuguese and probably was a physician and therefore could well have studied at Montpellier.⁵⁹ All that is known is that he must have been familiar with the town as he witnessed a document there in October 1259 en route to the papal curia in Anagni.⁶⁰ As in the case of many other travelling Portuguese clerics, Montpellier was a natural stopping-point in his journey to Italy.

⁵⁵ For the first document, see M.H. Laurent, "Il soggiorno di Pietro Ispano a Siena", *Bullettino senese di storia patria* n.s. 9 (1938), 42-7, at p.44, and for the second, see R. Stapper, "Pietro Hispano (Papa Giovanni XXI) ed il suo soggiorno in Siena", *Ibid.* 5 (1898), 424-31, at pp.430-1. For a discussion of these documents, see P. Nardi, *L'Insegnamento superiore a Siena nei secoli XI-XIV: saggi e documenti per la storia dell'Università di Siena* (Milan, 1996), p.61.

⁵⁶ Meirinhos, "Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis?", p.54.

⁵⁷ De Rijk, "On the Life of Peter of Spain", p.127, n.2. The bull in question is *Flumen aque vive* of 28 April, 1277. There is some doubt that it was actually sent out as it is almost identical to an earlier bull of 8 January 1277 which was certainly received in Paris. See Meirinhos, "Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis?", p.55, note 11. These are the bulls concerned with the condemnations at Paris in 1277. See above, Chapter Three, note 116.

⁵⁸ This is the position of Meirinhos, "Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis?", and of D'Ors, "Petrus Hispanus OP". Both authors build on an earlier investigation into the identity of Petrus Hispanus by H.-D. Simonin, "Les *Summulae Logicales* de Petrus Hispanus", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 5 (1930), 267-78.

⁵⁹ John XXI remains the likeliest candidate for the authorship of the collection of medical recipes known as the *Thesaurus pauperum*.

⁶⁰ Serrão, *Les Portugais*, pp.28-9. From the documents relating to the future pope's activity in Portugal it can be ascertained that he was in Guimarães in Portugal between May and July 1259 and in Lisbon in November 1261. In between these dates, in January 1260, he was known to have been in the presence of Pope Alexander IV in Anagni. See A. Moreira de Sá, *Primórdios da cultura portuguesa*, 2 vols (Lisbon, 1966-8), I, pp.78-9, and Gama Caeiro, "Novos elementos sobre Pedro Hispano", p.159.

This glance at the possibility that Petrus Hispanus studied medicine at Montpellier is relevant to the problem of where Giles of Santarém studied for a number of reasons. As with the career of Giles, much of the evidence comes from early-modern sources which cannot be ignored. Giles and Peter were contemporary Portuguese physicians; the experiences which informed each of them and the studies they followed give insight into the wider context of Portuguese intellectual and cultural contacts and influences. The fact that no source indicates that Giles studied at Montpellier is perhaps surprising, considering the above factors in its favour for a Portuguese scholar, and emphasizes further what the sources do say concerning this matter. The suggestion of Mary Wack that Giles of Santarém, apparently some twenty years older than Petrus Hispanus according to de Rijk's chronology, was Peter's teacher at Paris, is also dependent on knowing where the two men studied.⁶¹

Paris

Wack's theory is based on her comparison of two commentaries on the theme of love-sickness in the *Viaticum*, a key medical text of the Middle Ages written by Al-Jazzar (d.979) and translated by Constantine the African (d.1087) at Monte Cassino in southern Italy. One of the commentaries is attributed to Petrus Hispanus and the other to an *Aegidius*.⁶² The two commentaries share several stylistic features and, as that of Petrus Hispanus appears to be a later development of the theme, Wack argues that Peter must have been the pupil of *Aegidius*. With virtually no evidence, other than the fact that he was active at approximately the right time, Wack has identified the commentator as Giles of Santarém. While Wack is no doubt correct in seeing a relationship between the two commentaries, is it really the case that the chronology of the two men's careers is compatible? A closer look at what Giles of Santarém may have been doing in Paris is advisable.

All that is known for certain is that Giles was a Dominican novice in St Jacques in Paris in 1224-5. It is probable that Giles had been a student or a master in Paris at the time he entered the Order. His younger friend and fellow-novice, Humbert of Romans, was a student of Canon Law and Theology when he took the

⁶¹ See above, footnote three.

⁶² Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages*, pp.206-51, for the commentaries.

habit at the end of 1224.⁶³ Jordan of Saxony, Master General of the Order at this time, frequently boasted how many students he had captured in the schools of Europe, and many more senior academics were also attracted by the Dominicans. A few months after Humbert had entered the Order, his master Hugh of St Cher did the same.⁶⁴ This academic context in Paris is far more likely than Giles' legendary conversion scene in Palencia.

The problem remains of what Giles was studying in Paris and how long he had been there. The normal age for students at Paris to begin their studies seems to have been at around fifteen years. The Arts course, the first course of study for most students regardless of which higher faculty they later entered, lasted for seven years and, according to the University statutes of 1270-74, the minimum age for becoming a Master of Arts was twenty. For students who had followed the Arts course, the course in medicine would be of five and half years' duration. For the rest, it was six years.⁶⁵ If it is accepted that Giles went to Paris in around 1200 at the age of fifteen, then he should have completed these courses in 1212-13, when he was around twenty-eight years old.⁶⁶ What did he then do for the decade up until 1224/5 when he joined the Dominican Order? Did he return to Portugal and the court of Afonso II? If Giles of Santarém were Gil Juliães, then the close relationship between Afonso and Gil in 1218 would suggest some kind of contact in this period.⁶⁷ Did Giles teach medicine or the Arts in Paris or even at home in Portugal? Is this the period in which he wrote the three or four medical works attributed to him? Could he have embarked on a course in theology like Humbert of Romans?

The problems with all these questions is that so little is known about the University of Paris in this period, particularly as far as the teaching of medicine is concerned. Is it possible to assume that Giles followed a "normal" course of study?

⁶³ See above, Chapter Two, p.64.

⁶⁴ See above, Chapter Two, and below, Chapter Six.

⁶⁵ *CUP*, I, p.517. The age of students is discussed by Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, III, pp.352-3. See also O'Boyle. *Art of Medicine*, pp.20-21.

⁶⁶ The only reference to fifteen as Giles' age when he embarked on his studies in Paris is found in one of São João's more bizarre passages, *Vida*, p.16. What is in effect a transcription of the devil-pact Giles signed whilst on his way to Paris, is dated 13 August 1323 (sic): *anno aetatis meae quinto decimo*.

⁶⁷ See above, Chapter Four, p.139. It will be seen below, p.178, that there is further evidence that Giles may have been in Portugal in 1218.

The earliest university statutes to mention medical study are those of 1270-74. Medicine was not referred to in the statutes issued by the papal legate, Robert de Courçon, in 1215, which is unfortunate as this is the period when Giles may have been studying or teaching medicine.⁶⁸ Can the much later statutes be applied to the first twenty years of the century? It is the late organization of the faculty of medicine which has convinced historians like De Rijk that Petrus Hispanus could not have studied medicine there in the first half of the thirteenth century. Yet it is known that medicine was taught at Paris during that period and much earlier. The English Augustinian Canon, Alexander Neckam, revealed that medicine flourished (*viget*) at Paris when he was there in the 1180s. William le Breton wrote in 1210 that although theology was the main draw, the study of medicine was highly respected.⁶⁹ William was writing three years before the first official reference to the study of medicine in 1213. This is a document which refers to *de phisicis* and the rights of the university chancellor to license lectures in *phisica*.⁷⁰ It seems entirely possible, therefore, that Giles could have followed or taught classes in medicine in Paris. However, very few people are associated with medicine at Paris at this time. Giles is one of only a handful of people tentatively identified by Danielle Jacquart as teaching medicine at Paris.⁷¹ Consequently, although there is no reason why he could not have studied and taught at Paris, one should still be cautious in stating that he did. Possible candidates for Giles' own teachers are Gilles de Corbeil (d.c. 1224), who studied medicine at Salerno, taught at Montpellier, and then worked at Paris from the 1190s to his death. John of St Giles, later a Dominican friar himself, may have taught medicine at Paris also.⁷²

It is possible to put forward an alternative theory. What if Giles of Santarém did not go to Paris at such an early age? What if he went there at a later date in order

⁶⁸ CUP, I, pp.78-80.

⁶⁹ Bullough, "Medieval Medical University at Paris", pp.198-9. O'Boyle, *Art of Medicine*, pp.12-13 and 16, note 24. Alexander of Neckam, *De laudibus divinae sapientiae*, ed. T. Wright, *Rolls Series* 34 (London, 1863), p.453, lines 569-70. For William le Breton, see the *Gesta Philippi Augusti* in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H.F. Delaborde, 2 vols (Paris, 1882-5), I, pp.168-333, at p.230.

⁷⁰ CUP, I, pp.75-6. This is an ambiguous reference as *phisica* here could also mean natural philosophy. See O'Boyle, *Art of Medicine*, pp.17-18.

⁷¹ Jacquart, *Milieu médical*, p.68, note 3. See also O'Boyle, *Art of Medicine*, pp.13-16.

⁷² O'Boyle, *Art of Medicine*, pp.13-14. See below, Chapters Six and Seven, for John of St Giles.

to further the medical knowledge he had already gained in Portugal? This is what seems to be implied by Resende and São Domingos. Giles did not have to have studied Arts at Paris in order to embark on a course in medicine; it would only have made the course six months longer as stated in the 1270-74 statutes. It is possible that courses were even more flexible sixty years earlier. Giles need not have gone to Paris until ten years later than suggested above and still would have had ample time to teach and write. If he were Gil Juliães, this would have meant that he could have been treasurer of Viseu in practice as well as in name.⁷³

There is some evidence that students did travel north from Portugal to study at Paris from an early age; John XXI stated in *Flumen aque vive* that he studied in Paris *ab annis teneris*.⁷⁴ What is more striking, however, is that a bright young contemporary of Giles of Santarém, the future St Anthony of Padua (b.1191), was not sent abroad to study. Instead in 1208-9 at about the age of seventeen he moved from the Augustinian house of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon to its motherhouse, Santa Cruz de Coimbra.⁷⁵ Although Anthony is said to have moved houses for spiritual reasons, he also continued to study and it appears that Santa Cruz could have provided a higher level of education than São Vicente.⁷⁶ Anthony did not leave Portugal until he became a Franciscan in around 1220, and then it was martyrdom in North Africa rather than foreign study that he sought.⁷⁷ His gift for preaching and the depth of his scriptural knowledge were discovered quite by accident a few years later

⁷³ See above, Chapter Four, p.141, for documents relating to Gil Juliães as treasurer between 1207 and 1210.

⁷⁴ See above, footnote 57.

⁷⁵ Gama Caeiro, *Santo António de Lisboa*, I, p.17, simply comments that Anthony, or Fernando as he was then, was too young and the nearest universities too far away. Despite the evidence Gama Caeiro puts together to show that some canons of Santa Cruz did study in Paris, *ibid*, pp.58-78, it is not really questioned why Anthony was never sent there himself.

⁷⁶ *Vita prima*, pp.280 and 284. This *vita* was written c.1232, a year after Anthony's death. See M.C. Monteiro Pacheco, *Santo António de Lisboa: da Ciência da Escritura ao Livro da Natureza* (Lisbon, 1997), pp.21-2, for the opinion that Anthony may have been attracted to Santa Cruz for its learning. From surviving thirteenth-century booklists it is possible to compare the level of learning at the two houses and to suggest that the education available at Santa Cruz was richer and fuller than that at São Vicente. The booklists of both Santa Cruz and São Vicente are published and compared in Gama Cairo, "Fontes portuguesas da formação cultural do santo", pp.149-61.

⁷⁷ Anthony joined the Franciscans because he had not found the discipline he desired at Santa Cruz. He was impressed by five friars who passed through Coimbra on a mission to Morocco and whose bones after martyrdom were eventually brought back to Coimbra in 1220 for burial. Inspired by their example, Anthony also went on a mission to North Africa after joining the Franciscan order, but was forced to abandon it due to ill-health: *Vita prima*, pp.286-98.

while he was working with the friars in Italy. So impressed was Francis of Assisi that he appointed Anthony lector to the friars of Bologna in 1223.⁷⁸

This skill and level of culture could only have been gained in Portugal. Anthony's sermons also reveal knowledge of medicine, botany, and natural philosophy which, despite later sojourns teaching and preaching in Bologna, Vercelli, Toulouse and Montpellier, must have been founded on Portuguese studies.⁷⁹ His active career with the Franciscans, some ten years, was too short to have allowed such in-depth study.⁸⁰ Anthony was much the same age as Giles of Santarém. The former achieved a level of education far in excess of what might have been expected of a young man from a remote region. Is it not possible that the level of education observed in St Anthony of Padua and its scientific aspect could also have been attained by Giles of Santarém in his own country before he went to Paris?

Before moving on to look at what medical education Giles could have gained in Portugal it is necessary to assess what significance the foregoing discussion has for the teacher-pupil relationship between Giles and Petrus Hispanus. Petrus Hispanus (John XXI) let slip that he studied at Paris in his youth. By this did he mean that he was around fifteen years old or younger when he arrived there? For Giles to have taught him medicine he would have had to have been very young indeed. According to the generally accepted date of birth put forward by De Rijk, Petrus was born in c.1205.⁸¹ He would still have only been twenty and at the minimum age to have gained his Master of Arts when Giles became a Dominican. Could Giles have taught him the Arts course? If that is the case then why were they both working on the

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, pp.310-14. Anthony was asked to preach at Forli one day as he was known to speak Latin and no one else was willing. He had deliberately kept his learning a secret: *scientiam omnem et intellectum captivans in obsequium Christi (ibid., p.306)*, and so the friars were astounded by the knowledge revealed in his sermon and the eloquence with which he expressed himself. See Pacheco, *Santo António de Lisboa*, p.27.

⁷⁹ There were influential later contacts, notably those with Thomas Gallus at Vercelli in around 1227 who introduced Anthony to the Pseudo-Dionysius. He also came across the *Libri naturales* of Aristotle at some point, probably in Bologna. See Pacheco, *Santo António de Lisboa*, p.28. Anthony's teaching of theology at Toulouse and Montpellier is referred to in later *vitae*, but not in the *Vita prima*.

⁸⁰ Not only was his life too short, but study of Anthony's sermons indicates that, although he might have become a Franciscan, his thought remained essentially that of an Austin Canon. For this duality see Pacheco, *Santo António de Lisboa*, pp.121-39, and Gama Caeiro, *Santo António de Lisboa*, II, p.252.

⁸¹ De Rijk, "On the Life of Peter of Spain", pp.140-1.

Viaticum, a standard medical text? If the previously accepted date of 1220 for Petrus' date of birth comes to be preferred by historians, as seems likely, then it is improbable that Giles taught Petrus Hispanus at all, as by the time Petrus was studying medicine Giles was already Prior Provincial and busy in Portugal.⁸²

It has often been assumed that just because the two men were Portuguese abroad with similar interests then they must have known each other. It is not impossible that they did. However, it would have been very difficult for Giles to have officially taught Petrus medicine at the University of Paris. Much of the argument now depends on whether Giles could have taught medicine as a Dominican and it is probably unlikely that he did so.⁸³ One final assumption should also be held up to scrutiny. It is not absolutely certain that the Petrus Hispanus who wrote the commentary on the *Viaticum* was the Petrus who became pope John XXI. D'Ors and Meirinhos argue that there were several Petri Hispani writing different types of medical, theological, philosophical and logical works in the mid-thirteenth century. John XXI may well have been one of these. However, it remains the case that Wack's identification of John XXI with the commentator of the *Viaticum* is almost as hard to prove as that of the unknown *Aegidius* with Giles of Santarém.

Coimbra

It is necessary to return to the sixteenth-century belief that there was an *academia* in Coimbra which could have provided Giles of Santarém with an erudition similar to that of Anthony of Padua. It has been pointed out that there were two institutions which could have fulfilled this role: the Augustinian house of Santa Cruz and the cathedral. Giles probably began his education in the cathedral school in Coimbra and he later became a canon of the cathedral. Did he remain there to continue his studies or did he, like Anthony, decide to become a canon of Santa Cruz? By the mid-seventeenth century, chroniclers claimed that Giles had certainly been an Austin

⁸² D'Ors, "Petrus Hispanus, OP", p.24, argues that, in order to show that John XXI did write the logical treatises attributed to Petrus Hispanus, De Rijk was forced to push back the date of birth by fifteen years. If these treatises were not the work of the pope, as D'Ors believes, then there is no reason why the previous date of 1220, followed since the eighteenth century, cannot be restored. See also Meirinhos, "Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis?", p.54, and O'Boyle, *Art of Medicine*, p.123, note 144.

⁸³ See below, Chapter Seven.

Canon and this is accepted by most modern historians.⁸⁴ Santa Cruz has a reputation as a centre for further education in medieval Portugal and its long-standing tradition of scientific and medical interests is impressive. It is generally believed that Giles could have studied medicine at Santa Cruz. What is the basis of this tradition and could Giles have belonged to Santa Cruz?

It should not be forgotten that Santa Cruz was founded in 1131 by former cathedral canons who were already highly learned. The cathedral school at Coimbra should not therefore be passed over simply as the site of Giles' elementary education. The cathedral can also be shown to have had important medical manuscripts. The possibility that Giles became interested in medicine as a cathedral canon should be considered. It should also be asked whether Giles could have studied at both cathedral and priory and benefited from the learning of two important institutions. What seems to be necessary is an analysis of the foundation and development of Santa Cruz within the context of the political, religious and cultural history of Coimbra. It will not ultimately be possible to state for certain where Giles of Santarém began his medical studies, but the results of the analysis should show that both medical texts and interests, if not teaching, were available in the milieu in which Giles was brought up.

Coimbra was captured from the Moors by Fernando I of León in 1064. At that point it was a reasonably large town, more than twice the area of Muslim Lisbon, with nine urban parishes covering 37-40 hectares.⁸⁵ A powerful force in the town was its influential Mozarab Christian population. As a result of his marriage to Constance of Burgundy in 1079 and the consequent influence of Cluny in the affairs of the Iberian Peninsula, Fernando's son, Alfonso VI of Castile-León, had from 1080 been persuaded to repress the Mozarabic liturgy and customs and introduce the Latin rite and other aspects of the Gregorian reform movement. This was violently opposed by the Mozarab communities. The best-known Mozarab leader, Sisnando Davídez, governor of Coimbra for nearly thirty years until 1091, clashed with Alfonso over the treatment of Mozarabs and Muslims in Toledo and managed to maintain Coimbra's religious independence until his death.⁸⁶ As long as he was in power Rome could

⁸⁴ For example, Gama Caeiro, *Santo António de Lisboa*, I, p.61.

⁸⁵ *Em definição de fronteiras*, p.393.

⁸⁶ A. Mackay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: from Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500* (London, 1991), pp.20-25.

make little headway and the first bishops of the restored see were Mozarabs. After Sisnando's death, however, and especially after the marriage of Henry of Burgundy to Alfonso's daughter Teresa in 1096 and the granting to them of the counties of Portucale and Coimbra, a series of French and reforming bishops began to break down Mozarab opposition. Gradually, the position of Mozarabs weakened, particularly as the frontier advanced. When he returned from campaigning in the south in the 1140s with thousands of Mozarabs as prisoners, Afonso Henriques had to be publicly reprimanded by Prior Teotónio of Santa Cruz for enslaving Christians.⁸⁷

The initial vitality of the Mozarab community in Coimbra should perhaps be expected to have had an influence on the cultural identity of the town. After all, both Mozarabs and Muslims were involved in the hugely significant "school" of translators at Toledo in the twelfth century. The Mozarab contribution to Spanish language, technology and architecture as intermediaries and continuators of Arabic culture is well-known. Can a similar role be identified for the Portuguese Mozarabs?

The problem with Islamic Portugal is that it never enjoyed the same wealth and prestige as other areas of Al-Andalus. The towns of Coimbra, Beja, Évora, Lisbon and Silves never achieved the brilliance and size of Cordoba, Seville or Toledo.⁸⁸ The heavy centralization of the Caliphate of Cordoba meant that peripheral regions like the Algarve and the Tagus basin, although strategically important, were kept in a state of backward dependency. After the collapse of the Caliphate in 1031 much of Islamic Portugal came under the control of the Berber *Taifa* established at Badajoz.⁸⁹ As far as the *Taifa* rulers were concerned, the loss of the provincial frontier town of Coimbra in 1064 was of little importance. During the Almoravid and Almohad periods, Portuguese centres such as Santarém, Beja and Silves surface only occasionally in Muslim sources; usually at the time of the capture of these towns by

⁸⁷ *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, ed. Nascimento, p.176.

⁸⁸ Mattoso, *Identificação de um país*, I, p.330; A.H. de Oliveira Marques, ed. *Nova história de Portugal*, dir. J. Serrão and A.H. de Oliveira Marques, 13 vols (Lisbon 1986-), II (1993): *Portugal das invasões germânicas à "Reconquista"*, p.128.

⁸⁹ H. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: a Political History of Al-Andalus* (London/New York, 1996), p.138.

Afonso Henriques or Sancho I.⁹⁰ Consequently it would be dangerous to infer that the Mozarabs of Portugal, isolated from the more vibrant cities of Al-Andalus, had as great a cultural input as those of Toledo.

A similar caution should be applied when considering the surviving populations of Muslims in Christian Portugal.⁹¹ The evidence indicates that mainly they were farmers, craftsmen, and domestic slaves. Anyone of any consequence emigrated to Seville or North Africa. There is no evidence of Muslim scholars or physicians as at the court of Alfonso X of Castile in the mid-thirteenth century. On the other hand Moorish communities and Mozarab traditions lingered for a considerable length of time.⁹² It is known from Muslim sources that in 1020 there was a community of Arabic-speaking Christians in Lafões, the region of central Portugal closely associated with Giles of Santarém.⁹³ Did this community still exist in Giles' time and teach him his knowledge of Arabic? The impact of Arabic on the Portuguese language, particularly on administrative, technical, and military vocabulary, was as great as its influence on Spanish.⁹⁴ Although the role of Muslims and Mozarabs in medieval Portugal should not be overemphasized, the interest in medicine, and possibly Arabic, which as will be seen can be found in both the cathedral and Santa Cruz, might be explained by contacts between communities on both sides of the frontier.

⁹⁰ The lack of involvement of the Portuguese regions in central politics is strikingly apparent in Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*. Some events of importance did take place. For example, Silves on the Algarve was the centre of rebellion against the Almoravids in the 1140s (*ibid.*, p.191), and the Almohad Caliph Abu Ya qub Yusuf was killed at Santarém in 1184 (*ibid.*, p.236).

⁹¹ There were also Jewish communities in most Portuguese towns, important to the extent that their presence can be used as a measure of urbanization. See Mattoso, *Identificação de um país*, I, pp.338-40. It does not appear that much work has been done on the role of Portuguese Jews as intermediaries between Arabic and Latin culture. However, their presence was particularly evident in Coimbra and so they should not be ignored as an element in the intellectual milieu of medieval Portugal.

⁹² There is evidence for a relatively independent fishing community of Moors as late as 1286 near Leiria. See Mattoso, *Identificação de um país*, I, p.263.

⁹³ *Em definição de fronteiras*, pp.341-2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.332-36; Mattoso, "Os Moçarabes", in Mattoso, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval*, pp.19-34, at p.29. The influence is greatest on urban vocabulary: administration, crafts, finance, food provisioning, fortifications. Important terms in the areas of military and agricultural organization should also be noted. The two military/administrative offices met with in earlier chapters: *alcaide* and *alferes*, are examples of how home-grown vocabulary borrowed directly from Arabic largely replaced the Latin terms *praetor* and *signifer*.

Much of the evidence for medical interests in Coimbra cathedral comes from its book of obits, the *Livro das kalendas*. One of the earliest and most significant references can be found in the obit of bishop Paterno listed under 30 August 1090.⁹⁵ According to this, Paterno, previously the Mozarab bishop of Islamic Tortosa, left to the cathedral chapter a collection of books. They had obviously been important enough for Paterno to carry them from Catalonia to Coimbra. The collection included the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville (d.636), ubiquitous in medieval libraries but not to be scorned for its encyclopaedic overview of early-medieval knowledge including medicine. Also donated were

a book of canons written in Arabic, and other books of Seville, and two astrolabes, and a silver tube, and a silver ampoule containing balsam.⁹⁶

Avelino de Jesus da Costa identifies these books as an Arabic copy of a Visigothic canonical collection known as *Hispana*, originally compiled by Isidore of Seville in the seventh century, and various works probably also written by Isidore of Seville (*libros Spalenses*).⁹⁷ As Isidore of Seville is represented also by a *Liber chronicarum* and the *Etymologiae* in this collection, it provides powerful evidence of continuity between the Visigothic kingdom and eleventh-century Portugal, via the Mozarabs and the Arabic language.⁹⁸ Taken with the Arabic texts, the presence of two astrolabes, a silver tube, and balsam in this bequest has been seen as evidence for astrological and scientific interest amongst the Mozarabs.⁹⁹ Do the tube and the balsam have a liturgical or a surgical significance? There is no other evidence for astrological interests in Portugal in this period but, considering later bequests of

⁹⁵ This date is incorrect as Paterno actually died in April/May 1088. See A. de Jesus da Costa, "Coimbra - centro de atracção e de irradiação de códices e de documentos, dentro da península, nos sécs. XI e XII", in *Actas das II jornadas luso-espanholas de história medieval*, 4 vols (Oporto, 1987-90), IV, pp.1309-34, at p.1317.

⁹⁶ *LK*, II, p.122: *et librum canonicum arabice scriptum et alios libros Spalenses et duo strolabia et unam fistulam argenteam et unam ampulam argenteam cum balsamo.*

⁹⁷ Jesus da Costa, "Coimbra - centro de atracção", p.1318. The *Hispana* was the record of seventeen church councils of Toledo from 300 to 694 and was influential in the development of Canon Law in Western Europe. See R. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000* (London, 1995), pp.116-7.

⁹⁸ The Book of Canons still existed in the cathedral library in 1393, and two folios of the work survive today as guard pages in a work dated 1539. Jesus da Costa, "Coimbra - centro de atracção", p.1319, and *Idem*, *A Biblioteca e o tesouro da Sé de Coimbra nos séculos XI a XVI* (Coimbra, 1983), pp.13-4.

⁹⁹ J. Mattoso, "Orientações da cultura portuguesa no princípio do século XIII", in Mattoso, *Portugal medieval*, pp.225-39, at p.231.

medical texts to the cathedral and the obits of physicians of Coimbra, an early interest in medicine, perhaps encouraged by Mozarab contacts, should be considered.¹⁰⁰



Coimbra cathedral

Further extremely important evidence for the medical interests of Coimbra cathedral in this early period are surviving fragments of a number of medical texts. These were discovered acting as guardpages of later theological works produced in the *Scriptorium* of Santa Cruz.¹⁰¹ António Cruz, the first person to catalogue these fragments, suggested that they belonged to the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth and were written in a Visigothic hand. He believed them to be the survivors of a much more extensive medical library begun at the cathedral and apparently incorporated later into the collection at Santa Cruz.¹⁰² In the recently published catalogue of the manuscripts of Santa Cruz held in the Biblioteca Pública

¹⁰⁰ Physicians whose obits are recorded in the *Livro das kalendas* include Master João in 1242 and Master João Andres in 1281 (*LK.*, II, pp.114 and 147). João Gonçalves “Chancinho,” although not described as a physician, left three books of *física* and a lapidary to the cathedral in 1285 (*ibid.*, II, pp.273-8).

¹⁰¹ BPMP. mss. Santa Cruz 13, 50, 55 and 73. See the *Catálogo dos Códices da Livraria de Mão de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto*, eds. A.A. Nascimento and J.F. Meirinhos (Oporto, 1997), pp.103, 242, 262, and 315 for a description.

¹⁰² Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, pp.217-9.



A fragment of a tenth-century medical work (BPMP, ms.55, guard page IIv)

Municipal in Oporto most of the fragments are successfully identified. The majority of the folios belong to the *Commentaria in Aphorismos Hippocratis* of Pseudo-Orbasius. Most of the others make up part of a herbal text, the *Alphabetum ad Paternum* of Pseudo-Galen.¹⁰³ The catalogue firmly dates them to the tenth century.

The theory that the fragmentary medical texts described above were part of a larger medical library is supported by later donations of books to the cathedral chapter. An important collection was that left by Master Martin, a canon and presbiter, who died in Paris in 1175. As well as various theological works, he bequeathed a number of medical, mathematical and astronomical texts: a *pratica de medicinam*, a book of *dietas particulares*, presumably the *Particular Diets* of Isaac Judeus (c.855-955), a *liber Constantini*, another book on diets, and finally a *liber de medicinis*. There were also a *liber de astronomia* and a *liber arismetice*, the latter interestingly accompanied by an abacus.¹⁰⁴ Is this a further indication, like the astrolabes in bishop Paterno's earlier obit, of Arabic intellectual interests in Coimbra?¹⁰⁵

Who was this Master Martin and what was he doing in Paris? Were the books with him in Paris or had he left them in Coimbra? It is tempting to consider whether Master Martin was teaching medicine in Paris when he died. He may have had several of what later became key university medical texts in his possession. The *Particular Diets* of Isaac Judeus was prescribed as a set-text in the 1270-74 statutes of the Paris medical faculty.¹⁰⁶ It was translated by Constantine the African. The *liber Constantini* listed in Martin's donation should also be identified as another one of

¹⁰³ *Catálogo dos códices*, eds. Nascimento and Meirinhos, pp.242-3, 262-3 and 315-6. Only the fragments of ms.13, *ibid.*, p.103, have not been identified. The first has a series of sections with the titles, *De lapidositate*, *De triplice tumor* and *De multitudine palpitationis*. The second begins with the title *De fumachi*.

¹⁰⁴ *LK*, I, p.79. The obit is also published in I. da Rosa Pereira, "Livros de direito na Idade Média", *Lusitânia Sacra* 7 (1964-6), 7-60, at p.21.

¹⁰⁵ Amongst the large number of texts listed in the obit of João Gonçalves "Chancinho" of 1285, referred to above (note 100), was an *Algarismus*. Is this a sign that Arabic science was still prominent more than a hundred years later?

¹⁰⁶ *CUP*, I, p.517, and Bullough, "Medieval Medical University at Paris", p.209. Evidence that the *Particular Diets* was also an important text a hundred years earlier is shown by its inclusion in a list of works found in a manuscript attributed to Alexander Neckam, *ibid.*, p.208. Full list is given in C.H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Science* (Cambridge, MA, 1924), pp.356-76. Several of the other works listed were translated by Constantine the African. For example, the *Viaticum*, the *Aphorisms* and *Prognostics* of Hippocrates, and the *Tegni* of Galen. Any of these could have been the other book of Constantine found in the Portuguese list.

Constantine's several translations which provided the building blocks of learned medicine in this period. At some time between the time of Martin's death in 1175 and 1195, Alexander Neckam observed that medicine was flourishing at Paris. Is Martin to be considered one of the reasons for this vigour? Should he be seen as a hitherto unnoticed teacher of medicine at Paris in this obscure early period of the University's history.¹⁰⁷

Alternatively, if Martin was only visiting Paris at the time of his death and normally lived in Portugal, could he have taught medicine in Coimbra? Was this teaching continued after his death using his medical texts? There is some evidence that later donations of texts to cathedral chapters were made with the proviso that relatives of the testator were to be allowed to use the books for their own studies.¹⁰⁸ Even if it cannot be shown that medical teaching definitely took place in Coimbra cathedral, it is clear that there were links with the teaching and study of medicine at Paris. Giles of Santarém was a canon of Coimbra cathedral and thus would have had both medical texts and the precedent of at least one canon of a previous generation who spent time in the academic milieu of Paris to encourage his own medical interests.

Like the cathedral, Santa Cruz seems to have had both a medical library and links with medicine at Paris. Gama Caeiro put together considerable evidence that canons of Santa Cruz studied in Paris. He assumed that these canons then taught in Coimbra when they returned home.¹⁰⁹ Gama Caeiro's aim was to discover who were

¹⁰⁷ Martin is not mentioned in E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au moyen âge*, new edn by G. Beaujouan, 3 vols incl. *Supplément* by D. Jacquart (Geneva, 1979).

¹⁰⁸ Egas Fafes, the Portuguese Archbishop of Santiago referred to above, note 47, who like Master Martin died abroad in 1268, left his books of Canon and Civil Law to Coimbra cathedral with the condition that they were to be used by his nephews, who were canons of the cathedral, and the Archdeacon. See *LK*, I, p.198 and Rosa Pereira, "Livros de direito", p.22. The latter also published the will of Afonso Pais, Dean of Lamego cathedral, *ibid.*, pp.57-8, where numerous legal texts were bequeathed to his cathedral with the condition that if his great-nephew, Estêvão, decided to study Canon or Civil Law he could use the books within his lifetime. The same went for any other cleric of Afonso's family and the chapter should decide who was the most worthy candidate in the event of any competition. The obit of João Gonçalves "Chancinho" referred to above (notes 100 and 105) also set conditions on the use of the large numbers of legal and theological works donated. Usually only the legal texts appear to have had such conditions of further study set on them, but surely it should be taken as a sign that all works donated to cathedral chapters could potentially be used for study. This does not, however, prove that actual teaching took place.

¹⁰⁹ Gama Caeiro, *Santo António de Lisboa*, I, pp.58-74.

the teachers of Anthony of Padua during the second decade of the thirteenth century and what level of education he could have received at Santa Cruz, but some of his conclusions are relevant if Giles of Santarém is seen as a canon of Santa Cruz. Gama Caeiro believed that this was the case.¹¹⁰

The most interesting piece of evidence for the teaching of medicine at Santa Cruz is the information given by Nicolau de Santa Maria that during the reign of Sancho I the Prior of Santa Cruz, Gonçalo Dias, instructed one of his canons already studying in Paris to give up theology and take up medicine instead. His own nephew, Mendo Dias, obeyed the order and later returned to Santa Cruz to become the first teacher of medicine in Portugal.¹¹¹ Can this evidence be accepted? It comes in Santa Maria's chronicle shortly after the document in which Sancho provided students like Mendo with the funds for study in France.¹¹² If this second piece of information can be shown to be equally plausible then here is clear evidence for the study and teaching of medicine at Santa Cruz. However, it has been seen how Santa Maria could have had reason to misrepresent this important development in the intellectual history of his own house and order. Furthermore, the chronicle of Timóteo dos Mártires also does not mention Mendo Dias. The most recent historian of Santa Cruz, Armindo Martins, explains that the period 1202-28 was a particularly dark period in the history of the priory. Gonçalo Dias was an uncanonically elected prior introduced by Sancho I in 1203-5 who was never accepted by the community. Martins does not go so far as to reject Santa Maria's story from this obscure period, but he points out that there is no corroborating evidence.¹¹³

It is necessary to circumvent Nicolau de Santa Maria in order to gain a truer picture of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Santa Cruz and show how there were links with medicine. Many studies of Santa Cruz de Coimbra fail to set the monastery in the wider context of Augustinian and intellectual traditions across Europe. If this is

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.61.

¹¹¹ Santa Maria, *Chronica*, I, pp.58-9; Gama Caeiro, *Santo António de Lisboa*, I, p.61. See also Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, p.220.

¹¹² See above, p.151.

¹¹³ Martins, *Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, I, pp.228 and 310-15. It is interesting that between 1202 and 1207 over a third of the canons (21 out of 52) disappear to be replaced by more or less the same number of new ones. Does this reflect internal problems in the community? See *ibid.*, p.321.

done it does not seem unusual for an Augustinian priory to have had academic and medical interests.

Santa Cruz de Coimbra was founded in 1131 in the wake of the introduction of the Gregorian reform movement in Portugal which had such an impact on the Mozarab community of Coimbra. In this it was similar to the foundation of many other clerical communities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries which came to follow the Rule of St Augustine.¹¹⁴ As in several other cases, the new house was an offshoot of the cathedral, founded by a group of well-travelled, educated cathedral canons who were dissatisfied with the progress of reform in Coimbra.¹¹⁵ The founders, Archdeacon Telo (d.1136), his pupil Teotónio (d.1162), and the *magister scholarum* of Coimbra, João Peculiar (d.1175), had been strongly influenced by a series of reforming bishops, several of them French in origin, and had themselves travelled widely to Constantinople and the Holy Land. João Peculiar appears to have spent time in France. The main influence on the canons was the Augustinian priory of St Ruf of Avignon where they rested on their journeys to and from the papal curia.¹¹⁶ Impressed by what they saw, the founders had the customnal of St Ruf, the *Liber ordinis*, copied and made the corner stone of religious life at Santa Cruz. A second important influence on Santa Cruz was the monastery of St Victor in Paris. Not only do manuscripts of important works by Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, the famous twelfth-century mystics, survive from the library of Santa Cruz, but Gama Caeiro suggests that Portuguese canons studying at Paris stayed in St Victor.¹¹⁷

Santa Cruz became hugely successful. This was probably due to a number of factors. In the same year that Santa Cruz was founded, 1131, Afonso Henriques moved his capital south from Guimarães to the more central location of Coimbra. There quickly developed a close relationship between Santa Cruz and the royal family.

¹¹⁴ J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), p.26.

¹¹⁵ Compare with the foundations of St Ruf of Avignon (1039), St Denis of Rheims (1067), St Botolph's of Colchester (1095), and St Laon of Thouars (1110), *ibid.*, pp.27-9 and p.149.

¹¹⁶ Rocha, "Rayonnement de l'ordre de Saint-Ruf". For a discussion of the form of the Rule of St Augustine adopted at Santa Cruz, see *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, ed. Nascimento, pp.31-40, and *Catálogo dos códices*, eds. Nascimento and Meirinhos, pp.xxxix-lii.

¹¹⁷ Gama Caeiro, *Santo António de Lisboa*, I, p.72. According to Martins, *Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, II, p.722, the education of the canons was based on the *De institutione novitiorum* of Hugh of St Victor (d.1141).

Afonso Henriques left his treasury and documents in the keeping of the canons, used them as scribes, and eventually he and his son, Sancho I, chose to be buried in the monastery.¹¹⁸ Royal wills of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries left the house large sums of money as well as animals and valuables.¹¹⁹ Another factor was the rapid rise through the church hierarchy of João Peculiar, who became Bishop of Oporto in



Santa Cruz de Coimbra

¹¹⁸ See J. Mattoso, “Cluny, cruzios, e cistercienses na formação de Portugal”, in Mattoso, *Portugal Medieval*, pp.101-21, at pp.109-10.

¹¹⁹ Numerous royal wills illustrating this are preserved by A. Caetano de Sousa, ed. *Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 12 vols (1st. publ.1739, new edn revised by M. Lopes de Almedia and C. Pegado, Coimbra, 1946-54), I. Sancho I’s will of 1209 is a good example, *ibid.*, pp.24-5.

1136 and Archbishop of Braga two years later. He maintained close links with Santa Cruz and regularly went over the heads of the bishops of Coimbra, thus sparking off the first of many conflicts between Santa Cruz and the diocese. What had begun as a very small off-shoot from the cathedral quickly became a serious rival, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction and encroaching on the bishop's diocesan interests.¹²⁰

On the other hand Santa Cruz also could be said to have inherited the cultural and intellectual role of the cathedral, incorporating both its learning and, it seems, some of its manuscripts. Furthermore, although the foundation of Santa Cruz was closely associated with the introduction of the Gregorian Reform movement in Portugal, Santa Cruz appears to have inherited a sympathy towards the Mozarabs. The incident in which Prior Teotónio was forced to scold Afonso Henriques for capturing hundreds of Mozarabs on a raid to the south was one of only three occasions when Teotónio ventured forth from the cloister.¹²¹ There is also some evidence that knowledge of Arabic was maintained in Santa Cruz. Giles of Santarém is himself considered a significant part of this evidence as translations of two Arabic texts are attributed to him. It has been suggested that they were made in Coimbra.¹²²

It is interesting that the two other occasions on which Prior Teotónio left Santa Cruz were both visits to the sick Afonso Henriques or his wife.¹²³ The development of medical interests at Santa Cruz can be traced back to traditional monastic concerns with the sick and the poor. The Rule of St. Augustine followed by the canons of Santa Cruz specifically mentions the care of sick brethren and the reception of the poor.¹²⁴ Hospitality was an important part of the canons' liturgical and pastoral role.¹²⁵ In some houses, however, there is evidence that more practical considerations were also observed. The custumal of Barnwell Priory in

¹²⁰ An example of one of these disputes was that fought over the question of ecclesiastical rights in Leiria. The town lay within the diocese of Coimbra but Afonso Henriques had granted jurisdiction to Santa Cruz. Despite this being confirmed by pope Adrian IV in 1157, the Bishop of Coimbra continued to resent the invasion of his diocesan powers for many years. See J. Mattoso, "A cidade de Leiria na história medieval de Portugal", in Mattoso, *Fragments de uma composição medieval*, pp.95-11, at p.99.

¹²¹ Cruz, "D. Teotónio, Prior de Santa Cruz", p.43.

¹²² See below, Chapter Eight.

¹²³ *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, ed. Nascimento, pp.176-8.

¹²⁴ See below, Chapter Seven.

¹²⁵ Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, p.145.

Cambridgeshire (founded 1112) detailed the duties of the infirmarian, including a description of different types of patient, implying that the person who held the office had to be able to recognize and treat varying degrees of severity of illness.¹²⁶

Santa Cruz did not differ from most other medieval monastic houses in that it had at least one hospital. A letter survives from the Prior of Santa Cruz's daughterhouse, São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon, to the Prior of Santa Cruz, João de Ataíde (1181-84), in which the Prior of São Vicente sought advice about the tithes which supported the hospitals for the poor of the two houses.¹²⁷ The letters clearly indicate that the Priors drew their inspiration from what they understood to be the Rule of St. Augustine: *secundum Augustini praecepta*. The hospital of Santa Cruz, St Nicolau, was founded between 1148 and 1150 and, according to the *Liber ordinis*, was run by a brother of good testimony assisted by a laybrother and perhaps by laysisters also.¹²⁸ The same custom regulated the process of bloodletting amongst the canons themselves.¹²⁹ The *vita* of Prior Teotónio, however, emphasized that he never underwent phlebotomy or took a potion. Nevertheless he took a keen interest in the sick and visited them regularly.¹³⁰ A separate infirmary for sick canons is believed to have existed at Santa Cruz from references in another customal, known as the *Gemma corone*, to the *domus infirmorum*.¹³¹

Santa Cruz was not unique in its provision of hospital care to the sick and poor. However, it also enjoys an unusually prominent tradition of medical learning. There is evidence of a number of highly-educated canons who attended a General

¹²⁶ *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*, ed. J. Willis Clark (Cambridge, 1897), pp.173-79 and 203-9.

¹²⁷ F. da Gama Caero, "A assistência em Portugal no século XIII e os cônegos regrantes de Santo Agostinho", in *A Pobreza e a assistência aos pobres na Península Ibérica durante a idade média: actas das primeiras jornadas luso-espanholas de história medieval*, 2 vols (Lisbon, 1973), I, pp.219-29, at p.226. A facsimile of the original document (ANTT, ms. 314 da livraria, *Catálogo dos priores do mosteiro de S. Vicente*) is published in Martins' thesis: *Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, II, unnumbered appendix.

¹²⁸ Martins, *Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, I, p.225 and II, p.704. Two copies of the *Liber ecclesiastici et canonici ordinis in claustro Sancti Ruphi tempore Lethberti Abbatis institutus* are found in BPMP, Santa Cruz ms. 74. For this reference to the hospital, see fol.140. Also *Catálogo dos códices*, eds. Nascimento and Merinhos, pp.316-19.

¹²⁹ *Liber ordinis*, fols.125 and 144v.

¹³⁰ *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, eds. Nascimento and Meirinhos, p.174.

¹³¹ *Gemma corone claustralium et speculum prelatorum ordinis Sancti Augustini*, BPMP, ms. Santa Cruz 93, fols.98v-99. See *Catálogo dos códices*, eds. Nascimento and Meirinhos, pp.361-3.

Chapter of the Order in Oporto in 1229. One of the canons who attended this chapter, Master Raimundo, was described in the *Gemma corone* which records this important event, as *profundissime in diversis scientiis literatus*. Another canon, *Domnus* Pedro Peres, was referred to as *magnus in Gramatica Medicina et Logica et in theologia que per obtime predicabat*. According to both Cruz and Gama Caeiro these prestigious canons had been the teachers of St Anthony in the claustral school, although Gama Caeiro argues that Pedro Peres actually belonged to São Vicente rather than Santa Cruz.¹³² Although it cannot be proved that either of these men taught in Portugal or that Pedro Peres, in particular, passed on his medical knowledge to fellow canons, it does seem that highly-educated and well-respected churchmen were active in Portugal.

More important evidence of learned medical interests is found in three extremely important booklists which record grants of books to individual canons in 1207, 1218, and 1226. They were found scribbled on the verso of the last folio of a Santa Cruz manuscript now in the Biblioteca Pública Municipal in Oporto and so faint is the script that it was not until the analysis of António Cruz was published in 1964 that the words were recognized as more than *imperceptível* notes.¹³³ The majority of the texts granted in these lists are medical. The first list of December 1207 refers to the *Viaticum*, the *Passionarius*, attributed to Gariopontus, a twelfth-century master of Salerno, and a *Liber gradiuum* (sic).¹³⁴ The latter was probably the antidotarium of

¹³² *Gemma corone*, fols.95-95v; Gama Caeiro, "Assistência", pp.224-5; Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, pp.215-17; Gama Caeiro, *Santo António de Lisboa*, I, pp.38-45 and 58.

¹³³ BPMP, ms. Santa Cruz 34. See *Catálogo dos códices*, eds. Nascimento and Meirinhos, pp.199-203. The lists are transcribed in *ibid.*, pp.xcii-iv. They can also be found in Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, pp.191-3 (with identification of texts, *ibid.*, pp.198-209) and Gama Caeiro, "Fontes portuguesas", p.156. Why were these lists written down in apparently such a careless manner? It has been argued that these grants were made during the difficult priorate of João César (1205-12, 1219-28). Complaints against the prior were made to the king and the pope in 1210 and 1221. He ignored a sentence of excommunication and was accused of adultery, incest, perjury, usury and nepotism. His nephew, Diogo Dias, was prior at the time of the book grant of 1218. Traditionally it is believed that it was because of this spiritual decline that Fernando Martins, the future Anthony of Padua, became disillusioned with life at Santa Cruz and joined the Franciscans in c.1220. Martins, *Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, I, pp.319-26. argues that there is no evidence against João César or that the book lists had anything to do with this undeniably fraught period in the monastery's history.

¹³⁴ This is the transcription of Nascimento and Meirinhos. Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, p.192, transcribed this title as the *Liber gradiuus*. It is extremely difficult to read.

Constantine known as the *De gradibus simplicium*. These books were given to Pedro Vicente, a canon of São Vicente in Lisbon.

The second list of July 1218 is a longer and more varied selection of fifteen books. The medical texts included are the ninth book of the *Liber Almansoris* (*Kitab al-Mansuri*) of Rasis (d.925),¹³⁵ and a codex which contained a copy of the twelfth-century herbal, *Macer floridus de virtutibus herbarum*, together with a lapidary, some unknown appendices, *multa experimenta*, probably medical recipes, and a practical treatise on precious metal and dyes. All the other books were texts on logic, grammar, geometry, arithmetic and astrology; all subjects of the *trivium* or *quadrivium* of the Seven Liberal Arts. These books were granted to Master Gil.

The third list of 1226 granted two medical texts to Pedro Peres, cantor of São Pedro. These are the *Liber Almansoris* of Rasis, which may or may not refer to the same copy of the ninth book in the earlier list, and a work by the medical commentator of twelfth-century Salerno, Peter Musandinus, the title of which is illegible. It is often assumed that Pedro Peres was the same individual described as *magnus* in the *Gemma corone*, due to his prowess in medicine, logic, grammar and theology, whom Cruz and Gama Caeiro believe played a key role in the claustral schools of Santa Cruz or São Vicente.¹³⁶

Cruz believes that these three lists of books are further evidence of teaching, particularly of medicine, in Santa Cruz. Why else, he asks, would time have been taken to copy them in the *scriptorium*?¹³⁷ It is not really possible to prove that medical teaching did take place at Santa Cruz using these texts. The individuals involved could simply have used them for private study. In this case, what these lists do show quite clearly is a marked interest in medicine amongst a group of canons and the dissemination of medical texts across Portugal. It is not known whether the books

¹³⁵ Rasis dedicated this work of ten books to Abu Salih Mansur ibn Ishaq, governor of his home town Rayy in Persia. The ninth book, which dealt with illnesses which affected the body from head-to-toe, often circulated separately in Latin translation. It was first translated by Gerard of Cremona in Toledo in the second half of the twelfth century. See D. Jacquart and F. Micheau, *La Médecine arabe et l'occident médiéval* (Paris, 1996), pp.63-4 and 150. For more information on Rasis, see below, Chapter Eight.

¹³⁶ Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, p.217.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.209.

were permanent grants or on loan to the individuals concerned. The loan of texts is, however, shown in a contemporary book list of São Vicente. Borrowers included both canons of the house and external recipients such as Viseu cathedral and Santa Cruz itself. This booklist does not include medical texts but does indicate a high level of learning.¹³⁸

It does not seem that these book lists have been compared to those of Augustinian houses in other countries. In particular, the booklists of English Augustinian houses bear comparison. Ironically, although far fewer codices survived the English Reformation than Portuguese ones their much later nineteenth-century equivalent, there are many more booklists extant for English libraries, some of them cataloguing hundreds of codices. Those of Leicester and Lanthony in Gloucester list numerous medical texts which, although the lists are generally of the fifteenth century, indicate a firm interest in both practical and learned medicine amongst Austin Canons.¹³⁹ Other monasteries, such as Oseney Abbey near Oxford, seem to have had close links with English university education.¹⁴⁰ It appears that Santa Cruz was not unusual in possessing medical texts in the early thirteenth century. Is it therefore possible that in the absence of a university in medieval Portugal, a powerful and influential monastery could have stepped into the gap and provided further education, perhaps with an emphasis on science and medicine? The fact that Santa Cruz supported the foundation of the Portuguese university in 1288-90 is surely significant. It cannot be shown without doubt that Giles of Santarém enjoyed the benefits of this education, but he did belong to an intellectual milieu in which medical texts were in circulation and in which *magistri* with medical interests were prominent.

It has sometimes been argued that the recipient of the second list of books in 1218 was Giles of Santarém himself. This was the view of Cruz who believed that Giles was not only a student of Santa Cruz but taught medicine in the claustral school

¹³⁸ A. Aires Nascimento, "Livros e claustro no século XIII em Portugal: o inventário da Livraria de S. Vicente de Fora, em Lisboa", *Didaskalia* 15 (1985), 229-42, and Gama Caeiro, "Fontes portuguesas", pp.149-55.

¹³⁹ T. Webber and A.G. Watson, *Corpus of British Mediaeval Library Catalogues: Libraries of Augustinian Canons* (London, 1998), pp.325-39, for the booklist of Leicester which includes over seventy medical codices, including copies of most of the books in the Santa Cruz lists; *ibid.*, pp.90-92 for the priory of Lanthony which records 23.

¹⁴⁰ D. Postles, "The Learning of Austin Canons: the Case of Oseney Abbey", *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 29 (1985), 32-43.

with Pedro Peres.¹⁴¹ It may be the reason why some authors date Giles' medical works to 1218.¹⁴² It is tempting to link Giles' translation of a work by Rasis to the ninth book of *Almansor* found in the list. It is evidence that medical translations from the Arabic were circulating in thirteenth-century Portugal. Cruz assumed that these works were products of the Santa Cruz *scriptorium*, but it has been seen in the *cantiga* about Master Nicholas, and the will of Master Martin, how texts could be brought in from abroad. The availability of medical texts via Arabic and Mozarabic sources in Portugal should not be discounted, but this cannot be proved.

It is very easy to make these connections but it is difficult to prove that Giles of Santarém was the Master Gil of 1218. Cruz obviously thought that Giles was too young to be a *magister* in 1218 and this is one of the reasons why he argued for a much earlier date of birth.¹⁴³ In fact it would not have been impossible for Giles, then in his mid-thirties, to have already returned from his studies in Paris. One very revealing factor is that a copy of the grammar book of Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae*, granted in 1218, was previously given to Santa Cruz by *Iuliano Iuliani decano*. This is clearly Julião Juliães, son of chancellor Julião and Dean of Coimbra. If Giles were Gil Juliães, what would be more straightforward than the granting of a book between brothers.¹⁴⁴ However, Gama Caeiro points out that there was more than one Giles with medical interests who could have obtained texts from Santa Cruz in this period.¹⁴⁵

The obit of a *magister Egidius de Leyrena (Leiria) fisicus, diaconus et canonicus huius ecclesie* was recorded in the *Livro das kalendas* of Coimbra cathedral in 1237.¹⁴⁶ Another Gil of Leiria deposited a copy of his will in the cathedral in 1257.¹⁴⁷ From the details of this will this second Giles could be the

¹⁴¹ Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, p.232.

¹⁴² See below, Chapter Eight.

¹⁴³ See above, Chapter Four, p.132.

¹⁴⁴ Perhaps these grants were conditional on the readers being relatives of the grantors. Compare with the conditions set on the use of legal books discussed above in footnote 108. It would be interesting if Pedro Peres, the canon of São Pedro, who received books in 1226 were Pedro Peres, canon of the cathedral and nephew of Gil and Julião.

¹⁴⁵ Gama Caeiro, *Santo António de Lisboa*, II, p.62, note 35.

¹⁴⁶ *LK*, I, p.186.

¹⁴⁷ ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, maço 15, doc. 34. This document is published wholly or in part by Moreira de Sá, *Primórdios da cultura portuguesa*, pp.69-70; F. Félix Lopes, "Breves notas a

recipient of the books from Santa Cruz in 1218. In the will are listed more than thirty books, twenty of which lay in the fields of medicine and natural philosophy. There are practical, surgical and veterinary texts of such variety that the possessor of this library would have had at hand a complete range of medical treatments.¹⁴⁸ Amongst the books is a collection entitled *Ars tota completa*. This comprised the *Isagoge* of Joannitius (Hunayn ibn Ishaq's ninth-century introduction to Galen's *Tegni*), Galen's *Tegni* itself, the *Aphorisms* and *Prognostics* of Hippocrates, and short tracts on pulse and urines by Philaretus and Theophilus respectively. These texts were the *Ars medicinae* or by the fifteenth century the *Articella*, and were the main texts used in the teaching of medicine in medieval universities.¹⁴⁹ It is highly significant that these texts were to be found in Portugal more than forty years before a university medical faculty had been formed. As with the earlier medical texts of Master Martin, it is clear that there were links between Portugal and the European universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although these books were granted to the Franciscans of Leiria,¹⁵⁰ the testator did leave property in Coimbra to the bishop of Coimbra and fifty pounds to Santa Cruz. Although it is not impossible that Giles of Santarém received books from Santa Cruz in 1218, it is very plausible that Gil of Leiria with his connections in Coimbra and a wide ranging interest in medical and practical knowledge was the recipient of books from Santa Cruz in 1218.

It is very suitable that this analysis ends with an individual who had contacts with both Santa Cruz and the Bishop of Coimbra. In the end Giles of Santarém could have been inspired to study medicine through contact with either the Augustinian priory or the cathedral. A final conclusion as to where Giles studied medicine cannot be made. What little evidence there is points towards Paris rather than Montpellier, but it seems likely that his initial studies could have been made in his home country, probably in one of these two ecclesiastical institutions. If the Portuguese foundation

dois documentos", *Colectânea de Estudos* 4 (1953), 365-372, at pp.366-70, and Rosa Pereira, "Livros de direito", pp.16-17.

¹⁴⁸ Only one text, the herbal of *Macer*, is found in both the will of 1257 and the booklist of 1218.

¹⁴⁹ See O'Boyle, *Art of Medicine*.

¹⁵⁰ The Franciscan house in Leiria was founded in 1231 and heightened further the ecclesiastical tension in this town between Santa Cruz and the bishop of Coimbra. Very little is known about these friars and what they would have done with this impressive donation of texts is uncertain. See S.A. Gomes, "O convento de S. Francisco de Leiria na idade média", *Itinerarium* 40 (1994), 399-502, at p.409.

of Anthony of Padua's learning can be emphasized to such an extent by historians, then it seems plausible that a close contemporary could also have attained a high level of education. Giles was certainly a cathedral canon but, as there is some evidence that Regular Canons were particularly attracted to the stricter discipline of the Mendicant Orders, the theory that he was at one time a canon of Santa Cruz should be considered.¹⁵¹ Both institutions had libraries in which important university medical texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries could be found. It is not just a question of lingering copies of works by Hippocrates and Galen, as could be found in most European monasteries, but of recent medical learning. Gil of Leiria's will reveals him to have been up-to-date with the university set-texts. Although his works were not left to Santa Cruz or the cathedral, it is an indication that there was a much broader social and intellectual nexus about which little is known. Without these wills, obits and other tantalizing morsels it would be very difficult to set Giles of Santarém's career and education into their appropriate context.

A firmer conclusion can be made as to whether Giles of Santarém taught medicine to Petrus Hispanus. On the basis of the chronology of their two lives it seems unlikely that Giles could have taught Peter medicine. If Petrus Hispanus was born in 1220, a date which seems to be reconfirmed by recent studies, then he was far too young to have been taught by a man who by the 1240s was a busy Prior Provincial of *Hispania*. If Peter was born in 1205-10, the date preferred by De Rijk, then he may just have been taught by Giles. Much depends on the attitude of the Dominicans towards the study of medicine. This discussion has, however, helped to set not only Giles of Santarém in the context of medieval Portuguese intellectual and cultural history but also reveals the possible milieu in which Petrus Hispanus himself grew up and became interested in medicine. Giles was not the only Portuguese physician to find a place for himself in the wider arena of European learning.

¹⁵¹ There are a number of examples of Regular Canons becoming friars. Anthony of Padua, of course, became a Franciscan. St Dominic himself had been a Regular Canon and had chosen the Rule of St. Augustine for his new Order. There are also references in the *Vitae fratrum* of canons adopting the Dominican habit. A Portuguese contemporary of Giles, Gonçalo de Amarante, may have been a Regular Canon in Guimarães before becoming a Dominican. See A. de Magalhães Ribeiro da Cunha, *São Gonçalo de Amarante: um vulto e um culto* (Vila Nova de Gaia, 1997).

CHAPTER SIX

GILES OF SANTARÉM AND THE DOMINICAN ORDER

*Afterwards he became an eloquent preacher, useful lector, and for many years remained a hard-working Prior Provincial of Hispania; losing little or nothing, through so many tasks, of his initial sanctity and religiosity.*¹

The years of study Giles of Santarém had undergone as a young man, the benefices he had enjoyed, and his high standing in Portuguese society proved to be only preliminary stages of his life. It was his life as a Dominican friar which secured him a place in legend. It is now necessary to examine Giles' career in the Dominican order. It will be seen how he rose to become Prior Provincial of *Hispania* and travelled widely across Europe. He was traditionally involved in the Portuguese civil war of 1245-48 as an agent of the pope, and saw the foundation of influential new houses in the peninsula. Giles arguably achieved greater prominence as a "physician of the soul" than as a physician of the body.² These two halves of his life, however, should not be separated. Giles' spiritual vocation and his career as a friar had an impact on his medical career. By studying Giles' role in the Dominican order, a fuller picture will be gained of the influences which informed him.

At St Jacques in Paris

It has been suggested that Giles of Santarém joined the Dominican Order in Paris at some time in the mid-1220s, probably 1224.³ This can be inferred from the fact that in the convent of St Jacques in Paris, Giles was the fellow-novice of Humbert of Romans who joined the order on 30 November 1224. There is a very great likelihood that Giles joined the order at roughly the same time. The Dominican noviciate lasted only about six months in this period, and as Humbert referred to Giles as his *socius* or formal companion in the *Vitae fratrum*, it seems plausible that they were at the same

¹ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.200. *post graciosus predicator et utilis lector et laboriosus prior provincialis in Hispania multis annis permansit in tot occupationibus parum aut nichil de priori sanctitate et religiositate obmittens.*

² *Medicos spirituales* is a phrase used in the *Vitae fratrum*, p.235, to describe a group of Dominican and Franciscan inquisitors murdered in the course of their duties in southern France in 1242.

³ See above, Chapter Two, p.64.

stage in their conversion to the religious life.⁴ The only indication of how long Giles spent in St Jacques is the clue given by the *Vitae fratrum* that he must have returned to Portugal in c. 1230 in order to attend the death of his kinsman, Fernando Peres.⁵ According to André de Resende, Giles was sent back to Portugal as a *lector* in the convent of Santarém, a position he held for three years before being elected Prior Provincial of *Hispania* in 1233.⁶ The *Vitae fratrum* confirms that Giles was a *lector* at one time.⁷ These then are the bare bones of Giles' career from 1224 to 1233. Not a great deal of factual information can be added, but some comments should be made on the convent of St Jacques and the position of *lector*.

When Giles of Santarém joined the Dominican Order, its leader was Dominic's successor, Jordan of Saxony (1222-37). In April 1226, Jordan wrote to his friend, Diana d'Andalo, prioress of the Dominican nunnery of St Agnes in Bologna, boasting of the numbers of students he had attracted into the order that Easter.⁸ Jordan's sermons appear to have had considerable impact: others of his letters refer to successes in the *studia* of Oxford and Vercelli.⁹ The *Vitae fratrum* also recalled these campaigns amongst academics:

He [Jordan] used to frequent towns in which study flourished; therefore, he often spent Lent one year in Paris and the next in Bologna; while he was there the convents seemed almost like bee-hives because there were so many people swarming in and then being sent out to different provinces.¹⁰

⁴ Hinnebusch, *History*, I, pp.295-6, notes that the noviciate usually lasted six months but was flexible; that of Gerard of Frachet in 1225-6 lasted only four months. M.M. Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study" *Dominican Education Before 1350* (Toronto, 1998), p.99, describes how novices in the early 1270s were assigned to slightly more experienced novices of a similar age or recently professed brothers who could show them what to do. However, there is no way of knowing if this system was already established in the 1220s.

⁵ See above, Chapter Two, p.80.

⁶ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.244.

⁷ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.200.

⁸ Jordan of Saxony, *Epistulae*, ed. A. Walz, *MOPH* 23 (1951), p.38-9; Hinnebusch, *History*, I, p.314.

⁹ Jordan of Saxony, *Epistulae*, p.16 and 19-20; Lawrence, *Friars*, p.74. Sermons given in England are published by A.G. Little and D. Douie, "Three Sermons of Friar Jordan of Saxony, the successor of St. Dominic, preached in England, AD 1229", *English Historical Review* 54 (1939), 1-19.

¹⁰ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.108: *Frequentabat autem civitates in quibus vigeat studium; unde quadragesimam uno anno Parisius, alio Bononie sepe faciebat; qui conventus eo ibi morante apium quasi alvearia videbantur, quam plurimis intransitibus et multis exhinc ad diversas provincias transmissis ab eo.*

This symbol of the bee-hive for the convent was particularly popular amongst Dominican writers. Thomas of Cantimpré sustained the metaphor at length in his *Bonum universale de apibus*, comparing the busy community of dedicated friars to hardworking bees in their hive. A fifteenth-century text applied the metaphor particularly to the convent at Paris.¹¹

It should be born in mind that many later writers looked back to the early years of the order as a Golden Age, and they consequently tended to glorify and exaggerate its religious fervour and the heroic deeds of the first friars. It does seem though that when Giles became a Dominican, the order was still in its initial experimental and most zealous stage of development. The first group of friars had only arrived in Paris in the autumn of 1217 and had met with little help or hospitality. They did not move into the former student hostel of St Jacques until August 1218 and their possession of the building was not confirmed until 1221.¹² Presumably space was early set aside for the infirmary in which Giles and Humbert first got to know each other.

It is not entirely clear from the *Vitae fratrum* what they were doing in the infirmary. Humbert twice said that they had shared a room for a long time, but the implication is that they were both sick.¹³ The most common interpretation of these references, however, is that Giles and Humbert were working together in the infirmary; they were carers rather than patients.¹⁴ It has been assumed that Giles' presence in the Dominican infirmary was a result of his former profession, that is, he was continuing to practise as a physician. There is no evidence, however, that

¹¹ See Thomas of Cantimpré's dedicatory letter to the *Bonum Universale de Apibus*, pp.1-2, and the "Brevis historia conventus parisiensis fratrum praedicatorum ex ms. Sancti Victoris," in *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, eds. E. Martène and U. Durand, 9 vols (Paris, 1724-33), VI, pp.550-66, at. p.551. The codex in which the editors found this brief history of the convent was said to be three hundred years old.

¹² Hinnebusch, *History*, I, pp.58-9.

¹³ See above, Chapter Two, footnotes 56 and 58 for a full transcription of the passages in question. The relevant Latin phrases are *fuit diu Parisius et cum eo in eadem camera in domo fratrum infirmus* and *qui diu cum eo Parisius in infirmaria stetit in una camera*. The word *infirmus* in the first phrase appears to apply to Humbert. He then described how Giles cleaned out the infirmary latrines despite being ill himself. Humbert went on to make frequent reference to Giles' poor health.

¹⁴ For example, Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p.6, and Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages*, p.75.

Humbert of Romans had a medical background.¹⁵ It is probable that working in the infirmary was a pious task carried out by the friars. The *Vitae fratrum* implied as much when it stated that friars

sought to forestall the rest in carrying out mutual kind deeds in the infirmary, the hospice, at table, and in the washing of feet, and he who surpassed the others in these services was thought blessed.¹⁶

Giles' duties in the infirmary appear to have been humble in accordance with the above ideal of mutual service. Humbert could have been setting up a deliberate contrast between the former lofty position of this novice and his subsequent humility.¹⁷ It was something of a diminution in status for a learned physician. Working in the infirmary may have been considered a suitable way of training a novice, particularly one who initially found it difficult to adapt to the rigours of the order. On the other hand, Giles' poor health was constantly emphasized and his removal of infirmary waste was clearly viewed as unusual. Giles probably should be seen as a patient in the Dominican infirmary for some of the time. However, his presence appears to have become something of a fixture; visitors to the infirmary sometimes saw Giles in a trance, unaware that they had arrived. When he came to, he used to jump up and greet them joyfully as if they had just come.¹⁸ This sounds a little more like an official role in the infirmary.

Humbert explained that Giles took the chance to clean cells whilst the other friars were at their lectures. Does this imply that Giles ceased to study or teach after he became a Dominican? It is difficult to interpret this passage. According to another passage, Giles was a *lector utilis*. A *lector* was a convent's teacher. He gave classes on the Bible, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Peter

¹⁵ Although there is some evidence that Humbert was sympathetic towards those who nursed others and their duties appeared to be familiar to him. Was this a result of his time in the St Jacques infirmary and his friendship with Giles? See Humbert, *Sermones* (Hagenau, 1507), number 40: *ad hospitalibus*, and A. Murray, "Religion Among the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France: the Testimony of Humbert de Romans", *Traditio* 30 (1974), 285-324, at p.297.

¹⁶ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.150: *In serviciis autem mutuis se prevenientes in infirmaria, in hospicio, in mensa, in locione pedum, beatum se reputabat, qui poterat alium in huiusmodi anteire.*

¹⁷ See Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*, p.392, for examples, including Giles, of high-born converts carrying out humble duties.

¹⁸ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.156.

Comestor.¹⁹ In order to teach Giles would thus have had to have studied theology himself; for four years according to the Constitutions of 1228.²⁰ Could he have done this before entering the order or did he study theology in the five years or so in which he remained at Paris?

It is possible that if Giles did study theology in the late 1220s, he was taught by the then secular master, John of St Giles. John was a well-documented physician at the courts of France and England who taught theology in St Jacques in 1228-9. He later made a spectacular conversion to the Dominicans, when he took the habit in the middle of a sermon in 1230, and went on to become master of theology at the new University of Toulouse.²¹ He is an excellent example of how studying and teaching of theology could go hand in hand with medical interests. In fact another friar, Roland of Cremona, a pupil of John of St Giles at Paris and his predecessor at Toulouse, also had firm interests in medicine.²² It cannot be proved that John of St Giles taught Giles of Santarém but it is clear that a Dominican with a medical background was not unheard of in Paris in the 1220s.

Lector in Portugal

Most historians pinpoint the year 1229 as the date of Giles' return to Portugal. Those few who give an explanation suggest that Giles left Paris because teaching was suspended in the university general strike of 1229-31. This is unlikely to have been the direct reason as the Dominicans strengthened their position in Paris by continuing

¹⁹ L.E. Boyle, "Notes on the Education of the *Fratres Communes* in the Dominican Order in the Thirteenth Century", in *Xenia Medii Aevi Historiam Illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppli O.P.* (Rome, 1978), pp.249-67, at p.257. See also Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study", p.138.

²⁰ See "Die Constitutionen des Predigerordens von Jahre 1228", ed. H. Denifle, *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 1 (1885), pp.165-227, at p.223, and R.F. Bennett, *The Early Dominicans: Studies in Thirteenth-Century Dominican History* (Cambridge, 1937), p.53. Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study", p.46.

²¹ For John of St Giles as physician to king Philip II of France and Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, see E.A. Hammond, "Physicians in Medieval English Religious Houses", *BHM* 32 (1958), 105-20, at pp.115-6. John's career at Toulouse is described in M.-H. Vicaire, "Roland de Crémone ou la position de la théologie à l'Université de Toulouse", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 5 (1970), 145-78, at pp.155 and 160-1.

²² Vicaire, "Roland de Crémone", pp.155-6; A. Dondaine, "Un commentaire scripturaire de Roland de Crémone: le Livre de Job", *AFP* 11 (1941), 109-37; R. French and A. Cunningham, *Before Science: the Invention of the Friars' Natural Philosophy* (Aldershot, 1996), p.159. The medical interests of John of St Giles and Roland of Cremona will be discussed further below in Chapter Seven.

to teach throughout the cessation.²³ However, it does appear to have been around this time that Giles returned home because of his presence at the bedside of Fernando Peres. With fewer students to preach to and souls “to capture” in Paris, able friars would have been sent to where they were more needed and the expanding kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula in the last throes of the *Reconquista* were ideal hunting grounds.²⁴ It is also the case that in 1228-29 a papal legate, Jean d’Abbeville, travelled from Barcelona to Lisbon and back again trying to raise the Spanish churches from what was perceived by successive popes to be their traditional state of torpor and corruption. Ramon de Penyafort, later the third Master General of the Dominicans, travelled with the legate around the Iberian Peninsula. It is not impossible that Giles’ return was linked to this legation.²⁵

The evidence that Giles was a *lector* comes from the *Vitae fratrum* and was emphasized by André de Resende. From the beginning the Dominican order placed an emphasis on learning. In order to preach successfully to heretics its friars had to be theologically-trained. Consequently there was a great demand in the order for competent and dedicated teachers. Their importance is clear in the earliest Constitutions which insisted that each new foundation required both a Prior and a *doctor*.²⁶ In reality it was difficult to maintain this standard. Jordan of Saxony complained in 1233 of the poor quality of convent teaching, and the General Chapter of 1259 at Valenciennes noted that some provinces were low on teachers and encouraged them to appoint *lectores* to convents in need of them.²⁷ It seems logical that Giles could have been sent back to teach in his country of origin at a time when the Dominican Order was expanding into the furthest reaches of Europe and urgently needed friars who understood the language and customs of different regions. There

²³ See above, Chapter Two, p.66, and Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, I, pp.334-43, for details of the strike. An example of an historian who suggests Giles left Paris as a result of the strike is Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages*, p.75.

²⁴ See Introduction above, pp.14-16.

²⁵ See Linehan, *Spanish Church and the Papacy*, pp.20-34 and 49, and the Introduction above, p.17.

²⁶ “Constitutionen (1228)”, p.221, Boyle, “Education of the *fratres communes*”, p.255. Mulchahey, “*First the Bow is Bent in Study ...*”, p.132.

²⁷ Jordan’s complaint can be found translated in S. Tugwell, *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (London, 1982), p.123. For the General Chapter of 1259 see Reichert, *Generalium*, pp.99-100, and Boyle, “Education of the *fratres communes*”, p.256.

were only two convents, Santarém and Coimbra, in Portugal at this time and therefore the skills of a university-trained friar would have been greatly appreciated.

What is known concerning the convent *lector* is drawn largely from the *Instructiones de officiis ordinis* of Humbert of Romans, which described the duties of all Dominican offices from Master General to gardener.²⁸ As already noted, the task of a convent *lector* was to teach practical theology based on key set texts, all of which Humbert recommended for the convent library.²⁹ According to Humbert, considerable skills were required of the *lector*. He had to be able to teach friars at all levels of ability, picking out the brightest for extra classes. The importance of his position was shown by the possibility of his having his own room and being dispensed from certain other duties. However, as he was so prominent in the lives of young friars, his conduct had to be beyond reproach. He was to take care, for example, that his room did not become the venue for late-night conversations.³⁰ Most importantly the *lector* had to make sure that his teaching was not boring, whilst being unadventurous, and that it could be easily understood:

The office of a good *lector* is to adapt oneself to the ability of the pupils; to read, easily and intelligibly, useful and necessary things to them; to shrink from new opinions and to keep to the old and safe; never to say anything which is not well understood; and, always to avoid being fussy and longwinded, which tends to result, among other things, from excessive repetition, or verbal complexity.³¹

²⁸ Humbert, *Opera*, II, pp.179-371. The *Instructiones* were not written until after Humbert resigned as Master General in 1263 and one should therefore be cautious in applying them to Giles' early career, since much of the Dominican education system was not firmly established until the middle of the thirteenth century. For Humbert's contribution to Dominican education and his comments on the *lector*, see Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, pp.46-56 and 142-5.

²⁹ Humbert, *Opera*, II, p.265.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, pp.254-6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.254: *Officium boni lectoris est conformare se capacitati auditorum; et utilia, et expedientia eis faciliter et intelligibiliter legere; opiniones novas refugere, et antiquas, et securiores tenere; ea quae non bene intelligit nunquam dicere; a fastidiosa prolixitate, quae accidere solet ex nimia repetitione ejusdem, aut ex involutione verborum, vel ex aliis causis, cavere semper.*

Prior Provincial of *Hispania*

According to traditional Portuguese historiography, the first Prior Provincial of *Hispania*, Soeiro Gomes, died on 26 April 1233.³² Although no contemporary document confirms this or identifies his successor, it is generally accepted that Giles of Santarém was elected at this time. It has been proposed that Giles would have been elected by the Provincial Chapter of 1234, but this is uncertain.³³ According to the 1228 Constitutions, Provincial Chapters were ideally to take place at Michaelmas (29 September) each year. Giles would either have been elected in September 1233 or, more probably, during the summer of 1233.³⁴ What evidence is there that Giles of Santarém was Prior Provincial of *Hispania* at this time? How long was Giles' term of office? It is also necessary to bear in mind the traditional belief that Giles was elected for a second term.³⁵ Should this be accepted? The most important source for Giles' province is of course the *Vitae fratrum*. An account of two travelling friars ends with the words:

This account was written by brother Giles of Portugal, a man of the greatest sanctity, who was Provincial Prior of *Hispania*, renowned for his literary fame and authority, who was one of the two.³⁶

³² This date is found in obituaries of Santa Cruz and São Vicente de Fora. See document dossier in A. do Rosário, "Primórdios dominicanos em Portugal: notas para o estudo da excelsa figura portuguesa de D. Fr. Sueiro Gomes, OP (1217-1233)", *Bracara Augusta* 18-19 (1965), 205-49, at p.249. For Soeiro Gomes' career and the establishment of the Dominican Order in Portugal, see the Introduction above. The only historian to focus attention on the provincials of Spain was M.J. Medrano, *Historia de la provincia de España de la orden de los Predicadores*, 5 vols (Madrid, 1725-34). Simon Tugwell kindly sent me his unpublished discussion of who may have been the Prior Provincials of *Hispania* in the thirteenth century. He believes that Soeiro may have died in 1229 and was probably succeeded by a Dominic of Segovia mentioned in Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.304. However, there is no reason why Giles could not have succeeded him in the early 1230s.

³³ *S. Frei Gil de Santarém*, p.49.

³⁴ Galbraith, *Constitution*, pp.54-6, explains that provinces generally failed to keep to a uniform date for their chapters. However, the Provincial Chapter would always take place between May/June (General Chapters took place at Whitsun) and the onset of autumn. New Priors were supposed to be elected as soon as possible. However, as provinces increased in size, this became less practical. In 1233, though, there were only fifteen houses in *Hispania*, and therefore it should have been possible for the electors to choose a new prior once the General Chapter in Bologna was over in May.

³⁵ See above, Chapter One, pp.50-51.

³⁶ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.164: *Hec frater Egidius de Portugallia scripsit, vir totius sanctitatis, qui fuit etiam prior provincialis in Ispania, fama litteratura et auctoritate perspicuus, qui fuit unus ex illis duobus.* Tugwell's as yet unpublished edition reveals that in the original version of 1258-9, Giles' office was not given; it was added by Humbert in his revision of 1259-60.

Another passage, contributed by Humbert of Romans, explains that after Giles' initial problems with adapting to life as a friar,

he became an eloquent preacher, useful *lector*, and for many years remained a hard-working Prior Provincial of *Hispania*; losing little or nothing, through so many tasks, of his initial sanctity and religiosity.³⁷

These are unfortunately the only contemporary medieval references to Giles' term of office; no documents of this period name Giles as Provincial.

Later Portuguese Dominicans were able to take this bare information and fit it into what they knew of the history of their province. There was no doubt in André de Resende's mind, nor in that of Baltazar de São João, that Giles became Prior Provincial about three years after he returned to Portugal.³⁸ This three year period would tally roughly with a return date of *c.* 1230 from Paris and the death of Soeiro Gomes in 1233. None of these early authors mentions a date or the death of Soeiro, but Luís de Sousa in the seventeenth century was aware of the tradition that Soeiro Gomes had died in 1233.³⁹ Another later historian, Manuel José Medrano in the eighteenth-century, also appears well-informed. According to Medrano, Giles was Prior Provincial for twelve years, from 1233 to 1245. His successor, Pedro de Huesca, ran the province until 1253 when he was replaced by Arnald Segarra. It was after Arnald was absolved from office in 1257 that Medrano has Giles elected to his second term as Prior Provincial. This was for a much shorter period ending in 1261, when García de Bulcos was elected.⁴⁰ How accurate was this information?

The date of 1245 for the termination of Giles' first period of office was calculated by both Sousa and Medrano partly from a misconception that a provinciate had to last twelve years, and partly from a document that they both published, which referred to *fratre Aegidio ordinis Praedicatorum* as one of the witnesses to a charter drawn up by the Count of Boulogne, later Afonso III, confirming the rights and privileges of the people of Lisbon in February 1246/7 (*Mense Februarii sub Aera M.CC.LXXXIII*).⁴¹ As this individual is not described as Prior Provincial, it was

³⁷ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.200. See epigram to this chapter, footnote 1, for the Latin.

³⁸ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.245-6; *Vida*, pp.161 and 164.

³⁹ Sousa, *Domingos*, I, p.193.

⁴⁰ Medrano, *Historia de la Provincia de España*, II, p.331.

⁴¹ Medrano, *Historia de la Provincia de España*, II, p.336; Sousa, *Domingos*, I, p.205. There has been some confusion, shared by early-modern and more recent writers alike, in translating Spanish

assumed that Giles no longer held that post. Unfortunately, the *Acta* of General Chapters do not begin to record absolutions of Provincial Priors until the 1247 chapter at Montpellier. The first (unnamed) Prior of *Hispania* to be absolved from office after that date was in 1249 at Trèves, the second was in 1257 at Florence and the third in 1261 at Barcelona.⁴² Immediately, this fails to fit in with Medrano's apparently authoritative dates. Was the *Aegidius* of the document really Giles of Santarém? If so, did Giles actually retain his office until 1249, or did another friar take over from him between 1246 and 1249?⁴³ It should be remembered that Portugal was in the middle of a civil war in 1246/7. It is possible that the administration of the whole Dominican province was disrupted. An alternative version of events is given in the *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum* of Quétif and Echard. According to their information, Arnaldo Segarra, a prominent Catalan friar, was Prior Provincial from 1249 through to 1261, a pattern which does not agree with the absolutions recorded in the *Acta* either. Tugwell argues instead that Segarra was Provincial from 1249 to 1257.⁴⁴

As for the second term of office, dated by Medrano to between 1257 and 1261, it is likely that it never existed. It appears to derive from André de Resende's misquotation of a passage of the *Vitae fratrum* and the simple addition of the word *bis* to the text.⁴⁵ For whatever reason this was done, it transformed Giles' later career and nearly all studies have accepted the second provinciate of Giles of Santarém without question. In the thirteenth century the same person could be, and sometimes was, elected Provincial Prior twice.⁴⁶ There are no documents which can be used to prove Giles was not elected a second time. On the other hand, when Humbert of

era (minus 38 years) and understanding in which Year of the Lord February falls in modern reckoning.

⁴² Reichert, *Generalium*, pp.48, 89 and 110.

⁴³ The only evidence that this may have been Pedro de Huesca is in *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.249. Resende referred to his visit to Santarém as Prior Provincial. If this was Medrano's source he did not acknowledge it.

⁴⁴ For Arnaldo Segarra see, Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores*, I, pp.247-8, and T. Kaeppli, "Dominican Barcinonensia. Assignationes librorum. Professiones novitiorum (s.XIII-XV)", *AFP* 37 (1967), 47-118, at pp.80-81. He appears to have been Prior Provincial in April 1255 but no longer was so in October 1260.

⁴⁵ See above, Chapter One, p.51.

⁴⁶ Galbraith, *Constitution*, pp.131-2.

Romans revised the text of the *Vitae fratrum* in 1259-60 he appears to place Giles' provincialate in the past. Surely he would have noted that his friend was still Prior, if such had been the case?⁴⁷ A final doubt as to a second term is Giles' age in 1257-61; he would have been in his mid-seventies. Is this too old for an office which required extensive travelling to chapters and visitation duties?⁴⁸

Despite these problems of chronology, there is no doubt that Giles of Santarém was Prior Provincial of Spain, and the consensus of early-modern writers that his period of office began in 1233 should be accepted in the absence of other evidence. It is worth considering now what the office of Prior Provincial involved. Again, the *Instructiones de officiis* of Humbert of Romans are invaluable.⁴⁹ Although the demands Humbert made on the Prior represent an ideal, they do reinforce the image of the Provincial Prior found in the Constitutions and the capitular *Acta*. According to Humbert, the role of the Provincial Prior was as much, if not more, moral and spiritual in nature as administrative. He did have to concern himself with the financial practicalities of running many convents, but much more important was the spiritual health of each convent and each friar. He should know personally the friars of his province so that he might advance those most able, hear the complaints of the weak and the sick, and deal with troublemakers. Of particular concern were poor, remote houses and "dangerous and dissolute brothers" (*fratribus periculosus et dissolutis*).⁵⁰ Much of the Prior's time would be taken up with visitation, especially of problem convents. Apart from being able to deal with matters on-the-spot, it allowed him to make sure that every house had correct copies of the divine offices, the Rule and Constitutions, *Acta* of chapters, and important letters.

Despite the considerable powers of a Provincial Prior, he was not an autocrat in his own domain. The unique system of representation developed by the thirteenth-century Dominicans meant that the Prior Provincial was elected by the Provincial Chapter and was answerable to both General and Provincial Chapters and the Master General, who was himself an elected official. The Provincial Chapter could initiate

⁴⁷ See footnotes 36 and 37 above.

⁴⁸ See above, Chapter Four, p.133.

⁴⁹ Humbert, *Opera*, II, pp.195-201. Much of what follows is a paraphrase of Humbert.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p.198.

steps to remove a Prior and they could punish his faults.⁵¹ It elected the *socius*, the companion, who had to travel everywhere with him and make a report on his conduct.⁵² Everywhere, the Prior had to display humble demeanour. He had to eat with the friars and spend time with them. His whole purpose was to maintain the peace, whether between individual friars, or between convents, or in relations with secular clergy and other religious orders, especially the Franciscans.⁵³

The demands laid on a Provincial Prior were heavy and he would have been constantly on the move. The easiest way to pinpoint Giles' activity in the fulfilment of his duties is to look at the surviving *Acta* of the annual Provincial and General chapters which he would have attended as Prior. Provincial Priors attended General Chapters only every three years except when an intervening chapter proved to be elective, due to the death or resignation of the Master General. In these cases the Prior Provincials attended the chapter along with one or two representatives from each province, up to a total of 36 electors.⁵⁴ The elections of Ramon de Penyafort and John of Wildeshausen (*Teutonicus*) would have brought Giles to Bologna in 1238 and to Paris in 1241. Normal chapters Giles would have attended were those at Bologna in 1235 and 1240 and that of Paris in 1243. He may also have attended the chapter of 1246 at Paris, but this depends both on the civil war and the date of his absolution from office.⁵⁵ Giles would also have attended the *Generalissimus* chapter of 1236 in Paris, called by Jordan of Saxony to settle the affairs of the Order before he went to the Holy Land.⁵⁶

The *Acta* of General Chapters have survived well and become more and more detailed as time went on. Relatively few *Acta*, on the other hand, survive from the

⁵¹ Galbraith, *Constitution*, pp.129-33.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.95, and Lawrence, *Friars*, p.82.

⁵³ Part of the Provincial Prior's visitation duties included meeting the local bishop and any nearby Franciscans: Humbert, *Opera*, p.199. It is likely that Giles had to deal with problems between his friars and the Franciscans because one of the admonitions of the Provincial Chapter of Burgos in 1241 urged the Dominicans to act peacefully and charitably towards the Friars Minor. See Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.607.

⁵⁴ Galbraith, *Constitution*, pp.89 and 93, and Lawrence, *Friars*, p.83

⁵⁵ If Giles was the Prior of *Hispania* absolved in 1249, then he may have attended that chapter which took place in Trèves. No mention will be made of the chapters which took place between 1257 and 1261 because it is so unlikely that he was Prior Provincial a second time.

⁵⁶ Galbraith, *Constitution*, pp.109-10.

Provincial chapters and those which do are largely fragmentary. *Hispania* suffers particularly badly from this and only the chapters of 1275, 1281, and 1299, in León, Estela and Barcelona respectively enjoy full records.⁵⁷ Of the earlier chapters over which Giles would have presided, scattered admonitions and decrees only survive from the years 1241 (Burgos), 1242 (Pamplona), 1243 (Palencia), and 1244 (Salamanca).⁵⁸

From the evidence of these chapters, it is clear that Giles travelled extensively, visiting Bologna and Paris several times, and moving continuously back and forth across the Iberian Peninsula to Provincial Chapters and on visitation duties. A measure of this travelling can be seen in both the early-modern *vitae* and the *Vitae fratrum*.⁵⁹ The story in the *Vitae fratrum* of Giles' wearisome journey, on foot and begging, from Paris to Iberia and back again to a General Chapter, fits the ideal of the wandering barefoot friar who followed the Dominican constitutions as regards travelling on foot and penniless. Several General Chapters had some admonition about Priors using horses and carriages and carrying cash.⁶⁰ This image of Giles probably says more about declining standards in a later period. However, as one of the early generation of friars it is perfectly possible that Giles did travel in this humble way.

It is difficult to extract much information about what went on at the different chapters Giles would have attended from the dry minutes which survive.⁶¹ A very broad range of issues would be covered at chapters in any one year. In 1243, for

⁵⁷ These three chapters are given special attention in R. Hernández, "Pergaminos de actas de los capitulos provinciales del siglo XIII de la provincia dominicana de España", in *Arquivo histórico dominicano português [Actas do II encontro sobre história dominicana 1]* 3 (1984), pp.259-288. They are also to be found with the other Iberian chapters in Douais, *Provincialium*, II.

⁵⁸ Douais, *Provincialium*, II, pp.607-10.

⁵⁹ André de Resende and Baltazar de São João set their miracle stories all over the peninsula. Giles was to be found in Majorca, Zamora, Barcelona and Cuenca as well as in locations throughout Portugal. For Giles' activity in the vicinity of Leiria, see L. Coelho Cristino, "Presença dominicana na região de Leiria antes de Santa Maria da Vitória (séc. XIII-XIV)", *Arquivo histórico dominicano português [Actas do II encontro sobre história dominicana 2]* 3 (1986), 81-94. Some of the people of this area mentioned in the miracles reported by Resende can be identified in contemporary documents. For example, D. Pichena, in whose house Giles went into ecstasy and levitated (*Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.261), was probably the *Domna Pequena Pelagii*, documented between 1240 and 1268, who owned a house in Leiria. This is another indication of the accuracy of much of Resende's source material.

⁶⁰ For example, those of 1240 and 1255: Reichert, *Generalium*, pp.15-16 and 76.

⁶¹ Galbraith, *Constitution*, pp.53-109, for a full discussion of procedure at chapters.

example, when Giles would have attended both the General Chapter in Paris and the Provincial Chapter in Palencia, the General Chapter dealt with, among other things, the confession of beguines, the keeping of money by priors, the ban on the study of philosophy by friars, the washing of feet, and the sending and receiving of unsealed letters.⁶² At Palencia, the four admonitions which survive warned the convents at Burgos and Pamplona not to celebrate the anniversaries of the dead and interfere in the affairs of the monastery at León respectively, and ordered that the Rule should be observed by friars outside their houses. The most interesting of the four is a warning that friars should not go to the courts of kings and *infantes* without licence.⁶³ This is similar to an admonition of the General Chapter of 1240 which Giles would also have attended.⁶⁴ It represents a problem which became acute in the Dominican Order throughout the century as Mendicants became royal confessors and diplomats and lingered at court where the rewards of power and intrigue could be acquired.⁶⁵ The person who held the necessary licence in the Provincial Chapter of 1243 was *ego frater G...* Is it right to assume that this was Giles himself, using a vernacular version of his name (*Gil* or *Gillius*) rather than the Latin (*Egidius*)?⁶⁶ The problem is that this *G* referred to himself as *de consilio Diffinitorum* rather than as Prior Provincial. Had Giles already been absolved? Where was the Prior Provincial who should have held this licence? Is this a question of a completely different *G*?

As well as looking at the chapters, it is possible to view the new Dominican houses of the 1230s and 1240s as a guide to Giles of Santarém's whereabouts in this period. Although it has been shown how the story of the foundation of Lisbon in the *Vitae fratrum* probably belonged to a later tradition, Giles may have been involved in this event of 1241-2.⁶⁷ Medrano also suggested that Giles personally oversaw the

⁶² Reichert, *Generalium*, pp.24-7.

⁶³ Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.609.

⁶⁴ Reichert, *Generalium*, p.15.

⁶⁵ See Linehan, *Spanish Church and the Papacy*, pp.313-4, and Lawrence, *Friars*, pp.166-80. The warning was repeated at Palencia in 1249, Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.610.

⁶⁶ It is extremely unusual for the *Acta* to suddenly break into the first person singular. The only other example in this period appears to be from the General Chapter of 1233 in Bologna, Reichert, *Generalium*, p.4, where Jordan of Saxony initiated his ban on friars running for bishop with an *Ego frater Iordanis magister ordinis*. It suggests that only the most senior of officials had this authority.

⁶⁷ See above, Chapter Two, pp.81-2.

foundation of Córdoba in 1237.⁶⁸ The capture of Córdoba in 1236 and of Valencia in 1238 were probably the most important events of the decade for the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. Both cities had large and important Muslim populations and the Dominicans very quickly took the opportunity to get involved in the establishment of Christian political and religious order. The Dominicans were also becoming extremely interested in Arabic in this period. The *Generalissimus* Chapter of 1236 in Paris had encouraged friars to learn the languages of their neighbours. The Provincial Chapter at Toledo in 1250 specifically assigned friars to the study of Arabic.⁶⁹ The General Chapter of 1259 at Valenciennes ordered the Prior Provincial of Spain to found a school of Arabic at Barcelona.⁷⁰ It is usually assumed that Giles knew Arabic, giving him a further reason to be involved in the settlement of these newly-conquered regions.

The Civil War - 1245-48

Another foundation with which Giles may have been involved was Oporto in 1238. According to Luís de Sousa, the bishop of Oporto, Pedro Salvadores, wrote to the Provincial Chapter at Burgos in 1237 asking for a house to be founded in his diocese, in the hope that the Dominicans could help a region torn by the conflicts between king, clergy and nobles.⁷¹ Although this unusual episcopal invitation had political motives behind it and the new house eventually came into conflict with the bishop,⁷² it is seen as a sign that the 1230s and 1240s were a period of social and political strife leading to the civil war.⁷³ The bishop's letter emphasizes how the Dominicans could not fail to be dragged into this conflict.

⁶⁸ Medrano, *Historia de la Provincia de España*, II, pp.258-62.

⁶⁹ Reichert, *Generalium*, p.9; Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.612-3.

⁷⁰ Reichert, *Generalium*, p.98. For the Dominicans and Arabic, see further below, Chapter Eight.

⁷¹ Sousa, *Domingos*, pp.198 and 305-7. The *Acta* of this chapter do not survive.

⁷² Mattoso, "Primeiras fundações franciscanas", p.341, and Medrano, *Historia de la Provincia de España*, II, pp.270-78. The bishop of Oporto opposed the settlement of the Franciscans in the city from the beginning. He presumably saw the Dominicans as more likely allies in his struggles with the townspeople. However, the plan backfired and the Dominicans clashed with the secular clergy.

⁷³ See the Introduction above, pp.8-9.

Pope Innocent IV formally deprived Sancho II of the government of his kingdom in the decretal *Grandi*, issued on 24 July 1245.⁷⁴ According to tradition, the person who informed Sancho of this step was Giles of Santarém. By the nineteenth century, novelists, often themselves ardent politicians such as Teófilo Braga, perceived this as the most significant act of Giles' life.⁷⁵ Here was a pious friar, perhaps the king's personal physician,⁷⁶ who had benefited from royal patronage through much of his life, forced to choose between loyalty to the king and loyalty to God and the Pope. Perhaps also loyalty to Portugal herself, innocent victim of many years' misrule. The dramatic possibilities were irresistible.

Almost certainly Giles was not the figure of high relief that Braga thought. The story of his involvement in the deposition can only be traced as far back as André de Resende.⁷⁷ He recorded a miracle in which Giles, having informed the king of the papal sentence, was mocked by one of the king's men. Giles answered by foretelling the man's violent death in the ensuing war. Although Resende showed historical knowledge, he was not particularly interested in the politics of this episode. It was Giles' ability to prophecy which was at issue not his political role; this suggests that this incident already existed in this form in Resende's source. It is not known what this source could be as there was no mention of Sancho II or of the civil war in the works of either Baltazar de São João or António de São Domingos.

With Luís de Sousa, the main source for nineteenth-century novelists, the story was blown up into a much more elaborate political event. It was not even referred to as a miracle.⁷⁸ Although Sousa's description presented Giles as a cross between Thomas Becket and John the Baptist in his confrontation with the king, his story should not be dismissed too easily. Sousa did have access to more documents. He knew, for example, that the Count of Boulogne swore an oath in Paris in September 1245 promising to respect the rights and privileges of the Portuguese

⁷⁴ Most of the text of *Grandi* can be found in Peters, *Shadow King*, pp.137-9. See also *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. E. Berger, 4 vols (Paris, 1884-1911), no.1389.

⁷⁵ T. Braga, *Frei Gil de Santarém. lenda faustiana da primeira Renascença* (Oporto, 1905). Also Rebelo da Silva, *Ráusso por homizio* (1st. publ.1842, Lisbon, 1907). Braga, a Coimbra professor, became the first President of the Republic of Portugal in 1910.

⁷⁶ See above, Chapter Four, footnote 94.

⁷⁷ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.270.

⁷⁸ Sousa, *Domingos*, I, pp.204.

clergy. He also published the document of 1246/7 which was witnessed by a *frater Aegidius*. If this individual was Giles of Santarém, then it is highly significant that he appears to be part of the Count of Boulogne's entourage at a time when Sancho had far from lost the war.⁷⁹

Although there is no concrete evidence that Giles played a key role in the civil war, there is no question that the Mendicant orders were heavily involved in the conflict as agents of the Pope. Throughout the 1240s they were being used regularly as papal envoys, inquisitors, and preachers of papal policy across Europe and into Asia. They were a flexible, mobile and educated taskforce, well-placed to mediate between clergy and kings in far-flung places. It was noted earlier that the role of mediator was also particularly associated with a *magus*; one who, whether magician, saint, priest or physician, was able to steer a path between individual and authority, nature and religion. As a friar and physician around whom legend and miracle gradually developed, Giles was ideally suited as the holy man who told Sancho II that his end was nigh.⁸⁰ It is because of the later legend that Giles' political identity came into being and the real person who may have been the kernel of truth in these stories faded into obscurity.

It is necessary to look closely at the events leading up to the deposition of Sancho II in the summer of 1245 in order to gain an idea of this kernel of truth. The descent into civil war began with the marriage of Sancho II to Mécia Lopes de Haro in 1243-4. Seeing his succession hopes threatened, Sancho's brother, Afonso, count of Boulogne, persuaded Innocent IV to annul the marriage in February 1245.⁸¹ In March 1245, Innocent IV appointed the Dominican prior of Coimbra and the bishops of Oporto and Coimbra to admonish Sancho for his lack of reform. They were to report back to the pope at the First Council of Lyons in July. As *Grandi*, the decretal which deposed Sancho, was issued shortly after the council ended, their report must have been damning.⁸² In August, Innocent delegated responsibility for the

⁷⁹ It is interesting that another of the miracles reported by Resende, *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.283, reveals a great friendship between Giles and Afonso III.

⁸⁰ See above, Chapter Three, pp.112-14.

⁸¹ *Registres d'Innocent IV*, no.995. See the Introduction above, pp.8-9, for more details on the causes of the civil war.

⁸² Peters, *Shadow King*, pp.152-4; *Registres d'Innocent IV*, no.1176.

promulgation of *Grandi* to the Dominicans and Franciscans of Portugal.⁸³ Finally, in September 1245 Afonso in Paris swore an oath in the presence of several Portuguese nobles and clerics. Amongst them were a number of friars including *Petrus Alfonsus Hispanus* OP, Petrus of Poitiers, the *custos* of the Franciscan house in Paris, and Domingos de Braga OFM.⁸⁴

Much later at the end of the war, two Dominicans and two Franciscans also witnessed the will of the exiled Sancho in Toledo in January 1248. It has been considered whether the presence of Mendicants in the train of both Sancho and his rival indicates that the loyalty of the friars was divided during the civil war.⁸⁵ This is of course possible on a personal level, but it is just as likely that the friars were acting as papal agents, safeguarding papal interests and keeping Innocent informed of events. J. Freed shows that in Germany the Mendicants were extensively used by Innocent IV in his campaign against Frederick II, who had been deposed shortly before Sancho in July 1245. This was despite the fact that the Dominicans had earlier maintained a neutral, even sympathetic, position towards Frederick.⁸⁶ It should not be surprising that Innocent IV dealt with Portugal on a similar, though smaller, scale to Germany. Sancho was an active patron of the early foundations of both Mendicant Orders, Afonso III was to support them again, especially the Franciscans. As far as the friars' loyalty was concerned, it ultimately went to the pope; as far as political ties went, Linehan's comment that "it seemed to be an invariable rule that, however the royal family divided, the mendicants emerged on the winning side," is applicable.⁸⁷

It is necessary now to back up a little in this narrative. The prior of Coimbra, along with two bishops, was chosen to reprimand Sancho II in March 1245. This

⁸³ *Em definição de fronteiras*, p.117.

⁸⁴ For the oath see Sousa Costa, *Mestre Silvestre*, pp.444-6, note 554. This Petrus Alfonsus is one of the many Petri Hispani who has been confused with the author of the *Summulae logicales* and pope John XXI. See D'Ors, "Petrus Hispanus O.P.", p.49, and De Rijk, "On the Life of Peter of Spain", p.136.

⁸⁵ *Em definição de fronteiras*, p.121, note 137. For the will, Sancho's second, see *Provas da História genealógica da casa real portuguesa*, I, pp.62-3.

⁸⁶ J. Freed, *Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1977), pp.150-61. The Dominican General Chapter of 1246 at Paris had to warn friars against favouring Frederick's interests over those of the pope. See Reichert, *Generalium*, p.37. It would be interesting to compare the actions of friars in similar political conflicts in order to gain a picture of their loyalties. Most suitable for present purposes would be the war between Alfonso X of Castile and his son, the future Sancho IV, in 1282-4. See Linehan, *The Ladies of Zamora*, pp.82-3.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.83.

raises a few questions. It is quite clear in the document that Innocent IV was referring to *dilecto filio priori fratrum Praedicatorum Coimbriensium* and not the “prior dos dominicanos” as Alexandre Herculano called him.⁸⁸ These two titles do not mean the same thing. If Herculano could be so imprecise, then is it possible that others before him were also? Is this the source of the tradition that Giles, prior of the Province, rather than the prior of Coimbra, admonished Sancho at the bishops’ request?

This suggestion becomes all the more plausible as the identity of the prior of Coimbra in 1245 is fairly well established. He was Paio Abril (*Pelagius Aprilis*), generally believed to have been the Paio Pequeno who wrote 406 sermons celebrating major church feasts and saints’ days, and the Paio whose incipient cult was recorded in the *Vitae fratrum*.⁸⁹ Paio seems to have seen the translation of St Dominic’s relics in Bologna in 1233 and was therefore probably an elected *diffinitor* at the Dominican General Chapter that year.⁹⁰ He might have been chosen to admonish Sancho II in 1245 as he could have been elected as *diffinitor* again to the General Chapter held in Cologne in early June 1245.⁹¹ As prior in a city which was still effectively the royal capital, and indeed was heavily besieged as the centre of Sancho’s power,⁹² and as his route home from the Rhineland could conceivably have taken him via the First Council of Lyons in July, Paio would have made a very suitable and convenient go-between. It is possible that his confrontation with Sancho caused Paio some problems as in 1248 he appeared in a document as Prior of Oporto, rather than of Coimbra. Tuthill suggests he was temporarily exiled from Coimbra due to the war.⁹³

Despite Paio’s possible involvement in these events, he was very quickly forgotten. The sermons which may have been composed by him were carefully written down by a Cistercian monk of Alcobaça in 1250 in an indexed copy which

⁸⁸ A. Herculano, *História de Portugal*, 5 vols (Lisbon, 1875), V, p.40.

⁸⁹ See above, Chapter Two, pp.80-81, for references and more details.

⁹⁰ Tuthill, *Sermons of Brother Paio, Thirteenth-Century Dominican Preacher: Sermons in Latin Text*, p.13.

⁹¹ According to Quéatif-Echard, *Scriptores*, p.xvi, this chapter was indeed one of *Diffinitores*.

⁹² *Em definição de fronteiras*, p.118.

⁹³ Tuthill, *Sermons of Brother Paio*, pp.14-15.

was obviously meant for use.⁹⁴ However, it remained unobserved until the 1970s. The only other medieval reference to Paio of Coimbra in the Middle Ages would appear to be in the *Vitae fratrum*. The cult which developed around Paio's grave appears to have been abandoned as when Luís de Sousa wrote his exhaustive history of the Dominican Order in Portugal, he added nothing to what was stated in the *Vitae fratrum*.⁹⁵

It appears possible that Paio of Coimbra has been confused with Giles of Santarém. The prior of Coimbra at some point became inflated into the Prior Provincial. Resende might be responsible as he certainly had some knowledge of papal politics, but it probably happened earlier, especially as Resende shows no trace of Innocent IV's delegation of the two bishops and the friar in March 1245. Luís de Sousa was much more aware of events, but by that time the matter was already confused and Giles' legend had grown to the extent that he had become the obvious person to confront the king. One needs to ask why Paio's cult apparently collapsed and Giles' grew and was revitalized. They were very similar figures in many ways, both prominent friars involved implicitly or explicitly in the affairs of their country. Paio should have been remembered for his sermons long after his death. Their memory was less resilient than that of Giles' medical works. This may be the crux of the matter. Giles did have one important difference in his career in that he had been a physician. It is probable that it is from this one fact, and all the tensions it brought with it, that Giles' legend grew. And ultimately it was the development of a complex legend which allowed Giles' story to survive and Paio's to disappear.

The Dispute of 1261

The last important event of Giles' life as a friar to be discussed is the dispute between the Franciscans and Dominicans of Santarém which came to arbitration before Afonso III in 1261. It is quite ironic that this event should be seen as a key episode of Giles' career because he does not, in fact, appear in any of the documentation. This is

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.2. The manuscript is BNL, ms. Alcobça 5.

⁹⁵ Sousa, *Domingos*, I, pp.284-90. Note, however, that the fifteenth-century catalogue of saints recognized by the Dominican order compiled by Laurence Pignon of Burgundy, which included Giles of Santarém, also listed *Pelagius Lusitanus*, indicating that more might have been made of his cult than is apparent in other sources. See above, Chapter One, p.40, and *Laurentii Pignon Catalogi et Chronica*, pp.2-4.

extremely odd and in itself demands that the matter be examined. It is also important to consider this dispute in the light of what it reveals about Santarém in the last years of Giles' life. It was a world far different from both the idealistic story-telling of the *Vitae fratrum*, still being compiled and revised at this time, and from the world of Giles' noviciate in the 1220s, yet it reveals the significance the Mendicants had acquired in Portuguese religion and society.

The conflict between the Franciscans and Dominicans in Santarém surfaces in a document which is the official record of the attempt to resolve the problem in 1261. The document has attracted some attention from modern historians, but it has only briefly been analyzed.⁹⁶ The dispute centred around a group of women religious, who claimed the habit of the Dominicans but were not officially recognized by them. They were also considered by the Franciscans to be living far too close for comfort; the women had settled in small houses which lay between the Dominican and Franciscan convents.⁹⁷ The dispute appears to have been bitter and the women may have been excommunicated by the bishop of Coimbra at the Franciscans' request. The commission arbitrating the dispute drew up a rota organizing the preaching of the two orders in the town churches and warned that neither order should preach anything disrespectful or untoward against the other. This suggests that preaching had provided ammunition during the dispute as well as, no doubt, being a cause of contention in itself.

The commission, made up of three Franciscans, met on 17 November 1261 in the presence of Afonso III, senior nobles of the realm, the master of the Knights of Santiago, Fernando Anes, the dean of Braga,⁹⁸ brother William, prior of Palencia in Castile and the official Visitor of the Portuguese Dominicans, and numerous other friars. It was decided that if the women insisted on retaining the Dominican habit,

⁹⁶ According to the document itself the Dominican and Franciscan houses of Santarém were each to hold a copy of the proceedings. What has come down to us is presumably the Dominican copy which is now ANTT, CR, S. Domingos de Santarém, maço 1, no. 2. A Latin transcription was made by A. do Rosário, "De Santarém, pelo tempo de Santo António", in *Colóquio Antoniano. na comemoração do 750º aniversário da morte de Santo António de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1982), pp.73-91, which is cited here, and a Portuguese translation can be found in J. Mattoso, "Stratégias da pregação no século XIII", in Mattoso, *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval*, pp.191-202. Only Rosário offers much in the way of interpretation.

⁹⁷ The dispute also involved the small Trinitarian Order whose convent was even closer to the women's cells. However, they do not seem to have had any representatives at the arbitration.

⁹⁸ For this important cleric, see above Chapter Four, p.121.

they would have to move from the contested site by Christmas, but if they gave it up they could live there for the rest of their lives. Their community, however, would not be allowed to expand. This all seems very authoritative and both historians who have studied this important document have stopped the story there in November 1261. It did not of course end there because all these noble and religious men completely ignored the interests of the unrepresented women who were being forced to move out with a month's notice. These women had powerful support from some quarters and probably belonged to influential families. They appealed to the pope who upheld their complaints in 1263. Needless to say they had not moved out. Problems continued with the Franciscans, however, and eventually the nuns moved to the south-west of the town in 1280, to the site they kept until the nineteenth century. It was not until 1287 that they were finally recognized by the Dominican General Chapter at Bordeaux.⁹⁹

This dispute clearly should be set in the context of other urban conflicts involving the Mendicant Orders across Europe. It is interesting that there does not seem to have been any conflict between the Mendicants and other religious orders in Santarém.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps because of the relative freedom of the friars to preach in Santarém the orders inevitably came into conflict with each other. All the groups had settled in what had been a relatively open commercial area near one of the town gates, but it was fast filling up. Afonso III had even built a royal palace in the same place. By 1302 the leper house, which was also there, had to be moved out because of fears of contaminating what had become a thriving suburb.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ See I. da Piedade e Vasconcellos, *História de Santarém edificada que da noticia da sua fundação e das couzas mais notaveis nella succedidas*, 2pts (Lisbon, 1740), I, pp.203-7, and the document ANTT, CR, S. Domingos de Santarém, maço 1, no.13. The latter is transcribed in A. do Rosário, "Pergaminhos dos conventos dominicanos. III série: Elementos de interesse para a história da Arte 1 - Convento de S. Domingos de Santarém (século XIII)", *Lusitânia Sacra* 2nd ser. 4 (1992), 345-70, at pp.356-7. The campaign for the nunnery appears to have been supported by the town of Santarém itself. See also S. *Frei Gil de Santarém*, pp.94-6.

¹⁰⁰ See Introduction above, pp.18-21, for the establishment of the friars in Santarém.

¹⁰¹ M.A.V. da Rocha Beirante, *Santarém medieval* (Lisbon, 1980), pp.121-30; *idem*, "Santarém à chegada dos dominicanos", *Arquivo histórico dominicano português [Actas do II encontro sobre história dominicana]* 3 (1984), 197-200, at pp.197-8. Also M.S. Alves Conde "Subsídios para o estudo dos gafos de Santarém (séculos XIII-XV)", *Estudos medievais* 8 (1987), 99-242, at pp.124-5. Franciscan nuns arrived in Santarém only three years before the dispute of 1261 and significantly settled some way East of the crowded suburb.

The conflict should also be considered in the light of the Dominican order's attitude towards nuns. The women received no support in a letter sent by Humbert of Romans, Master General in 1261, to the Franciscans of Lisbon and Santarém from the General Chapter in Barcelona, and included with the other records of the dispute.¹⁰² This was a reflection of the extremely ambiguous situation in which Dominican nuns had found themselves since the 1230s. St Dominic's earliest foundation, at Prouille in southern France, had been for women, and the Dominican order remained highly attractive to groups of pious women seeking protection and a religious rule. Many friars seem to have encouraged and organized these fairly informal communities but increasingly the official body of the order refused to take responsibility for female communities; even those at Prouille, Madrid and Bologna with impeccable traditions lost their affiliation at one point. It was only in the late 1250s, ironically through the common sense of Humbert of Romans, that the matter began to be sorted out.¹⁰³ Attitudes towards *ad hoc* groups of women who asked for protection from the friars remained uncertain, however, and Humbert was highly critical of independent and uncloistered women, as those of Santarém effectively were, who lived too close to friars.¹⁰⁴

The women of Santarém certainly belonged to an informal grouping. They are traditionally believed to have been *emparedadas*, a type of anchoress known in other Portuguese towns, who lived in an enclosed cell. This traditional view has been challenged as the *emparedadas* of Santarém still appeared as beneficiaries of wills in the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁵ Whatever the link may have been, chroniclers such as Luís de Sousa firmly believed that the Dominican nunnery in Santarém owed its origin to these women. Moreover, it was believed that the person who had inspired the anchoresses to form into some sort of community and seek the Dominican habit was Giles of Santarém.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Rosário, "De Santarém, pelo tempo de Santo António", pp.84-5.

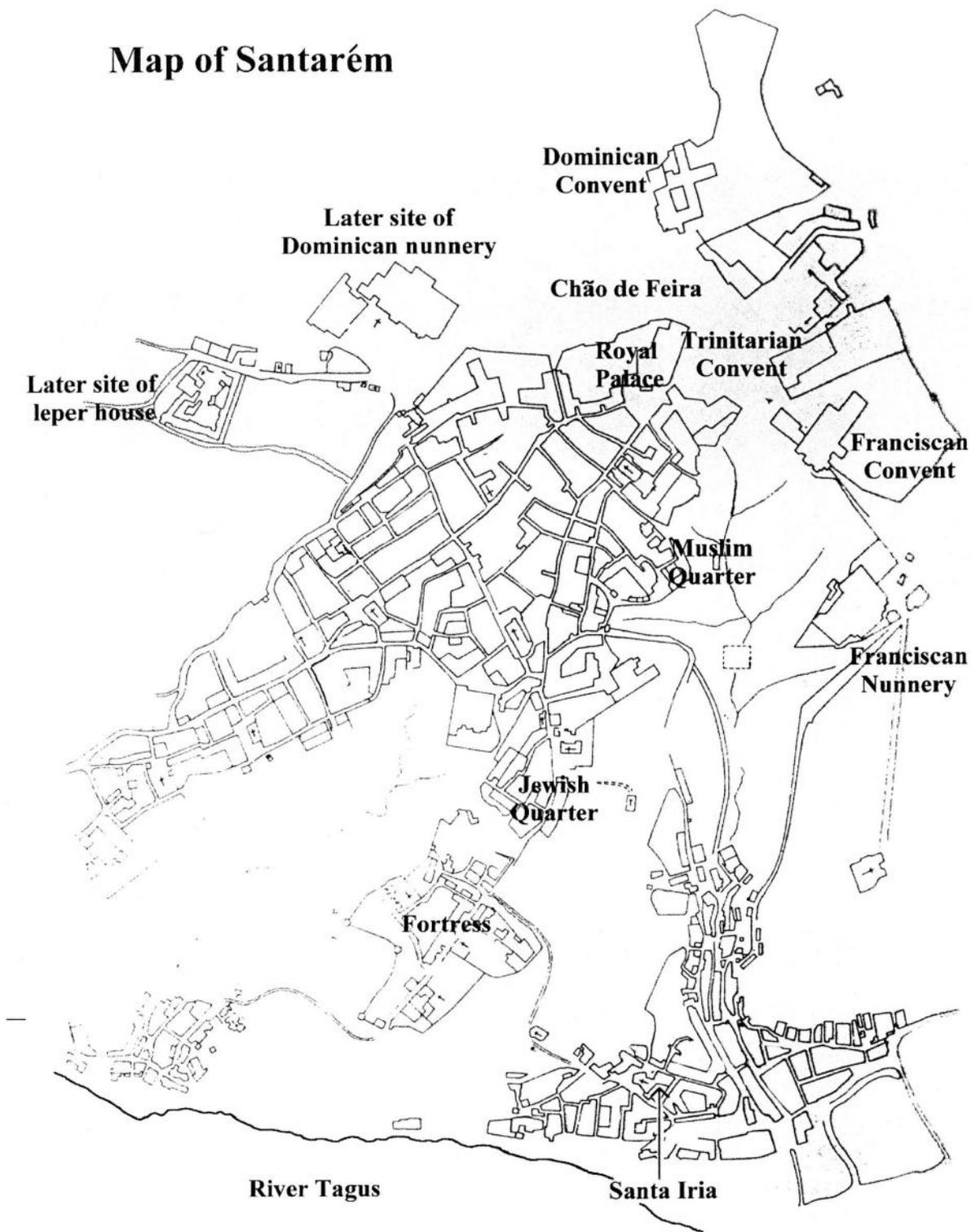
¹⁰³ See above, Chapter Two, p.67.

¹⁰⁴ Linehan, *Ladies of Zamora*, p.16. The situation of the nuns at Santarém can be compared with the problems those at Zamora faced a decade or so later.

¹⁰⁵ Beirante, *Santarém Medieval*, p.148, note 1.

¹⁰⁶ Sousa, *Domingos*, I, p.540; Vasconcellos, *Santarém edificada*, I, pp.195-9.

Map of Santarém



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The root of this belief can be found in all the early-modern sources. One day when Giles was sitting in church in a state of ecstasy, enveloped by a column of crystal light, he was seen by a pious woman, Elvira Duranda or Durandes. She was so inspired by his holiness that she shut herself up in a cell near the church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, that is the Trinitarian convent. In São João's rather less elegant version, Elvira thought Giles was on fire and ran off to alert the friars.¹⁰⁷ It is Sousa who first stated that this woman formed a community under Giles' direction. Vasconcellos, although he gave no source, dated the vision Elvira saw to 1246, which is significantly only four years after the Franciscans came to Santarém.¹⁰⁸ Certainly the location of Elvira's cell fits the scene of the later dispute.

It is probable that this vision is part of an extremely old tradition. When improvements were made to Giles' tomb and chapel in 1625, four painted panels were found depicting scenes from Giles' life: the vision of a knight which caused him to convert, his entry into the order, Giles praying before the Virgin Mary, and lastly a vision seen by someone the anonymous author of the Évora manuscript named as Elvira Pay.¹⁰⁹ There is no way of knowing how old these panels were but they are material evidence that an important vision took place involving a woman called Elvira. Out of all the miracles and visions associated with Giles this was the one chosen for his chapel. It may be significant that the only woman named in the document of 1261 was an Elvira Esteves who lived in one of the disputed cells.¹¹⁰

If Giles was responsible for organizing the *emparedadas*, then why was he not there to look after them in 1261? According to tradition Giles would have been the Prior Provincial absolved at Barcelona that year and therefore recently active in the politics of the province. This second term of office has been shown to be

¹⁰⁷ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.263-4; *Vida*, p.176. The versions of António de S. Domingos, *Compendio*, p.115, and Jorge Cardoso, *Agiologio Lusitano*, p.245, differ somewhat. They describe a vision a woman, named by Cardoso as Elvira Paes, had of Giles after his death.

¹⁰⁸ Vasconcellos, *Santarém edificada*, I, p.195.

¹⁰⁹ BPE, ms. CV/2-5, fol.227.

¹¹⁰ Rosário, "Santarém, pelo tempo de Santo António," p.86.

improbable.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, even if Giles was simply living in retirement in Santarém, it is odd that he did not get involved. The arbitration was apparently a defeat for the Dominicans. They were told what to do by a Franciscan commission and were forbidden from helping any of the women who refused to comply with the decision. One of the problems may have been a lack of high-level Dominican representation. The most senior official present was their Visitor, the prior of Palencia. It was his responsibility to sort out scandal of this sort but, considering the interest of the king and court and the Franciscan Minister of Santiago, it seems very strange that the Provincial Prior was not involved. Why was a new one not elected by November, five months after the General Chapter at Barcelona which had seen the absolution of the previous Spanish prior? Even if there had been a delay, it seems strange that a future Prior Provincial was not appointed to discipline his friars or guarantee the agreement.

It is very difficult to solve this problem. Was Giles too old to get involved? Was he already dead, as those historians critical of the *obit* in the *Livro das Kalendas* might assume?¹¹² Presumably the women's continued campaign did have the support of at least some of the friars, bearing in mind their eventual success. It is possible that for some Dominicans the support they had originally given had had an ulterior motive. Humbert stated in his letter that his friars were concerned about the continued expansion of the Franciscans towards their own territory. Supporting the women inbetween was an effective buffer. The Franciscans, for their own part, were concerned less by the women than by their habit. In their eyes, the Dominicans were encroaching on *their* territory. The commission seems to have recognized that territorial ambition was the crux of the matter and made plans to build a wall between the two convents once the women had moved or died. The status of the women was not an issue, as Humbert knew. Is it possible that Giles was deliberately excluded from the arbitration because he would have argued for the women and upset Dominican policy?

Some insight may be gained by a closer look at the General Chapter of Barcelona in June 1261. Humbert had heard there all about the situation in Santarém

¹¹¹ See above, pp.190-1.

¹¹² See above, Chapter Four, p.132.

and it is obvious he wanted to settle what he called the “accursed scandal” (*scandalum maledictum*) as quickly as possible.¹¹³ Maintaining friendship and goodwill with the Franciscans had been a major policy of Humbert’s since the troubles of the mid-1250s and so he would probably have been prepared to go to great lengths to resolve the dispute for that reason alone. This explains his acceptance of a Franciscan commission and his lack of support for the women. Humbert also showed himself at Barcelona to be deeply dissatisfied with the morality and general conduct of his brethren. He complained in the Encyclical Letter sent out from the Chapter that, despite constant correction, friars were still guilty of pride in their buildings, ornament on their clothing, curiosity in works, excessive socializing, too great a familiarity with others, and causing discord: “which things scandalize the world in no small way” (*quae mundum non mediocriter scandalizant*).¹¹⁴ The scandal caused by buildings was an issue from the moment Humbert saw the excessive height of the new dormitory of the Barcelona convent.¹¹⁵ Although it is not mentioned in the *Acta*, the row about the houses of the nuns in Santarém was surely discussed in Barcelona in this same context.

It has already been noted that the Prior Provincial of *Hispania* was absolved at Barcelona. Did he resign or was he removed? It may be that the reason why no new Prior had been elected was because the Provincial Chapter immediately following the General Chapter was unprepared for this situation.¹¹⁶ If he was removed, perhaps because of the troubles at Santarém and other unrecorded issues, then there would surely have been an atmosphere of unease in the province. Humbert had already ordered the former prior of Barcelona and the current advisors to the building project to fast on bread and water for thirteen days as punishment for their lofty dormitory. Considering Barcelona was hosting up to a hundred extra friars for the two chapters, this would hardly have gone down well with the convent. There may well have been friars at Santarém who opposed the policies of Humbert of Romans. If one of these was Giles this would explain his absence from the arbitration. It may have meant the

¹¹³ Rosário, “Santarém, pelo tempo de Santo António”, p.85.

¹¹⁴ Humbert, *Opera*, II, pp.519-20.

¹¹⁵ Reichert, *Generalium*, p.111.

¹¹⁶ It was the rule that the Provincial Chapter of the province in which the General Chapter was taking place should itself take place immediately afterwards. See Galbraith, *Constitution*, p.91.

end of a life-long friendship between Giles and Humbert. This is perhaps a rather far-fetched “conspiracy theory” but, considering the poor survival of Dominican records for this period, it is difficult to find another explanation for Giles’ and the Provincial Prior’s absence in 1261.

If there is one thing the arbitration of 1261 does show it is the significance of the Mendicants in Santarém in 1261. They appear to have had the freedom to preach in the town’s twenty churches, including their own. They dominated an expanding section of town in which Afonso III also chose to build. The dispute over territory occurred right on the king’s doorstep and its settlement effectively involved the royal court. Afonso may even have initiated the arbitration. He certainly made sure the whole business was resolved as quickly as possible by swapping a member of the commission for someone likely to arrive in Santarém sooner.¹¹⁷ Afonso’s son, king Dinis, also intervened in a later dispute between the Trinitarians and the Franciscans in 1282. This time the Franciscans had built a porch from which to preach far too close to the Trinitarian convent and the king eventually destroyed it after the Franciscans ignored his orders.¹¹⁸ The Portuguese kings saw that it was important to maintain religious peace in the town in which they spent much of their time.

* * *

A seventeenth-century historian, Rodrigo da Cunha, explained why Santarém was visited by kings.¹¹⁹ It had four sets of relics to offer to the pious: the tomb of Giles of Santarém, a cloak of St Dominic reportedly given to Giles by Jordan of Saxony at a General Chapter in Bologna,¹²⁰ a fragment of a communion wafer which began bleeding miraculously in 1266, and the tombs of two children who claimed to have shared their meal with the Christ child at around the same time. These last two

¹¹⁷ Rosário, “Santarém, pelo tempo de Santo António”, p.83. Domingos de Braga, the Franciscan Minister of Castile, was originally chosen but was changed for Martim Mendes, *lector* of Lisbon, at the last moment. Domingos de Braga is probably the same Franciscan who was present at the oath sworn by the future king Afonso in Paris in 1245. See above, p.198.

¹¹⁸ Beirante, *Santarém medieval*, p.122.

¹¹⁹ *Historia ecclesiastica da Igreja de Lisboa. Vida, e acçoens de seus prelados, & varoes eminentes em santidade, que nella florecerão* (Lisbon, 1642), p.127.

¹²⁰ If this happened, then it was probably in 1235.

Corpus Christi miracles are closely related to Giles in the sources, and not just because they occurred chronologically shortly after his death.¹²¹ Giles is associated in the minds of early-modern writers with the spiritual growth of Santarém. Giles as *lector* and Prior Provincial saw many events and crises crucial to the development of medieval Portugal, but not least of these was the rise of Santarém as an urban and religious centre. It is unfortunate that there is not more evidence concerning his involvement in the establishment of the Dominican nunnery in Santarém. There is no doubt that Giles' political role, as opposed to the spiritual, has been greatly exaggerated, and has been shown that he was probably not the friar who confronted Sancho II in 1245. However, in as much as Innocent IV ordered all friars to disseminate the decretal *Grandi*, it is very likely that Giles was involved in political issues at some level. What is clear is that Giles achieved a prominence in the sources far in excess of the normal rewards of a hard-working Provincial Prior. It has been suggested that it was Giles' medical career which allowed him to pass into legend. The next task is to find out what role the Dominican order played in the formation of Giles' medical reputation.

¹²¹ For the miracle of the bleeding wafer see Brandão, *Crónicas de D. Sancho II e D. Afonso III*, pp.263-4. For the two children see Sousa, *Domingos*, I, pp.249-57. The mentor of the two holy children was a Bernard of Morlans, a Frenchman believed to have been converted by Giles. It is possible that he somehow become merged with the young nobleman encountered near Poitiers in the *Vitae fratrum*. See above, Chapter Two, pp.73-4. The cults of the bleeding wafer and the two children were revitalized in the sixteenth century like that of Giles. See S. Frei Gil de Santarém, pp.80-85. It is useful to refer to M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1992), in order to understand the context of miracles such as these.

CHAPTER SEVEN

“CHRIST MORE POWERFUL THAN GALEN”:

THE DOMINICAN ORDER AND MEDICINE

There are three things which make this scientia of medicine worthwhile; firstly, there is knowledge of the nature of the body, for it teaches how miserable and frail is the human body; secondly, there is the work of mercy, for many works of mercy can be done for the sick who lie under great misery; thirdly, there is the spiritual medicine of the soul, for through the art of the scientia of medicine much instruction can be had concerning spiritual medicine.¹

After tracing the career of Giles of Santarém as a friar, it is necessary to turn to his career as a physician. Did Giles' decision to join a religious order have any effect on his medical career? What factors might have led to his decision? Was there a relationship between his spiritual vocation and his medical profession? To approach these questions it is essential to study the attitude of the Dominican order towards medicine: were friars allowed to study and practise medicine? What were the views of the order concerning illness and disease? What kind of care did sick friars receive? Using a wide variety of Dominican legislative and narrative sources, it is possible to give a picture of medicine in the order. It will become clear that the Dominican texts reveal an ambiguous attitude towards medicine which was shared by other religious sources of the period. As a recent historian of this subject has pointed out, the relationship between medicine and religion in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries could be convergent, competitive or divergent depending on the context.² The career of Giles of Santarém provides an invaluable illustration of the complexity and ambiguity involved in any study of medicine and religion in this period.

The value of Giles of Santarém in this debate centres on his words in the *Vitae fratrum*. Humbert of Romans reported that

He encouraged the sick, although he himself was often sick, with his consoling advice, warning that they should not treat themselves with medicines, but with faith in Christ they should

¹ Humbert of Romans, *Sermones ad diversos status* (Hagenau, 1507), no.66, *ad studentes in medicina*, fols.23-23v: *Sunt enim tria valde utilia ad que valet ista scientia medicine. Primum est cognitio sue nature corporee. ipsa enim est que docet quam misera, quam fragilis sit natura corporis humani. Secundum est opus misericordia. Per ipsam enim possunt fieri multa opera misericordie circa infirmos qui subiacent magne miserie. Tertium est medicina spiritualis animarum. Per artem enim scientie medicinalis multa habetur instructio circa medicinam spiritualem.* This sermon is transcribed in J. Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion, c.1300: the Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford, 1998), Appendix III, pp.314-5.

² Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, pp.4-10.

joyfully accept what was served them and it would benefit them greatly, because grace is stronger than nature, and Christ more powerful than Galen.³

As will be shown, this subordination of Galenic medicine and the preference for divine healing was not unusual in religious writings of the time and can be found elsewhere in Dominican sources. What is striking about this advice is that in the same passage of the *Vitae fratrum*, Humbert of Romans drew attention to Giles' former profession. It was seen as important that he had been a physician. It is evident that a closer look at medical references in the *Vitae fratrum* should throw light on Giles' advice. It quickly will be evident that he was not the only former physician in the order. It is also necessary to look at the works of Humbert of Romans; the way he presented Giles' words and deeds was clearly important. Humbert also had a great influence on the Dominican order in general in the mid-thirteenth century. It is equally important to set the order in the context of the medieval church. Historians generally recognize that the church was not as disapproving of medical practice by the clergy as was once thought.⁴ It is also accepted that monastic regulations usually provided for the health needs of monks.⁵ Increasingly, historians are interested in the use of medical imagery in religious writings and its relationship with medical practice.⁶ Neither of the main Mendicant orders have been studied thoroughly to see how they fit into this picture.⁷ The career of Giles of Santarém can therefore be used as an introduction to Dominican perceptions of medicine and sickness on both an individual and an institutional level.

The concept of *Christus medicus*, Christ the Physician and Healer, appears to lie at the heart of the comparison reportedly made by Giles between Christ and Galen, the representative of earthly medicine. The sick were advised to accept their illness gladly and to await divine grace for its outcome. Christ was stronger than nature and

³ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.155: *Infirmos autem ipse infirmus multum suis consolationibus recreabat, monens ut non curarent de medicinalibus sed in fide Christi que apponerentur letanter acciperent et optime proficeret illis, quia plus poterat gratia quam natura, Christus quam Galienus.*

⁴ The standard study is D.W. Amundsen, "Medieval Canon Law on Medical and Surgical Practice by the Clergy", *BHM* 52 (1978), 22-43.

⁵ See below, pp.216 and 227.

⁶ Most influential here has been Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*.

⁷ Angela Montford at the University of St Andrews is currently working on a PhD. thesis entitled "Sickness, Medicine and the Friars, c. 1220-1400", which looks at the attitudes and medical practice of both the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

more powerful than Galen because Christ could not only heal against the laws of nature, that is miraculously, but could also cause illnesses to be “served up” (*apponerentur*) in the first place. Belief in the healing powers of Christ and the use of medical imagery can be traced back to the earliest years of Christian history and the reaction of the church to pagan medical authorities, of whom Galen was one, and powerful healing cults such as that of Aesculapius. The church gradually took on the role of the healing cults and borrowed the Old Testament and classical understanding of the interdependence of body and soul and the tradition of using medical imagery in religious discourse. The use of pagan works by Christians was justified with various arguments, and pagan knowledge was slowly made palatable; by the ninth and tenth centuries there had even been attempts to christianize Galen.⁸

In spite, or perhaps because, of this movement towards the incorporation of pagan medical knowledge, ascetic Christian thought insisted on the rejection of earthly healing in favour of the divine. An example of this can be found in the work of the leading twelfth-century Cistercian, Bernard of Clairvaux (d.1153). In one of his letters he wrote that despite living in an unhealthy place, a particular group of monks ought not to take medicines or consult doctors.⁹ Ziegler argues that this form of self denial was practised by only a minority group in the church and had limited impact on mainstream thought.¹⁰ However, the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux on the medieval church was so great that his views on medical intervention surely had wider impact. The ascetic lifestyle of the Cistercians and the manner in which they withdrew from the world was greatly admired. There is some evidence that Bernard of Clairvaux was particularly well-regarded by the early Dominicans. He was one of the few recent saints included in the *Legenda aurea* of the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine, and Humbert of Romans added him to the liturgical calendar he drew up as Master General in the 1250s.¹¹

⁸ See R. Arbesmann, “The Concept of *Christus Medicus* in St Augustine”, *Traditio* 10 (1954), 1-28; Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, pp.215-7; V. Nutton, “God, Galen and the Depaganization of Ancient Medicine”, Annual Quodlibet Lecture, University of York, 21 May 1999, forthcoming in *York Studies in Medieval Theology*.

⁹ *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. B.S. James (London, 1953), no.388, pp.458-9.

¹⁰ Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, p.219.

¹¹ Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p.88. Humbert also recommended works by Bernard as required reading for novices. See Humbert, *Opera*, II, p.230, and Mulchahey, “*First the Bow is Bent in Study....*”, p.110.

The Dominicans also used *exempla* in their preaching manuals which had previously appeared in Cistercian collections. One such story is found in both the *Exordium magnum cisterciense* of the Cistercian Conrad of Eberbach, compiled in around 1220, and the *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* of the Dominican Stephen of Bourbon, from around 1240.¹² This was a tale of a monk or friar who was refused a dose of a divine healing electuary by the Virgin Mary because he lived according to a medical regimen rather than eating the poor diet of the brothers: “because you follow your medicine, you will not have mine”. Both writers used this story to argue that medicines were unsuitable for religious. Furthermore, they were ineffective. In both cases the suitably chastened brother recovered the health he had long sought by medical means as soon as he ate the poor food he was supposed to eat.

What does this story reveal about Dominican attitudes towards medicine? Is this negative view of Stephen of Bourbon particularly Dominican, considering that it can also be found in a Cistercian milieu? This is a difficult issue to resolve. Is there an identifiable Dominican view of medicine at all? It may be significant that the only words so far found which closely resemble those of Giles of Santarém also come from the *Exordium magnum* of Conrad of Eberbach. The writer exhorted those brothers who followed the schools of Hippocrates more than those of Christ and who spent all their time preparing herbs that, “it is better to trust in the Lord than in Galen, to hope more in the Queen of Heaven than in the herbs of the earth”.¹³ Mention of Galen at all in western medieval religious writing would appear to be extremely rare. It is not known whether there was a link between Giles’ words in the *Vitae fratrum* and those in the *Exordium magnum*, but it should be recognized that these are not dissimilar sources. Both are collections of edifying stories placed within the historical context of the orders’ growth and development and are concerned with a wide variety of monks or friars with different views of their vocation. It is worth considering Giles of Santarém’s views as just one way of looking at medicine which could be shared by

¹² Stephen of Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877), ch.397, pp.349-50; Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium magnum cisterciense sive narratio de initio cisterciensis ordinis*, ed. B. Griesser, CCCM 138 (Turnhout, 1997), p.207.

¹³ *Exordium magnum*, p.207.

other pious men regardless of their religious affiliation. This does not help to explain, however, why a former physician would express these views.

It is well-known that certain church councils, most famously the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, prohibited the practice and study of medicine by regular and sometimes secular clergy, especially those in major orders. Although Amundsen showed that the main concern of these councils was with clerical morality and discipline rather than with medicine itself, it is clear that there was papal disapproval of the way in which medicine (and civil law) drew the clergy from their cloisters and benefices, diverted able scholars from theology, and endangered their souls.¹⁴ The conciliar decrees did not affect those in minor orders and it appears that those intending to ascend the ecclesiastical career ladder were able to apply for dispensation without difficulty.¹⁵ However, there was a gradual decline in regular clergy embarking on medical studies, which may have been a result of the prohibitions.¹⁶

How did this legislation affect the Dominican Order? It is necessary to remember that part of the initial impact of the Mendicant friars came from the fact that they were very different from traditional regular or secular clergy. Dominican friars were not tied to cloisters and therefore extended study away from the convent did not undermine a vow of stability as it did with the monks.¹⁷ Travelling away for the purposes of study was indeed an essential component of the Dominican model. The well-known preference of the Dominicans for towns and universities and the importance attached to preaching and hearing confession, also brought them into greater contact with worldly matters. Finally, the mendicant nature of the order meant that, at least in theory, and probably in practice as well in the early years, the fear of greed and corruption expressed in the conciliar decrees was not immediately

¹⁴ Amundsen, "Medieval Canon Law", p.40.

¹⁵ O'Boyle, *Art of Medicine*, pp.50-52, gives examples of clerics who received dispensation. See below, p.238, for the career of Teodorico Borgognoni (d. 1298), who apparently obtained papal permission to remain in practice after joining the Dominican order.

¹⁶ Amundsen, "Medieval Canon Law", p.39; Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, pp.6-7; There were also important factors such as the increasing number of university trained secular physicians.

¹⁷ The Franciscans were initially far more cautious about intellectual pursuits. See above, Chapter Two, p.65.

an issue. Some of the specific problems medical study represented to other types of clergy were therefore not a worry, at least initially, to the Dominicans.¹⁸

On the other hand, the concerns that friars would neglect theology, and that medical practice by friars might be unsuitable were shared with other sections of the church. Mulchahey argues that the Dominicans saw themselves as bound by legislation aimed at regular clergy. Officially they were regular canons who consciously imitated the customs of other orders, particularly the Premonstratensians. The bans which, it will be seen, the Dominican Constitutions made against study of the “books of the gentiles” and secular knowledge, could be interpreted as an effort to obey papal injunctions.¹⁹ However, if it can now be accepted that papal and conciliar bans were less negative than was once thought and could be ignored or negotiated, then it is possible that Dominican legislation on the subject of medical practice conceals a similar flexibility.

Medicine in Dominican Legislation

In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council decreed that all new religious orders had to adopt an existing rule before they could gain recognition. In accordance with this Dominic chose the Rule of St Augustine for his new order. This was an obvious choice as he himself already lived under this rule as a canon of Osma cathedral in Castile. It was, moreover, an extremely flexible rule which Dominic could easily adapt to his purposes. It simply demanded that a community live together under a prior, wear the same habit, and follow simple and moderate guidelines.²⁰

¹⁸ Later, General Chapters were forced to warn those who spent too long at the schools and issue admonitions against the carrying of money and receiving financial rewards. For example, the General Chapter of 1259 at Valenciennes ordered brothers who spent too long away to be punished severely: Reichert, *Generalium*, p.99.

¹⁹ Mulchahey, “*First the Bow is bent in study ...*”, pp.55-8. The most influential ban could have been the bull *Super speculam* of Honorius III in 1219 which threatened to excommunicate regular and secular clergy studying law or medicine who failed to return home in three months. Only theological study was to be permitted. When the Dominicans drew up their first constitutions in 1220 they would probably have been aware of this ban.

²⁰ For a Latin edition of the Rule of St Augustine and a discussion of some of the thorny problems associated with it, see G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* (Oxford, 1987). A useful modern interpretation is *The Rule of St. Augustine*, trans. R. Canning with commentary by T.J. van Bavel (London/Kalamazoo/Spencer, 1996), pp.11-24. For Dominic’s adoption of the Rule, see Galbraith, *Constitution*, pp.33-4. Dominic’s earlier life as a cathedral canon is studied by M.-H. Vicaire, “Saint Dominique chanoine d’Osma”, *AFP* 63 (1993), 5-41.

It has already been suggested that the Rule of St Augustine may have inspired the concern for the sick revealed by other Augustinian communities, for example, Santa Cruz de Coimbra, and the English houses of Regular Canons.²¹ It may be significant that this was also the Rule followed by the Knights Hospitallers, founded to provide for the needs in sickness and in health of pilgrims to the Holy Land.²² The Rule of St Augustine gives explicit instructions that the sick are to be cared for on the grounds that without suitable food the illness will worsen. Medical advice should be taken if necessary and a member of the community should be assigned to the care of the sick and the convalescent. Interestingly, the dispensations granted to the sick in the Rule are closely related to the allowances made to those from wealthy and comfortable backgrounds who are unable to cope with the strict ideals of simplicity and poverty. Neither the sick nor the highborn had the physical strength to enjoy the “simple life” which was the goal of all religious. The needs of the sick and the weak were recognized and treated so that the individual could be brought back to happiness.²³

The Rule of St Augustine was basically a collection of moral precepts offering little advice on how communities were to organize themselves. The result was that all Augustinian orders were forced to borrow from the Customs or Statutes of other orders. Dominic chose the model of the Premonstratensians, an order of Augustinian canons founded by Norbert of Xanten in c.1120, whose firmly established Customs were themselves related to the Cistercian model. The Constitutions of the Dominican Order, largely formulated in the General Chapters of 1220, 1221 and 1228, were closely based on the Premonstratensian Customs. It is necessary to turn to the Dominican Constitutions, particularly the body of legislation enacted in 1228 and the codification of it carried out by Ramon de Penhafort in 1241, in order to gain insight into the legal and customary environment which Giles of Santarém would have recognized.²⁴

²¹ See above, Chapter Five, pp.173-74.

²² See I. Sterns, “Care of the Sick Brothers by the Crusader Orders in the Holy Land”, *BHM*, 57 (1983), 43-69, for a useful comparison of the care provided to the sick in different religious orders including the Hospitallers, Templars, Dominicans and Cistercians.

²³ Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, pp.81-97.

²⁴ The ancestry of the Dominican Constitutions is analyzed by Galbraith, *Constitution*, chapter one. The editions of the Constitutions used are H. Denifle, “Die Constitutionen des Prediger-Ordens vom

There is some information on the health and sickness of friars in the short and very similar chapters entitled *De infirmis* in both the redactions of 1228 and 1241 of the Constitutions. Superiors were reminded not to neglect the sick *sicut dicit pater noster Augustinus*. The sick were allowed to eat meat depending on the severity of their illness and the opinion of the superior. However, they were not allowed to lie on mattresses, to break fasts, or to alter meals unless their condition necessitated it. Great debilitation, disturbed appetite, swelling, and cut limbs (*incisio membrorum*), which might be a reference to surgery, were suitable grounds for dispensation. Under no conditions was linen allowed next to the skin.²⁵ The few differences between the redactions of 1228 and 1241 were largely the result of the *Generalissimus* Chapter of 1236 in Paris. The friars were reminded of the ban on linen and all linen items were to be removed from *infirmatoriis nostris*. The chapter also insisted that there should be two places for the sick to eat; those eating meat were to be kept separate from the other sick friars. In a similar vein, strangers were not allowed to eat in the *infirmaria fratrum* and friars taken sick in a place where there was no convent were not to eat meat out of doors. The chapter went on to note that the rule of silence could be relaxed for the bedridden.²⁶

One aspect of the Dominican Constitutions concerning health requires special mention. This is the issue of bloodletting. Both early redactions of the Constitutions include identical chapters entitled *De minutione*. The whole community was to undergo therapeutic bloodletting four times a year: in September, after Christmas, after Easter, and around the feast of John the Baptist in June.²⁷ No friar was to draw blood himself without the permission of the prior. The bloodlet friars ate separately

Jahre 1228", *Archiv für Literatur-und Kirchen-Geschichte des Mittelalters* 1 (1885), 165-227, and *idem*, "Die Constitutionen des Predigerordens in der Redaction Raimunds von Peñafort", *ibid.* 5 (1889), 530-64. The Premonstratensian Customs can be found in *Les Statuts de Prémontré au milieu du XII^e. siècle: introduction, texte et tables*, eds. F. Lefèvre and W.M. Grauwen (Averbode, 1978).

²⁵ Denifle, "Constitutionen (1228)", p.200; *Idem*, "Constitutionen (Peñafort)", p.539. The grounds for dispensation were lifted almost word for word from the Premonstratensian Customs: *Statuts de Prémontré*, p.19, and derived ultimately from the Cistercians. See Stern, "Care of Sick Brothers", p.65.

²⁶ Reichert, *Generalium*, pp.6-10.

²⁷ Why these dates? Is it simply because they ensured even coverage of the four seasons? The *Regimen Salernitatis* suggested April, May and September as suitable bloodletting months. See *The School of Salerno, Regimen Sanitatis Salerni, The English Version*, ed. J. Harington (Rome, 1953), p.84. The Premonstratensians, *Statuts de Prémontré*, p.20 (critical apparatus), decreed the months February, April or May, and September.

so that they could be watched, but it was not an excuse to eat meat.²⁸ This last stipulation plainly indicates that the bloodlet were not considered sick in any way. Bloodletting was a crucial part of the medieval regimen of health and a normal part of the monastic way of life. The Dominicans were similar in this respect to other religious orders for which written and archaeological evidence attests to the practice of bloodletting.²⁹ It is uncertain from the Dominican Constitutions as to who carried out the bloodletting; was it the infirmarian or the person responsible for carrying out the regulated communal shave fifteen times a year?³⁰ Was this barber or barber-surgeon a member of the convent? So normal a procedure must bloodletting have been that other Dominican writings have little or nothing to say about the practice.

Apart from the aforementioned decrees issued by the *Generalissimus* Chapter of 1236, there is little extra information on healthcare and medicine to be gleaned from the *Acta* of General Chapters. In 1239 at Paris a procedure was proposed for dealing with visiting friars who fell ill.³¹ The original Constitutions had banned the use of fur in clothing or coverings; in the General Chapter of 1246 at Paris it was proposed that fur should be allowed in infirmaries and this made its way into later versions of the Constitutions.³² In 1249 at Trèves it was reiterated that meat was to be allowed in infirmaries.³³ In 1245 at Cologne and at the two subsequent Chapters,

²⁸ Denifle, "Constitutionen (1228)", pp.200-1; *Idem*, "Constitutionen (Peñaafort)", p.540. The General Chapter of 1260 reminded the order that guests and the bloodlet were not to receive meals with meat in them in the *domum hospitum*. See Reichert, *Generalium*, p.104.

²⁹ See *The Second Report on Researches into the Medieval Hospital at Soutra*, ed. B. Moffat (Edinburgh, 1988), pp.14-31. For the Benedictine practice of bloodletting at Westminster in the later Middle Ages, see B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: the Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), pp.96-9, and for the Crusader orders, see Stern, "Care of Sick Brothers", pp.61-2.

³⁰ Denifle, "Constitutionen (1228)", p.205; *Idem*, "Constitutionen (Peñaafort)", p.541.

³¹ Reichert, *Generalium*, p.12. The sick friars were allowed to eat meat if necessary in the host convent. Travelling, however, was not reason in itself to break the Rule. It was decided in 1240 that changes to the Constitutions had to be approved by three consecutive Chapters; consequently a decree usually appeared in several Chapters. This particular one concerning sick guests also featured in the Chapter of 1240 (*ibid.*, p.16) but not in any subsequent one. Presumably, therefore, it was not ultimately passed.

³² *Ibid.*, p.35. This decree was not repeated until 1249 and 1250 (*ibid.*, pp.44 and 49) and was then abandoned again. This does not suggest an easy passage but according to Denifle, "Constitutionen (Peñaafort)", p.540, note one, it went into the Constitutions in 1249. It is interesting that Humbert of Romans advised that animal skins and feathers should be kept for the comfort of the sick. See below, p.229.

³³ Reichert, *Generalium*, p.44. Also 1250 and 1251, *ibid.*, pp.49 and 55.

important legislation was passed concerning the position of leprous brothers in convents.³⁴ It was proposed that they should be segregated from the other friars, preferably within their own convent, but that if it lacked facilities for this they should be moved to a more suitable convent by the Prior Provincial. The implication is that leprous brothers were cared for by their community and not shunned. Leprosy was obviously considered a serious problem for when passed this ruling found its way into the chapter on the sick in the Constitutions and in 1269 further regulation of the enclosure and segregation of leprous brothers was instituted.³⁵

Turning now to the Provincial Chapters of the Dominican Order in this period, considerably more information can be uncovered. The richest sources are the *Acta* of the Provincial Chapters of Rome and Provence but the surviving records for the province of *Hispania* are also interesting. The medical references in these *Acta* can be roughly divided into three groups: exhortations to priors that they should care for sick friars, warnings about the taking of foods and medicines, and regulation of access to medical practitioners, whether lay or Dominican. The constant reminders that the sick of the convent must be cared for properly³⁶ are something of a contrast with persistent complaints that friars were eating meat and taking medicines when they were healthy or without the prior's permission.³⁷ Electuaries, syrups, and laxative medicines were all compound medicines which were only to be given if it was absolutely necessary.³⁸ The rules concerning *medici* and *phisici* are the most interesting of these provincial *Acta*. At Toulouse in 1249 it was decreed that each house could only consult one physician each, whether a friar or a lay practitioner.³⁹

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.31, 34, and 38.

³⁵ Denifle, "Constitutionen (Peñafort)", pp.539-40. With this addition the chapter *De infirmis* was complete. The mid-fourteenth century version of the Constitutions published by Galbraith, *Constitution*, pp.203-53, although different in many other respects, deals with the sick in an identical manner to that of a hundred years before. For the decree of the Chapter of 1269, see Reichert, *Generalium*, p.148.

³⁶ Douais, *Provincialium*, I, p.43 (Le Puy, 1251), pp.464-5 (Agen, 1301); Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.491 (Rome, 1246), p.511 (Viterbo, 1258), p.534 (Rome, 1273), p.542 (Naples, 1278), p.578 (Anagni, 1293), p.593 (Pistoia, 1299).

³⁷ Douais, *Provincialium*, I, p.178 (Cahors, 1273), p.299 (Bergerac, 1286), p.319 (Avignon, 1288); Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.495 (Perugia, 1249), p.500 (Anagni, 1252), p.504 (Florence, 1254), p.506 (Naples, 1255), p.545 (Salerno, 1279), p.557 (Aquila, 1284), p.616 (Palencia, 1256).

³⁸ Douais, *Provincialium*, I, p.34 (Toulouse, 1249), p.61 (Toulouse, 1254); Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.493 (Rome, 1248).

³⁹ Douais, *Provincialium*, I, p.34.

All practitioners active in the convent, whether lay or Dominican, had to be licensed by the prior.⁴⁰ According to the chapter at Orvieto in 1275, convent *lectores* were not to read *libros phisicos* in their classes.⁴¹ Several chapters banned the treatment of lay patients in the convent infirmary.⁴²

Others chapters went further and banned all treatment of the laity by friar-physicians. It may be significant that the earliest of these admonitions came from the Spanish Chapter held at Palencia in 1249:

Henceforth, friar-physicians in our province must not receive any sick person in their care, other than our brothers, nor inspect urines, nor give out any medicine.⁴³

This warning is very similar to one from the General Chapter at Metz in 1251:

Our friar-physicians must not take up the care of sick persons other than our brothers, and lay brothers (*conversi*) of our order must nowhere enter into the judging of pulses and urines.⁴⁴

Finally, almost the same words are found in the *Acta* of the Roman Provincial Chapter at Naples in 1278:

We warn that brothers should not be admitted to the cure of the illnesses of the laity, neither should they view urines nor make medicines, because this is frequently to the confusion and loss of the order.⁴⁵

How should these three references be understood? Should the warning against treating non-friars be taken as evidence that some brothers were regularly doing just that? Why might the ban have originated in *Hispania*? There was no precedent for it in the surviving *Acta* of the province, unless a tantalizing reference to *fratres medici* in the *Acta* of the Chapter at Burgos once said much the same thing.⁴⁶ Why had the General Chapter of 1251 made universal an apparently local Spanish ban which then

⁴⁰ Douais, *Provincialium*, I, p.178 (Cahors, 1273). This chapter included the exercise of both medicine and surgery. Also *Ibid.*, p.223 (Montpellier, 1278).

⁴¹ Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.537.

⁴² Douais, *Provincialium*, I, p.77 (Montpellier, 1259), p.83 (Béziers, 1261), p.92 (Narbonne, 1262).

⁴³ Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.610: *fratres phisici in nostra provincia de cetero praeter fratres nostros non recipiant infirmum aliquem in curam, nec respiciant urinas, nec dent aliquam medicinam.*

⁴⁴ Reichert, *Generalium*, p.58: *Quod fratres nostri medici, curam aliorum infirmorum quam fratrum nostrorum non suscipiant, et quod fratres conversi ordinis nostri, de iudicandis pulsibus et urinis se nullatenus intromittant.*

⁴⁵ Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.543: *Monemus quod fratres non intromittant se de curis egritudinum secularium, nec videant urinas, nec medicinas faciant, quia hoc est frequenter in turbationem ordinis et iacturam.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.607. Only the barest outline of this Chapter survives.

took almost thirty years to appear in the Roman *Acta*? There is great temptation to see this as a peculiarly Iberian problem. 1249 was significantly only a few years after Giles of Santarém's probable resignation as Prior Provincial. Also these regulations make one think of Pedro of Santarém who, according to Giles, appears to have treated both his brethren and other sick people who sought his aid.⁴⁷ Simon Tugwell suggests that Pedro may have been the Pedro Martins of Santarém reported in the Chapter of 1250 at Toledo as having died that year.⁴⁸ This was only a year after the treatment of the laity had been banned at Palencia.

However, it is quite clear that the practice of medicine by friars and the medical treatment of friars was widespread across the Dominican provinces of *Hispania*, Provence and Rome. It is only a pity that more *Acta* have not survived so that a more thorough comparison can be made. Three essential points can be drawn in particular from the admonitions of 1249 and 1251. Firstly, there obviously were friars who were known as *medici* and *phisici* and whose practice amongst their own brethren at least appears to have been acceptable. Secondly, these friar-physicians do not appear to have been providing simple palliative care; they were inspecting urine and pulse, practices which denote diagnostic and prognostic procedures. These are normally taken as signs of formal medical training. Were the Dominican admonitions directed at university-trained physicians who had entered the order, or at friars who had learned from contact with trained physicians or from texts? Finally, do the warnings reveal a general disapproval of medical practice? As far as the treatment of the brethren was concerned, the answer was clearly no, as long as it was within reason. Acting in the secular sphere, however, was viewed quite differently. It was here that the anxieties of successive popes concerning fees, responsibility, and worldliness can be seen as influential.⁴⁹

Despite the signs of some reservations concerning medical practice by friars, there was no emphatic ban on it until 1293 when the General Chapter at Lille banned the practice of medicine by all friars *unless* they had trained as physicians before entry

⁴⁷ See above, Chapter Two, pp.77-8, and this chapter below, p.240.

⁴⁸ Personal Correspondence of February 2000. See also Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.616.

⁴⁹ See below, pp.240-1, for further discussion of these admonitions.

into the order.⁵⁰ Even if this ban had existed earlier it would not, of course, have affected Giles of Santarém as he had trained before taking the habit. All of the friars whose medical interests will be discussed in this chapter also, as far as one can tell, studied medicine as seculars. There does not appear to be any evidence that friars studied medicine at the universities after entry into the Order, although it is not impossible that they sat in on lectures.⁵¹ Does this indicate that something similar to the ban of 1293 had effect much earlier?

In the Dominican Constitutions, study of the “books of the gentiles”, philosophical works, and secular knowledge, even the Liberal Arts, was banned in no uncertain terms.⁵² From 1228 there was the possibility of dispensation for these prohibited studies, but it could only be granted by the Master General or the General Chapter; a sign of how seriously the ban was taken. It must surely have meant an implicit ban on the study of medicine, a branch of secular knowledge heavily reliant on Greek and Arabic writings. Most medical students usually also gained an Arts degree before embarking on study in the higher faculty of medicine. Mulchahey argues that this ban was related to papal legislation, particularly the bull *Super speculam* of Honorius III in 1219. Much of this legislation was concerned with medical study and therefore the Dominicans must surely have included medicine in their ban.⁵³ She emphasizes the inherent conservatism of the Dominican education system and the nervousness of the order towards Aristotle. The forbidden “books of the gentiles” were probably works of Aristotle banned at the University of Paris in 1210 and 1215.⁵⁴ The General Chapter of 1243 at Paris reiterated the ban when it warned that

⁵⁰ Reichert, *Generalium*, p.268. Was this ban related to that imposed by Celestine V the following year? He ruled that all clerics (including those in minor orders with benefices) were banned from practising medicine unless (and this is a big “get-out” clause) they were doing so for free and to help friends and relatives. See Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, p.7.

⁵¹ The ban on the use of *libros phisicos* by the *lector* in 1275 is intriguing. See above, p.220. It is unlikely that the reference was to natural philosophical works, sometimes meant by *phisica*, because the admonition continued: *et ad lectionis philosophie in quocumque loco legerint non recipiant seculares*.

⁵² Denifle, “Constitutionen (1228)”, p.222: *In libris gentilium et philosophorum non studeant ... Seculares ciencias non addiscant, nec etiam artes quas liberales vocant, nisi aliquando circa aliquos magister ordinis vel capitulum generale voluerit aliter dispensare*. See on this G.G. Meerseman, “*In libris gentilium non studeant: l’étude des classiques interdite aux clercs au moyen âge?*”, *Italia mediaevale e umanistica* 1 (1958), 1-13.

⁵³ See above, p.215.

⁵⁴ See above, Chapter Three, footnote 97.

brothers should not study the books of the philosophers. This same Chapter also joined with the University of Paris in condemning certain recent errors.⁵⁵ The apparent close association between the Dominicans and the University authorities in this period is striking, considering the conflicts of the following decade.

This view of the Dominicans and secular knowledge contrasts strongly with that held by Roger French and Andrew Cunningham in their study of the friars' natural philosophy. They emphasize the role of the Dominicans at the University of Toulouse, founded in 1229. Here the books banned at Paris were advertized as available for study and, interestingly, Aristotle was to be taught by physicians.⁵⁶ The Dominicans were responsible for teaching theology at Toulouse. According to French and Cunningham, they justified the controlled teaching of Aristotle to only the most able scholars for use in the campaign against heresy.⁵⁷ Mulchahey recognizes the increasing demand for philosophical study in the order and she discusses at length the writings of Roland of Cremona which appear to contradict the Constitutions. However, she comments that he became the first Dominican master of theology at Toulouse apparently in spite of rather than because of his views on the value of the Liberal Arts, medicine and other subjects in the teaching of theology.⁵⁸ She also argues that Roland recognized the dangers of excessive philosophical study.⁵⁹

It is probable that the true situation lay somewhere between the conservatism perceived by Mulchahey and the dynamism of French and Cunningham. None of these authors tackles the question of medicine in the Dominican Order and its relationship with the various bans on study. Many of the Dominican recruits of the 1220s and 1230s were already scholars and masters in various fields. Nearly all the Mendicant writers considered by French and Cunningham fit into this category. Rather than the friars choosing natural philosophy and other branches of learning as

⁵⁵ Reichert, *Generalium*, p.26-7. See *CUP*, I, pp.170-72, and French and Cunningham, *Before Science*, p.161, for the heretical propositions condemned by the university in 1241.

⁵⁶ French and Cunningham, *Before Science*, p.157.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.156-60.

⁵⁸ Mulchahey, "*First the Bow is Bent in Study*", pp.60-66. For Roland of Cremona, see further below, pp.236-7.

⁵⁹ Mulchahey, "*First the Bow is Bent in Study*", pp.227-8.

tools in the service of the order, they were philosophers, physicians and lawyers who chose the Dominican order and then naturally continued their studies, countering any misgivings with the argument that it was all to a higher good. Several eminent friars did have medical interests, but in most cases they appear to have been interests already developed before entry into the order. Some of these friars actively discouraged further study of secular knowledge,⁶⁰ but others tailored their knowledge to the requirements of the order and its campaign against heresy. What remains to be explained, however, is what attracted physicians to this particular religious order in the first place.

All the signs are that friars did not formally study medicine after entering the order. This makes it unlikely that Giles of Santarém could have taught medicine at the University of Paris after he had become a friar, even if he had desired to do so and his views as they stand in the *Vitae fratrum* make this doubtful. Consequently, the likelihood that Giles taught medicine to Petrus Hispanus diminishes further. It has been shown that even if the earliest date of birth (1205) proposed for Petrus is accepted, Giles would still have entered the Dominican Order by the time Petrus was ready to study medicine.⁶¹

Although there is no evidence for formal medical study by friars in the Dominican legislation, the case is different with medical practice. There is clear evidence, particularly in the *Acta*, that friars practised medicine both within the order and without. Evidence for infirmaries and dispensations for the sick abound and there is no doubt that there was concern for health in the order. How should this glimpse of the active role of medical care and medical practitioners in the Dominican order be interpreted? It is difficult to assess the extent of medical practice through legal texts. It is necessary to turn now to the narrative material produced by the Dominicans in order to see in more detail how the regulations and dispensations affected friars in everyday life and what use was made of medical learning in the Dominican system.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.226-7.

⁶¹ See above, Chapter Five, pp.160-1, for the earlier stage in this discussion.

Healthcare and Medical Practice in Dominican Narrative Sources

In the absence of any extensive archaeological⁶² or documentary evidence for Dominican medical activity in the convent, it is necessary to rely on narrative sources many of which present problems to the modern researcher. Collections of stories put together with an edifying end in mind are difficult to interpret. To what extent can miracles, saints' lives, and moralizing tales supply trustworthy information on real medical practices? Also, as has been pointed out already with the story told by both Stephen of Bourbon and Conrad of Eberbach, how can one be sure that it was actually a Dominican environment in which a story was set? A few guidelines will be followed. First of all, if stories refer to key Dominican figures such as Dominic himself or his successor Jordan of Saxony, then one should accept them as tales emanating from a Dominican milieu. Secondly, if medical information is given almost in passing and serves no moral or didactic purpose in the text, it is likely that it is an accurate reference to normal practice.

There is no problem with identifying the practical medical information to be found in most of the writings of Humbert of Romans. Eminently practical and full of common sense, the works of this Master General are an ideal source. Much of his output was inspired by the need to supply the precision the Rule of St Augustine and the Constitutions lacked, and therefore he clarified much of what has already been outlined. Not only were his works highly influential in the order; his *Instructiones de officiis ordinis* had been incorporated into the Constitutions by the sixteenth

⁶² There does not appear to have been much emphasis on archaeology in Dominican studies. Some modern plans do show the position of conventual infirmaries but there is no way of knowing what period of construction these plans reflect. For English houses see W.H. Knowles, "Blackfriars at Gloucester", *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 54 (1932), 167-201, map facing p.168, and W. Leighton, "The Blackfriars, Bristol", *Ibid.* 55 (1933), 151-90, map at p.165. Very little indeed can be ascertained from the neglected ruins of Portuguese houses. A "notional" plan of the Évora convent as it may have been in the sixteenth century is found in *Biographies of Prince Edward and Friar Pedro by André de Resende*, ed. Martyn, p.226, and includes an infirmary with a garden. A basic plan of the Santarém convent given in *S. Frei Gil de Santarém*, p.120, does not include an infirmary.

century,⁶³ but his friendship with Giles of Santarém and his recording of Giles' words in the *Vitae fratrum* make him the vital link between the individual and the institutional in this chapter.

Humbert of Romans recognized the need for healthcare in the order and saw a place for the medical profession in society. In his *Expositio regulae*, written in answer to those who in the 1250s increasingly doubted the relevance of the Rule of St Augustine to the order, Humbert explained why the sick should be granted dispensations, why they should be tolerated, and why they should receive medical treatment.⁶⁴ He appeared to be addressing a current of thought in the order, one which he likened to the *murmur pharisaeorum* (Luke 11), which disapproved of relaxations of the rule for any reason.⁶⁵ It has already been noted that purists in the church had rejected medical intervention for the religious since the earliest days of Christianity. Although the Dominicans were not as known for asceticism and self-denial as the Franciscans, they were capable of it. It is hardly surprising that an order closely associated with church reform, aware of individual spiritual needs, and itself a follower of an austere regime in its initial decades, produced a small current of extreme thought which mirrored that of the wider church.

Some of the Dominican authors to be considered here appear to have held these ascetic views. Giles may have belonged to these group. However, Humbert of Romans does not appear to have done so. His approval of medicine can be seen in his sermon for medical students. As part of his huge treatise on preaching, *De eruditione praedicatorum*, probably written after he resigned as Master General in 1263, Humbert put together over 250 model sermons customized for different liturgical occasions and a wide variety of social and religious groups.⁶⁶ Despite the belief that medicine, law and the liberal arts were the result of the deterioration of the human

⁶³ Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, p.34. *De officiis* was used above in Chapter Six, pp.187 and 191-2, with reference to the duties of the Prior Provincial and the *lector*.

⁶⁴ The *Expositio* is found in Humbert, *Opera*, I.

⁶⁵ Humbert, *Opera*, I, pp.205, 373-4, 388, and 390.

⁶⁶ The first part of the treatise is found in Humbert, *Opera*, II, pp.373-484. A translation is in Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, pp.181-325. I have used Humbert of Romans, *Sermones ad diversos status*, for the second part. Humbert's sermons have received attention from Murray, "Religion among the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France: the Testimony of Humbert of Romans", and D.L. D'Avray and M. Tausche, "Marriage Sermons in *Ad Status* Collections of the Central Middle Ages",

condition after the Fall of Adam, Humbert viewed medicine as an honourable and useful art with divine origins. He argued that of medicine, law and the liberal arts, medicine was the better discipline. This was because of the knowledge it gave of the human body, the acts of mercy it engendered around the sick, and what it taught concerning the spiritual medicine of souls.⁶⁷ As Ziegler points out, Humbert's favourable comparison between medicine and the longer-established academic disciplines of law and the liberal arts reflected the growth in status of medicine during this period.⁶⁸ Of course, as with most of his other sermons aimed at particular groups, Humbert had to indicate the vices as well as the virtues associated with medical learning and practice. In this case he repeated traditional complaints about the ignorance, greed and lack of religious respect of physicians.⁶⁹ In general, however, Humbert saw a positive role for physicians in society.

Humbert's approval of medicine can also be seen in the provisions he made for the healthcare of the friars. In his *Instructiones de officiis ordinis*, Humbert entered into extraordinary detail describing the duties of the Dominican officers. According to Humbert, the infirmarian was responsible for the contents of the infirmary and its expenses and he had to ensure its smooth running. He was also responsible for organizing the infirmary servers and servants and for supervising their work and that of the infirmary kitchen. He had to receive the sick when they came in to the infirmary and assess their needs. Crucially, he had to be able to recognize those who were not really ill or were no longer in need of care, and those who required more care than their humility allowed them to admit.⁷⁰

in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, eds. N. Bériou and D.L. D'Avray (Spoleto, 1994), pp.77-134.

⁶⁷ Humbert, *Sermones*, no.66: *Ad studentes in medicina*, fols.23-23v. The text is given in the epigram to this chapter, footnote one. For the significance of spiritual medicine, see below, pp.246-53.

⁶⁸ Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, p.1.

⁶⁹ These complaints are very similar to those listed by Jacques de Vitry, bishop of Acre (d. 1240), and himself a writer of sermons and compiler of an influential *exempla* collection. See *The Historia occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: a Critical Edition*, ed. J.F. Hinnebusch (Fribourg, 1972), p.82, lines 1-11. John of Salisbury also criticized the ignorance and greed of physicians. See John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, pp.169-71, and *idem, Metalogicon*, ed. J.B. Hall, *CCCM* 98 (Turnhout, 1991), pp.18-19.

⁷⁰ Humbert, *Opera*, II, pp.302-5. Much of what Humbert says about the infirmary can be compared to the provisions made by the Benedictine abbey of St Mary's, York. See "The Chronicle of St Mary's Abbey, York", eds. H.H.E. Craster and M.E. Thornton, *Surtees Society* 148 (1934), pp.97-

Humbert also described the duties of two types of infirmary server. They were not necessarily servants even though many of the duties involved lowly tasks such as laying tables and doing the dishes. The decision of who to appoint, whether professed friars, lay brothers or honest servants, belonged to the prior of the convent. Humbert recognized that a great deal depended on the size of the convent. In some places the infirmarian alone sufficed; in others several servers were needed.⁷¹ The first kind of server, the common server, appears to have been a general domestic: serving at table, washing up, providing the link between the infirmary and the convent food stores, acting as assistant cook if necessary, and making beds.⁷² The special server appears to have been a kind of personal nurse. He was assigned to at least one bedridden patient and was responsible for all his needs:

it falls to him [the special server] to take the covers, and clothes and such like from the dormitory if he wants or needs them; to make the bed of the sick person; to find him a urine bottle, or other vessel, or a chair (*sellam*) and such things which are necessary; to keep the urine to be shown; to assist him day and night when it is necessary; to help him take off his shoes, to get up, to get into bed, and similar things.⁷³

He was also responsible for providing the patient's food and drink, washing his clothes, preparing for baths and bloodletting, and escorting him to Mass.

Humbert did not require infirmarians and servers to have any medical knowledge. However, he commented that if the infirmarian knew medicine (*si novit medicinam*) he should follow medical authority concerning the sick and find out what should be done to restore health; both in terms of diet and in terms of which medicines (*medicinalia*) should be administered according to the patient's needs and condition. If the infirmarian did not have the knowledge to form this opinion himself, advice was to be taken from friar-physicians or outside physicians (*per alios medicos*

100. I would like to thank Julie Kerr for this reference. A fifteenth-century partial translation of *De officiis* survives in Portugal: BPE, ms. CX/1-21. See M. Martins, "Um versão medieval de Humberto de Romans, OP", *Brotéria* 68 (1959), 510-20.

⁷¹ Humbert, *Opera*, II, p.309.

⁷² *Ibid.*, II, p.305-7.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, II, 307-8: *pertinet ejus coopertoria, et vestes, et hujusmodi, de dormitorio apportare, si ipse voluerit vel indiguerit, facere lectum infirmi, procurare ei urinale, vel alia vasa, seu sellam, et hujusmodi quae fuerint necessaria; reservare urinam ad ostendendum; assistere eidem de die et nocte, cum fuerit necesse; juvare eum in discalceando, in surgendo, in intrando lectum, et similibus.* How is the word *sella* to be understood in this passage? Is it a reference to a commode? See below, note 75, for another reference.

fratres, vel extraneos).⁷⁴ The instruction that the special servers were to reserve urine for inspection is a clear indication that medical consultations were normal. Humbert's acceptance of medicine and the role of physicians in the convent, could not be more plainly expressed.

De officiis not only provided a detailed list of the various duties to be carried out in the infirmary, but it also gave a very good picture of the lay out and contents of the ideal infirmary of a large convent. It is unfortunately not possible to discover to what extent this plan was followed in reality. Humbert indicates that as far as possible the infirmary was to be good and wholesome with comfortable and suitable rooms. It should have a garden, meadow, or copse for the convalescence (*recreatio*) of the sick, and adequate storage space. The building should be cleaned and well-maintained.

Inside there should be all the necessary

containers or utensils, cloths, cups, bowls, communal tables and special ones for those eating in bed, all the necessary equipment for cooking, beds, eating, medicines, baths and steambaths, changings (?) (*mutationes*), shaving, foot and head washing, and making up drinks; also urine bottles and chairs for those unable to get up and go to the communal latrines (*cameras communes*); also the bier, appropriate covers, and other necessities for the dead; and a suitable place for washing the dead; and a communal washplace for hands; and receptacles of water which are poured from time to time.⁷⁵

The emphasis on water and cleanliness in this description is striking. Barbara Harvey's study of the monks at Westminster indicates that levels of hygiene there were low.⁷⁶ Carole Rawcliffe is much more positive about medieval hygiene in her study of St Giles', Norwich.⁷⁷ It would be interesting to know whether the Dominicans under Humbert had a concern for cleanliness and hygiene.

De officiis provides a few further details concerning kitchen and dining areas.. Humbert wrote that in large convents the infirmary was to have a separate kitchen and

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p.306.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p.302: *Debet etiam providere quod habeantur ibidem competentia vasa, vel utensilia, mappae, scyphi, scutellae, mensae communes et singulares pro comedentibus in lecto, instrumenta, et omnia hujusmodi necessaria abundanter circa coquinam, circa lectos, circa comestionem, circa medicinalia, circa balnea vel stufas, circa mutationes, circa rasuras, circa lotiones pedum et capitum, circa potionandos; urinalia quoque et sellae pro impotentibus surgere et ire ad cameras communes; feretrum quoque et coopertoria propria, et alia necessaria pro mortuis; et loca apta ad lavandum mortuos; et lavatorium commune pro manibus; et receptacula aquarum quae effunduntur interdum.*

⁷⁶ Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, pp.90, 131-4.

⁷⁷ C. Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul: the Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital* (Stroud, 1999), especially p.42.

its own cook; the cook was responsible for setting aside feathers and animal skins for use in the infirmary.⁷⁸ The separation was no doubt a result of the fact that meat was served in the infirmary. Similarly, the dining area was supposed to be locked up after meals, unless it also had to be used for patients' beds. This is an example of Humbert's ability to empathize with every possible situation. The whole infirmary was to be locked up if there were no patients in residence.⁷⁹

It is now necessary to turn to some other Dominican narrative sources for information on Dominican medical practice. Some revealing information can be found in the *Bonum universale de apibus* of Thomas of Cantimpré. In one story Jordan of Saxony fell ill whilst travelling as Master General and took to his bed. During the night he was taunted by the Devil for sleeping on a feather mattress, something forbidden by the Constitutions, and he chose in the end to sleep on the floor. The Prior of the convent at which Jordan was staying had to order him to remain in bed for the good of his health. What is interesting is that the person who originally told Jordan to go to bed was his own friar-physician who travelled with him. This fact was not important to the story and therefore should be seen as fundamental evidence that friar-physicians operated within the order at the highest level.⁸⁰

The moral of this tale appears to have been the necessity of obedience. The role of the devil's taunts was to show how the authority of the prior, even over the Master General himself, was absolute. It was a secondary lesson that dispensation from the Rule was desirable for reasons of health. Nevertheless, the devil represented a fear that dispensation would be abused. This is the focus of a similar story found in the *Vitae fratrum*. Here Jordan was visited when sick by the devil in the guise of a monk. The devil scolded him that he was not actually ill enough to need a bed and meat and his relaxation of the Rule could cause scandal. Believing the devil's words, Jordan ceased to use a bed or eat meat. He consequently became seriously ill and

⁷⁸ Humbert, *Opera*, II, pp.319-20.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, II, pp.304 and 306.

⁸⁰ Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, II, p.572. Jordan often refers to his poor health in his letters and specifically mentions receiving medical advice (*ut physici mihi dicunt*) in a letter to Diana D'Andalo in 1233: *Epistulae*, p.9.

could have died if he had not realized that this was the work of the Devil.⁸¹ The message was that dispensation was necessary but had to be carefully controlled.

The *Vitae fratrum* gives numerous examples of how dispensation worked in practice. Although it idealized the harshness of life in the Dominican order, it is not difficult to believe that the first generation of friars really did follow a strict regime which was too difficult for some. One friar related

that when he entered the order he found everything contrary to his complexion and customs, and grew thin through hunger and suffering, and could not sleep in dread of the hardness of the beds and the fleas.⁸²

Another friar who found it difficult to get used to life in the order was Giles of Santarém himself. According to Humbert of Romans, both the hard bed and the habit as well as the solemnity and silence of the regime had once been a trial to him.⁸³

Some recruits, on the other hand, were too enthusiastic for the religious life: one novice “had so weakened his body with fasts, vigils, and other hardships, that he could not stand”.⁸⁴ It is not surprising that some friars fell ill and needed help.

There are numerous stories which reveal in passing how friars received better food and rest. For example, in the early days of the order’s history, wine in the convent at Bologna had been reserved for the use of the sick. When it ran out the infirmarian explained to the brethren that he was anxious for his patients since only the healthy drank water.⁸⁵ The brother in charge of the sick in Bologna became possessed by the Devil because “without permission he was secretly eating the meat for the sick against the ruling of your Constitutions”.⁸⁶ A nun, Maria de Beaumont of St Mary Magdalen in Tripoli in the Holy Land, who had been paralyzed for five months, refused to accept the permission which had been obtained by her mother, on

⁸¹ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.122-3.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.39: *Frater quidem non modicum fide dignus narravit quod cum ingressus ordinem invenisset omnia contraria sue complexioni et consuetudini, fame et miseria tabescebat, et timore duri lecti et pulicum non poterat dormire.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.200.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.217: *cum frater quidem in noviciatu suo corpus suum ieiuniis et vigiliis et ceteris laboribus debilitasset adeo, quod se ipsum sustinere non posset.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.27-8. However, the sick did not receive wine as a matter of course. In another story (*ibid.*, p.287) a dying friar saw in a vision that he ran the risk of damnation because he had drunk wine against medical advice and without permission.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.81: *nam carnes infirmorum occulte et sine licencia comedebat contra ordinacionem constitutionum tuarum.*

the advice of a physician, to allow her to be cared for at home. She argued that it would endanger her virginity to be carried through the streets to baths and eventually she was healed by St Dominic in a vision, using a precious ointment.⁸⁷

This miracle leads to the question of who generally attended sick Dominicans. Who appears to have decided that they needed extra food and rest and who decided when a friar was dying? Were the services of a friar-physician as enjoyed by Jordan of Saxony typical? In the miracle of the Syrian nun in the *Vitae fratrum* it appeared to be the case that external medical advice was sought. This also seems to have happened in other stories although they are also usually miracle accounts.⁸⁸ In most cases, however, the Dominican patient was cared for internally in the convent infirmary. Is there evidence in the text that his carers possessed medical knowledge? In the *Vitae fratrum* friars are said to have served each other out of devotion in the infirmary, the hospice and at table.⁸⁹ This did not require any special training. Are there any signs that infirmarians enjoyed medical knowledge in the *Vitae fratrum*?

There is limited evidence for this. It has been seen how friars at Bologna were responsible for the food and drink of the sick. This was patently a responsibility open to abuse and therefore required both honesty and an ability to discern the truly sick from the fraudulent. Those who worked closely with the sick surely also had to know how severe the illness was and whether the patient was on the point of death and required the last rites. There are several examples of the skill this involved. An unnamed infirmarian recognized the signs of imminent death in brother William after feeling his pulse.⁹⁰ Raymund of Lausanne, infirmarian at Bologna, told of a patient

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.88-92. This miracle is by far the longest in the *Vitae fratrum*. It is also unusual in that it is dated (1254) and involves one of the very few named women in the whole work. A further miracle involving a woman is also interesting from a medical point of view. In Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.121-2, a young girl, pregnant for the third time by her guardian, tried to kill herself but was saved by the Virgin Mary. Notably, the girl was persuaded to procure an abortion for the first two pregnancies. This makes the *Vitae fratrum* a source of evidence for abortion in the Middle Ages but there is no reference to it in J.M. Riddle, *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA, 1994).

⁸⁸ A friar of Lyons who was dying of an aposteme in his neck *de quo multum medici dubitabant* was cured by holy relics: *Ibid.*, pp.240-1. Brother Everard fell ill at Lausanne whilst on a journey and told his companion, Jordan of Saxony, that he did not fear death despite seeing the *medicos tristes*: *Ibid.*, p.249. It should be remembered that ineffective physicians were a common *topos* in miracle accounts.

⁸⁹ See above, Chapter Six, p.184.

⁹⁰ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.252.

who asked him one night for the Last Rites. Thinking that he was not in any danger, Raymond decided to wait until the morning and went to bed. It turned out that during the night the sick friar had died but had been unable to stay in the “palace” he arrived at because he had not yet received Extreme Unction.⁹¹ This failure was not due to Raymond’s lack of skill as the patient, like many others in the *Vitae fratrum*, had had a premonition of death.

It can be seen from the examples discussed so far that a miracle or a vision is often the key element of many of the stories in the *Vitae fratrum*. Three or four of the miracles are interesting from a medical point of view but it should be noted that healing miracles are not particularly important in the *Vitae fratrum*. Few of the sick friars recovered as their stories were deliberately chosen as illustrations of “good deaths”. Visions or dreams which gave foreknowledge of death, lead to entry into the order, or dissuaded a struggling novice from abandoning his vocation had greater impact.

One interesting miracle involved

a brother of the convent of Metz who suffered gravely from the protrusion of a bone at the joint of the wrist and arm so that he was afraid he would probably lose the use of his hand. He frequently had the opinion of physicians and surgeons concerning this that it would not be possible to cure it except with surgery; however, there was danger because of the veins and nerves which came together at that place.⁹²

It is another example of how physicians, and in this case surgeons as well, could be called in to give advice in a convent. Luckily for this friar, two travelling brothers arrived with some of the relics of St Dominic and these cured the hand almost without the man noticing. Another miracle concerns a youth so afflicted with scrofula that he could no longer swallow. In despair, his mother entreated St Dominic to cure him “whom the skill of physicians was unable to help”. It could perhaps be viewed as deliberate irony that the advice which Dominic gave in the dream in which he subsequently appeared was medicinal. He told her to apply some leaves as a plaster

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.269.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p.96: *Frater quidem in conventu Metensi ab osse, quod supercreverat ei in iunctura, que est inter pugillum et brachium, graviter paciebatur in manu, ita ut timeret probabiter amittere usum manus; super quo frequenter a medicis et cirurcis habuit responsum, quod non posset curari nisi per incisionem; quod tamen periculum erat propter venarum et nervorum ibidem concursum.*

for nine days.⁹³ This is an example of a miracle cure involving medicinal preparations, a not uncommon juxtaposition in miracle collections.⁹⁴ Many ointments and drinks given in visions were remarkably similar to medical remedies but as in this case they were denied efficacy without the spiritual authority of the saint.

A further “medical miracle” in the *Vitae fratrum* concerned a young peasant man

whose stomach was swollen with dropsy and whose limbs were so thin and weakened that he expected to die very soon. However, because of his great poverty, he was forced to go out into the fields to gather wood which he was hardly strong enough to carry.

One day he vowed that if St Dominic cured him he would serve freely in the Dominican convent for a year. Immediately, a figure appeared and pointing to an elder-tree told him: “take the leaves of this elder-tree, crush them, drink the juice, and you will get well”. He then vanished. With great difficulty the youth squeezed out the juice and swallowed it. Instantly the swelling in his stomach went down and he was able to carry a great pile of firewood home, later working for the Dominicans as he had promised.⁹⁵ This cure is significant because elder is a very old remedy which can be found prescribed for dropsy in contemporary herbals such as the *Thesaurus pauperum*, attributed to Petrus Hispanus (Pope John XXI) in some manuscripts, and the *De proprietatibus rerum* of the Franciscan friar, Bartholomaeus Anglicus.⁹⁶ It is

⁹³ *In eadem villa fuit iuvenis, arte figulus, scrofulis in tantum gravatus quod ex corrosione iam non posset potum sumere, quod non statim efflueret per guttur.... ut quem medicorum ars sanare non poterat Surge, et accipe folia porri, piretrum et viride es et commisce omnia simul terendo, et cataplasma in carta de bombace super locum vulneris per novem dies demittens et sanabitur filius tuus.* This is taken from the unpublished edition of Simon Tugwell. In Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.95, the names of the plants are completely obscure: *folia pōri pilatr^m*. Humbert used the miracle again in his *vita* of St Dominic, *Legenda sancti Dominici*, ed. A. Walz, *MOPH* 16 (1935), 355-433, at pp.432-3. This time the recipe is much clearer: the mother is shown four things by the saint: *scilicet es viride et pilatrum et lapacium et succum porri*. This is a cotton plaster filled with dock (*lapacium*) and leek juice, rather than leek leaves as appears to have been the case in the *Vitae fratrum*. *Pilatrum* and *viride* may be reference to the “green plaster” which is produced. Alternatively, *viride* could refer to “greens”, i.e. cabbage or kale, and *pilatrum* could be a corruption of *piretrum* (tansy). It is interesting that in Humbert’s later version the mother went *ad apothecam* to get the mixture made up.

⁹⁴ Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*, p.67-8.

⁹⁵ This is the text in Tugwell’s edition: *qui ydropisis morbo ventrem mira turgiditate inflatum, ceteris membris tanta gracilitate debilitatis habebat, ut iam mortem expectaret vicinam. At tamen paupertate gravatus cogebatur exire ad campos, ut fasciculum de lignis apportaret, qui seipsum vix portare valebat Accipe folia huius sambuci et tere et bibe succum eius et sanaberis.* It corresponds to Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.94-5:

⁹⁶ M.H. da Rocha Pereira, *Obras Médicas de Pedro Hispano* (Coimbra, 1973), p.213. *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa’s Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De proprietatibus rerum*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1975), II, p.1044, ll.8-9. Latin edition *Venerandi patris Bartholomei Anglici*

important to see how a known medicinal remedy can appear in a miraculous context. To what extent does this miracle reveal Dominican knowledge of herbal remedies and provide evidence of local medical practice?⁹⁷

Dominican Physicians

Not only does the *Vitae fratrum* provide significant information on medical practice, but it also identifies several Dominican friars who, like Giles of Santarém, were physicians or at least interested in things medical. In the *Vitae fratrum*, Gueric of St Quentin was described as a friar

who for a long time in various places studied logic, the *quadrivium* and natural sciences, and medicine, and afterwards in the order taught theology excellently at Paris.⁹⁸

This is the only clear reference in Dominican sources to the medical studies of Gueric, a well-known theologian who entered the Order in 1225 at around the same time as Giles of Santarém and Humbert of Romans. He occupied one of the Dominican chairs at Paris from 1233 to 1244 when he was succeeded by his pupil Albertus Magnus.⁹⁹ Gueric was the author of a considerable number of theological treatises and biblical commentaries. If he wrote any medical works none have survived and none of his extant writings appear to have been examined for signs of medical knowledge. However, the contributor to the *Vitae fratrum* obviously felt it was important to mention Gueric's medical study.

Gueric of St Quentin was prominent enough also to be mentioned by Stephen of Bourbon and Thomas of Cantimpré in their respective works. They made no

ordinis minorum (Nuremberg, 1519), bk17, ch.144. Also Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Quadruplex*, 4 vols (Douai, 1624), I, p.938. The use of elder for edema can be traced back at least to Pliny's *Historia naturalis: Plinius Naturkunde*, eds. R. König and G. Winkler, 37 vols (Munich, 1973-97), XXIV, pp.46-8. See M. Grieve, *A Modern Herbal* (London, 1994), pp.265-76, for details of the folk usage of elder. Elder does have diuretic qualities but considering that edema is usually a symptom of heart disease or cancer, it is doubtful how effective it could have been in the long-term.

⁹⁷ This miracle could be compared to the herbal knowledge of Albertus Magnus. See K. Reeds, "Albert on the Natural Philosophy of Plant Life", in *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences*, ed. J.A. Weisheipl (Toronto, 1980), pp.341-54, and J. Stannard, "Albertus Magnus and Medieval Herbalism", in *ibid.*, pp.355-77.

⁹⁸ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.176: *qui diu in diversis locis sectatus studia in logicalibus et quadrivialibus et naturalibus et in medicina et excellenter in ordine post rexit in Theologia Parisius*. Gueric was mentioned again in the *Vitae fratrum* (pp.274-5) when his death was foretold and after death he appeared in a vision. However, no further reference to his medical knowledge was made.

⁹⁹ J.A. Weisheipl, "The Life and Works of St. Albert the Great", in *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences*, ed. Weisheipl, pp.13-51, at pp.23-4. See also Kaepelli, *Scriptores*, II, 61-70.

explicit reference to his medical knowledge and their interest was in his conversion and entry into the Order.¹⁰⁰ Stephen was interested enough to repeat the story twice and the second reference is revealing. Guerric is said to have remarked: “medicine can do nothing but that death brings everything to a close and puts an end to it”. Is this a comment on Guerric’s medical interests before he turned to the Dominicans and theology?¹⁰¹

Attention has already been drawn to Roland of Cremona and his master John of St Giles who, like Guerric of St Quentin, are examples of contemporary Paris academics who had medical interests and joined the Dominican Order in the same decade as Giles of Santarém.¹⁰² Roland of Cremona was a prominent friar referred to several times in the *Vitae fratrum*. His arrival at the struggling Dominican convent in Bologna revitalized the community because of his fame in the university. The text emphasized that Roland was celebrated for his knowledge of *physica* and later taught theology at Paris.¹⁰³ In the 1220s and 1230s Jordan of Saxony deliberately targeted university communities across Europe and boasted of the numbers of students he had recruited.¹⁰⁴ Therefore it is with a certain pride that the *Vitae fratrum* records that such and such a convert had been an expert lawyer or a Master of Arts. In most cases, however, it is also noted that the scholars abandoned their secular studies and turned to theology. The reference to Roland and Guerric make sense in this context, but the emphasis on medical knowledge still appears unusual.

Nowadays historians know that Roland of Cremona continued to make use of his medical knowledge in his theological writings. In the commentary on the Book of Job and the *Liber quaestionum in libros Sententiarum*, both probably written in 1229-

¹⁰⁰ Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, I, p.70; Stephen of Bourbon, *Anecdotes Historiques*, chs. 63 and 262, pp.66 and 222.

¹⁰¹ Stephen of Bourbon, *Anecdotes Historiques*, ch. 262, p.222: *cogitans quod nec medicina posset facere quin mors concluderet omnibus et finem imponeret.*

¹⁰² See above, Chapter Six, p.188. It is interesting that Guerric of St Quentin was also a student of John of St Giles.

¹⁰³ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.26. According to Reichert’s critical apparatus, some manuscripts refer to Roland’s fame in *philosophicis* rather than in *physicis*. See Mulchahey, “First the Bow is Bent in Study”, p.30, note 93. As with Guerric of St Quentin, it was felt that Roland’s background in *physica* was worth mentioning. The *Vitae fratrum* (p.174) also recalled the entry of Walter of Germany, known for his skill in the “physical sciences”, into the order at Vercelli under the influence of Jordan of Saxony. This may be the same Walter referred to by Jordan in a letter, *Epistulae*, p.57. However, Jordan acknowledged his skill in logic rather than medicine.

¹⁰⁴ See above, Chapter Six, p.182.

30 at Paris, Roland discussed the relationship between theology and the many branches of secular knowledge, including medicine.¹⁰⁵ Using the standard image of the Egyptian gold which the Hebrews took away with them when they followed Moses (Exodus 3:21-2; 12:35-6), Roland argued that profane knowledge was useful to Christians in the fight against heresy.¹⁰⁶ He believed that a teacher of theology

ought not to teach publicly unless he is adequately instructed in philosophy, especially in logic, lest he be deceived by the fallacy of arguments ... and in medicine, because of the allegories and moralities taken from the properties of things.¹⁰⁷

Roland appears to have practised what he preached because there are signs of medical and astrological learning in his works. After the period lecturing at Paris which produced the two commentaries, he became the first master of theology at the new University of Toulouse in 1230. It has already been pointed out that the controversial works of philosophy which had been banned at Paris were to be taught by physicians at Toulouse. There is no clear evidence that there was then a faculty of medicine at Toulouse and therefore one must ask who these teachers were to be.¹⁰⁸ It may be significant that Roland of Cremona was succeeded at Toulouse by three other Dominicans with medical interests. Laurence de Fougères taught theology at Toulouse from 1235 to 1241 when he went to Paris and became a regent master in 1243. He was succeeded at Toulouse by Guillaume de Saint-Gaudens who is said to have studied medicine at Montpellier.¹⁰⁹ They remain interesting though poorly-studied examples of how theology and medicine could work hand in hand.

Roland of Cremona's immediate successor from 1232/3 to 1235 was his own former master at Paris, John of St Giles, about whom considerably more is known. Despite the fact that John preached that philosophers did not make good theologians

¹⁰⁵ See Dondaine, "Un commentaire scriptuaire de Roland de Crémone"; Mulchahey, "*First the Bow is Bent in Study ...*", pp.60-67; French and Cunningham, *Before Science*, pp.158-9; M.-H. Vicaire, "Roland de Crémone ou la position de la théologie à l'université de Toulouse", pp.152-6.

¹⁰⁶ French and Cunningham, *Before Science*, pp.18-21. The stolen Egyptian gold symbolized pagan knowledge, particularly Greek philosophy, for many medieval writers. Not only did the biblical passage serve to justify the study of non-Christian authors such as Aristotle, it also emphasized the subordination of this knowledge to the word of God, i.e. theology.

¹⁰⁷ Translated in Mulchahey, "*First the Bow is Bent in Study ...*", p.62. See also Dondaine, "Commentaire scriptuaire", p.128.

¹⁰⁸ C.E. Smith, *The University of Toulouse in the Middle Ages* (Milwaukee, 1958), p.210, refers to a developing faculty of medicine in the early fourteenth century. However, on p.66, he refers to a medical master in the 1230s.

¹⁰⁹ Vicaire, "Roland de Crémone", p.161.

and could not be separated from their Aristotle,¹¹⁰ he apparently had no problems continuing his medical practice. Prior to his conversion he had probably been physician to Philip II of France and twenty years after his entry into the order, in the 1250s, John was still able to attend Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, and the Earl of Gloucester in their illnesses.¹¹¹

Teodorico Borgognoni, Bishop of Cervia (d.1298), is an even clearer example of a Dominican friar who continued to practise medicine after entry into the order. He was probably the son and apprentice of a Bolognese surgeon, Hugh of Lucca, and as with other friars his earlier training proved durable. According to Nancy Siraisi, the papal dispensation allowing him to continue in practice is still extant.¹¹² As Teodorico was a bishop when he wrote his famous *Chirurgia*, he is usually cited by historians as the prime example of a cleric who continued to practice his former profession. The fact that he was also a Dominican is forgotten. It is revealing, however, that the *Chirurgia* contains a recipe Teodorico obtained from a fellow Dominican friar.¹¹³ Although historians have usually failed to consider any relationship between Teodorico's surgical profession and his order, when he is compared to other Dominicans with medical interests, the parallels are interesting.

Did Giles of Santarém write his works as a friar? His later views on Galen might suggest that he completed them before he joined the order. However, it appears from a close reading of his contributions to the *Vitae fratrum* that he found it difficult to suppress his medical learning.¹¹⁴ There is also evidence, although difficult to interpret, which suggests that the Dominican convent in Santarém had a certain reputation as a medical centre. Of the 87 miracles recorded by André de Resende in

¹¹⁰ Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study", pp.226-7.

¹¹¹ E.A. Hammond, "Physicians in Medieval English Religious Houses", *BHM* 32 (1958), 105-120, at pp.115-6.

¹¹² N. Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti and his Pupils: Two Generations of Italian Medical Learning* (Princeton, 1981), p.17.

¹¹³ Teodorico refers to a complex recipe for ulcerated wounds as a "a mixture which I have received as a great secret from a brother Dominican of experience": *The Surgery of Theodoric*, trans. E. Campbell and J. Colton, 2 vols (New York, 1955-60), I, p.94. I have been unable to find any of the Latin editions listed by the translators.

¹¹⁴ See above, Chapter Two, pp.77-8.

Giles' *vita*, 81 involved healing.¹¹⁵ Many of them were probably drawn from the lost manuscript of Santarém consulted by Resende and others, but it is clear that the miracle record ran from the time of Giles' death to the sixteenth century. The task of quantifying this chronologically indeterminate material is unrewarding. However, some miracles do anchor themselves to the few years before or after Giles' death in 1265 and claim to involve friars who knew him well.

What is revealing is that several of the miracles mention that the sick came to Santarém seeking the *medical* skills of Giles and his fellow friars. For example, a mother whose son was haemorrhaging from the mouth and nose brought him to the convent *ut a fratribus Andrea et Bernardo medicis consilium exquiret*. Only when the brothers thought the boy would bleed to death did they send him to the church and give him some of the earth from Giles' tomb to hang around his neck.¹¹⁶ In another case a woman who had been haemorrhaging for five years and was consequently infertile had exhausted the "useless and empty" (*irritam et inanem*) care of physicians: "as much lay as Dominican, namely the brothers André and Bernardo". Surprisingly, it was her mother rather than the friars who suggested she invoke Giles' aid.¹¹⁷ In yet another case a boy's father healed his son's *tumor* with earth from Giles' tomb. This was after and independent of aid given by brother André of the Dominicans and brother Domingo of the Franciscans.¹¹⁸ It appears as if the friars made no real attempt to promote Giles' cult.

The emphasis on medical treatment in the convent in Santarém contrasts with Giles' behaviour in the following miracle which took place during his life. A man came to him with conjunctivitis and cataracts which had rendered him blind. Giles chose to treat him by anointing his eyes with oil and making the sign of the cross. Greatly shocked, one of Giles' fellow friars, brother Gonçalo, questioned why he

¹¹⁵ Baltazar de São João omitted some of Resende's miracles and added eight of his own. For convenience's sake, reference will be made only to Resende's list.

¹¹⁶ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.318-19.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.339-40. The haemorrhaging woman is a biblical *topos* (Matthew 9:20) often found in miracle collections. In this case the woman's name is given, and those of her husband and her parish in Santarém, and even the day her cure took place is included. There are then two stories involving her later paralysis and the deafness of her son. Is all this detail an attempt to show that this was a real situation? The criticism of the medical treatment, including that given by the Dominicans, is also an intriguing feature.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.354-5.

went against the precepts of medicine. Giles' answer was that faith was stronger than art. He explicitly compared himself to Christ who also anointed the eyes of the blind *contra medicorum regulas*.¹¹⁹ This obviously has direct parallels with, although not necessarily a direct source in, Giles' words in the *Vitae fratrum*. This passage appears to be rather a confirmation of Giles' retreat from medicine. However, in this case, his Dominican colleagues looked askance at his behaviour. They much preferred practical, medical intervention based on rules and learning.¹²⁰ The friar-physicians André and Bernardo of Santarém appeared several times in these stories. André was described as Giles' *socius* who accompanied him on his journeys.¹²¹ Another physician of Santarém, brother Vicente of Lisbon, was also referred to in miracles. He was interestingly described as a court physician which suggests that the brothers may have supplied medical treatment to the court of Afonso III which was often to be found at Santarém.¹²²

Despite all appearances to the contrary there is evidence which suggests that Giles of Santarém may not have frowned on the medical practice of the brethren at Santarém. One of Giles' contributions to the *Vitae fratrum* refers to brother Pedro of Santarém. He had been

a physician of wonderful kindness, who willingly dispensed help and advice to the sick flocking to him, and as much as he could, alleviated the pain of the brothers.¹²³

It is apparent from this description that Giles approved of this friar's work. Otherwise undocumented, Pedro appears to have acted much like brothers André and Bernardo in the miracles. Was Pedro a convent infirmarian who opened up the house's resources to outsiders in the locality? For an understanding of these Portuguese friars

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.279.

¹²⁰ The presence of medical detail was the normal adjunct to a medieval healing cult. It is common to find mention in miracle collections of physicians who failed to aid the sufferer in order to enhance the power of the saint. Also a cult hardly needed a medical practitioner as subject to develop healing power. On the other hand the number of Dominican physicians involved and their general failure to direct the patient towards Giles' tomb appears unusual. It is also unlikely that the medical emphasis was introduced by André de Resende in the sixteenth century. Despite the fact that one of his interlocutors, Luís Pires, was a physician in real life and that normally any opportunity was taken to enlarge on some aspect of Resende's story, very little comment was made on medical detail.

¹²¹ *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, pp.269, 270, 299, 318, 339, 354.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp.260 and 280.

¹²³ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.259: *Fuit in conventu Sanctarenensi frater Petrus, medicus mire mansuetudinis, qui infirmis ad se confluentibus libenter consilium et auxilium inpendebat et fratrum, quantum poterat, alleviabat dolores.*

and their medical practice, it is necessary to return to the Provincial Chapter at Palencia in 1249 and the General Chapter at Metz in 1251, where friar-physicians were warned only to treat members of the Dominican Order.¹²⁴ Were friars like André, Pedro, Bernardo and Gonçalo of Santarém the cause of these admonitions? If they were still practising after 1265, as the record of Giles' miracles appears to suggest, then it is obvious that the capitular admonitions were ignored. Were these friar-physicians practising medicine for free? Was it this that dispensed them from the admonition? Where did they study? Was their career pattern similar to that of Giles; that is, study abroad, followed by a return to their homeland as friars? Giles' career cannot fully be assessed without a deeper understanding of the lives of his fellow physicians at Santarém.

It is necessary to end this survey of some Dominican physicians with yet another example from the *Vitae fratrum*. It may then be possible to suggest some reasons why physicians were attracted to the order. A striking story concerns an otherwise undocumented Pierre d'Aubenas who

when he was practising medicine in the city of Genoa and was bound to the [Dominican] order, the Poor Men of Lyons, whom some call the Waldensians, led his soul astray to such an extent that he was in great doubt about which group it was better to follow. However he inclined more to the Waldensians whom he found in that place because of their apparently greater humility and the signs of piety he saw in them; indeed the friars he thought to be too joyful and full of pride. Therefore, late one night while anxious about these things and not knowing what to do, he went down on his knees and wept at length and asked God with all his heart that his mercy would reveal what he should do in his doubt.¹²⁵

Pierre then fell into a dream in which he saw the Waldensians looking dejected and divided into factions while the Dominicans were united in a circle with joyful faces. Prevented from joining the friars there and then by an angel, he woke up and immediately made preparations to join the order. He eventually became a *lector* in Provence.

¹²⁴ See above, p.220.

¹²⁵ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, pp.183-4: *Cum ipse, inquit, in civitate Ianuensi [Parisiensi in some manuscripts] in physica practicaret essetque iam ordini obligatus, pauperes Lugdunenses, qui et Valdenses dicuntur, in tantum animum eius perverterunt, ut in magno esset dubio, quos potius sequeretur; inclinabatur tamen magis ad Valdenses quos ibidem invenerat, eo quod plura humilitas exterius et virtutum pietatis signi in illis videret; fratres vero iocundos et nimis pomposos extra considerabat. Sero igitur quodum anxius de hiis, dum nesciret quid faceret, genibus flexis et flens largiter Deum toto corde rogavit, ut sua misericordia revelaret, quid sibi in illo dubio esset faciendum.*

This link between a follower of the heretical Waldensians and medicine immediately brings to mind the research of Peter Biller on Waldensian medical practice.¹²⁶ Biller identified a long-standing tradition that Waldensians were particularly associated with medical practice. The most important source for their medical activity is the inquisitorial record of the Dominican Pierre Selhan (or de Seila), one of the earliest friars. In 1241-42, he sentenced 280 people accused of Waldensian beliefs in the north of the County of Toulouse. Of these 280, eighty-four when questioned associated Waldensian brothers with medical practice.¹²⁷ Is it possible that the attraction of the Waldensians for Pierre d'Aubenas lay in the knowledge that they would appreciate and make use of his medical profession? There is not enough evidence beyond that which Biller provides to show this for certain.¹²⁸ However, the suggestion does help to formulate a further question. In the end Pierre d'Aubenas chose to become a Dominican. Is this a sign that Dominicans also appreciated medical skill?

There was some similarity between the Dominicans and the Waldensians in the thirteenth century. Both groups originated in southern France and adopted a harsh lifestyle in their preaching against the Cathar heretics. Dominic's colleague, bishop Diego of Osma, in fact, managed to persuade one group of Waldensians led by Durand of Huesca to return to orthodoxy in 1207.¹²⁹ The founders of both groups, Dominic and Peter Waldo, appear to have consciously followed the words of the gospels (Matthew 10 and Luke 10) in going through the world two by two, barefoot, and without money.¹³⁰ Biller consequently asks whether the Waldensians also

¹²⁶ P. Biller, "Curate infirmos: the Medieval Waldensian Practice of Medicine", *Studies in Church History* 19 (1982), 55-77, and *idem*, "Cathars, Waldensians and Medicine", paper given at the Quodlibet Conference, University of York, 22 May 1999 (forthcoming in *York Studies in Medieval Theology* 3). Using much the same sources as Biller, W.L. Wakefield argued in "Heretics as Physicians in the Thirteenth Century", *Speculum* 57 (1982), 328-31, that there was hardly any evidence for medical activity amongst heretical groups and dismissed the Waldensian records in five lines.

¹²⁷ Biller, "Curate infirmos", p.61.

¹²⁸ Biller did not mention Pierre d'Aubenas in his article of 1982 but he did use him to add further support to his argument for Waldensian medical practice in his recent paper at York.

¹²⁹ Hinnebusch, *History*, I, p.26; M.-H. Vicaire, "Rencontre à Pamiers des courants vaudois et dominicain (1207)", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 2 (1967), 163-94.

¹³⁰ Biller, "Curate infirmos", pp.58-9; Hinnebusch, *History*, I, pp.23-4 and 364-65; Vicaire, "Rencontre à Pamiers", pp.186-88.

followed the apostolic teaching that they should heal the sick: *curate infirmos*.¹³¹ He concludes that perhaps the increased focus of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on charity, poverty and hospital care should be related to the *vita apostolica*.¹³² The foundation of the Dominican order has been linked to the apostolic movement. It should perhaps be considered whether the attraction of physicians to the Dominican Order and any concern Dominicans showed for the poor and sick could also be related to gospel teachings. Pierre d'Aubenas' medical profession might have drawn him to both the Dominicans and the Waldensians for much the same reason.

It has to be admitted that Pierre d'Aubenas was an obscure figure and cannot be used to argue satisfactorily that the Dominican order was particularly attractive to physicians in search of religious life. It could be argued that, as the Dominicans indisputably attracted a great many academics and intellectuals, it is hardly surprising that some of them were former medical students. Also there is no evidence for the medical practice of some friars with medical interests; for example, Albertus Magnus. Furthermore, heretical groups like the Waldensians appear to have attracted a great many people from all walks of life for a variety of spiritual, intellectual, social and economic reasons which a physician could easily have shared.

Nevertheless, it is possible to suggest some answers to the questions of why physicians could be drawn to religion, whether heretical or orthodox, and why the Dominican order may have attracted them. Canon 22 of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 which insisted that patients underwent confession before treatment emphasized that the souls of both patient and physician were at risk if the patient died under the physician's hands.¹³³ The dangers of responsibility for life and limb may have dogged the practising physician on a daily basis. The sensible physician was always advised to avoid hopeless cases lest blame were attached to him.¹³⁴ Even in the likelihood that the Fourth Lateran Council was ignored, some individuals could

¹³¹ Biller, "Curate infirmos", p.59.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p.77. The Catalan physician Arnau de Vilanova (d.1311) certainly saw a connection between healing the sick and the *vita apostolica* when he wrote that "those who aspire to apostolic status not only raise the dead, heal lepers, and drive away demons, but also cure the sick". See Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, p.69.

¹³³ *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. N.P. Tanner, 2 vols (London/Washington, 1990), I, pp.245-6.

¹³⁴ For example, in the *Surgery of Theodoric*, II, p.103.

have experienced guilt. In a Dominican context, the *Chirurgia* of Teodorico of Borgognoni shows awareness of the need for confession before treatment.¹³⁵

Physicians were also keenly aware of the frailty of life and the limitations of their skill. For Humbert of Romans, understanding the weakness of the human body was one of the positive insights of medical training. Many conversions to religious life in the thirteenth century appear to have been inspired by sudden insight into the inevitability of death. Is this what Gueric of St Quentin experienced when he recognized that medicine could do nothing against death?¹³⁶ It could be argued that experience of dealing with death was the one thing which brought the physician closest to the priest. Both professionals gave explanations of life and death and acted as intermediaries between man, nature, and the divine and could be both antagonistic and cooperative with each other. The physician had to deal with mental illness and psychological trauma; he was as concerned with the mind and soul as with the body. He also saw everywhere signs of decay and corruption. As Ziegler argues, the medieval association between corruption, disease and sin surely prompted some physicians towards a consideration of spiritual matters.¹³⁷

The willingness of physicians to question and experiment should perhaps be set alongside this natural relationship between the roles of the physician and priest. If a physician began to perceive a religious dimension to his medical practice, then perhaps he would try to question and interpret religion also. Religious interpretation by the laity could lead to heterodoxy. It was the layman Peter Waldo's desire to read and interpret the Gospels for himself and the decision to translate the Bible into the vernacular which drew him into heresy. Ziegler argues that it was a combination of personal piety, the medical treatment of spiritual and psychological problems, and an enhanced perception of the divine origins of his profession, which drew the physician Arnau de Vilanova into religious interpretation viewed as heretical in the early fourteenth century.¹³⁸ Possibly Pierre d'Aubenas' awareness of the Waldensians should be set in the same context.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p.141.

¹³⁶ See above, pp.235-6.

¹³⁷ Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, p.38.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.268-9. Arnau's religious treatise *Tractatus de tempore adventus Antichristi* was condemned by the University of Paris in 1300; in 1302-5, his eschatological ideas were attacked by

Yet why would some of these men choose the Dominican order? The Dominicans represented the anti-heretical frontline of the medieval church. Former heretics are known to have entered the order and become intensely involved in preaching and inquisition.¹³⁹ It was surely no coincidence that the Italian convert and near-heretic Pierre d'Aubenas was sent to the other main centre of heresy, southern France, as a conventual teacher. It has also been argued by French and Cunningham that the Dominican involvement in the campaign against heresy explained their interest and use of secular knowledge, particularly natural philosophy. In answer to the heretical Cathar belief that the material world was the evil creation of an evil god, the Dominicans sought to show how, using christianized Aristotelian philosophy, the world was the good creation of the one god.¹⁴⁰ The encyclopedic works of the Dominicans Thomas of Cantimpré and Vincent of Beauvais, the treatises and commentaries of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, the medical analogies of Roland of Cremona, the *exempla* collections of Stephen of Bourbon or Humbert of Romans, were all directed towards training preachers to demonstrate this purpose.¹⁴¹ As has been noted, French and Cunningham do not really comment on the medical interests of the friars.¹⁴² There is also a considerable variance between their view of the Dominican education system and that of Mulchahey who has made a much more specialized study of its intricacies. However, there is some validity in the arguments of French and Cunningham. If the sections on anatomy, disease, and herbal medicine found in Dominican encyclopedias were considered useful to preachers; if medicine was an important source for analogies as Roland of Cremona believed, then surely

the Dominicans of Catalonia and Provence; in 1310 he wrote a spiritual handbook for Frederick III of Sicily which called for the conversion of the Jews and the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular. In 1316 after his death, the Synod of Tarragona condemned Arnau's spiritual writings. Most of them were burned. In 1346, Arnau's writings were again burned, together with those of the Spiritual Franciscan, Peter John Olivi. Arnau's ideas were closely linked with Spiritual Franciscanism and Joachite prophecy, both of which were eventually condemned. See *Ibid.*, pp.21-34.

¹³⁹ The best known example was Ranier Sacconi, a former Cathar who became a fervent Dominican inquisitor in Florence in the 1240s. See Lawrence, *Friars*, p.194. For the reception of former heretics, see Hinnebusch, *History*, I, p.285.

¹⁴⁰ French and Cunningham, *Before Science*, p.4.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp.173-201.

¹⁴² It is unclear whether medicine is seen in the same light as natural philosophy in French and Cunningham's study.

those who were actual physicians would find a place for their learning in the Dominican system?

Spiritual Medicine

The story of Pierre d'Aubenas and his search for a religious vocation is a suitable introduction to the spiritual dimension of medicine. It has already been remarked on at various points that medicine could have a sympathetic relationship with religion. Humbert of Romans observed that the study of corporeal medicine was useful to spiritual medicine. Arnau de Vilanova and, it will be shown, others also, argued for the divine origins of their profession. The image of the *Christus medicus* which underlay Giles of Santarém's comparison of Christ and Galen also implies a convergence of religious and medical roles. It is necessary to ascertain whether there was any link between Dominican understanding of spiritual medicine and their attitude towards earthly medicine. Did the use of medical imagery in religious writings have an impact on perceptions of medical practice and the treatment of the sick?

The concept of spiritual medicine could be used in religious writings to show disapproval of earthly medicine. In the stories recorded by Stephen of Bourbon and Conrad of Eberbach, the man who obeyed the precepts of earthly medicine was denied the medicine of the Virgin Mary.¹⁴³ The fact that the man only regained his health when he ceased to follow medical advice was an indirect criticism of medical treatment. Stephen of Bourbon maintained this disapproving attitude elsewhere in his *Tractatus* which was built around the concept of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Fear of illness was the ninth fear of the gift of fear. Fear was perceived as a gift when it drew one back from evil. Stephen argued that illness was good for the soul and only God could bring healing.¹⁴⁴ Under the gift of fortitude Stephen explained that illness purged the soul just as nitre purged the body. He told the story of an Englishman cured through the intercession of Thomas of Canterbury who then asked for his illness back because health made him more prone to sin.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ See above, p.213. A similar viewpoint was expressed in an anecdote from the *Bonum universale de apibus* of Thomas of Cantimpré, II, p.494-5. The life of William of Ascha was despaired of by the physicians and was only cured by the Virgin's pix of divine medicines.

¹⁴⁴ Stephen of Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, ch.57, pp.62-3.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, chs.517-18, pp.446-7.

Further evidence of this understanding of spiritual healing and the disapproval it suggests of the work of physicians lies surprisingly in the sermons of Humbert of Romans. In his model sermon to the poor sick in hospices he made use both of Stephen's comparison of illness and nitre, and his *exemplum* of the Canterbury miracle. Illness prevented the sick from indulging in the sins of the healthy. Sickness purged the soul and had greater healing powers than health itself.¹⁴⁶ This kind of advice sounds strange coming from a Master General who made detailed provision for the health needs of his friars, encouraging them to take medical advice and recover their health in infirmaries. There are in fact striking differences between Humbert's view of sick friars and of sick non-friars. Humbert explained in his *Expositio regulae* that illness was a miserable condition causing great embarrassment and anxiety, affliction, and spiritual deprivation (because the sick could not study or attend services). Sickness tended to cause impatience, complaining, and despondency (*accidia*). The patient was thus opened up to sin by his condition.¹⁴⁷ This is a far cry from the sick poor who were said to sin if they were healthy, not if they were sick.

It would be too easy to dismiss the views expressed in Humbert's sermon to the sick poor as the normal approach of a clerical elite when preaching to the "miserable poor". It is the case that Humbert does usually come across as a much more sympathetic and broad-minded authority. His sermons to lepers and those who worked in leper houses decried the impatience, lustfulness, and lack of gratitude of lepers, and warned of the danger of contagion but the seriousness of the illness: *infirmitas acerba et desperata et abominabilis*, and its painful nature were emphasized throughout.¹⁴⁸ However, the disease was associated with sin. The theme of the sermon, which commonly took the form of a biblical verse, was in this case Ecclesiasticus 38:9: "My son, if you have an illness, do not neglect it". Humbert then expanded: "it should be known that there are sick persons who neglect their souls and others who do not".¹⁴⁹ This is a clear sign that a relationship was perceived

¹⁴⁶ Humbert, *Sermones*, no.92.

¹⁴⁷ Humbert, *Opera*, I, pp.210-11.

¹⁴⁸ Humbert, *Sermones*, no.41: *ad fratres et ad sorores in domibus leprosororum*, and no.93: *ad leprosos*.

¹⁴⁹ The translation of this sermon is from *Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society*, ed. M. Goodich (Philadelphia, 1998), pp.146-9, at p.149.

between corporeal and spiritual sickness. Lepers were not afflicted because of their sinfulness but after they contracted the disease their manner of dealing with it was linked to the state of their souls. As with the poor sick, those who bore their sufferings well gained in the hereafter.

Humbert's perception of a relationship between spiritual and corporeal illness can be seen in the provision he made for the religious needs of his sick friars. Humbert took great care that the sick were not excluded from the liturgical round of the convent. The infirmarian was to have at hand the necessary books for celebrating the divine office and for reading edifying passages to the sick.¹⁵⁰ The common server was supposed to read from an edifying book at table. The special server read the divine office with his bedridden patient.¹⁵¹ It was the duty of the servers to make sure that the patient received the appropriate Sacraments, especially as his condition worsened. Very importantly, both infirmarian and servers had to make sure that the patient was remembered in the prayers of the daily conventual chapter.¹⁵² It was also the duty of a server to prepare the patient for death, to lay him out once he had died, and, practical as always, to clean the clothes and bed covers before returning them to the appropriate communal store.¹⁵³ Despite the sometimes mundane role of the server, he did enjoy spiritual rewards for his duties. Humbert argued in the *Expositio* that mercy towards the sick was sanctioned by biblical example, and tending the sick admirably replaced the rigours of religious life. The vigils at the bedside, the horrors seen, the nasty smells, the cries of pain, the fetching and carrying, and the consoling, mirrored the demands and controls of the Rule.¹⁵⁴

Looked at from this perspective, Dominican healthcare is closely comparable to what was available in the infirmaries of other orders. The Benedictine or Cistercian infirmarian was often expected to be able to diagnose cases and administer simples, but a large part of his duties appears to have been liturgical. The Prior or physician had ultimate authority in medical matters. Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, arguing from the

¹⁵⁰ Humbert, *Opera*, II, pp.302-3.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, pp.306 and 308.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, II, pp.304 and 308.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, II, p.309.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p.205. A very similar argument can be found in Humbert, *Sermones*, no.40: *ad fratres et sorores in hospitalibus*.

evidence of infirmary libraries, suggests that the office of infirmarian was in fact primarily liturgical. Libraries were far more likely to contain works of devotion than medical books. Books of medical theory were rare.¹⁵⁵ It is also the case that the Dominicans made no attempt to build up medical libraries and had even fewer theoretical works than the libraries of other orders.¹⁵⁶ Monastic infirmaries could be described as mini-monasteries equipped with chapels and altars. The healing drama of the Eucharist and uplifting stories of saints and church fathers were perceived to be as effectual as medical treatments.¹⁵⁷ This concept can be seen in operation in the *Vitae fratrum* where the infirmary was the location for the many visions and prophecies of the dying which form the bulk of the work's spiritual impact,¹⁵⁸ and the infirmarian witnessed patients' ecstasies. He had a confessorial role with the sinful and actively encouraged the despondent and the fearful. Dominican understanding of the infirmarian's role, particularly in the writings of Humbert of Romans, clearly recognized his medical function, but at the end of the day, and the end of the lives of friars, it was his sacramental duties which counted most. Death was a community event; no friar died alone, and the way a friar left the world affected both the state of his soul and that of the community and order as a whole.¹⁵⁹

The use of medical imagery to symbolize the state of a soul, an institution, or a people is ancient and can be found in classical and biblical sources. In the Middle Ages heresy could be described as a disease and the *Christus medicus* motif can be found as far back as the second century.¹⁶⁰ In this style of language there was a strong correlation between the physician and the divine healer, between disease and

¹⁵⁵ D. Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, "Les livres de l'infirmerie dans les monastères médiévaux", *Revue Mabillon*, ns. 5 (1994), 57-81, at pp.67-72.

¹⁵⁶ K. W. Humphreys, "The Medical Books of the Mediaeval Friars", *Libri* 3 (1954), 95-103. The Dominicans and Franciscans were much the same in their lack of interest in medical books. This is why the grant of medical books to the Franciscans of Leiria in Portugal described above, Chapter Five, pp.178-9, is so significant.

¹⁵⁷ See Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, "Livres de l'infirmerie", p.62, for details of infirmary chapels.

¹⁵⁸ For an example of how the infirmary could be given spiritual meaning, see R. Creytens, "L'Instruction des novices dominicains au XIII siècle d'après le ms. Toulouse 418", *AFP* 20 (1950), 114-93, pp.127-9.

¹⁵⁹ In the *Vitae fratrum* friars were summoned by bells or woken by dreams when one of their number was about to pass away. In Humbert's *Instructiones de officiis*, *Opera*, II, p.308, it was the duty of the servers to sound a board and call the brothers together when someone approached death.

¹⁶⁰ For a discussion of medical imagery in religious writings, see Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, pp.179-213.

sin, and between medicine and the work of the preacher who eased the sickness of the soul. The idea that the Dominican preacher worked as a physician, healing souls and fighting the diseases of heresy and sin, was a very early concept. A bull of Honorius III in 1220, for example, referred in different versions to the work of the Dominicans either as “a salutary antidote for sick minds” or as “a salutary remedy and medicine against the poison of diseased minds”.¹⁶¹ The phrase “physicians of the soul” (*medicos spirituales*) found in the *Vitae fratrum* has already been noted.¹⁶²

What is the significance of this style of language? Should it be understood purely on the symbolic level or could it perhaps suggest a sympathetic relationship between the roles of preacher and physician? Considering that opponents to medical intervention, such as Bernard of Clairvaux, could also use this language, considerable caution should be exercised. However, Ziegler’s proposition that the use of medical imagery and the citation of biblical passages concerned with health and medical intervention reflected real practices and might have had a positive impact on perceptions of real physicians, should be examined. Two passages which obviously contain parallels between everyday medical practice and spiritual concerns are the stories of St Luke and SS. Cosmas and Damian in the *Legenda aurea* compiled by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine in the 1260s. The firmly-established belief in the careers of these saints as corporeal physicians were seized upon by medieval writers who saw an analogy between the provision of physical health and the spiritual healing granted by the example of their lives and deeds. In the case of the Evangelist Luke, the curative power of his Gospel could be closely related to his medical skill.

Reference to St Luke in medieval religious writings was often an occasion for mention of the *Christus medicus* motif. For example, the Portuguese Dominican, Paio of Coimbra, introduced this theme into his first sermon on Luke.¹⁶³ Jacobus de Voragine wrote that the usefulness of the Gospel of Luke was directly linked to the usefulness of Luke’s profession. Both the Gospel and medicine provided health; the Gospel was medicine. Parallels were drawn between curative, restorative and preventative medicine, and the penance, religious observance and avoidance of sin

¹⁶¹ Cited, with Latin text, in Mulchahey, “*First the Bow is Bent in Study*”, pp.48-9.

¹⁶² See above, Chapter Six, note two.

¹⁶³ Costa Marques, *Sermonário de Frei Paio de Coimbra*, pp.441-2.

prescribed by the heavenly physician.¹⁶⁴ The idea of the usefulness of medicine recalls Humbert's sermon to medical students in which he demonstrates the usefulness of corporeal medicine and its application to spiritual medicine. The *vita* of Luke in the *Legenda Aurea*, probably written in the same decade as the sermon, is an illustration of thinking concerning the relationship between medicine and religion, apparently shared by more than one Dominican, which casts a positive light on the medical profession.

In the Middle Ages the medical brothers and early-church martyrs Cosmas and Damian became the patron saints of medical faculties and guilds of surgery across Europe. They had been able to heal those despaired of by other physicians thanks to the power of the Holy Spirit which worked through their art. They were most famous for a surgical miracle described in the *Legenda aurea* in which a sick man had his leg amputated by the saints in a dream and replaced with that of a dead Ethiopian.¹⁶⁵ Like the miracles of St Dominic in the *Vitae fratrum*, this is an example of medical practices appearing in a miraculous context. These miracles represented a powerful conjunction between divine and earthly healing which surely promoted medical skill.

Physicians whose skill was derived from the Holy Spirit and medical cures rendered effective by saintly intervention point towards a belief that medicine and medical practitioners had divine origins, medical practice was divinely sanctioned, and medical success was a result of divine will. This belief was already in existence in Old Testament times and there were several biblical passages which could be used to justify medicine. In his *Expositio regulae* Humbert of Romans used the common examples of Christ healing the sick, the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10), and the words to the righteous at Judgement Day: "I was sick and you visited me" (Matt. 25:36). He also used the example of Tobit who salved his father's eyes with an ointment of fish gall on the advice of an angel (Tobit 11), and St Paul's advice to Timothy that he should take some wine to help digestion (1 Timothy 5:23). All these passages were used by medieval writers in justification of medicine. Most popular of all, however, was the use of the first fifteen verses of Ecclesiasticus 38.¹⁶⁶ These

¹⁶⁴ *Legenda aurea*, p.697; *Golden Legend*, II, pp.251-2.

¹⁶⁵ *Legenda aurea*, p.639; *Golden Legend*, II, pp.196-98.

¹⁶⁶ Humbert, *Opera*, I, pp.390 and 412 for the reception of the sick by Jesus; *ibid.*, I, p.389 for the Good Samaritan and the use of Matt. 25; *ibid.*, I, p.388 for Tobit; *ibid.*, I, p.412 for Paul's advice to

verses honour the physician and celebrate the healing herbs of the earth given by God to aid the physician in his task, but also advise the sick to pray to God, to purify the heart, that is confess in medieval terms, and warn that "Whoever is a sinner towards his maker will be defiant toward the doctor."¹⁶⁷ There is a clear link here between spiritual and corporeal medicine. Ecclesiasticus 38 had a profound influence on medieval thinking about medicine.¹⁶⁸

Ecclesiasticus 38 could be interpreted purely in spiritual terms. The opening exhortation to honour the physician and the belief that healing comes from God could be viewed simply as a reference to spiritual medicine of the soul, bypassing any earthly medical practice. However, these verses were drawn upon heavily to justify corporeal medicine. Humbert used them in his sermon to medical students and his commentary on the rule to justify both the medical treatment of friars and the wider medical profession. Humbert's former university master and fellow Dominican, Hugh of St Cher, argued in his commentary on Ecclesiasticus that chapter 38 proved that religious could consult physicians.¹⁶⁹ It is not surprising that theologians and preachers had access to this kind of material. What is interesting is that throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a period in which medicine gradually established itself as a profession and as an academic discipline, physicians and surgeons also adopted these biblical references in order to justify their role and learning. Thus, the Statutes of the medical school at Montpellier in 1220, and the surgeon Henry de Mondeville in the early fourteenth century, cited Ecclesiasticus 38.¹⁷⁰ The theologians used scripture to temper religious life with practical concerns; the medical practitioners used it to give their practical skills a religious dimension.

Timothy; and *ibid.*, I, pp.388-9 for the use of Ecclesiasticus 38. Humbert also made Ecclesiasticus 38:1-2: *Honora medicum propter necessitatem etenim illum creavit altissimum; omnis medela a deo est*, the theme of his sermon 66 to medical students.

¹⁶⁷ The translation used is *The Wisdom of Ben Sira (Sirach)*, eds. P.W. Shehan and A.A. di Lella, *The Anchor Bible* 39 (New York, 1987), pp.438-44.

¹⁶⁸ For a study of these biblical passages and their impact on medieval medical thought, see Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, pp.230-40.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.219.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.236-7. See also *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, 2 vols (Montpellier, 1890), I, p.180.

Ziegler argues that using medical language to such an extent in religious thought “was likely to mark physicians with some kind of spiritual aura”.¹⁷¹ Some practitioners certainly seem to have felt that they had such an “aura”. Arnau de Vilanova in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was able to move easily from diagnosing the state of the body to that of the church. For all the reasons outlined above: doubts, guilt, personal piety, observation of decay and death, understanding of the divine sanction of medicine in the bible, Arnau was drawn towards a spiritual perception of his function. In many ways he can be compared to Giles of Santarém. Giles’ reasons for becoming a friar cannot be known for certain, but his comparison between Christ and Galen perhaps reflected many concerns about medicine and religion current at the time.¹⁷² Also the fact that a legend of black magic developed around the figure of Giles is comparable to the accusations later directed at Arnau.¹⁷³ Medieval physicians were willing to delve in matters of mind and body which often rendered them suspect in the eyes of the world.

* * *

It is necessary now to assess the fuller picture which has been put together of medicine in the Dominican order and the relevance it has to the life of Giles of Santarém. It has been shown that from the beginning the Dominicans generally had a sympathetic attitude towards their own sick. There is ample evidence for the activity of friar-physicians in the order and in some quarters medical practice must surely have been cast in a good light by the use of medical imagery and biblical citations. However, it is also quite clear that friars did not formally study medicine after entry into the order and those who had such knowledge were encouraged to turn their intellectual skills to the study of theology. Obviously knowledge cannot be suppressed easily. On the one hand medical learning could be put to use in preaching, and on the

¹⁷¹ Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, p.179.

¹⁷² Although Arnau’s spiritual affiliation appears to have been to the Franciscans and their lay associates, the Beguines, and the Dominicans were the first to attack his writings, it is interesting that he was probably taught theology by the Dominicans of Montpellier and attended their school in Barcelona in the 1280s. His daughter became a Dominican nun. See Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, pp.22-3.

¹⁷³ Ziegler in *Ibid.*, p.270, emphasises that no accusations of magic were made against Arnau.

other hand some individuals continued to practice. The signs in the *Vitae fratrum* that Giles both retained a keen interest in the infirmary and its patients and retreated from scholastic medicine can easily be accommodated in the context described.

Giles was not alone in questioning the overwhelming authority of Galen. There were signs of a certain antagonism towards Galen and all that he represented in the second half of the thirteenth century. Theologians like Thomas Aquinas began to remind themselves that Galen had, after all, been a pagan.¹⁷⁴ Giles' Dominican and Iberian contemporary, Ramon Martí (d.1285), wrote of the theological errors of Galen.¹⁷⁵ Giles' pious beliefs and theological study may have encouraged similar doubts about the Galenic system. His unorthodox manner of healing which so shocked the friar-physicians of Santarém can also be compared to the novel ideas of brother Nicholas of Poland. Some years after Giles' death, in 1278, Nicholas became notorious in the region of Cracow for recommending the consumption of snakes and lizards as cures for all ailments.¹⁷⁶ In his work *Antipocras* (Anti-Hippocrates), Nicholas showed himself to be sceptical of the reliance on Galen and Hippocrates in scholastic medicine and instead encouraged belief in the natural virtue placed in all common things by God. Nicholas was also similar to Giles in his university education and in the influence he had in the Cracow convent and local society.¹⁷⁷

Rather than viewing Nicholas as an isolated eccentric, William Eamon and Gundolf Keil set his career against the background of the 219 philosophical propositions condemned by the University of Paris in 1277.¹⁷⁸ The condemnations

¹⁷⁴ Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, pp.170-1; French and Cunningham, *Before Science*, p.270. Also M.G. Jordan, "The Disappearance of Galen in Thirteenth-Century Philosophy and Theology", in *Mensch und Natur im Mittelalter*, eds. A. Zimmerman and A. Speer (Berlin/New York, 1992), pp.703-13.

¹⁷⁵ Jordan, "Disappearance of Galen", pp.703-4; Ramon Martí, *Pugio fidei adversus mauros et iudaeos* (Paris, 1651), pp.165-6. It is obvious from the title of this work that Martí operated within an Iberian multicultural context which in the mid-thirteenth century began to be rethought by Dominican ideologists. Martí was one of the friars assigned to the study of Arabic by the Provincial Chapter at Toledo in 1250: Douais, *Provincialium*, II, p.612-3. See below, Chapter Eight.

¹⁷⁶ W. Eamon and G. Keil, "Plebs amat empirica: Nicholas of Poland and his Critique of the Medieval Medical Establishment", *Sudhoffs Archiv* 71 (1987), 180-96.

¹⁷⁷ Nicholas is said in a manuscript of his *Experimenta* to have been in Montpellier for twenty years. Eamon and Keil argue (*ibid.*, p.183) that it was unlikely that Nicholas gained a medical degree at Montpellier because he was a Dominican and because he does not appear in the Montpellier records. These records are incomplete and Nicholas probably studied medicine before becoming a friar.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.193.

reflected a fear that belief in Aristotelian logic as the guiding principle behind the physical world threatened to limit God's power over His creation. As the threat of heresy retreated, the value of secular learning, "Egyptian gold", became less obvious even to the Dominicans and the order struggled for many years to rehabilitate the reputation of Thomas of Aquinas, some of whose ideas were condemned in 1277 in Paris and Oxford.¹⁷⁹ It is possible to view Nicholas of Poland, and perhaps Giles of Santarém as well, as representatives of a wider concern that in the scholastic system derived from Greek learning, God was increasingly being left out of the equation.

There is always another possibility and one difficult to prove, that Giles' words concerning Galen in the *Vitae fratrum* were put into his mouth by their contributor, Humbert of Romans. Or if Giles did abandon academic medicine at the time of his conversion thirty years before the *Vitae fratrum* was compiled, he need not have held to these beliefs for the rest of his life. They were, however, important to Humbert of Romans. Giles, like Roland of Cremona or Gueric of St Quentin, was the ideal Dominican recruit: an academic who subordinated his secular learning and turned to theology. Despite, his eminent common sense, his empathy for the sick, and his understanding of the practicalities of medical treatment, Humbert had a profound sympathy for the ascetic branch of the order. He transformed the Dominican education system, yet in the *Vitae fratrum* and other sources he was said to have been prompted to enter the order by the words of a priest who warned that learning for its own sake was only *pompa sathane*.¹⁸⁰ Humbert has been an entertaining and useful guide to medicine in the Dominican order throughout this chapter, but ultimately he shared in the deep ambiguity with which the Dominicans viewed medicine.

Ziegler sums up this ambiguity in admirable manner when he analyzes the attitude towards medicine of Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum maior*. Citing biblical, patristic and modern authorities, many of them familiar to this chapter such as Ecclesiasticus 38, Vincent presented four positive, one neutral, and four negative reasons why medical advice might or might not be justifiable.¹⁸¹ Surprisingly,

¹⁷⁹ See French and Cunningham, *Before Science*, p.270, for the condemnations from a Mendicant point of view. See also above, Chapter Three, p.115.

¹⁸⁰ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.172.

¹⁸¹ Pro medicine: Isidore of Seville's citation of two Biblical passages (Isaiah 3:21 and 1 Timothy 5:23), the Rule of St Augustine, and Jerome; neutral authority: Seneca; contra medicine: Bernard

however, Vincent failed to reconcile his authorities like a good school man and did not come to a conclusion either way. Nevertheless, as he ended on a negative note and included lengthy citations from Bernard of Clairvaux's hostile comments in his homily on the *Song of Songs*, and from the canon of the Fourth Lateran Council concerned with physicians and confession, the overall impression was not entirely approving. Ziegler analyzes Vincent's work as an important example of the "clerical approach to medicine". This is a reminder that the Dominicans were part of the medieval church and their attitudes could be as conservative and as traditional as those of any other cleric. However, the individual experiences of the many physicians who have been considered here show that the Dominican order did not present a monolithic front and it is only with local and specific case studies, like this treatment of Giles of Santarém, that a more complete picture can be pieced together.

of Clairvaux, canon 22 of the Fourth Lateran Council, Sidonius Apollinaris (d. c. 486), and Hildebert of Lavardin (d. 1133). See Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum quadruplex*, I, pp. 2370-1.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE MEDICAL WORKS OF GILES OF SANTARÉM

*Here begins a book of natures, the work of the very noble physician, brother Giles of the Order of Preachers, which was turned into Romance from Latin so that many could know what lay within.*¹

Now that the main aspects of the life of Giles of Santarém have been considered, it is necessary to establish Giles' place in the context of the history of medicine. This demands consideration of the medical works which are attributed to him. The irony is that while Giles' life remained a shadowy legend and was virtually unknown outside Portugal, one of his works at least became comparatively well-known abroad. The *Liber de secretis in medicina* survives in four manuscripts and was printed several times in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.² Lynn Thorndike devoted a few pages to it in his monumental *History of Magic and Experimental Science*³ and twenty years ago two tri-lingual critical editions were projected.⁴ For some reason Portuguese historians are largely unaware of this research and seem rarely interested in the history of medicine. On the other hand they naturally have a more acute awareness of Giles' Portuguese roots than foreigners have shown.⁵ It is necessary to bring together both

¹ BPE, ms. CXXI/2-19, fol.141v (old foliation): *Aquy sse começa hum livro de naturas pello qual obrava o muy noble fisyco ffrey gill da ordem dos pregadores o qual livro ffoy tirado de latim em romança pera ssaberem muytos o que em elle jazia.*

² Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, ms. 2027, pp.653-75 (paginated not foliated), to be referred to hereafter as C; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. Lat. 17847, fols.29-41, to be referred to as P; Vatican Library, ms. Pal. Lat. 1298, fols.165-172v, to be referred to as V; Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, ms. 5-5-21, fols.84-89v and 116-9, to be referred to as S. The first edition was published in Milan in 1481. The editions used for this study are *Opera Rasis*, (Venice, 1497) and *Opera parva* (Lyons, 1511).

³ L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 2 vols (London, 1923). See also *Idem*, "Latin Manuscripts of Works by Rasis at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris", *BHM* 32 (1958), 54-67, at pp.66-7. Thorndike appears to have used only the Paris manuscript and did not know who the *Magister Egidius* was whom it named as translator.

⁴ The first of these editions was signposted in Yuhanna ibn Masawayh (Jean Mesue), *Le Livre des axiomes médicaux (aphorismi)*, eds. D. Jacquart and G. Troupeau (Geneva, 1980), p.88, note 3. Professor Jacquart informed me in a personal letter of summer 1998 that she has not had time to continue with this project. The aforementioned work does provide the Latin text and a French translation of the sixth and last book of Giles' *Liber de secretis in medicina*. See further below, pp.268-72. Although initially disheartened by news of the French edition, Rosa Kuhne eventually produced the only full published edition in R. Kuhne, "El Sirr Sina 'at al-Tibb de Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Zakariyya' al-Razi, I", *Al-Qantara* 3 (1982), 347-414 (Arabic text); *Idem*, "El Sirr Sina 'at al-Tibb de Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Zakariyya' al-Razi, II", *Al-Qantara* 5 (1984), 235-92 (Spanish translation); *Idem*, "El Sirr Sina 'at al-Tibb de Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Zakariyya' al-Razi, III", *Al-Qantara* 6 (1985), 369-95 (critical study).

⁵ The only people who really consider Giles' translation activity to any great extent, namely Danielle Jacquart and her associates, do not devote much attention to his Portuguese background. See

the expert medical scholarship and the Portuguese context highlighted by different historical traditions of the works of Giles of Santarém. It is also important to cast some light on other less well-known manuscripts attributed to Giles.⁶ Question marks remain over when and where Giles wrote these works. As Giles had a place in the transmission of Arabic medical learning to the west, and as one of the works attributed to him survives in the oldest vernacular medical manuscript extant in Portugal,⁷ Giles' contribution to medical learning both in his country and in Europe is worthy of close consideration.

Three works will be the subject of this study.⁸ Firstly, there is the *Liber de secretis in medicina*, a compilation of anecdotes and recipes in six books translated from works of Ibn Masawaih and Rasis, ninth- and tenth-century Persian physicians, respectively, who wrote in Arabic. The four fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts in which this work survives provide the most concrete evidence of Giles' learning.⁹ The two other works attributed to him are primarily collections of medical recipes. The first is in Portuguese, and actually consists of two works - the *Livro de naturas* and the *Synaees dos enffermos*.¹⁰ The second, written in Italian and known as the *Rimedi di diverse malatie*, survives in a manuscript now located in the United States.¹¹ It will be very interesting to see if there are any points of comparison between these recipe collections.

Jacquart and Troupeau, *Axiomes médicaux*, pp.88-104; D. Jacquart and F. Micheau, *La Médecine arabe et l'occident médiévale* (Paris, 1996), pp.208-9. Similarly, Kuhne, "Sirr III", p.395, offers little context.

⁶ The two catalogues which list most of Giles' works are L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings* (London, 1963), cols. 248, 751, 1079; and Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, I, p.16.

⁷ BPE, ms. CXXI/2-19.

⁸ The commentary on the *Viaticum* (Gerona, Archivo Capitular, ms. (78) 20,c,11, fols.1-25v) written by an *Egidio* who was identified as Giles of Santarém by Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages*, p.74, will not be considered here. Although the manuscript is found in a Spanish archive and dates from the late thirteenth or early-fourteenth century, the attribution of this commentary to Giles of Santarém is not explicit as it is in most of the other works.

⁹ See above, footnote two, for details, and below, pp.259-75. The Seville manuscript does not contain Book Six.

¹⁰ BPE, ms. CXXI/2-19, fols.141v-143v, and below pp.275-84.

¹¹ Washington, National Library of Medicine, ms. 22. See below, pp.284-87. A further recipe collection, Vatican Library, Pal. Lat. 1229, fols.137-200, is attributed to Giles of Santarém with a question mark in the catalogue of Thorndike and Kibre, col.1079. See below, pp.287-8.

Liber de secretis in medicina

The attribution of the translation *Liber de secretis in medicina* to Giles of Santarém is quite clear in two of the four manuscripts which contain the work. The translator of the Paris text (P) is described as a *magister Egidius* who produced his work *apud Sanctam Harenam*. The Cracow text (C) is even more specific, referring to *frater Egidius in ordine fratrum predicatorum in Yspania* and to the *libellus Abubeti (Rasis) in secretis medicine quem frater Egidius de ordine fratrum predicatorum transtulit in Santaremo de arabico in latinum*.¹² Although Giles' name was not included in the early-modern published editions,¹³ there seems no doubt that Giles of Santarém, OP, was viewed as the translator of this work in the fifteenth century. Although no name is given in the earliest manuscript (S) there does not appear to be any reason to reject such specific attributions.

The *De secretis* is on the surface a translation of a work by Abu bakr Muhammad b. Zakariyya al-Razi, usually known by his medieval Latin names, Rasis or Rhazes. He was born in Rayy in Persia (not far from modern Teheran) in c. 854 and he died in around 930 after a lengthy career as a court physician and director of hospitals in Rayy and Baghdad. Rasis is celebrated for writing the first clinical description of smallpox and his *Kitab al-Mansuri* and *Kitab al-Hawi fi 'l-tibb*, translated into Latin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the *Liber Almansoris* and the *Liber continens* respectively, became important medical texts in the West.¹⁴ Rasis reportedly wrote 61 medical works of which thirty-two survive today.¹⁵ Amongst these works is found the *Kitab fi SIRR sina 'at at-tibb*, that is, the *Treatise on*

¹² P, fol.29; C, pp.653 and 675.

¹³ See above, footnote two, and Jacquart and Troupeau, *Axiomes médicaux*, p.102. They feel that the editions follow manuscripts P and V most closely.

¹⁴ For the life and works of Rasis see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 9 vols to date (Leiden, 1954-), VIII (1995), pp.474-77; Jacquart and Micheau, *Médecine arabe*, pp.57-68. Few of Rasis' medical works have been translated from the Arabic: examples in English are W.A. Greenhill, trans. *A Treatise on the Smallpox and Measles* (Sydenham Society, London, 1847) and M. Meyerhof, "Thirty-three Clinical Observations by Rhazes", *Isis* 23 (1935), 321-56.

¹⁵ Jacquart and Micheau, *Médecine arabe*, pp.60-62. The books of Rasis are listed by the eleventh-century scholar, Al-Biruni. See J. Ruska, "Al-Beruni als Quelle für das Leben und die Schriften al-Razi's", *Isis* 5 (1922), 26-50.

the Secret of the Medical Art, of which three Arabic manuscripts survive.¹⁶ It is this work which was eventually translated by Giles of Santarém as the *De secretis*.

It is worth looking carefully at the four manuscripts P, V, S and C of Giles' Latin translation as the dates and places of composition and the accompanying texts are revealing of the contexts in which this work was copied and disseminated. According to Danielle Jacquart and Gérard Troupeau the most reliable text, at least of Book Six, is perhaps surprisingly, that found in the Polish manuscript C. This is because it refers most precisely to its translator, Giles of Santarém, and appears to be closest to the Arabic. It differs considerably from the French and Vatican manuscripts, P and V.¹⁷ C was put together at the University of Cracow, *in studio cracoviensi*, in the mid-fifteenth century. The dates 1426, 1427 and 1442 are found in the manuscript and the main scribe, John de Dobra, who taught medicine at the University of Cracow, died in 1447. The majority of the works it contains belonged to the *Articella* or were commonly associated with that group of university medical texts. These include the *Isagoge* of Johannitius, Galen's *Tegni*, Philaretus and Bernard de Gordon on pulse, Gilles de Corbeil and Bernard de Gordon on urines, and the *Epistola ad Mecenatem* of Hippocrates.¹⁸

The oldest manuscript appears to be S, bought in Milan in 1531 by Ferdinand Columbus, son of the explorer, and now held by the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville. As this version of *De secretis* does not contain Book Six it was not analyzed by Jacquart and Troupeau.¹⁹ It appears to display a level of accuracy similar to C and

¹⁶ R. Kühne, "Sirr I", pp.347-57: Real Monastério de El Escorial, ms. árabe 833, fols.127-139; Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ms. 5240, fols.49-67; Biblioteca Real de Rabat, ms. 3477, fols.132v-150. The oldest manuscript is that of El Escorial which was completed in Toledo in January 1265. The Madrid manuscript is dated 3 June 1424.

¹⁷ Jacquart and Troupeau, *Axiomes médicaux*, pp.90-1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.91-5.

¹⁹ However, Jacquart and Troupeau, *Axiomes médicaux*, p.89, note 4, are the only authors who refer to S at all. It is not listed by Kaepelli in *Scriptores*, I, p.16, or by Thorndike and Kibre, *Catalogue of Incipits*, as a work attributed to Giles. Although Book Six is not found in S it was already integral to the Latin manuscript tradition as the list of contents refers to it and the incipit is given to the book after the end of Book Five. There is no obvious reason why the copy was abandoned at this point. The scribe obviously had access to Book Six because two of its aphorisms are inserted into the lower margin of Book One at folio 84. A great deal of correction and insertion has been carried out by later hands, rendering a relatively accurate translation even more so. Curiously, Books Two and Three are repeated later in manuscript S on folios 116-9, a detail observed by Jacquart and Troupeau but not recognized by the library catalogue. I would like to thank José Francisco Sáez Guillén of the Biblioteca Colombina, who sent me complete details of this manuscript from the new library catalogue which is still in progress.

also presents itself as a university text book. However, the contents of S are in striking contrast. Altogether the compilation of 199 folios comprises 58 different medical texts. Most consist of notes to key works by important university authorities; for example: Avicenna's *Canon*, the *Universal Diets* of Isaac Judeus, the *De animalibus* of Aristotle, the *Colliget* of Averroes (d.1198), the *De iuventute et senectute* of Albertus Magnus, and the *De regimine sanitatis* of Galen. Also found in the manuscript are short works attributed to Galen, Hippocrates, and Rasis amongst others. Examples of the former are the *Secreta Galieni* and the *Capsula eburnea* of Pseudo-Hippocrates.²⁰ Included amongst the works of Rasis are, apart from the *De secretis*, notes on the *De animalibus* and the texts of *De iuncturis*, *De curis puerorum*, and *De lapide*. A clue is given to the origins of this manuscript in a note which states: *composui in 2^o anno mee lecture Bononie MCCCXLIII die XXI Iulii*.²¹ Although this is not written in the only hand found in the manuscript, it helps to explain S as a compilation of lecture notes put together at the University of Bologna in the mid-fourteenth century, presumably by a student.

The manuscript found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (P) contains hands datable to the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century, the *De secretis* belonging to the latter period. This has always been the most accessible manuscript of Giles' translation and was that used by Thorndike and Kühne.²² The manuscript is mainly made up of works by Arnau de Vilanova (d.1311): *Parabole medicationis*, *De improbatione maleficiorum*, *De consideratione medicine*, and *De humide radicali*, three of which are in the same hand as the *De secretis*.²³ This might suggest an interest in Iberian medicine on the part of the scribe or a belief that Giles' translation bore a certain similarity to the works of Arnau.

²⁰ See below, pp.263-5, for the significance of these works.

²¹ S, fol.198v.

²² Thorndike, "Latin Manuscripts of Works by Rasis", p.66; Kühne, "Sirr I", p.348.

²³ Jacquart and Troupeau, *Axiomes médicaux*, pp.96-8. On the first work, see *Arnaldi de Vilanova opera medica omnia*, eds. L. García Ballester, J.A. Paniagua, and M.R. McVaugh, 16 vols (Barcelona, 1975-), VI:2 *Commentum in quasdam parabolas et alias aphorismorum series: aphorismi particulares, aphorismi de memoria, aphorismi extravagantes*, eds. J.A. Paniagua and P. Gil Sotres with L. García Ballester and E. Feliu (Barcelona, 1993). On the last work, see M.R. McVaugh, "The *Humidum radicale* in thirteenth century medicine", *Traditio* 30 (1974), 259-83, at pp.278-82.

Manuscript V belongs to the second half of the fifteenth century, with the date 1464 given in the explicit of a commentary on the fourth book of Avicenna's *Canon*, and appears to have been put together in Padua.²⁴ Apart from the commentary on the *Canon*, and the *Anatomia corporis humani* of Mondino di Liuzzi (d.1326), the manuscript mainly consists of aphoristic works such as *De secretis*. Like P it contains the *Parabole medicationis* of Arnau de Vilanova, a collection of rules and canons for the preservation of health and the cure of disease. It also has the *Aphorismi* and the *Regimen sanitatis ad regem Hyspanie* of Moses Maimonides, an Iberian Jew who died in Cairo in 1204, the *De secretis ad Monteum* of Pseudo-Galen, which is the same work as the *Secreta Galieni* found in S, and the *Praecepta* attributed to Hippocrates. The manuscript is unique in that it is the only one to preserve both Latin translations of the *Kitab al-Nawadir al-tibbiyya* of Ibn Masawaih: Giles' version in the *De secretis*, and the anonymous *Aphorismi Iohannis Damasceni*.²⁵ It is a characteristic of medieval manuscripts and early editions that the same work in different guises can be included more than once in a single codex, apparently without anyone noticing.

The inclusion of the *De secretis* with certain other medical works is helpful in the assessment of its contents. There does seem to be a relationship with some works of Arnau de Vilanova, which throws an interesting light on the observation of Danielle Jacquart that there is "une étonnante parenté" between some of the anecdotes in *De secretis* and a number of *Experimenta* attributed to Arnau.²⁶ The noble French ladies treated by Arnau and the caliphs who consulted Rasis were worlds apart, but there are close parallels in the language used, the sequence of events, and the favourable outcomes. Jacquart goes so far as to suggest that the work of Giles of Santarém exercised some influence over Arnau de Vilanova. The editor of Rasis' Arabic text, Rosa Kuhne, believes that the *De secretis* must also have influenced the author of the

²⁴ *Die medizinischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek*, ed., L. Schuba (Wiesbaden, 1981), pp.387-9; Jacquart and Troupeau, *Axiomes médicaux*, pp.98-102.

²⁵ See below, p.269.

²⁶ Jacquart and Micheau, *Médecine arabe*, pp.208-9. Also M.R. McVaugh, "The *Experimenta* of Arnau de Villanova", *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1971), 107-18.

Thesaurus pauperum, traditionally the Portuguese Petrus Hispanus.²⁷ It might be going too far to make these links as very similar collections of *experimenta*, recipes and anecdotes circulated in the Middle Ages. However, it will be seen that the collection of recipes attributed to Giles known as the *Rimedio di diverse malatie* was translated from Latin to Italian via Catalan in Perpignan, under Aragonese control until the modern period.²⁸ Furthermore, Arnau de Vilanova does seem to have had some Portuguese links as he referred to a discussion with a Portuguese royal physician in one of his works,²⁹ and may have been *nosso fisico e muy maestre Arnaldo* whom Isabel de Aragon, Queen of Portugal, asked to have visit her on his way to Santiago de Compostela.³⁰ Although these links should be viewed with caution, it does seem likely that Giles' place in the history of medieval Iberian medicine needs to be recognized.

Although *De secretis* could be included in a selection of university texts, as in C and S, or with learned academic treatises such as Arnau de Vilanova's *De humide radicali* in P, it is clear that it is closer in character to the Books of Secrets and aphorisms with which it is found in V and S. Books of Secrets were a widespread genre of literature in the Middle Ages. Although they often incorporated astrological and alchemical material and descriptions of the virtues of gems and plants, most Books of Secrets had major medical sections.³¹ The most famous is probably the *Secretum secretorum* of Pseudo-Aristotle which dates back to the tenth century in its oldest Arabic version and survives in hundreds of manuscripts.³² Books of Secrets were also attributed to both Galen and Hippocrates. The *Secreta* or *De secretis ad*

²⁷ Kuhne, "Sirr III", p.395. The style and contents of the *De secretis* and the *Thesaurus pauperum* are similar. See also below, pp.278, for a comparison of *De naturas* and the *Thesaurus pauperum*.

²⁸ See below, p.285.

²⁹ I would like to thank Michael McVaugh for this reference which comes from the edition of the *Repetitio super vita brevis* which he is working on with Luis García Ballester. The work dates from c. 1300.

³⁰ *Rainha Santa: Cartas inéditas e outros documentos*, ed. S. Antunes Rodrigues (Coimbra, 1958), p.78. The letter is dated to 10 December but no year is given. There are also references to Portuguese physicians in Catalan records: a John of Portugal, physician, is documented between 1308 and 1316. See M.R. McVaugh, *Medicine Before the Plague, Practitioners and their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285-1345* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.87, 191, 193-5.

³¹ On medical secrets, see Thorndike, *Magic*, II, pp.751-74, and W. Eamon, "Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Science", *Sudhoffs Archiv* 69 (1985), 26-49.

³² Eamon, "Books of Secrets", p.28.

Monteum of Pseudo-Galen is found in manuscripts V and S and was included as one of the works translated by Gerard of Cremona in a list drawn up by his students after his death in 1187.³³ The *Secreta* of Pseudo-Hippocrates, also known as the *Prognostica* (to be differentiated from the better-known *Prognostics*) or most commonly *Capsula eburnea*, found in S, was also translated by Gerard of Cremona in the twelfth century, although Latin translations existed from the fifth or sixth centuries. According to Pearl Kibre the *Capsula eburnea* was a practical guide to the signs prognosticating life or death and was often linked to the works of Maimonides or Rasis.³⁴ In fact, in a number of early editions of Rasis' *Opera* both the *Capsula eburnea* and the *Secreta Ypocratis* or *Liber pronosticorum* can be found together.³⁵

It is necessary to study this characteristic of the manuscripts and editions because it has been recognized by Thorndike and Kühne that Book Five of the *De secretis* is effectively yet another version of the *Capsula eburnea*.³⁶ It is not strictly plagiarism as the author acknowledged in a short introduction that he was presenting the *verbum ypocratis*.³⁷ The result of this is that the printed editions actually have not two but three versions of the Secrets of Hippocrates under different titles. The popularity of this form of literature begs the question: what is "secret" about the material contained in the *De secretis* and the various other Books of Secrets? It should be emphasized that in the Middle Ages describing knowledge as *secretus* or *occultus* (hidden) did not imply that it was "magical" or forbidden. Thorndike describes Rasis' prologue to *De secretis* as "both original and at the same time

³³ Thorndike, *Magic*, II, p.758. Giles' work is not only found with others of Iberian origin but is also closely associated with texts translated by Gerard of Cremona at Toledo. Gerard was of course responsible for translating many of Rasis' works including the *Liber Almansoris*. If Giles' works had circulated in manuscripts of this type before the fourteenth century, then this might be another factor in the development of his legend.

³⁴ P. Kibre, "Hippocratic Writings in the Middle Ages", *BHM* 18 (1945), 371-412, at pp.390-93. See also F.S. Paxton, "*Signa mortifera*: Death and Prognostication in Early Medieval Monastic Medicine", *BHM* 67 (1993), 631-50, at pp.639-40.

³⁵ For example in the edition of Venice, 1497, are found the *Liber pronosticorum Hypocratis dictus capsula eburnea* and the *Gloriossimi medici Ypocratis pronosticorum liber qui dicitur liber secretorum*.

³⁶ Thorndike, *Magic*, II, p.766; Kühne, "*Sirr* I", p.349 and "*Sirr*, III", pp.381-6.

³⁷ P, fol.37v; V, fol.170; C, p.668.

occasionally a bit incoherent and abrupt or strange and mystical in tone.”³⁸ However, it does in fact explain very well this notion of “secrets”.

The work is “secret” on more than one level. Rasis explains that “it has been my plan to tell some secrets in it, both in prognostics of the future and in confidential information and some of my own cases”.³⁹ These *secreta* are secrets of the ancients who hid useful and necessary things and deprived the *via scientie* of light. It was Rasis’ aim to clarify and explain these *occultationes viarum sapientie artium antiquarum*.⁴⁰ On another level Rasis’ intended his work to remain secret in that it was not to be shown to those who did not deserve it.⁴¹ Books of Secrets could sometimes contain unsuitable knowledge which concerned the treatment of women or of sexual problems; there was a subsection of this genre of literature entitled *De secretis mulierum*.⁴² However, Rasis perhaps more specifically hoped to withhold information from those who were not “expert” in medicine in general. This is very similar to the words of Ibn Masawaih (attributed to *Abubert*) at the beginning of Book Six where he warned that not everyone could have expert medical understanding and that to work from books without medical advice was dangerous.⁴³ A further level of meaning may be a kind of competitive secrecy. Some of the recipes are described as secret in themselves. For example, in Book Two there is a “hidden electuary with a marvellous effect on fevers.”⁴⁴ It may be a trade secret which is

³⁸ Thorndike, *Magic*, II, p.764. This prologue is not present in C but is found in all the editions. There is a translation in Thorndike, *Magic*, II, pp.764-6 from the Milan, 1481 edition. For the similar Arabic version see Kuhne, “*Sirr II*”, pp.235-7.

³⁹ Thorndike, *Magic*, II, p.765.

⁴⁰ The idea of the ancients hiding their knowledge was also the concept behind the *Capsula eburnea*. Hippocrates was supposed to have requested that this text be hidden in his tomb in a little ivory box (*capsula eburnea*) upon his death. Kibre, “Hippocratic Writings”, p.392.

⁴¹ P, fol.29; V, fol.165; S, fol.84. The prologue is not found in C.

⁴² See L. Thorndike, “Further Consideration of the *Experimenta*, *Speculum Astronomiae*, and *De Secretis Mulierum* Ascribed to Albertus Magnus”, *Speculum* 30 (1955), 413-43.

⁴³ P, fol.38v; V, fol.170v; C, p.669. Jacquart and Troupeau, *Axiomes médicaux*, p.229, Kuhne, “*Sirr II*”, p.278.

⁴⁴ V, fol.167. In V it is clearly an *electuarium occultum*. In C, p.658, however, and in P, fol.32v, and C, fol. the recipe appears to be an electuary for *occultis febris*. The adjective “hidden” has changed position. According to Kuhne’s Spanish translation, in the Arabic this recipe was an “extraordinary electuary for continuous fever”: “*Sirr II*”, p.249. There has therefore been a certain amount of reshaping of this recipe which cannot entirely be explained by scribal error. Whoever copied V certainly appears to have viewed this particular electuary as a secret.

being divulged. Thus medical secrets should not be viewed as necessarily secret in the modern sense of the word.

At the end of the prologue to *De secretis* there is a list of the six books and their titles. It is worth describing these six books in order to gain an idea of the material with which Giles was dealing as translator. The first book is entitled *De pronosticis rerum futurarum* and begins with a chapter on clouds. It largely deals with the effect of external factors on health: the weather, the seasons, place of habitation, dreams, eating, purgation, sleep, exercise, and emotions; all things which effectively made up the six non-naturals of medical textbooks.⁴⁵ This kind of material echoes that of the Hippocratic texts: *Airs, Waters, Places, Prognostics*, and *Aphorisms*.⁴⁶

Book Two is entitled *De experiētiis et confidentiis*.⁴⁷ These are the *experimenta* of the wise collected from books where they were not made perfectly clear. Much of this book is made up of fairly simple recipes: “marvellous” oils, “expert” medicines, confections, suffumigations and plasters. Many of the drugs and herbal ingredients in this book and in Book One are simply transliterated Arabic. Most of the ingredients are sugary herbal preparations suitable for bringing down fevers, soothing sore throats and upset stomachs, easing the pain of ulcers and apostemes, and comforting weak eyes. There is a rough idea of measurements and dosage but in many cases any error would have caused negligible damage. Hellebore and poppy are two potentially dangerous drugs but are used only very occasionally. Rasis emphasized the benign properties of his pharmacopia by giving a list at the end of Book Four of drugs he claimed never caused harm. Interestingly, all four Latin manuscripts add the dangerous plant, henbane, to the list.⁴⁸

Book Three of *De secretis* is a complete contrast to Book Two. Instead of drawing on the recipes of the past, Rasis is using his own experiences; the book is

⁴⁵ P, fols.29-32; V, fols.165-166v; C, pp.653-57; S, fols.84-85v; Kuhne, “*Sirr II*”, pp.238-48. See P.H. Niebyl, “The Non-naturals”, *BHM* 45 (1971), 486-92.

⁴⁶ The similarity is obvious even in the Penguin Classics translation: *Hippocratic Writings*, ed. G.E.R. Lloyd, trans. J. Chadwick and W.N. Mann (Harmondsworth, 1978), pp.148-69, 170-185 and 206-236 respectively. Rasis quotes from the second chapter of *Airs, Waters, Places* at the beginning of Book Two of *De secretis*. See Kuhne, “*Sirr II*”, p.248.

⁴⁷ P, fols.32-34v; V, fols.166v-68; C, pp.657-62; S, fols.85v-87. Kuhne, “*Sirr II*”, pp.248-59.

⁴⁸ P, fol.37v; V, fol.170; C, p.667; S, fol.89.

entitled *De casibus qui michi acciderunt*. It is by far the shortest book and consists of around a dozen case histories or anecdotes.⁴⁹ The autobiographical information in some of these anecdotes arguably makes this the most important part of *De secretis*. Kuhne shows how the recipe for curing his own blindness which Rasis gives at the beginning, supports evidence found elsewhere for his poor sight towards the end of his life.⁵⁰ This book gives a fascinating glimpse of life as a court physician in tenth-century Baghdad. As there is some evidence that Giles, or at least his convent at Santarém, had contacts with the court of Afonso III of Portugal, it is tempting to think that he saw some parallels with his own career in the text.⁵¹

The most spectacular cures related by Rasis in Book Three were of Persian princes. In the first case, a prince had drunk wine after drawing off an excessive amount of blood in autumn. Rasis' cure for the resulting anaemia was a fortifying soup of dove chicks cooked in wine, cloves and cinnamon.⁵² He also made a soup of chicken and doves cooked in wine and musk for a prince suffering from an aposteme near the brain.⁵³ Rasis thought very highly of soups made from various kinds of birds - usually doves or chickens - and used them regularly throughout *De secretis*. In Book Four, which is entirely devoted to the properties of different foods and their preparation, Rasis wrote that doves were marvellous for those deficient in innate heat and blood. Turtle doves more specifically generated good humours and had marvellous virtue.⁵⁴ Presumably Rasis' methods were viewed as unorthodox. In the case of the first prince it appears that the prince's servants had plotted to kill the physician if he was not successful. In another case Rasis cured a prince of apoplexy by applying a cupping glass to his neck in contrast to other physicians who had applied suffumigations and ointments.⁵⁵ Rasis' success perhaps lay in his willingness to try ideas out on himself. He related that while studying medicine and philosophy in his youth he had stayed up at night, got no sleep, weakened his eyesight and lost his

⁴⁹ P, fols.34v-35v; V, fols.168-68v; C, pp.662-63; S, fols.87-87v. Kuhne, "*Sirr II*", pp.259-64.

⁵⁰ Kuhne, "*Sirr III*", pp.379-80.

⁵¹ See above, Chapter Seven, pp.239-41.

⁵² P, fol.34v; V, fol.168; C, p.662; S, fol.87. Kuhne, "*Sirr II*", p.261.

⁵³ P, fol.34v-35; V, fol.168v; C, p.662; S, fol.87. Kuhne, "*Sirr II*", pp.261-2.

⁵⁴ P, fol.36v; V, fols.169-169v; C, p.665-6; S, fol.88-88v. Kuhne, "*Sirr II*", pp.269-70.

⁵⁵ P, fol.35; V, fol.168v; C, pp.162-3; S, fol.87v. Kuhne, "*Sirr II*", p.262.

sex drive. He advocated that breathing in water lily oil through the nose and eating lettuce aided sleep, while a sparrow, dove and mutton stew with cinnamon and pepper restored strength and memory.⁵⁶

As already noted Book Four is concerned with various kinds of foods and their advantages and disadvantages to the patient.⁵⁷ The only meats mentioned are lamb, kid and mutton. Most of the emphasis is on poultry, fruit and vegetables. Examples of fruit are chickpeas, figs, grapes, quince, peaches, juniper, pomegranate, lemon, and almonds; many of these flourish in Andalusia and the Algarve today, largely as a result of Moorish rule. Less familiar to the Portuguese perhaps, would be certain fish described as black or red, with several veins, the colour of peacocks, or with black or pale blemishes which should not be eaten.⁵⁸ Would these fish perhaps have been more common in the Red Sea or Persian Gulf than in the Atlantic?

It has already been explained how Book Five is actually the Secrets of Hippocrates. It is made up of short descriptions of prognostic signs most of which indicate death within a few months.⁵⁹ They often involve the appearance of abscesses or ulcers in various parts of the body. Some of the aphorisms give a more indefinite or long-term indication of health. For example, Rasis has further advice for students: whoever makes an effort to study difficult books will suffer from delirium, insomnia and melancholy. Also, he who talks much during sleep will eventually suffer from apoplexy and he who sleeps with the eyes open will become epileptic. One who while in a fever sees the dead will die in twenty-five days. This is very interesting when one thinks back to the deaths reported by Giles in the *Vitae fratrum*. More than one of these dying friars saw visions of the dead.⁶⁰

Book Six has aroused a great deal of attention and became the subject of an edition in itself. This is because it was recognized in the 1950s that *De secretis* was made up of six books whereas the oldest Arabic manuscript had only five. Kuhne and the French team of Jacquart and Troupeau independently succeeded in identifying the

⁵⁶ P, fol.34v; V, fol.168; C, p.162; S, fol.87. Kuhne, "Sirr II", pp.259-60.

⁵⁷ P, fols.35v-37v; V, fols.168v-70; C, pp.663-68; S, fols.87v-89. Kuhne, "Sirr II", pp.264-74.

⁵⁸ P, fol.37; V, fol.169v; C, p.667; S, fol.88v. Kuhne, "Sirr II", p.270.

⁵⁹ P, fols.38-38v; V, fols.170-70v; C, pp.668-9, S, fols.89-89v. Kuhne, "Sirr II", pp.274-8.

⁶⁰ See above, Chapter Two, p.76. For a comparison between Book Five and the prognostic *Synaees* attributed to Giles, see below, pp.282-3.

sixth book as the *Kitab al-Nawadir al-tibbiyya* or *Aphorisms* of Yuhanna ibn Masawaih.⁶¹ Ibn Masawaih, who was born after 786 and died in 857, was a Nestorian Christian physician of Baghdad known to the medieval world as John Mesue. His father, a pharmacist, had originated in Junday Shapur in southern Persia, site of a famous hospital and medical school, and father and son were closely associated with the Bakhtishu family, a line of Christian physicians prominent in the hospital. As a translator and teacher, Ibn Masawaih belonged to an important circle of intellectuals. One of his pupils was Hunayn ibn Ishaq, another Christian physician later known in the west as Johannitius, whose introduction or *Isagoge* to Galen's *Tegni* became a key text of the medieval university curriculum. Ibn Masawaih dedicated his *Aphorisms* to Hunayn who had previously translated the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, the model for this genre of medical literature.⁶²

Altogether, Ibn Masawaih produced over forty works in Arabic, some thirty of which survive. The *Kitab al-Nawadir al-tibbiyya* is extant in eight Arabic manuscripts dating from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. It also survives in two Latin translations; that of Giles and another entirely independent version entitled the *Aphorismi Iohannis Damasceni*.⁶³ This other translation enjoyed much greater popularity and seventy manuscripts have been identified dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. From the thirteenth century the work became incorporated into the collection of university text books known as the *Articella*. The name of the translator is unknown and the attribution to the Greek theologian, John of Damascus (d.749), is probably due to a confusion over Arabic nomenclature.⁶⁴ It is uncertain why Ibn Masawaih's *Aphorisms* became incorporated into a work of Rasis. Jacquart and Troupeau suggest that it could have been an error on the part of Giles of Santarém or another scribe who might have copied the two separate texts together and caused them eventually to be merged into one. It is possible that this happened in

⁶¹ Jacquart and Troupeau, *Axiomes médicaux*, pp.II, 8, 88-89; Kuhne, "Sirr I", p.349.

⁶² Jacquart and Troupeau, *Axiomes médicaux*, pp.1-5.

⁶³ As noted above, p.262, manuscript V contains both translations of the *Kitab al-Nawadir al-tibbiyya*.

⁶⁴ Jacquart and Troupeau, *Axiomes médicaux*, pp.14-88, for details of this other translation. John of Damascus' name in Arabic is Yuhanna ibn Mansur which would have been more familiar to the Christian translator than the more unusual Persian name Masawaih (*ibid.*, p.8).

an Arabic manuscript.⁶⁵ Kuhne has discovered an Arabic manuscript (one not used by the French team) of the *Sirr sinat'at al-tibb* that does consist of six books and therefore at least one Arabic copyist believed Book Six to be by Rasis. She has also found evidence that the *Aphorisms* of Ibn Masawaih was known under Rasis' name in the thirteenth century.⁶⁶ Rasis did put together a collection of nearly four hundred aphorisms of his own and so perhaps the work of the less famous ibn Masawaih became confused with this.⁶⁷ Placing the problem of Book Six with that of Book Five by Pseudo-Hippocrates, the *De secretis* is revealed to be a work of surprising complexity. What does this reveal of Giles of Santarém's scholarship and skill as a translator?

Jacquart and Troupeau appear to have felt after exhaustive comparison between the Arabic text of the *Kitab al-Nawadir al-tibbiyya*, Giles' translation in Book Six of *De secretis*, and the anonymous *Aphorismi Iohannis Damasceni*, that Giles' version left much to be desired. The manuscripts of his work lie furthest from the original Arabic and notably omit the dedication, prologue, and epilogue of Ibn Masawaih's work, although they do include three aphorisms from the Arabic not found in the more popular Latin translation.⁶⁸ A close look at the French translation Jacquart and Troupeau made of the Arabic and their edition of the anonymous Latin text does suggest that Giles' translation of Book Six lacks the subtlety of the one and the clarity of the other.

Kuhne, who published a study of the whole of *De secretis* is far more positive about Giles' work. Her feeling is that the large number of transliterated Arabic words in Books One and Two indicate a close relationship with the original source. Some of the spellings adopted may suggest a familiarity with spoken rather than written Arabic

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.89. Jacquart comments that so far no Arabic manuscript has been found with such a juxtaposition. However, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ms. 5240 appears to contain both the *Sirr sinat'at al-tibb* of Rasis and the *Kitab al-Nawadir al-tibbiyya* of ibn Masawaih as separate works (although not back to back). See Kühne, "Sirr I", pp.351-2. Kühne's description of this manuscript is very similar to that given by Jacquart and Troupeau, *Axiomes médicaux*, pp.12-13 for Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ms. árabe 601/10. Is this the same manuscript?

⁶⁶ Kuhne, "Sirr III", pp.386-9. The Arabic manuscript is that of Rabat (see above, note 16). Kuhne also presents the hypothesis that the work was not directly that of Rasis but was made up from his notes after his death. This would explain the inclusion of texts by other authors and of passages reminiscent of other works of Rasis, particularly the *Liber continens*.

⁶⁷ Jacquart and Micheau, *Médecine arabe*, p.64.

⁶⁸ Aphorisms nos. 101bis, 101ter, and 120bis.

and there is some evidence that translators worked from a text *read* to them by an assistant more familiar with the written language. In any event the transliterations reveal a desire to keep to a literal translation.⁶⁹ It is not felt that the failure to translate these words was necessarily a sign of insufficient linguistic skill. A problem common to all translators from Arabic was that Latin simply did not have the necessary technical vocabulary. Arabic words entered Western languages through necessity and the similarity between Giles' transcriptions and Kuhne's modern Spanish for certain herbs and minerals is striking. To aid readers it was often the case that a *Synonyma Rasis* circulated with the works of Rasis; there is one in most of the printed *Opera* and in manuscript S.⁷⁰ It would be wrong, however, to assume that the translators did not understand the text they were working on. An example of this comes from Book One with the word *alkanebir*.⁷¹ This was to be eaten in cases of *algidri*: *puncturas rubeas et vocatur in arabico alhaceba*, which appear to be smallpox or measles,⁷² and is caused by a great deal of cloud and permanent rain in the city. The text explains that *alkanebir* are *columbas silvestris que in domibus non nutriuntur*. However, the Arabic *qunbur* (plural: *qanabir*) strictly refers to a lark. Kuhne also focuses on this small inconsistency but feels that, rather than this being a mistake on the part of the translator, wild doves are perhaps exactly what was meant. Kuhne thus translates the Arabic in this way.⁷³

Small quibbles of this kind would probably not have made much difference to diet and medication. There are much graver inconsistencies, particularly in Books One and Two where the ingredients of medicinal recipes are frequently not given in full or are altered. For example, an electuary for burning fever in the Arabic

⁶⁹ Kuhne, "Sirr III", p.395. Book Six contains hardly any Arabisms and therefore Jacquart and Troupeau make no comment on this aspect of the translation. For a discussion of literal translation from Arabic to Latin, see C. Burnett, "Translating from Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: Theory, Practice and Criticism", in *Éditer, traduire, interpréter: essais de méthodologie philosophique*, eds. S.G. Lofts and P.W. Rosemann (Louvain, 1997), 54-78.

⁷⁰ S, fols.83v.

⁷¹ P, fol.29v. V, fol.165, gives *alkenebir*; C, p.653, gives *alcenebur*; and S, fol.84, gives *alkebit*.

⁷² *Algidri* was probably derived from the Arabic *judari* (smallpox) and *alhaceba* comes from *hasba* (measles). Considering that Rasis gave the first clinical description of these illnesses and was able to distinguish them, it seems surprising that he is so vague here.

⁷³ Kuhne, "Sirr II", pp.238 and 269, note 49. I have chosen not to adopt Kuhne's method of numbering the aphorisms in her Spanish translation simply because the Latin texts do not follow it; often several aphorisms are merged together or the order is rearranged.

contained cetrine myrabalans, myrabalans of Kabul, chicory and basil seeds, sharp cinnamon, fresh ginger, cloves, white sandal, ambergris and fresh camphor all to be ground, sieved and mixed with pistachio oil and juniper honey. The mixture was to be given to the patient in a sugary apple syrup.⁷⁴ In P this electuary has lost the chicory, basil, white sandal and camphor and gained good stavesacre. A common problem throughout the text is the confusion of ambergris, a whale product, and amber, fossilized tree resin. The Latin fails to differentiate.⁷⁵ A further major example comes at the end of Book Four where Rasis gave a long list of drugs and herbs which he used regularly. Only part of this list comes through to the Latin manuscripts.⁷⁶ Mistakes of this sort are either scribal errors or signs of selectivity on the part of the later copier. They tend not to be so prominent in C and rarely occur in S. Further errors were made when the text was prepared for printing. For example, most of the anecdotes of Book Three are repeated twice in the editions.⁷⁷

If it is being suggested that Giles was reasonably accurate in his Arabic translation, then it is necessary to assess his opportunities for knowing this language. Some thought should also be applied to the context in which Giles wrote *De secretis*. Portuguese historians have shown only a limited awareness of Giles' medical works and therefore questions such as what was his knowledge of Arabic or where he wrote have received less attention than might have been expected. Part of the problem is that no manuscripts of *De secretis* survive in Portugal and only one printed copy of it appears to exist there.⁷⁸ As Giles' name is not recorded in the published version, at least one Portuguese historian was inclined to cast doubt on his translation activity.⁷⁹ Other modern references to Giles' translation activity in Portuguese studies are a little more difficult to explain. For example, some historians show awareness that the *De*

⁷⁴ Kuhne, "Sirr II", p.249.

⁷⁵ P, fol.32. V, fol.166v gives virtually the same reading. C, p.657, gives a much more accurate translation, and S, fol.85v is almost the same as the Arabic.

⁷⁶ Kuhne, "Sirr II", pp.273-4; P, fol.37v-b; C, p.667. S, fol.89. is the only manuscript to retain the three parts of this list in their original form.

⁷⁷ *Opera* (Venice, 1497), fol.96.

⁷⁸ Rasis, *Opera parva* (Lyons, 1511), fols.239v-257v, found in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon under the classmark 40-II-8.

⁷⁹ Pereira in *Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.95.

secretis is a translation of two Arabic works rather than only one.⁸⁰ This must derive from the analysis of the text carried out by Jacquart and Troupeau but their study is never cited. Furthermore, a persistent tradition holds that Giles wrote *De secretis* at Santa Cruz de Coimbra in 1218. This surely is related to the Santa Cruz book list of 1218 which recorded the grant of fifteen books, including the ninth book of the *Liber Almansoris* of Rasis, to a Master Giles. However, no historian actually admits to this connection.⁸¹

It was argued in Chapter Five that, although it would be satisfying to be able to link Giles of Santarém with the Master Giles of Santa Cruz, it is not possible to do this with absolute certainty. The theory that Giles of Santarém could have been in Coimbra in 1218 should not be dismissed out of hand, but it is dangerous to fix the date of a translation simply because something similar was in circulation. Danielle Jacquart, from her study of Book Six of *De secretis*, believes that it was translated in the second half of the thirteenth century rather than towards the beginning, and argues that it belongs to the last stage of translations from the Arabic. It should be compared with, amongst others, the translation of the *Kitab al-Hawi (Liber continens)* of Rasis by Faragius in 1279 in Italy, or of the *Kitab Taqwim as-sihha (Tacuimum sanitatis)* of Ibn Butlan at the court of Manfred of Sicily between 1254 and 1266. It would also be interesting to compare Giles' translation with that of the *Liber de aegritudinibus oculorum* of 'Ali ibn 'Isa by the Dominican friar, Dominic of Morocco, in 1271.⁸²

This last translator alerts us to a second factor which suggests a fairly late date for Giles' translation activity. In 1250 the Dominican Provincial Chapter at Toledo appointed eight friars to the study of Arabic, a group to be made up to twelve as soon as possible. This group included Ramon Martí (d.1286), author of an Arabic-Latin

⁸⁰ For example, A do Rosário, "Letrados dominicanos em Portugal nos séculos XIII-XV", *Repertorio de Historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España* 7 (1979), 509-98, at p.567, and J. Mattoso, "S. Frei Gil de Santarém: *De naturas*", in *Os descobrimentos portugueses e a Europe da Renascimento: "A voz da terra ansiando pela mar", antecedentes dos descobrimentos* (XVII Exposição Europeia de arte, ciência e cultura, Lisbon, 1983), p.133.

⁸¹ See J. Custódio, "S. Frei Gil de Santarém: médico português da ordem dos pregadores, 1180?-1265", in the supplement *Santarém na Idade Média: nos 850 anos da reconquista*, to *O Ribatejo* 645 (12 March 1997), pp.16-17. I am very grateful to the author for sending me this article. See also above, Chapter Five, pp.177-8.

⁸² Jacquart and Micheau, *Médecine arabe*, pp.206-10. For Dominic of Morocco, see also D.C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago/London, 1981), and Kaepelli, *Scriptores*, I, pp.328-9.

glossary and later celebrated for his *Pugio fidei adversus mauros et iudaeos*.⁸³ In 1259 the General Chapter at Valence ordered the Prior Provincial of *Hispania* to organize a school of Arabic at Barcelona and all those interested in learning the language were encouraged to get in touch.⁸⁴ From 1266 to around 1280 there was a Dominican school of Arabic in Murcia in which Dominic of Morocco is believed to have worked.⁸⁵ It appears likely that Giles worked on his translation during the 1250s or early 1260s in what was probably an amenable climate for this kind of activity in the Dominican order.

The best evidence that *De secretis* was not written in Coimbra, or at Paris for that matter, is that given by the manuscripts. P and C state quite clearly that the text was translated by Giles of Santarém, OP, *in Santaremo* and *apud Sanctam Harenam*. Surely if they were written at Santa Cruz before Giles entered the Dominican order, these explicit details would not have been included? It is not a common placename and probably would have meant little to the Polish or Parisian scribes who carefully copied it out. Again, it seems most likely that *De secretis* was the product of Giles' retirement at Santarém in his last years.

As far as Giles' knowledge of Arabic is concerned, Kuhne's observation that the Arabisms in the first two books of *De secretis* appear to be phonetically transcribed, suggesting a direct translation via an oral version, has been pointed out.⁸⁶ The evidence for Arabic and Mozarab influence in eleventh- and twelfth-century Coimbra and its environs was discussed in Chapter Five and it is worth recapitulating the suggestion that Santa Cruz de Coimbra and the cathedral maintained sympathy for Mozarab culture, and the evidence that the area of Lafões, which is strongly associated with Giles, is known to have had an Arabic-speaking Christian community in the early-eleventh century.⁸⁷ Although Muslim communities in thirteenth-century

⁸³ Douais, *Provincialium*, II, pp.612-3. It is interesting how Toledo appears yet again in Giles' possible chronology and it is tempting to see the roots of his legend in a Dominican translation school at Toledo. However, there is no evidence for this. See above, Chapter Seven, p.254, for Martí.

⁸⁴ Reichert, *Generalium*, p.98.

⁸⁵ Jacquart and Micheau, *Médecine arabe*, p.206.

⁸⁶ See above, p.271.

⁸⁷ See above, Chapter Five, p.164.

Portugal appear to have included few intellectuals, these communities did remain viable.

Although the Santa Cruz booklists cannot be linked definitively to Giles, they do attest to the circulation of Rasis' works in Portugal. The ninth book of the *Liber Almansoris* was issued by the monastic library in both 1218 and 1226. Rasis was extremely well-known in the Iberian Peninsula; what became known as the *Liber continens* was used by the surgeon Albucasis in tenth-century Córdoba around fifty years after Rasis' death in Persia.⁸⁸ The oldest Arabic manuscript of the *Sirr sina'at at-tibb* was copied in Toledo in January 1265, a few months before Giles died, and was one of many codices sent to Philip II of Spain in 1573 by his ambassador in Portugal.⁸⁹ This tantalizing catalogue reference suggests a very close relationship between this Arabic manuscript and the one Giles must have made use of in Santarém. Unfortunately, arabists have not compared the Arabic and Latin manuscripts with this idea in mind. It is clear that a multi-lingual team still has a great deal of work to do on the *Liber de secretis* and its Arabic sources. There is no doubt, however, that Giles' work of translation has a significant place in the transmission of Arabic medicine to the West and if it were not for the unfortunate fact that the early-modern printed editions omitted his name, he would surely have been better known in the history of medicine.

The *Livro de naturas*

The lack of awareness on the part of most Portuguese historians of the manuscript CXXI/2-19 of the Biblioteca Pública de Évora is startling. The compiler of the Évora library catalogue described the manuscript in meticulous detail in 1871, but it was only in the 1890s that historians recognized its significance. In 1891 Gabriel Pereira transcribed extensive passages in his collection of documents for the history of Évora, and in 1899 Maximiano Lemos made an attempt to set the manuscript in its historical context in his *História da medicina em Portugal*, making particular reference to Giles

⁸⁸ Jacquot and Micheau, *Médecine arabe*, p.140.

⁸⁹ Kuhne, "Sirr I", p.350.

of Santarém.⁹⁰ Despite his interest, Lemos' judgement of the text was damning. He wrote that the manuscript was a disorganized compilation of notional anatomy, formulae, prayers, and prognostic signs, "destituído por completo de valor". Its only value was to indicate the low level of medical knowledge in the period.⁹¹ Lemos placed his study of this manuscript in the section of his history devoted to the earlier Middle Ages because of its links to Giles of Santarém. The manuscript was actually compiled in the fifteenth century. So far as is known the only person to analyze the manuscript in the later context is Maria José Ferro Tavares in a recent article on hospitals, illness and public health in the later Middle Ages.⁹² Otherwise the neglect of BPE, ms. CXXI/2-19, at least in published studies, is almost complete.⁹³

Considering this neglect it is worth describing the manuscript in some detail. It is a codex of originally 236 folios which has been dated to the early fifteenth century. It is entirely written in Portuguese and is thus the earliest medical text to survive in the vernacular. The text is written on paper stamped with the unusual watermark of a hand holding a six-petalled flower.⁹⁴ The pages are decorated with elaborate initials the ink of which has badly corroded the paper in places. Throughout there are numerous marginal comments, some critical, which have been dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹⁵ Each folio retains its original foliation in Roman numerals but a great many of the folios are missing, particularly the first

⁹⁰ *Catálogo dos manuscritos da Biblioteca Publica Eborensis*, ed. J.H. da Cunha Rivara, 4 vols (Lisbon, 1850-71), IV, pp.279-84; *Documentos históricos da Cidade de Évora*, ed. G. Pereira, (Évora, 1891), pp.80-85; M. Lemos, *História da medicina em Portugal: doutrinas e instituições*, 2 vols (2nd edn, Lisbon, 1991), I, pp.31-3, 37-8. The letter Lemos wrote to the librarian at Évora in October 1894 asking if he would undertake a transcription of sections of the manuscript for him still survives tucked into the manuscript itself. I would like to thank the current librarian, José Chitas, for transcribing this letter for me.

⁹¹ Lemos, *História*, I, p.37.

⁹² M.J. Ferro Tavares, "Hospitais, doenças e saúde pública", in *Actas do Congresso comemorativo do V centenário da fundação do Hospital do Espírito Santo de Évora* (Évora, 1996), pp.49-64. I would like to thank the author for sending me a copy of this article. A.H. de Oliveira Marques refers briefly to the recipes of Giles of Santarém found in the Évora manuscript in the chapter on health and hygiene in his *A sociedade medieval portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1987), p.96. However, he takes his citations from Lemos alone and also sets the recipes in a thirteenth-century context.

⁹³ Jorge Custódio recently published a very brief study of the medical works of Giles in a local newspaper: "S. Frei Gil de Santarém: médico português".

⁹⁴ All the paper is of the same kind except for folios 130 and 229. The former has the watermark of three medallions containing symbols. Pereira, *Documentos*, p.80, describes the first watermark as "hand with a star" and observes that it is found in other fifteenth-century codices.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.82.

eleven and numbers twenty-two to sixty. Losing the beginning may have robbed the codex of a general prologue which could have provided information, otherwise lacking, on the compiler(s) of the manuscript.

The manuscript consists of extracts from a wide variety of texts on surgery, anatomy, phlebotomy, and urology. Examples of these extracts are a chapter from the *anotomia de galiano* in which the bones of the head are discussed; chapters on surgery by “the four masters”; chapters from a book of *notomia de constantino*; a passage from a book on wound surgery; another from a book on bloodletting by two masters of Salerno; and a treatise on the relationship between the phases of the moon and phlebotomy.⁹⁶ The Ancient sources are cited faithfully as one might expect; for example: Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, Isaac Judeus, Constantine the African, and *huu liuro Issagoges que compos Johanaçio*.⁹⁷ The references to more recent physicians are of great interest: Master Guido da Reço, possibly one of the original compilers of the manuscript;⁹⁸ Guilherme Sergente, the source of an *apostoligom*;⁹⁹ Arnaldo (de Vilanova ?) and Pero Pina who provided advice on urines;¹⁰⁰ Dom Pero Giães on bloodletting;¹⁰¹ and of course, *ffrey gill da ordem dos pregadores*.¹⁰²

There are two works clearly attributed to Giles of Santarém in ms. CXXI/2-19: the *Livro de naturas pello qual obrava o muy noble fisyco ffrey gill da ordem dos pregadores* and the *Synaees dos enffermos quaes som mortaes e quaes som vidaes pellos quaes obrava o muy noble ffisyco ffrey gill em nos enffermos*. The word *obrava* is a little ambiguous in Portuguese; it can mean “to produce”, “to execute”, and also “to put into practice”. Are these texts medical works produced by

⁹⁶ BPE, ms. CXXI/2-19, fols.61-63; 104-141v; 166-74; 182v-92, 225-28.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, fol.125v.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, fol.66v. See also Tavares, “Hospitais”, p.51.

⁹⁹ BPE, ms. CXXI/2-19, fol.15.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, fol.203.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, fols.222v and 223. The name Pero Giães translates into Latin as Petrus Julianus, which was the secular name of Pope John XXI (Petrus Hispanus). There are two phlebotomy treatises attributed to a Petrus Hispanus in London (British Library, ms. Sloane 3123, fol.220v) and Paris (Bibliothèque nationale, ms. Lat. 6988, fol.87) and it is possible that there is a connection between them and these few lines on bloodletting in Portuguese. If they were written by the pope then they would be the only manuscript witness to his medical career in Portugal.

¹⁰² BPE, ms. CXXI/2-19, fols.141v-143v. Giles' name is also found in the bottom margin of folio 85v.

Giles himself, books used by him, or records of Giles' medical practice put together by someone else? This is particularly unclear in the second title in which *obrava ... em nos enffermos* could mean that Giles observed the signs of life and death in the sick and wrote them down, or that he put into practice signs drawn from other authorities, or that someone observed Giles operating in this manner. The comment that the *Livro de naturas* was "taken" (*tirado*) from Latin and put into the vernacular (*romanção*) is significant. It implies that whatever was the nature of the Latin source, Giles did not make the translation himself.

The *Livro de naturas* consists of thirteen short recipes, all but one of which are for eye ailments: *nevoa* of the eyes (which may be cataract), bloody and weeping eyes, swollen eyes, and *mazella* or blemish of the eyes. The sole exception is for *leepra*. The ingredients are very basic: goat and human milk, honey, white wine, animal gall, particularly goat and cockerel, and vegetable juices such as rue, celandine, and fennel. The only medical authority mentioned is *Ipocras*.¹⁰³ The heavy use of animal parts strikes an immediate contrast with the *Liber de secretis in medicina* where the recipes are nearly all vegetable-based. The parallels with the 114 recipes for eye ailments listed in the *Thesaurus pauperum* of Petrus Hispanus and with the more theoretical advice in the *Liber de oculo* attributed to the same author are, however, striking.¹⁰⁴ A few recipes in Giles' work can be directly matched. One example of this is a mixture of dry rue and honey used for bloody or weeping eyes:

Liber de oculo:

*Ad lacrimas oculorum rutam siccam
et mel confice et parum bullire
facias et sic in oculos pone.*¹⁰⁵

Livro de naturas:

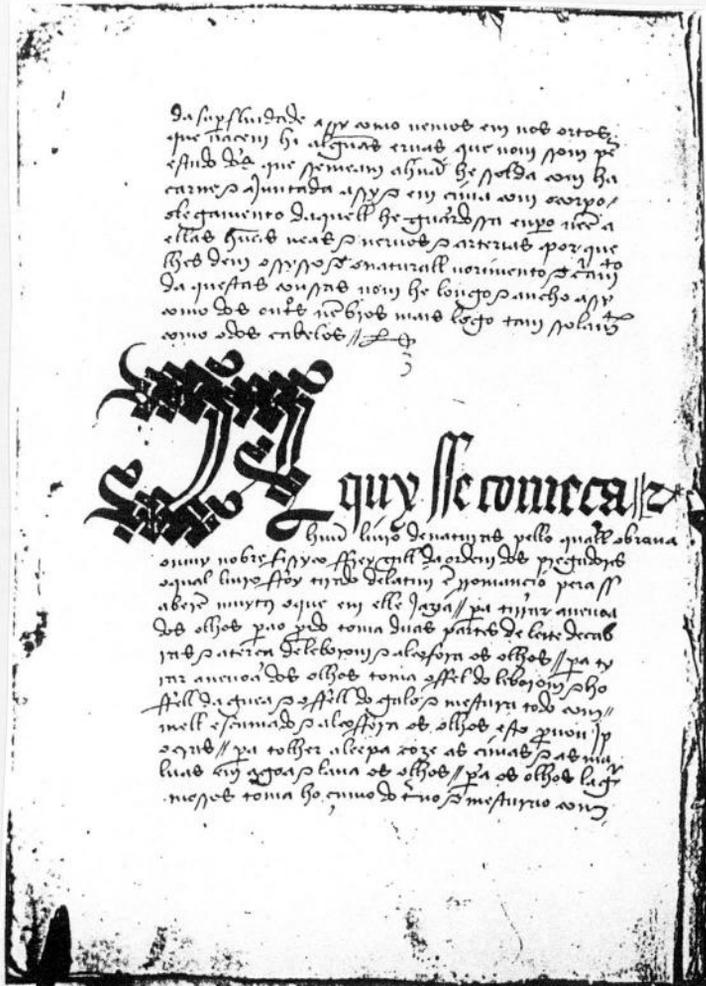
*Pera os olhos sangoentos e lagrimosos
toma arruda seca e ffaze della poo e
mesturao com mell e poyno em nos
olhos.*¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, fols. 141v-142.

¹⁰⁴ *Obras médicas de Pedro Hispano*, ed. M.H. da Rocha Pereira (Coimbra, 1973), and *Die Ophthalmologie (Liber de oculo) des Petrus Hispanus (Petrus von Lissabon, später Papst Johannes XXI.)*, ed. A.M. Berger (Munich, 1899). I have seen the following manuscripts of these works: British Library, London: ms. Sloane 477, fols. 1-79; ms. Sloane 1754, fols. 8-13v; ms. Sloane 521; ms. Sloane, fols. 2479, fols. 10-38v; Additional ms. 22, 636, fols. 23-35; Additional ms. 25, 000, fols. 76-96v; Additional ms. 32, 622, fols. 116-178. Also University Library, Glasgow, ms. Hunter U.8.10, fols. 1-60, 63-80.

¹⁰⁵ *Ophthalmologie*, p. 78.

¹⁰⁶ BPE, ms. CXXI/2-19, fol. 142.



The first folio of the *Livro de naturas* in BPE, ms. CXX/2-19

More revealing is the way in which the same kinds of simple ingredients, often containing animal products, are listed with the briefest of directions in all three works. Rue, fennel, milk, celandine, wine, and animal gall are clearly standard ingredients in eye treatments. In the *De conservanda sanitatis* attributed to Petrus Hispanus “all gall of living animals”, fennel, verbena, rose, celandine, and rue are recommended.¹⁰⁷ The emphasis on white or clear things such as white wine, white lily, skimmed honey, and milk, and the specification of the sex of the child whose mother’s milk is used in

¹⁰⁷ *Obras médicas*, p.457.

the Portuguese text appear to be characteristics shared by most medieval treatises on eye conditions.¹⁰⁸ According to Petrus Hispanus in the *De oculo*, the healthy eye is “a round, noble radiant member” made up of crystalline and vitreous humours.¹⁰⁹ In the *De conservanda sanitatis* he describes the eyes as “windows of the soul”.¹¹⁰ It was believed that in order to restore an unhealthy eye to its unblemished state, sympathetic substances like milk, white flowers or rainwater had to be applied. The moral undertones of this advice are taken to an extreme in *De oculo* where the urine of virginal children is prescribed.¹¹¹

Although it is not possible to detect a direct link between the *Livro de naturas* and the works attributed to Petrus Hispanus, it is clear that the Portuguese text belongs to a strong tradition of simple ophthalmological recipes using everyday ingredients. Arguably, interest in eye ailments in the Iberian Peninsula could have been inherited from Arabic medicine, where ophthalmology was a popular specialism, perhaps because of the adverse effects of desert-life on the eyes.¹¹² Interest in the eyes, however, was widespread in the Christian Middle Ages. There was apparently a cluster of intellectuals writing about optics and ophthalmology at the papal court in the same period (1260s-70s) that Petrus Hispanus was active there.¹¹³ Indeed as pope in 1276-7 he may have promoted interests of this kind.¹¹⁴ It is also possible to argue

¹⁰⁸ Compare with the eye recipes of Gilbertus Anglicus in *Healing and Society in Medieval England: A Middle English Translation of the Pharmaceutical Writings of Gilbertus Anglicus*, ed. F.M. Getz (Madison, WI, 1991), pp.32-62.

¹⁰⁹ *Ophthalmologie*, pp.2-3: *Oculus autem est membrum rotundum nobile radiosum*. Cf. Petrus in the *Liber de conservanda sanitate, Obras médicas*, ed. Rocha Pereira, p.457: *Oculus est membrum lucidum, rotundum ac radiosum*. This is the standard description of the eye which could have been drawn from Hunain ibn Ishaq’s treatise on the eye and ultimately derives from Galen. See Lindberg, *Theories of Vision*, p.34.

¹¹⁰ *Obras médicas*, p.457: *Oculi sunt fenestre anime*.

¹¹¹ For example, *Ophthalmologie*, pp.63 and 66.

¹¹² See Lindberg, *Theories of Vision*, pp.33-4, and M. Meyerhof, “The History of Trachoma Treatment in Antiquity and During the Arabic Middle Ages”, *Bulletin of the Ophthalmological Society of Egypt* 29 (1936), 26-87 (Variorum reprint in M. Meyerhof, *Studies in Medieval Arabic Medicine* [London, 1984], article II).

¹¹³ A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Medicina e scienze della natura alla corte dei papi nei duecento* (Spoleto, 1991), pp.119-40; D. Lindberg, “Lines of Influence in Thirteenth-Century Optics: Bacon, Witelo, and Pecham,” *Speculum* 46 (1971), 66-83.

¹¹⁴ John XXI’s Dominican detractors certainly emphasized his neglect of papal affairs for scientific interests and his promotion of scholars. For example, Ricobaldi of Ferrari, *Historia pontificum romanorum in Rerum italicarum scriptores*, IX, cols.147-92, at col.181. See above, Chapter Three, p.114.

that there was a particular interest in optics and ophthalmology in mendicant circles at this time. Important writers on the subject, Roger Bacon (d.c. 1292) and John Pecham (d.1292) were Franciscans; Albertus Magnus (d.1280) was a Dominican; Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (d. 1253), and the Silesian scholar Witelo (fl. 1260-1270s) were influenced by the Franciscans and Dominicans respectively.¹¹⁵ Giles may have had contact with these scholars.

It has been argued that their interests derive from an understanding of the philosophical and theological symbolism of light.¹¹⁶ This understanding can be seen in Giles' own words in the *Vitae fratrum*. He wrote in a letter to Humbert of Romans that "there was a certain interior light by which the hearts of saints are illuminated in this life, just as the exterior eyes are by external light".¹¹⁷ However, there is a great difference between the theoretical study of optics and simple herbal recipes. What was going on in academic circles should be seen as providing a context for the *Livro de naturas* rather than an explanation. It seems most advisable to take the thirteen recipes for what they are: brief, simple suggestions for soothing sore, inflamed eyes which were still thought useful enough in the fifteenth century to be translated and copied down.

The *Synaees dos enffermos*

The second text in ms. CXXI/2-19 attributed to Giles of Santarém is a more complex text consisting of sixteen prognostic signs of life or death.¹¹⁸ All but two indicate death and in most cases it is expected shortly; the time-span is between the same day of the prognosis and three weeks. The two good signs are, mysteriously, if the patient has his knees pulled up to his head, and if he cannot sleep and has his face turned away from the door. Most of the bad signs involve the appearance of pustules, swellings or fevers in the patients. Physical examination is clearly important. If the

¹¹⁵ Lindberg, *Theories of Vision*, p.107. Lindberg is not convinced that there was a mendicant "school" of optics; all these scholars were also connected with the University of Paris at one time. See also French and Cunningham, *Before Science*, pp.230-55.

¹¹⁶ Lindberg, *Theories of Vision*, pp.95-9.

¹¹⁷ Reichert, *Vitae fratrum*, p.156. For the Latin text, see above, Chapter Two, footnote 56.

¹¹⁸ BPE, ms. CXXI/2-19, fols.142-143v.

patient complains of a headache then the knees are to be checked to see if they are hard and swollen, and if a feverish patient complains of stomach ache then the sole of his right foot should be checked for a yellow pustule. Examination of urine is also significant; thick or bloody urine and an inability to urinate are mortal signs. Even more interesting is an awareness that a patient's emotional state has a bearing on his ability to recover and the communication this implies between the patient and the practitioner. The patient is to be asked if he wants anything, or if he has the inclination to bathe, or whether it is his custom to sleep with his mouth open.

This text clearly lies in the same tradition as the Books of Secrets and Signs of Life and Death considered in relation to the *Liber de secretis in medicina*.¹¹⁹ It is not possible, however, to relate the *Synaees* to the similar material of Book Five of the *De secretis* or to the Secrets of Hippocrates on which it is based, beyond an acknowledgement that this is a common genre of medieval literature often with very similar recommendations. Book Five of *De secretis* contains nothing which can be closely related to the Portuguese *Synaees*. The time periods between diagnosis and death are much longer; from three days to a year, though in most cases it is a matter of several months. The illnesses, the size of the pustules or apostemes, and the pains are much more specific and generally in different places. It should be noted that there is nothing inherently medical in prognostic signs. The main reason why ancient texts of this kind continued to be copied down, often incorporated into religious writings, in the early middle ages, was because they were deemed useful in a monastic milieu where monks were not to die alone without receiving the Last Rites.¹²⁰ It is clear from the *Vitae fratrum* that this was also an over-riding concern with the thirteenth-century Dominicans and much of Giles' concern for the dying could be linked to liturgical and sacramental duties. On the other hand, the fact that texts like the *Secreta Galienis*, the *Capsula eburnea*, and the *Liber de secretis in medicina* were included in firmly medical compilations in the later middle ages, suggests a continuing understanding of the practical medical skill involved in prognostication.

¹¹⁹ See above, pp.263-5.

¹²⁰ See Paxton, "*Signa mortifera*".

Some Portuguese historians have assumed that the texts in ms. CXXI/2-19 are translations of parts of the *De secretis*.¹²¹ It is possible to show that this is an assumption which is not based on study of the texts in questions. Although there are parallels - *De secretis*, for example, does contain recipes for eye ailments and prognostic signs - the same parallels could be drawn with many other medieval medical texts. Two Portuguese historians have also implied that much more of manuscript CXXI/2-19 should be attributed to Giles perhaps in an attempt to balance the Portuguese text with the longer Latin one.¹²² This is also a claim which cannot be substantiated. There are a number of recipes after the end of the *Synaees* which, plausibly, could have come from the same source as there is no incipit/explicit and no variation in the initial letters of each recipe; more ornate letters elsewhere in the manuscript are usually a sign of a new text. However, *mezinhas* such as these are found interspersed throughout the manuscript. Nevertheless, Custódio's suggestion that the whole of ms. CXXI/2-19 from folio 141v through to folio 236v is all a translation by Giles cannot be supported. Works by other authors are clearly signalled; for example, the *Livro das ssangrias* by two masters of Salerno on folio 182v.

Part of the problem with the *Livro de naturas* and the *Synaees* is that they are almost always studied in the context of Giles of Santarém and the thirteenth century. This is of course a valid method of analysis. However, the fact that the texts are found in a fifteenth-century manuscript suggests that they should also be studied in the context of the fifteenth century. It is the case that much more is known about medicine in fifteenth-century Portugal than in the thirteenth century. The greater number of chronicles and documents which survive from the later Middle Ages reveal more about the health of individuals and their attitudes towards sickness and medication. Of particular significance as a comparison would be the *Livro dos conselhos* or the *Livro da cartuxa*, a commonplace book written entirely in Portuguese, probably by Duarte, king of Portugal from 1433 to 1438. Amongst other

¹²¹ For example, J. Mattoso, "S. Frei Gil de Santarém: *De naturas*", p.133.

¹²² Ferro Tavares, "Hospitais", p.55, and Custódio, "S. Frei Gil de Santarém: médico português", p.16.

invaluable material - such as the dates of birth of the royal children, the measurements of the royal palace rooms at Sintra, and a list of books in the royal library - the book contains several regimens of health and numerous medical recipes.¹²³ Not only is the language of these recipes similar to those of ms.CXXI/2-19, but they share a simplicity and a directness which should in the future cause these texts to be studied together.

The *Rimedio de diverse malatie*

The first person to draw attention to the *Rimedio de diverse malatie*¹²⁴ was Mary Wack who observed that the prologue contains valuable biographical information on the life of Giles of Santarém. The theory that Giles taught medicine largely derives from the fact that the manuscript refers to Giles as *maestro*, a title which was usually accorded to a former university master.¹²⁵ In spite of Wack's discovery, the *Rimedio* has not been studied for any further details concerning Giles' life, nor for how the recipes compare with other works attributed to him.

Manuscript 22 of the National Library of Medicine in Washington is a remarkable codex in many ways. In great contrast to the other manuscripts discussed so far, it is almost entirely taken up with one work, the *Rimedio de diverse malatie*, together with useful notes on weights and measurements, a detailed table of contents,

¹²³ This text survives in a beautifully-clear manuscript of the late-sixteenth century (ANTT, manuscrito da livraria, no.1928) and a modern edition can be found in *Livro dos conselhos de el-rei D. Duarte (livro da cartuxa): edição diplomática*, ed. J.J. Alves Dias, revised by A.H. de Oliveira Marques and T.F. Rodrigues (Lisbon, 1982). King Duarte has gone down in Portuguese history as a hypochondriac completely overshadowed by the great period of the Portuguese discoveries, traditionally initiated by his energetic brother, Henry the Navigator (d. 1460). This view is unfortunate as Duarte played an important role in the intellectual history of Portugal. See details of reign in A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *Nova Historia de Portugal*, dir. J. Serrão and A.H. de Oliveira Marques, 13 vols (Lisbon, 1986-), IV (1986): *Portugal na crise dos séculos XIV e XV*, p.548.

¹²⁴ Washington, National Library of Medicine (NLM), ms.22. I would like to thank the librarians for their generosity in providing me with a microfilm of this manuscript. For a full description see *A catalogue of Incunabula and Manuscripts in the Army Medical Library*, eds. D.M. Schullian and F.E. Sommer (New York, 1948), pp.234-6, where the manuscript is listed under the old shelf mark of ms.506.

¹²⁵ Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages*, p.75. The manuscript is attributed to Giles of Santarém in Kaepelli, *Scriptores*, I, p.16.

and lists of herbs, drugs and illnesses.¹²⁶ The detailed description of the provenance of this manuscript gives fascinating insight into the copying and transmission of texts in medieval Europe. The manuscript is dated precisely to 24 May 1463 and was copied in Perpignan. The unnamed scribe explained that the text was originally composed in Latin and had been translated into Catalan. He had then translated it into the Tuscan dialect of Italian. Unfortunately he did not explain why.¹²⁷

Whoever the scribe was he was extremely well-informed about Giles of Santarém. He introduced him as the *venerabile religioso maestro Gilio diportogallo dellordine di Sancto Domenico*. He was described as having been a master in arts and medicine before entering the order and a great theologian afterwards. He was a friar for forty years and died on Ascension Day 1266 (sic) *nella villa apellata Santarem* (spelt out very carefully by the scribe) *nelchonvento delsuo ordine neldetto regno di portogallo*.¹²⁸ Apart from the fact that the year of death the scribe gave is one year out from that normally accepted, this biographical information is accurate to a surprising degree. It supports what has been established from the *Vitae fratrum*, especially in the number of years Giles was a friar. A figure of forty clearly places his entry into the order in the mid-1220s. This, in fact, is much more accurate than the data given by the earliest *vita*, that of Baltazar de São João written 73 years later in 1537.

The scribe went on to give even more remarkable details. He noted that after Giles died many miracles took place at his tomb and he was held in great devotion throughout the kingdom. The scribe knew this because he himself, *io scriptore*, had been to Santarém and the Dominican convent and heard of Giles' miracles and notable deeds in life and death. He gave an example of a well made by Giles in the convent during a time of drought. Some said this was done *per opera divina* and others said it was *per arte magicha* because Giles was a *grande negromante*.¹²⁹ This is

¹²⁶ The introductory lists cover NLM, ms. 22, fols.1v-16v. The text of the *Rimedio di diverse malatie* comprises fols.17-89v. Fols.90-122 are made up of further recipes in the same hand. One of these on fol.121 is the recipe for pestilence of *Maestro Io. dassmoneta* whom I have been unable to trace. On fol.123 there are recipes in a later hand.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, fols.17 and 89v.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, fol.17.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol.17. Interestingly, André de Resende recorded a post-mortem miracle involving a well in his later *vita* of Giles (*Aegidius Scallabitanus*, p.359). This miracle, however, took place in the

incontrovertible evidence that there was a cult to Giles in Santarém before the sixteenth century and that the legend of black magic was already developed.¹³⁰

The first part of the *Rimedio* follows the traditional head-to-foot pattern of medieval recipe collections, beginning with cures for hairloss and ending with treatments for gout. The second part is made up of recipes for fevers, leprosy, ulcers and other conditions not associated with a single part of the body. In many respects the text is very similar in nature to the *Thesaurus pauperum* in its size, the number of recipes for a single complaint, the lack of description of symptoms, and the type of ingredient. The latter range from simple garden herbs like rue, betony, fennel and camomile to the more exotic pepper, zedoary, galangal and incense. What is interesting is that, unlike the *Thesaurus pauperum* and most other medieval herbal recipe collections, there are very few references to sources or authorities.¹³¹ Even the basic recipes in Giles' *Livro de naturas* mentioned Hippocrates.

Another intriguing feature of the *Rimedio* is the scribe's difficulties with the translation of many herbs and conditions, a problem he apologizes for in the prologue. Throughout the work he gives the word used in his source followed by "that is" (*cioe*), and then he leaves a gap for the appropriate Italian word. In some places there has been insertion and correction, apparently by the original scribe, but generally the gaps remain. This difficulty is partly understandable - this is a manuscript which has already been translated once - but the failure to translate common herbs such as birthwort (*aristologia*) or St John's wort (*Yperiicon*), or illnesses such as strangury (*stranguria*)¹³² seems bizarre. Either the scribe was not fully competent in Italian - unlikely considering the accuracy displayed elsewhere¹³³ - or he was not always familiar with medical terminology. It may be significant that, despite the care taken with this translation, none of the gaps are filled in by later hands; this may mean that the manuscript was not used by medical practitioners.

Cistercian nunnery of Celas de Guimarães near Coimbra and not in Santarém which is implied by the writer of NLM, ms. 22.

¹³⁰ See above, Chapter One, p.40.

¹³¹ There is a reference to *Galienu* on *Ibid.*, fol.30v.

¹³² *Ibid.*, fols.27v, 34v and 43v.

¹³³ It is also possible that the spellings chosen reflect great familiarity with the Tuscan dialect. For example, *magicha* rather than *magica*. I would like to thank Letizia Osti for this suggestion.

A close look at the seventy recipes for eye ailments in chapter three of the *Rimedi* reveals parallels with the recipes of the *Livro de naturas* but they are obviously not the same text. For example, in the *Rimedi* can be found the gall of several animals, woman's milk (although the sex of the child she has borne is never specified), rue, fennel, celandine,¹³⁴ flours, honey, white wine, and lily; but no recipe is clearly the same. There is no doubt, however, that the *Rimedi* and the *De naturas* belong to the same tradition of simple herbal recipes. The fact that the *Rimedi* was translated into Catalan implies that Giles' work circulated in the Iberian Peninsula. It is not impossible that it circulated within a Dominican context and that this was the explanation for the scribe of Perpignan's visit to the convent in Santarém and his decision to translate the *Rimedi* into Italian. Further evidence for this theory is that until 1748 Giles' cult was recognised only in the Dominican order and in the regions of Santarém and Viseu in Portugal.¹³⁵

In the Vatican Library can be found a fifteenth-century collection of Latin recipes which are apparently very similar to those in the *Remedi*.¹³⁶ They were compiled by an *Egidio Portugalsi* which has caused Thorndike and Kibre tentatively to attribute them to Giles of Santarém.¹³⁷ It is very tempting to see these Latin recipes as based on the original of those which eventually became translated into Italian. Close examination of the text, however, reveals that, although it again belongs to the same genre of medical literature as the *De naturas* or the *Remedi*, it is a different work entirely. It is in fact the same as a further collection found in another Vatican manuscript of the late-thirteenth century. This is attributed to a *magistri*

¹³⁴ The heavy usage of celandine in eye recipes is explained on fol.20v. The mother swallow is said to have given celandine to her new-born chicks to enable them to see. Although no source is given, this is a common story found in the *Regimen salernitatis*, *The School of Salerno*, ed. Hartington, pp.60-62, amongst others. It can of course be traced back to Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis*, *Naturkunde*, eds. R. König and G. Winkler, 37 vols (Munich, 1973-97), XXV, p.70. The word celandine (*celidonia*) does come from the Greek for swallow and probably can be explained by the fact that the flowers bloom around the time the swallows return in the spring.

¹³⁵ See above, Chapter One, p.29.

¹³⁶ Vatican Library, ms. Pal. Lat., 1229, fols.137-200. See *Die medizinischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini*, p.240. I would like to thank Professor Robert Bartlett for consulting this manuscript and making notes on it for me.

¹³⁷ Thorndike and Kibre, *Catalogue of Incipits*, col.1079.

Cancellarii de Monte pessulano and entitled the *Liber secretorum*.¹³⁸ These two works are clearly the same, beginning with exactly the same recipe for baldness. This Chancellor of Montpellier has a number of learned medical treatises and *experimenta* attributed to him. Some of them are also attributed elsewhere to a *Cardinalis*.¹³⁹ Danielle Jacquart suggests that the texts may have had some link to Henry of Winchester who was Chancellor of the University of Montpellier in 1239-40.¹⁴⁰ Perhaps it was the title *Liber secretorum* which caused the attribution to be made to Giles of Portugal. It is not impossible that he was involved with this work in some way but, as there is no evidence that he studied or taught medicine at Montpellier, it is unlikely.¹⁴¹ Both these Vatican manuscripts were closely linked to Montpellier.¹⁴²

It is clear that the manuscripts of the medical works attributed to Giles of Santarém deserve far greater attention than they have hitherto received. The *Liber de secretis in medicina* attracted the attention of three historians in the early 1980s and it is only a pity that they did not return to the work at a later date. Much more needs to be done on this translation from Arabic. The *Remedii de diverse malatie* is a fascinating work which not only provides striking confirmation of what has been reconstructed concerning Giles' biography, but also reveals in remarkable detail the translation process into European vernaculars. The Portuguese manuscript CXXI/2-19 is a greatly neglected work which requires major investigation in its entirety. Giles of Santarém should be viewed as an important Portuguese figure in the history of medicine in the thirteenth century. His low regard has been a result of poor attribution in printed editions rather than lack of significance.

¹³⁸ Vatican Library, ms. Pal. Lat., 1253, fols.139-64. See *Die medizinischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini*, p.295. The same manuscript contains the Chancellor's *experimenta* at fols.123-36.

¹³⁹ Wickersheimer and Jacquart, *Dictionnaire biographique*, III, pp.52-3.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, III, pp.52 and 119. See the *Chartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, I, p.186, and M.R. McVaugh, "An Early Discussion on Medicinal Degrees at Montpellier by Henry of Winchester", *BHM* 49 (1975), 57-71.

¹⁴¹ See above, Chapter Five, pp.152-56.

¹⁴² Schuba in *Die medizinischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini*, pp.237 and 292, indicates that ms. Vat. Pal. Lat. 1229 was put together in Montpellier or northern Spain, and that ms. Vat. Pal. Lat. 1253 came from southern France. MS. Vat. Pal. Lat. 1229 contains texts by Gilles de Corbeil, Arnau de Vilanova, Bernard de Gordon, and Guy de Chauliac, all of whom were associated with Montpellier. One work, the *De pestilentia* of Johan Jacme was written in *preclaro studio Montis Pessulani* on 20 February 1373/4. MS Vat. Pal. Lat. 1253 contains works attributed to Petrus Hispanus and Gerard of Montpellier, and refers in one recipe to the women of Montpellier.

CONCLUSION

Giles of Santarém is virtually unknown to the English-speaking world. Only stalwarts such as Alexander Murray who make heavy use of the *Acta Sanctorum*, or manuscript specialists like Mary Wack have come across him at all. In Portugal, Giles has very recently been the subject of a resurgence of interest. However, it has either been of a local nature, or on the part of historians like Virgínia Pereira, editor of André de Resende's *vita*, who are not medievalists. Any attempt by a Portuguese medieval historian to reconstruct Giles' career has been thwarted by the hagiographic and legendary aspects of his life story. There is no appreciation that Giles' legend and the way it links to the Faust-myth is the most fascinating part of this investigation. It is rare to find an understanding of narrative techniques, *topoi*, and symbolism in Portuguese hagiography.¹ It is precisely these aspects which lie at the heart of this thesis.

It has also been shown how it is possible to go beyond the legend and get a reasonable idea of the actuality of Giles' life. Some of the many errors which have accumulated since the sixteenth century have been dispelled, hopefully, for good. Although doubts were cast on the identity of Giles' father in the 1950s, the same improbable relationships with Rodrigo Pais, *alcaide* of Coimbra, and the Valadares family are still reported. It is almost certain that Giles had nothing to do with either of these families. What can be proposed with far greater confidence is the relationship of Giles to the family of chancellor Julião Pais. It is not simply the case of finding another convenient family, much as Resende may have done in the sixteenth century. It has been shown that the obit in the *Livro das kalendas* commonly viewed as that of Giles of Santarém, actually belonged to Gil Juliães, son of the chancellor. Either Gil was Giles of Santarém or the obit must be excluded from the investigation. The evidence points to the former hypothesis. Fernando Peres, identified by Giles himself as his *consanguineus* in the *Vitae fratrum*, was the cousin or nephew of Gil Juliães; Joana Dias, said to be Giles' cousin, was Gil Juliães' great-niece. Gil Juliães also

¹ The work of Mário Martins is one of the few examples of a Portuguese medieval historian able to analyze saints' lives to any extent. See, for example, his *Alegorias, simbolos e exemplos morais de literatura medieval portuguesa* (Braga, 1980). The very recent edition of the hagiographical texts by Aires Nascimento, *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, hopefully is a sign of greater awareness of saints' lives and their function in medieval religion and society.

belonged to the same social and intellectual circle which has been proposed for Giles of Santarém: close links to Coimbra and its ecclesiastical institutions, study abroad, position at the royal court, and relatives who were actively involved in the civil war of 1245-8. It is likely that further archival research will uncover more evidence of this family network.² Furthermore, it is clear that study of the history of medicine and the Dominican order in Portugal have greatly benefited from this exploration of the family of Giles of Santarém.

The life and legend of Giles of Santarém has also demonstrated the place of Portugal in wider European religious, intellectual and political developments. The number of references to Portugal in the *Vitae fratrum*, the involvement of the Papacy in the Portuguese civil war, and the interest in the Portuguese *Reconquista*, show that medieval Portugal was not as peripheral as one might have thought. Writers may have placed Portugal at the ends of the earth, but that did not prevent the Portuguese from travelling abroad, keeping up-to-date with intellectual fashions, and attracting foreign interest. The personalities and politics of medieval Portugal deserve equal consideration to those of other Iberian kingdoms. Also, bearing in mind the prominence of Portugal in early exploration and empire-building, the medieval foundations of this small nation merit closer attention. Sixteenth-century writers looked back on the achievements of their ancestors with reason. The modern historian can look back at medieval Portugal via the life and legend of Giles of Santarém in much the same way as his Dominican hagiographers did. Study of Giles' life affords a unique and fascinating perspective on medieval Portugal.

² The Dias- Cogominho family especially would bear closer investigation. Martins, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, I, p.458, also calls for a study of this family.

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