

**“Suspeitos na Fé”: Humanists at the Colégio das Artes
in Coimbra, Portugal 1548-1555.**

by
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ABSTRACT

“SUSPEITOS NA FÉ”: HUMANISTS AT THE COLÉGIO DAS ARTES IN COIMBRA,
PORTUGAL 1548-1555.

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As part of João III's (r. 1521-1557) educational reform, the establishment of the Colégio das Artes in Coimbra, Portugal, in 1548, brought to the country the methods of the prestigious University of Paris. However, it also brought to Portugal the complex intellectual and religious conflicts that pervaded sixteenth-century Europe, namely the humanist-scholastic debate and the threat of Reformation. Initially led by professors associated with Christian humanism and Erasmian ideas, the Colégio was out of place in a country that was increasingly dominated by conservative influences, and during 1548-1555 it would experience an ideological shift that reflected Portugal's alignment with Catholic orthodoxy. Such a shift was demonstrated by the arrest and trial of the professors João da Costa, Diogo de Teive, and George Buchanan by the Portuguese Inquisition, the Colégio's institutional and pedagogical changes, and its handover to the Society of Jesus. This thesis shows that the fear of Reformist ideas, either encapsulated in or confused with Christian humanist views, drove the Colégio's ideological shift in the 1548-1555 period. But in eliminating those views, Portugal also backed away from the very humanistic ideals that the country had sought with its educational reform.

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INTRODUCTION

When the Scottish humanist George Buchanan arrived in Coimbra in 1547 to take part in the establishment of the humanistic Colégio das Artes, he probably expected that he would participate in a seminal moment for Portugal's educational history. Buchanan arrived with a multi-national group of humanists with progressive leanings, who were called upon by the king to replicate in Portugal the best of the Parisian colleges. They succeeded: King João III's (r. 1521-1557) much acclaimed 'College of Arts,' modeled on the Parisian style, opened its doors in 1548. However, the eventual fate of the Colégio and its professors was certainly not what Buchanan had envisioned. Only two years later, in 1550, the Colégio would see three of its most prestigious professors arrested and tried by the Portuguese Inquisition and, in 1555, the Colégio would come under the control of the Society of Jesus. In the span of only seven years, the most important preparatory college in Portugal experienced a complete reversal, from an institution captained by Erasmian humanists and Catholic Reformers, to an institution governed by a Catholic religious order known for its conservative views. What caused such an ideological shift in João III's plans for the educational system of Portugal? This study examines the evolution of the Colégio das Artes in Coimbra by analyzing its establishment in 1547, the Inquisition trials of João da Costa, Diogo de Teive, and George Buchanan in 1550, and its transfer to Jesuit control in 1555. These events are placed in the context of the intellectual and religious debates which pervaded Portugal and the whole of Europe from the 1520s to the 1560s, which are coupled with a detailed analysis of the pedagogical methods utilized in both the secular and Jesuit periods of the Colégio. As a result, the Colégio's ideological trajectory, from the beginning of its classes in 1548 to the change to Jesuit control in 1555, can be characterized as a response from the political and religious establishment of Portugal to the re-introduction of specific humanist and religious

views that had already been discredited in the country. The presence of these views in the Colégio das Artes, held by leading professors and largely associated with Christian humanism, suffered an attack in 1550 with the arrests of the professors; then were deterred in 1551, with the Colégio's change to a conservative leadership; and finally, were eradicated in 1555, with the handover of the Colégio das Artes to the Society of Jesus.

Historical Context

The end of the fifteenth century was a period of great change for Portugal; the success of its maritime enterprise, crowned by Vasco da Gama's return from India in 1499, changed the country's economic fortune. Since the first spice-laden caravels docked in Lisbon, Portugal had been experiencing an astonishing economic growth. The great economic expansion undergone by Portugal also motivated its intellectual growth: on one hand, the growing bureaucracy necessary to manage an overseas empire required more learned men; on the other hand, the income generated by the overseas commerce allowed for a much greater investment on education, both by the Crown and the nobility. On an economic level Portugal had become very successful but, in the field education, there was still work to be done. Although Portugal had produced respected humanists during the early sixteenth century, they had all been trained at foreign colleges and universities, with the country still lacking an institution that could match its European counterparts. King João III, who ruled Portugal since 1521, was well aware of that fact. Indeed, João III had been educated like most European royalty of his time, receiving the best humanistic education available. He understood the benefits that a quality education could bring to the kingdom and its leading men.

Recognizing the educational problem of his country, João III aimed to correct it by reforming the country's educational system, through a plan that spanned his whole reign from the 1520s until his death in 1557. During the 1530s and 1540s, the king solidified Coimbra's place as the kingdom's educational centre, providing support for the growth of its colleges and transferring the University from Lisbon to Coimbra in 1537. The royal court's favourable view of humanism was reflected in the educational reform's focus on the Arts and the study of classical languages. In 1543, João III took this program further by assigning André de Gouveia the task of setting up a new college in Coimbra: the Colégio Real das Artes. This college was different from the ones Portugal already had: it was moulded after the Collège Royal in Paris and the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain, offering Latin, Greek, and Hebrew classes. André de Gouveia, a former principal of the Collège Sainte-Barbe, in Paris (1530-1534), and the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux (1534-1547), was especially chosen for the job and his views were markedly progressive for the period. In 1547, after assembling a group of distinguished scholars from French universities, André de Gouveia departed for Portugal to establish the Colégio das Artes.

To better understand João III's educational reform, one must examine European intellectual trends of the early sixteenth century which deeply influenced it. By that time, humanism had spread out from the Italian peninsula to northern Europe, reaching Paris and the Low Countries and starting a period of exciting intellectual development. Humanism brought new methods and a different outlook to fields where it was applied, and those began to be applied to religious studies by humanists such as Erasmus of Rotterdam. This intrusion in the respected and conservative field of theology brought about an intellectual conflict that spanned decades during the early sixteenth century. The practice of using humanist methodologies to

study theology became known as Christian humanism, and although it was heavily combated by the conservative scholastic theologians, it achieved significant prominence in Europe for a time. In Portugal during the 1530s, these humanist ideas were well received by the court and the intellectual elite, and served as the foundation for João III's educational reform. But the Reformation and its spread changed the environment in which this intellectual debate had been discussed, thereby raising the stakes as the Catholic and Protestant camps were delineated. Amid this process, Christian humanism came to be associated with Protestantism. In Portugal, during the 1540s, such an association came to undermine the Colégio das Artes which king João III had placed in the hands of Christian humanists.

The Colégio das Artes opened its doors to great public excitement in 1548, but shortly after classes started, its principal André de Gouveia suffered an untimely death. The loss of the famed principal did not immediately affect the Colégio's teaching, as over the next years it continued to follow the methods put in place by Gouveia. But the Colégio had other problems. The years after Gouveia's death were marked by infighting between factions made up of professors in the Colégio. The conflict escalated to accusations of heresy and led to the Lisbon Inquisition investigating and arresting three of the Colégio's most prominent professors: Diego de Gouveia, João da Costa, and George Buchanan. The dissonance between the views of some of the professors and the contemporary intellectual and religious climate in Portugal had reached a breaking point. Despite the trial and the negative publicity brought by it, the Colégio continued to thrive as the king took measures to realign it ideologically. This realignment would be completed in 1555 with king João III relinquishing control of the Colégio das Artes to the Society of Jesus.

Historiography

The history of the Colégio das Artes was first written by modern historians at the end of the nineteenth century, with Teófilo Braga's *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra nas suas Relações com a Instrucção Publica Portugueza* in 1892.¹ Braga traces the complete history of the University of Coimbra from its medieval establishment up to his days, and since the Colégio was eventually absorbed by the University, its establishment and history is also covered.

Although Braga makes use of the wealth of documentary evidence that the institution had, he still lacked important sources for a proper understanding of the Colégio. Moreover, Braga's conclusions about the Colégio are laden with the anti-Jesuitic rhetoric that was common among nineteenth-century Portuguese historians. In 1924, Mário Brandão published his monograph *O Colégio das Artes*, which explores the Colégio's foundation and the period between 1548-1555 in more depth than Braga.² Brandão was the first to extensively use the Inquisition trial records of the professors to write about the Colégio, but *O Colégio das Artes* still dealt with this matter only superficially. In his analysis, Brandão presents a reliable narrative for the Colégio, as well as a thorough description of it as an institution and its relationship with the University and the Portuguese Crown. Brandão refrained, however, from analyzing the Colégio's program and methodology of studies, since he did not have the necessary sources.

Since Brandão's monograph, there has been no other study which delves into the first seven years of the Colégio's history with the same richness. In 1948, after publishing the trial records of João da Costa and Diogo de Teive, Brandão finally tackled the Inquisition trials in his

¹ Teófilo Braga, *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra nas suas Relações com a Instrucção Publica Portugueza*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1892-1902).

² Mário Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, vol. 1 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1924).

A Inquisição e os Professores do Colégio das Artes.³ The study reconstructed the events surrounding the trials remarkably well, capturing the tumultuous climate in the Colégio during the 1548-1555 period and situating it within the Portuguese context. Despite its qualities, Brandão's work suffers from a problem that is recurrent in Portuguese scholarship of the period: it focuses excessively on Portuguese scholarship, a problem compounded by the country's authoritarian regime of the time limiting exposure to foreign scholarship. Much like the *O Colégio das Artes*, there has not been another comprehensive study on the trial of the three professors since Brandão's work. The study of humanism has advanced considerably since Brandão's publications on the Colégio in the 1920s and 1940s, as has the study of the Portuguese Inquisition and of religion in Portugal, resulting in gaps in the historical research that this thesis attempts to bridge.

Since the 1940s, research on intellectual history has better delineated the different traditions present in Europe during the Renaissance. From the 1940s until the 1970s, Paul Oskar Kristeller produced extensive research on humanism as an educational movement and its development in the Italian peninsula, as well as its place within the existing intellectual framework of Europe at the time. His main works were republished collectively at the end of his career in 1979, and are foundational to studies on Renaissance humanism.⁴ Paul F. Grendler expanded on the relationship between humanism and education, reaffirming humanism as an educational movement. He explores this connection in the collection of eleven of his writings from the 1990s and 2000s, grouped in the *Renaissance Education Between Religion and*

³ Mario Brandão, *A Inquisição e os Professores do Colégio das Artes*, 2 vols (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1948-1969).

⁴ Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, ed. Michael E. Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

Politics.⁵ Angelo Mazzocco's edited collection *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism* expands upon the previous works of Kristeller and Grendler, reassessing their interpretations of humanism and scholasticism and presenting diverging views.⁶ Building on the existing understanding of humanism and scholasticism as proposed by Kristeller and others, Erika Rummel focused on the conflict that existed in European intellectual circles during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries between these two traditions. In her 1995 *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation*, she traces the evolution of this debate throughout the Renaissance, from their position as competing traditions to the conflict underlined by religion that characterized their post-Reformation context.⁷ Additionally, her 2008 edited collection *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* examines specific instances where the two traditions collided.⁸ The chapters dealing with conflicts in the University of Paris, more specifically, explore the intellectual and religious conflict that shaped the professors that eventually taught in the Colégio das Artes. These studies establish a paradigm of humanism as an international educational movement that entered into a conflict with another tradition in the European intellectual circles, and which is not present in the Colégio das Artes' scholarship.

In the Portuguese context, research after the 1940s has brought a clearer understanding the Portuguese intellectual environment in relation to external influences. In the 1950s, Elisabeth F. Hirsch began studying the sixteenth-century Portuguese scholars in France and the Low Countries, properly placing them in the international context of humanism.⁹ The influence of

⁵ Paul F. Grendler, *Renaissance Education Between Religion and Politics* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006).

⁶ Angelo Mazzocco, *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

⁷ Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995).

⁸ Erika Rummel, *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

⁹ Elisabeth F. Hirsch, "Portuguese Humanists and the Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century" *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 46, no. jg (1955): 47-68; Elisabeth F. Hirsch, "The Position of Some Erasmian Humanists in Portugal Under John III" *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* T. 17, no. 1 (1955): 24-35;

Erasmian and Christian humanism in Portugal, barely noticed by Brandão, was the subject of a number of studies in the 1970s after Marcel Bataillon shed light on Erasmus' influence in the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁰ Hirsch explored that connection in her 1970 "Erasmus and Portugal," which was followed by José V. de Pina Martins' *Humanismo e Erasmismo na Cultura Portuguesa do Século XVI* in 1973, and Artur Moreira de Sá's *De Re Erasmiana* in 1977.¹¹ This period coincided with Portuguese academia increasingly looking outwards to international trends in scholarship, in a movement that is still continuing to this day. In 1981, Manuel Rodrigues traced the development of humanism in Portugal and its clash with the Counter-Reformation, arguing that the latter was instrumental in limiting the extent to which the former developed.¹² More recently, there are advances in the studies of the specific influence of humanism in the educational system of Portugal. Equipped with André de Gouveia's program for the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux, Nair Soares examined the humanism present in the Colégio das Artes, although she did not examine the changes it went through and the subsequent Jesuit program.¹³

The Portuguese Inquisition, the main instrument of government used against the professors in the Colégio, and humanism in Portugal more broadly, has a long history of research in the country. Research on the Portuguese Inquisition has relied on Alexandre Herculano's seminal work *História da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal* since its

¹⁰ Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España: Estudios Sobre la Historia Espiritual del Siglo XVI* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966); Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y el Erasmismo* (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1977).

¹¹ Elisabeth F. Hirsch, "Erasmus and Portugal." *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* 32, no. 3 (1970): 539–557; José V. de Pina Martins, *Humanismo e Erasmismo na Cultura Portuguesa do Século XVI: Estudo e Textos* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural Português, 1973); Artur Moreira de Sá, *De Re Erasmiana: Aspectos do Erasmismo na Cultura Portuguesa do Século XVI*, (Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, 1977).

¹² Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, "Do humanismo à contra-reforma em Portugal," *Revista de História das Ideias* 3 (1981): 125-176.

¹³ Soares, Nair de Nazaré Castro. "Pedagogia Humanista no Colégio das Artes ao Tempo de Anchieta." In *Actas do Congresso Internacional Anchieta em Coimbra - Colégio das Artes da Universidade (1548-1999)*, edited by Sebastião Tavares de Pinho and Luísa de Nazaré Ferreira, 1039-1066. Oporto: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 2000.

publishing in 1854. Although his interpretation of the creation of the Inquisition is heavily reflective of the Portuguese absolutist-liberalist clash that underlines his times, his work is still consulted today for the procedural and institutional aspects of the tribunal.¹⁴ In the beginning of the twentieth century, Inquisition records slowly began to be published by Portuguese historians, fuelling the study of the Inquisition over the first decades of the century.¹⁵ But during the greater part of the twentieth century, historians of the Portuguese Inquisition have focused on the Inquisition's main victims, the New Christian population. In this light, João Lúcio de Azevedo's 1921 *História dos Cristãos-Novos Portugueses* examined the New Christian situation from a nationalistic standpoint, while later the politically exiled António José Saraiva approached the same topic with a Marxist view in his 1969 *Inquisição e Cristãos-Novos*.¹⁶ With the end of Portugal's dictatorship in the 1970s, the study of its Inquisition opened up for foreigners, as well as for new approaches to its study. During the 1980s, quantitative studies of the more than 40,000 trial cases in Portugal began to appear, in a trend that continues until today.¹⁷ Along with the quantitative trend, there is also an emergence of studies which focus on the social aspects of the Inquisition, such as José Veiga Torres' "Uma Longa Guerra Social" in 1986 and "Da

¹⁴ Alexandre Herculano, *História da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal [History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal]*, 13th ed., 3 vols. (Amadora: Editora Paulo de Azevedo, n.d.).

¹⁵ More notable at this time is the work of Antonio Baião. He published accusation lists and more documents in: Antonio Baião, *A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil: subsídios para sua história* (Lisbon: Of. Tip. Calçada do Cabra, 1906); and published excerpts of trial cases in: Antonio Baião, *Episódios Dramáticos da Inquisição Portuguesa: Homens de Letras e de Ciências por ela Condenados*, 2 vols. (Porto: Renascença Portuguesa, 1919-1938).

¹⁶ João Lúcio de Azevedo, *História dos Cristãos-Novos Portugueses*, 3rd ed. (Lisbon: Clássica Editora, 1989); António José Saraiva, *Inquisição e Cristãos-Novos*, 5th ed. (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1985).; Saraiva's book has also been published in English: António José Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians 1536-1765*, ed. and trans. H. P. Salomon and I.S.D. Sassoon (Leiden: BRILL, 2001).

¹⁷ Charles Amiel, "The Archives of the Portuguese Inquisition: A Brief Survey," in *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods*, ed. Gustav Henningsen, and John Tedeschi (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986); As a testament to the continuity of this trend and the work still to be done, this thesis makes use of recent quantitative research such as this quantitative analysis of the Lisbon Inquisition's first forty-two years: Daniel Norte Giebels, "A Inquisição de Lisboa. No Epicentro da Dinâmica Inquisitorial (1537-1579)" (PhD diss., Universidade de Coimbra, 2016).

Repressão Religiosa para a Promoção Social” in 1994, and Joaquim Romero Magalhães’ “Em Busca dos ‘Tempos’ da Inquisição” in 1987.¹⁸ These studies helped frame the Portuguese Inquisition as an institution that evolved through time and reflected the socio-economic conflicts that were on course in Portugal, complete with truces and waves of high and low intensity. More recently, the study of the Portuguese Inquisition has been on a globalizing trend. Research has been taken on by foreign scholars, bringing different viewpoints than the traditional Portuguese narrative. This trend also brought about a deeper study of the interconnection between different Inquisition tribunals throughout the Catholic world and resulted in a better framing of the Portuguese Inquisition in an international context. Francisco Bethencourt’s 1995 *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478-1834*, is an attempt by the Portuguese scholar to situate the different Inquisitions in a global framework.¹⁹ The influence of foreign scholars can be seen in works such as Giuseppe Marcocci’s “A Fundação da Inquisição em Portugal: Um Novo Olhar” in 2011, and his 2013 survey *História da Inquisição Portuguesa (1535-1821)*.²⁰

In the intersection between Inquisition, cultural history and the larger Portuguese religious history, there are also significant developments in research since the 1940s. J. S. da Silva Dias traces the development of the Portuguese religious climate during the whole of the sixteenth century in his 1960 *Correntes de Sentimento Religioso em Portugal*, identifying the cultural and religious shift of the 1540s and 1550s in Portugal as a Counter-Reformation

¹⁸ José Veiga Torres, “Uma Longa Guerra Social: Novas Perspectivas para o Estudo da Inquisição Portuguesa: a Inquisição de Coimbra,” *Revista de História das Ideias* 8, no. 1 (1986): 59-75; José Veiga Torres, “Da Repressão Religiosa para a Promoção Social: a Inquisição como Instância Legitimadora da Promoção Social da Burguesia Mercantil,” *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 40 (October 1994): 109-135. Joaquim Romero Magalhães, “Em Busca dos ‘Tempos’ da Inquisição: (1573-1615)” *Revista de História das Ideias* 9, no. 2 (1987): 191-228.

¹⁹ Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478-1834*, trans. Jean Birrell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

²⁰ Giuseppe Marcocci, “A Fundação da Inquisição em Portugal: Um Novo Olhar,” *Lusitania Sacra* 23 (2011): 17-40; Giuseppe Marcocci, and José Pedro Paiva, *História da Inquisição Portuguesa (1535-1821)* (Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros, 2013).

movement.²¹ Amélia Polónia’s “Recepção do Concílio de Trento em Portugal,” in 1990, reassessed the impacts of the Counter-Reformation in Portugal.²² Her analysis showed that Portugal adopted many Tridentine aspects in its Catholicism already in the early 1550s. This re-examination of Trent’s effects in Portugal has been built upon by Polónia and other authors in the 2014 *O Concílio de Trento em Portugal e nas suas Conquistas*.²³ Additionally, in 2004 Elvira de Azevedo Mea examined the relationship between the Inquisition and Counter-Reformation in Portugal, showing that the Inquisition had a more combative rather than integrative approach against New Christians and Protestants alike.²⁴ More recently, there has also been more focus on the study of the Protestant presence in Portugal and its colonies during the sixteenth century, in works such as Amanda Kapp’s “A ‘Heresia Luterana’ em Portugal de Quinhentos” in 2016, and José Pedro Paiva’s “The Impact of Luther and the Reformation in the Portuguese Seaborne Empire: Asia and Brazil” in 2019.²⁵ Kapp shows that the attacks on humanism stemmed more from the Portuguese misconceptions about its connections of Protestant doctrine rather than an actual presence in the country, a point which Paiva agrees with in his examination of the Society of Jesus’ participation in the repressive measures taken by Portugal against Protestantism in its colonies.

²¹ J. S. da Silva Dias, *Correntes de Sentimento Religioso em Portugal: Séculos XVI a XVIII* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1960).

²² Amélia Maria Polónia Silva, “Recepção do Concílio de Trento em Portugal: As Normas Enviadas Pelo Cardeal D. Henrique aos Bispos do Reino, em 1553,” *História – Revista da FLUP* 7 (1990): 133-144.

²³ António Camões Gouveia, David Sampaio Barbosa, and José Pedro Paiva, eds. *O Concílio de Trento em Portugal e nas suas Conquistas: Olhares Novos* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, 2014).

²⁴ Elvira de Azevedo Mea, “O Santo Ofício no Contexto da Contra-Reforma em Portugal,” in *III Congresso Histórico – D. Manuel e a sua Época*, 460-463, vol. 2 (Guimarães, Portugal: Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 2004).

²⁵ Amanda Cieslak Kapp, “A ‘Heresia Luterana’ em Portugal de Quinhentos: Ecos do Humanismo e das Reformas Religiosas,” *Temporalidades* 8, no. 22 (2016): 23-46; José Pedro Paiva, “The Impact of Luther and the Reformation in the Portuguese Seaborne Empire: Asia and Brazil, 1520–1580,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70, no. 2 (2019): 283–303.

In sum, this thesis complements the existing scholarship about the Colégio das Artes by adding a careful analysis and comparison of its program and methodologies in two distinct periods, 1548-1555 and 1555-1565. The analysis of the Colégio is seen in the context of Portugal's ideological shift during the 1548-1555 period, placing this shift, and the professors' trials as part of an overarching cultural and religious movement in the country. At the same time, the understanding of the Portuguese Inquisition both as a political tool used by the royal Crown and as an autonomous institution pursuing its own goals, needs to be factored into the Inquisition's actions during the 1548-1555 period. Moreover, this thesis situates the intellectual conflict that happened in the Colégio within the Europe-wide dispute between humanism and scholasticism, identifying it as a Portuguese extension of this larger conflict.

Sources

The study of the Portuguese Inquisition and topics adjacent to it are fortunate enough to benefit from its extensive surviving record. The records for the trials of Diogo de Teive and João da Costa were published in their entirety by Mário Brandão.²⁶ George Buchanan's trial records were published in their entirety by Guilherme Henriques, along with an English translation for its Portuguese sections.²⁷ Buchanan's multiple defences, all written in Latin, were translated and published separately by James Macrae Aitken.²⁸ The records of these trials include depositions by the accused professors and their own defences as presented to the Inquisition, as well as the

²⁶ Mário Brandão, *O Processo na Inquisição de M.º Diogo de Teive* (Coimbra: Alves & Mourão, 1943); Mário Brandão, *O Processo na Inquisição de Mestre João da Costa* (Coimbra: Publicações do Arquivo e Museu de Arte da Universidade de Coimbra, 1944).

²⁷ Guilherme J. C. Henriques, *George Buchanan in the Lisbon Inquisition: The Records of his Trial, With a Translation Thereof Into English, Fac-similes of Some of the Papers and an Introduction* (Lisbon: Typographia da Empreza da Historia de Portugal, 1906).

²⁸ James Macrae Aitken, *The Trial of George Buchanan Before the Lisbon Inquisition, Including the Text of Buchanan's Defences Along With a Translation and Commentary* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1939).

depositions of dozens of different witnesses involved, providing a great amount of detail for the events in question. Aside from trial records, there are also other primary sources on the Portuguese Inquisition that help understanding its goals and the way it functioned. Isaías da Rosa Pereira published the papal bull *Meditatio Cordis*, which definitively established the Portuguese Inquisition, along with the previous Inquisition bulls in Portugal and supporting documents that established instructions for the functioning of the Inquisition and their own regulations.²⁹ The actions of the Inquisition regarding the censorship of books in Portugal are also significant to the study of humanism in Portugal, especially within an academic environment such as the Colégio das Artes, and the 1547 index of censored books by the Portuguese Inquisition has been published by Artur Moreira de Sá.³⁰

The University of Coimbra and the Colégio das Artes have a sizeable number of sources that can further clarify the institutions' activities during the sixteenth century. There are documents pertaining to the Colégio das Artes and its daily operations from the period between 1547 and 1565, which can be found in Antonio Teixeira's *Documentos para a História dos Jesuítas em Portugal*.³¹ These include, among others, the "Primeiro Regimento" of November 16, 1547, which established the Colégio, the "Statuta novi Regii Gymnasii," which provided the rules of conduct and daily organization of the Colégio, and the "Regimento que hão de guardar os lentes de Artes," which lays out the regulations and program for the Arts course.³² Alongside

²⁹ Isaías da Rosa Pereira, *Documentos Para a História da Inquisição em Portugal, Século XVI* (Oporto: Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português, 1984).

³⁰ "Prohibicam dos Liuros Defesos," in *Índices dos Livros Proibidos em Portugal no Século XVI*, ed. Artur Moreira de Sá (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1983), 142-151.

³¹ Antonio José Teixeira, *Documentos para a História dos Jesuítas em Portugal* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899).

³² "Primeiro regimento, que el-rei D. João III deu ao collegio das Artes no tempo em que nelle leram os francezes," in *Documentos para a História dos Jesuítas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 4-11; "Statuta novi Regii Gymnasii de moribus scholastics," in *Documentos para a História dos Jesuítas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 32-42; "Regimento

the *Documentos*, the *Schola Aquitanica* provides the educational program of the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux during the sixteenth century, and was published alongside a French translation of the original Latin by Louis Massebieau.³³ The program was originally written down by Elie Vinet, then principal of Guyenne and a former professor under André de Gouveia both in Bordeaux and in Coimbra. Vinet considered the program published in the *Schola Aquitanica* to be “according to which Gouveia had formed his college” in Bordeaux, and it is instrumental in reconstructing the Colégio das Artes’ methodology of studies during the 1548-1555 period.³⁴

The Jesuits’ interconnected and international nature and their propensity for record keeping allowed for the survival of many documents that enlighten the history of the Colégio das Artes during its 1555-1565 period and its educational program. The sources available are largely grouped in two sets: one comprising the 1555-1561 period, and the other the period from 1561-1565. The first period is illustrated by the testimony of the Spanish Jesuit professor Pedro Perpiñán, who was one of the main Latinists in the Colégio during this time and recorded the program of studies that was used there along with his own considerations of it.³⁵ The second period is from 1561 until 1565, and it is based on the surviving instructions left by the mastermind behind the Jesuit educational program, Jerónimo Nadal, during his visit to

que não de guardar os lentes de Artes do collegio real da cidade de Coimbra,” in *Documentos para a Historia dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 98-105.

³³ Louis Massebieau, trans., *Schola Aquitanica: Programme D’Études du Collège de Guyenne au XVIe Siècle* (Paris: Librairie Ch. Delagrave, 1886).

³⁴ “Hac ergo disciplina gymnasium suum informaverat Gouveia.” Massebieau, *Schola Aquitanica*, 34.

³⁵ Petrus Ioannes Perpinyà, “De Ratione Liberorum Instituendorum Litteris Latinis atque Graecis,” in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu: Penitus Retracta Multisque Textibus Aucta Edidit*, ed. Ladislaus Lukács, vol. 2 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 644-657; Petrus Ioannes Perpinyà, “De Studiis Elegantioris Doctrinae,” in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu: Penitus Retracta Multisque Textibus Aucta Edidit*, ed. Ladislaus Lukács, vol. 2. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 658-663.

Coimbra.³⁶ Additionally, correspondence between the members of the order helps fill in gaps and provide insights on aspects not covered by Perpiñán or Nadal. Their administrative letters reveal many important details which are concealed in the publicized edifying ones, and were of great use to this research. These documents help establish the Jesuit program of studies and the functioning of the Colégio das Artes during the 1555-1565 period.

Outline

The question that this research presents then is: what explains such an ideological shift in João III's plans for the educational system of Portugal? More specifically, what was modified in the methodology and program of the Colégio das Artes in order to effect this change? The question of whether the Colégio das Artes' professors were a threat to orthodoxy in Portugal will also be analyzed, at the same time that the study examines the religious and political context in which Portugal and Europe found themselves. After an assessment of the changes over time in curricula, alignment of the college's professors, and other aspects of the Colégio's day-to-day operations, as well as an examination of the Inquisition trial of George Buchanan, João da Costa, and Diogo de Teive, this study will determine what the trials represented in relation to the educational plan of João III and the intellectual trends that were competing for supremacy in Portugal.

The first chapter of this research provides a survey of early sixteenth-century humanism, exploring its standing in the intellectual and academic sphere in Europe, as well as arguing for its presence in Portugal and its royal court. The chapter traces the educational reforms of João III

³⁶ *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Jesu: quae primam rationem studiorum anno 1586 editam praecessere* (Madrid: Typis Augustini Avrial, 1901), 637-698; *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Jesu Nova Editio Penitus Retractata (1557-1572)*, vol. 3 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 56-70.

until the establishment of the Colégio das Artes in 1547, analyzing its pedagogical program during the 1548-1555 period and connecting it with the wider development of humanism in sixteenth-century Europe. The second chapter tackles the controversial relationship between humanism and Protestantism, and how it resulted in the trial of three well-regarded professors in the Colégio das Artes by the Portuguese Inquisition in 1550. The final chapter examines the evolution of education at the Colégio after the trials and its takeover by the Society of Jesus in 1555.

The examination of the Colégio das Artes' operations during the period of 1548-1565, encompassing both its secular and Jesuit periods, reveals important aspects about the development of humanism in Portugal and the effects of religious conflict on education, all while adding a Portuguese aspect to the complex humanist-scholastic debate which permeated Europe during the early sixteenth century. When Buchanan arrived in Coimbra with Gouveia, he deemed they were "reintroducing the Muses to Portugal," and they were, but the Muses were not the only thing they were reintroducing in Portugal.³⁷ The initial establishment of the Colégio das Artes attempted to reintroduce Christian humanism in Portugal at a time when such ideas had already been pushed outside of the mainstream. This attempt resulted in pushback from different conservative sectors of Portuguese society that managed to successfully stamp this endeavor, and later, with the handover to the Society of Jesus, decidedly end Christian humanism in Portugal.

³⁷ "Alite non fausta genti dum rursus Iberae restituis musas, hic, Goueane, jaces." Buchanan, *poemata quae extant*, (Amsterdam: H. Wetstenium, 1687), 368.

CHAPTER I

When King João III ascended to the Portuguese throne in 1521, Portugal was experiencing great economic growth through the newly established trade routes to Asia. But if the country was on the forefront of European commerce, it also lagged behind its peers in the realm of education. Whereas the Renaissance had brought a flourishing humanist tradition to the intellectual centres of Paris and northern Europe, Portugal remained fairly isolated from them on the periphery of intellectual development. João III recognized this limitation, and in 1527 he began a decades-long educational reform plan which, although not always consistent or successful, affected the Portuguese educational system significantly until his death in 1557. The culmination of this educational reform was the establishment of the Colégio das Artes in 1547, a College of Arts organized and operated by experienced scholars trained in France, which brought the methods, traditions, and ideals of the *modus parisiensis* to Portugal. However, during the twenty years between the beginning of the educational reform and the foundation of the Colégio das Artes, the intellectual and religious climate of Europe and Portugal experience considerable developments. In the end, João III saw what he had envisioned with his Colégio realized, but by then what the Colégio brought to Portugal was a view of humanism that was no longer acceptable in the country. This chapter examines humanism, scholasticism, and the relationship between these two traditions as they developed during sixteenth-century Europe and their place in the evolution of the Portuguese intellectual climate. With that context established, the chapter analyzes João III's educational reform, and at the same time reconstructs the Colégio das Artes' functioning in detail, showing the dissonance between the Colégio and Portugal's contemporary environment.

Humanism refers to the intellectual movement that developed in Renaissance Italy and gradually expanded throughout the rest of Europe over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its foundation was the study of Classical literature, which served as a model that could be applied to all cultural activities.³⁸ From these classics, humanists advanced studies on grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry and moral philosophy, which were grouped under the term *studia humanitatis*. Humanists believed in the primacy of older sources, the principle of *ad fontes*, and this idea was fundamental to their world view. This concept led to the central place that the Latin and Greek languages had in the *studia humanitatis* and the prominent place granted to philology, and resulted in a refinement of the Latin of the time and in the reintroduction of the Greek language in the Western European scholarly world. Moreover, humanism also had characteristics that went beyond the academic setting and reflected the humanist outlook on life, such as an embrace of civic life and a predilection for criticism.³⁹ In its essence, humanism was an educational and cultural movement that sought to form a whole man, a good and cultured citizen who embraced life but did not forget God.⁴⁰ The humanist's main role then was that of a teacher, a role that many filled at secondary schools or universities, often teaching grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and Greek.

During most of its existence, humanism had to compete with the scholastic tradition, a method of logical argument rooted in medieval Aristotelian philosophy and dialectics, and which served as the foundation to theological studies at the time.⁴¹ The scholastic method placed great importance on the transmission of traditional knowledge, deemed as truth by the authority of its

³⁸ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 22-23, 87-90, 97.

³⁹ Grendler, "Ancient Learning, Criticism, Schools and Universities," in *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Angelo Mazzocco (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 80.

⁴⁰ Grendler, "Renaissance Humanism, Schools and Universities," in *Renaissance Education Between Religion and Politics* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 3-4.

⁴¹ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 99

sources.⁴² Although in some aspects humanism and scholasticism deeply contrasted, they should not be viewed as opposites in a dualistic manner; both traditions developed during the same period and affected each other, and scholars did not necessarily limit themselves to using one method or the other.⁴³ These two traditions, in fact, coexisted in the academic setting. By the sixteenth century, the humanist curriculum was taught at the secondary level, while the prestigious upper-level chairs of theology, medicine, and law were still firmly under the scholastic tradition.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, humanism spilled over into other disciplines, as in most places a degree on the Arts was a requirement to a doctorate level program such as theology and law.

Proponents of both traditions, however, developed a rivalry that evolved from a simple debate of different methodologies to vicious attacks between the two camps. When humanists started to apply their methodology to disciplines such as theology, competition between the two methods escalated to academic disputes.⁴⁵ On the one hand, scholastic theologians traditionally focused on the use of commentaries of medieval authorities and claimed that humanists were grammarians who did not have the necessary training in theology and dialectical reasoning. On the other hand, humanists defended the use of older sources such as the Scriptures and the patristic writings as being of the utmost importance, and claimed that theologians were sophists who did not know proper Latin. These humanists who dared to intrude on the theologians' territory and apply their humanistic skills such as philology to the study of the Bible and the Church Fathers can be collectively referred to as Christian or Biblical Humanists.⁴⁶ However, the

⁴² Riccardo Fubini, "Humanism and Scholasticism: Toward an Historical Definition," in *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Angelo Mazzocco (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 130-131.

⁴³ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 97-103

⁴⁴ Grendler, "Renaissance Humanism, Schools and Universities," 5-6.

⁴⁵ Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 5-10.

⁴⁶ Charles G. Nauert, "Rethinking 'Christian Humanism'," in *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Angelo Mazzocco (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 155.

idea of a Christian humanist is not only limited to its philological skills, but it also incorporates other aspects of the humanist world view. The concept of *ad fontes*, in this case, was also applied to their religion, and would put the Bible in a more prominent position in the Christian humanist's eyes, when their counterparts may have been more inclined to follow more recent interpreters. Many of these humanists were also advocates for spiritual, institutional, and educational reform in the Church and society, and were at the core of the heated intellectual environment of the sixteenth century.

Such a Christian Humanist, and perhaps the most important humanist of the early sixteenth century, was Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. Erasmus achieved such a prominence that his particular view of humanism became known as 'Erasmian humanism' within his lifetime, garnering enthusiasts and influencing scholars throughout Europe. He wrote extensively on a variety of themes, but his most famous works were his religious writings.⁴⁷ Although Erasmus later obtained a theology degree in Pisa, he despised the scholastic methods used by traditional theologians. He instead studied theology with the tools that humanism gave him, using his philological skills to publish his own New Testament translation from the Greek in 1516 complete with commentaries and the original text. After the Protestant Reformation began, however, Erasmus' criticisms of the Church and his reformist ideas put him into conflict with Catholic conservatives, while his insistence on remaining Catholic put him at odds with Protestants. His condition reflected one in which many humanists would find themselves during the sixteenth century: an open-mindedness to use their philological expertise in order to better understand their religion and a desire for Catholic Reform.

⁴⁷ Erika Rummel, "Introduction," in *The Erasmus Reader*, ed. Erika Rummel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 3-10.

Universities had existed in Northern Europe since the thirteenth century, but their numbers exploded during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at the same time that the *studia humanitatis* were being introduced outside of Italy.⁴⁸ The majority of their students were undergraduates seeking a Bachelor of Arts and who studied the *studia humanitatis*, contrasting with the smaller number of students working towards a doctorate in one of the higher disciplines: medicine, law, or theology. The spread of curriculum changes influenced by humanism was uneven across the universities and their colleges. Specific colleges often preferred one methodology, or certain parts of one, over another, and each principal in charge chose what direction their college would take. Likewise, the many colleges of the University of Paris varied in their preference of Christian humanism and scholastic methods. The Collège de Montaigu, one of the most prominent during the early sixteenth century, had remained a bastion of scholasticism under the leadership of Jan Standock and Noël Beda, the latter steering the University of Paris against Christian humanism for decades.⁴⁹ In the Collège Sainte-Barbe, which would have significant influence over Portugal, humanism went through different phases: it suffered under the principal Diogo de Gouveia, who viewed men who studied Greek as Lutherans, but it later thrived under André de Gouveia, who was open to Christian humanism.⁵⁰ The ideological differences bred rivalries between different colleges during the 1530s, further intensifying the factionalization in the intellectual debate.⁵¹ In this manner, during the early

⁴⁸ Grendler, “The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation” in *Renaissance Education Between Religion and Politics*, 2-9.

⁴⁹ Farge, “Noël Beda and the Defense of Tradition” in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, 143-160; Godet, *La Congrégation de Montaigu (1490-1580)*, 71-72.

⁵⁰ Brandão, *Processo de Diogo de Teive*, 6; Gabriel Codina Mir, *Aux sources de la pédagogie des jésuites. Le «Modus parisiensis»* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1968), 79.

⁵¹ Marcel Godet, *La Congrégation de Montaigu (1490-1580)* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1912). 71-72; J. Quicherat, *Histoire de Sainte-Barbe: Collège, Communauté, Institution* (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie, 1860), 221.

sixteenth century universities such as Paris were an intellectual battleground, where proponents of both humanist and scholastic traditions debated their merits and attacked each other.⁵²

After 1517, however, the Reformation exacerbated the tensions of the conflict between humanists and scholastics. Christian humanism's apparent disregard for the Church's traditional authority, with their new translations and revisions of the Bible and patristic texts, was outrageous to the more conservative Catholics, and the critical outlook of some humanists on the Church's institutions, and on points of doctrine, put them dangerously close to heresy.⁵³ While some aspects of humanism such as the precedence of original sources and a focus on education overlapped with Reformation doctrine, the reaction of humanists to the Reformation was varied. Many remained orthodox, and while large numbers were drawn to Reformed churches, any statistics on the matter are heavily influenced by various geographical and political implications. Regardless of its veracity, the association between humanism and Reformation caught on - first due to their perceived similarities, and later because perpetuating this link was beneficial to both the reformers, who found a successful recruiting ground in humanistic circles, and to the Catholic apologists, who could now enlist the support of scholastic theologians.⁵⁴ Thus, what had begun as an intellectual dispute, escalated to one with religious undertones and serious implications. This persistent conflict, and the tainted perception of humanism that it fostered in the eyes of some Catholics, would be reproduced in Portugal, especially when the educational system in place began to be reformed under the influence of the University of Paris and the Collège de Guyenne.

⁵² Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 63-69.

⁵³ Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 64-66; Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 108-113, 126-129.

⁵⁴ Erika Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 22-29.

Humanists had been present in Portugal since the fifteenth century and had mostly come from the Italian peninsula. However, before the reign of João III, their influence was very limited. Since the reign of Afonso V (r. 1438-1481), the court had enjoyed the presence of Italian humanists such as Matheus de Pisano and Cataldo Siculo Parisio. Moreover, some Portuguese nobles such as the influential Bishop of Évora, D. Garcia de Meneses, were educated in universities in the Italian Peninsula, thereby bringing humanism to the Portuguese court.⁵⁵ During this time, however, Portugal lacked educational institutions that could rival those in other countries. This humanistic educational tradition was limited to the royal family and the nobility who could afford foreign tutors or to send their sons abroad. The University of Lisbon, the only one in the country, was frequently embroiled in political disputes with the Crown, and the quality of its teaching left much to be desired.⁵⁶ This pattern began to change in 1527, when King João III took the initial steps of a large-scale reform. Since the turn of the century, the Crown had been providing a small number of scholarships for Portuguese students in the prestigious University of Paris, but after 1527 João III substantially increased this program.⁵⁷ The king maintained fifty scholarships in the Collège Sainte-Barbe, effectively transforming it into a Portuguese educational centre within the University of Paris. This plan aimed to train a large number of Portuguese scholars at one of the best institutions in Europe, who could in time, return home and foster Portugal's own educational system, which many of these men did.

The 1530s saw humanism in Portugal flourish under king João III. If, before his ascension, Portugal looked mainly to Italy for its humanistic influences, it now looked north of

⁵⁵ Américo da Costa Ramalho, *Para a História do Humanismo em Portugal*, 5 vols. (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1988-2013), 3:16-20; Ramalho, *Para a História do Humanismo*, 4:21-22.

⁵⁶ A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1997), 319-320.

⁵⁷ Mário Brandão e M. Lopes D'Almeida, *A Universidade de Coimbra: Esboço da sua História* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1937), 154-159, 162-164.

the Alps, especially to the universities of Paris and Louvain.⁵⁸ As a reflection of this shift, Erasmus' influence on Portuguese humanism became prominent during the 1530s.⁵⁹ André de Resende, who frequently exalted Erasmus, enjoyed great prestige within the royal court, and was chosen in 1533 to tutor the young princes Afonso, Duarte, and Henrique.⁶⁰ He also delivered the speech at the opening of the school year at the University of Lisbon in 1534, where he promoted the study of classical languages as the foundation to all disciplines, even that of theology.⁶¹ João de Barros, another distinguished humanist, published his *Ropicapnefma* in 1532, which invoked parallels with Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* both on its style and its criticism of corrupt clergymen. Damião de Góis, who was held in great esteem by king João III, personally befriended Erasmus, corresponding with him and even visiting Erasmus in Freiburg in 1533.⁶² Góis' works show an unusual religious tolerance and a desire for a Christian reunification under Rome.

The king's own predilections and the influences in his court also give indications of the state of humanism and how it was viewed in the country. While growing up, João III received an education worthy of an early modern prince, learning the classics, Arts, Law, and even some Greek, and making use of the vast classical library that his father Manuel I (r. 1495-1521) maintained.⁶³ Although there are reasons to suggest some enmity between João III and Erasmus during the 1520s, over the next decade Erasmian influence seems to have been particularly

⁵⁸ Martins, *Humanismo e Erasmismo na Cultura Portuguesa*, 27-32, 49-57.

⁵⁹ Dias, *Correntes de Sentimento Religioso*, 180-204.

⁶⁰ Resende published the poem *Erasmii Encomium* in 1531, praising Erasmus and attacking his critics. Martins, *Humanismo e Erasmismo na Cultura Portuguesa*, 81-91; Amélia Polónia, *D. Henrique: O Cardeal-Rei* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005), 51.

⁶¹ André de Resende, *Oração de Sapiência (Oratio Pro Rostris)*, trans. Miguel Pinto de Meneses (Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1956), 37-53.

⁶² Elisabeth F. Hirsch, *Damião de Góis: The Life and Thought of a Portuguese Humanist, 1502-1574* (The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1967), 83-89, 181-192.

⁶³ Ana Isabel Buescu, *D. João III: 1502-1557* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2008), 35-39.

strong at court.⁶⁴ Queen Catarina, João's Castilian wife, received copies of the *Colloquies* of Erasmus in 1529, and may have brought more of his works to the court when she married the king.⁶⁵ In 1533, João III even asked Damião de Góis if he would be able to convince Erasmus to teach in the soon-to-be reformed University of Coimbra.⁶⁶ In his *Erasmi Encomium*, André de Resende claimed that the king and his brother Afonso "venerate [Erasmus] with great affection" and "read [his] books with great enthusiasm;" even if exaggerated, these comments are likely to be truthful.⁶⁷ The choice of tutors for the young princes also reflects an Erasmian influence. Along with the aforementioned Resende, the king chose Nicolas Clenard, a Flemish theologian of strong Erasmian tendencies; Clenard mastered Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and was learning Arabic with the aim of peacefully converting Muslims.⁶⁸ It was in this climate that fostered Erasmian humanism that João III took the next steps of his educational reform.

During the 1530s, the educational centre of Portugal shifted from Lisbon to Coimbra, with the establishment of a college in Coimbra's Santa Cruz monastery and the transfer of the University of Lisbon to the town. The Santa Cruz monastery had a long history as an educational institution. João III aimed to revive this legacy by bringing professors from abroad and expanding its buildings, and by 1535 Latin and the Arts were already being taught in Santa

⁶⁴ João III's three emissaries to the Conference of Valladolid in 1527 were strongly anti-Erasmian. Later in 1527, Erasmus dedicate his translation of John Chrysostom's *Lucubrationes aliquot* to João III, but due to his criticism of the king's monopoly on spices, João III never granted him any money. Sá, *De Re Erasmiana*, 152-162, 333.

⁶⁵ Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, "Erasmus e os Índices Inquisitoriais Portugueses no Século XVI," in *Estudos em homenagem a João Francisco Marques*, ed. Amélia Polónia (Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2001), 132-134.

⁶⁶ Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, 90.

⁶⁷ "[O Rei D. João e seu irmão Afonso] veneram com extraordinário affecto a tua imagem, e percorrem com afã os teus livros." André de Resende, *Elogio de Erasmo (Erasmi Encomium)*, ed. and trans. Walter Sousa Medeiros and José Pereira da Costa (Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1961), 23-25, quoted in Artur Moreira de Sá, *De Re Erasmiana: Aspectos do Erasmismo na Cultura Portuguesa do Século XVI* (Braga, Portugal: Publicações da Faculdade de Filosofia, 1977), 179.

⁶⁸ Clenard is also known as Cleynaerts or Clenardus; Polonia, *D. Henrique*, 51-53; Hirsch, "Erasmus and Portugal," 541-542.

Cruz.⁶⁹ With the teaching of Arts established in Coimbra, the king now had a foundation for his next step: the transfer of the University to the town. The relocation was completed in 1537, and it allowed João III to place the University firmly under control of the monarchy. The Crown reformed its statutes, dismissed problematic professors and hired new ones from abroad, and reorganized its operations and properties.⁷⁰ João III's educational reform appeared to be advancing smoothly, with Coimbra now burgeoning with students from all over the kingdom, who could learn the *studia humanitatis* in the preparatory college of the Santa Cruz monastery and proceed to the higher studies of Theology, Canon Law, Civil Law, or Medicine in the newly formed University of Coimbra.⁷¹ At the same time, the king continued to fund Portuguese students in the Collège Sainte-Barbe at Paris, many of whom came back to teach in Coimbra. Despite these investments, a letter exchange between the king and the principal of the University in 1541 reveals that there was still a "lack of the rudiments of Latinity in this University."⁷² This evident inadequacy in the teaching of the Latin language, and the foundation of all humanistic studies, put in jeopardy João III's whole plan of having a prestigious educational system, and likely prompted the next step of his educational reform: the creation of the Real Colégio das Artes.

In 1543, João III received in his court the principal of the Collège de Guyenne, André de Gouveia, and invited him to lead a new college of Arts in Coimbra, one that could rival the best in Europe, as well as to put together a group of distinguished professors to lecture in it.⁷³ The

⁶⁹ While the arts may have been taught there earlier in the decade, there is only evidence for it after 1535. Brandão, *Universidade de Coimbra*, 166-168.

⁷⁰ Buescu, *D. João III*, 238; Braga, *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra*, 1:454-455, 1:468-472; Brandão, *Universidade de Coimbra*, 178, 189, 212: Brandão points out that there are over six hundred extant documents relating to both João III and the university, attesting the degree to which the king was involved in it.

⁷¹ For a table of the courses offered and the topics covered on each course, see: Braga, *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra*, 1:476-475.

⁷² Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 62-63.

⁷³ Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 65-66.

Real Colégio das Artes, as it became known, would be an enterprise under the close purview of the king, receiving sizeable investments and privileges that matched his expectations for it.⁷⁴ The choice of André de Gouveia is perhaps the best evidence of the vision the king had for the Colégio. Gouveia was one of the Portuguese students who were granted a scholarship in the Collège Sainte-Barbe during the 1520s, where he taught after his graduation.⁷⁵ He soon had a career switch to academic leadership in 1530, achieving outstanding success. During Gouveia's time as Sainte-Barbe's principal, the college assembled a distinguished faculty, and was led with a strict discipline.⁷⁶ Later, in 1534, Gouveia was invited to be the new principal of the recently founded Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux, and departed from Paris, taking a group of professors with him. During his thirteen years as principal in Bordeaux, André de Gouveia became known as the "best principal in France" according to the illustrious French humanist and former student of Guyenne, Michel de Montaigne.⁷⁷

Gouveia certainly had the credentials to lead João III's new college, but the principal's personal views are perhaps more telling of the king's project. In a 1537 letter to the Portuguese ambassador to France, Gouveia revealed some of his views, explaining why he gave up on the theology studies in Paris: he was not willing to "waste his time" with the "sophist theology" that was taught there, instead, he preferred to study theology through the "holy Scripture and through the Church Fathers."⁷⁸ This position signals an inclination toward Christian humanism that would also manifest in his choice of professors and the way he ran his colleges throughout his

⁷⁴ In English, the Royal College of Arts. The college was also referred to as Colégio de Mestre André (Master André's College), and Colégio dos Franceses (The Frenchmen's College).

⁷⁵ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:136-138, 1:183-184, 1:203.

⁷⁶ Quicherat, *Histoire du Collège Sainte-Barbe*, 222-223, 242-243.

⁷⁷ Michel de Montaigne, *Essays*, trans. J. M. Cohen (Edinburgh: Penguin Books, 1961), 85.

⁷⁸ "folgaria que me ouuisse para auer se a theologia que se aprende pella sagrada escritura & pelos doutores da igreja he melhor a sua theologia sophistica que se aprende por tartarete & durando nos quaes por quanto eu nã quis perder meu tempo." Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 272-273.

career. These progressive views and his familiarity with suspects of Protestantism, coupled with controversy surrounding heterodoxy in the Collège de Guyenne, raised some concerns from his fellow Portuguese scholars.⁷⁹ King João III was fully aware of these concerns; André's uncle Diogo de Gouveia the Elder himself had written to the king calling his nephew a thief and insinuating André was "cut from the same cloth as Luther."⁸⁰ But it was because of the judgement of the friars Jerônimo de Padilha and Jorge de Santiago, two clergymen of sound reputation and officials of the Portuguese Inquisition, that João III hired André and his faculty. Friar Santiago had been suspicious of André de Gouveia, only to change his mind, and together with Padilha, fully endorse him after spending some time in Bordeaux and seeing the college's operation first-hand. That João III chose André de Gouveia for the job of leading his prized new college of Arts despite the controversies surrounding him speaks volumes about João III's disposition toward Gouveia's pedagogical methods, and shows the king's confidence in his ability to raise the bar for humanistic studies in Portugal.

But while João III was taking steps to establish a new college led by a Christian humanist and his likeminded faculty, the cultural climate at the court and abroad appeared to be shifting against Christian humanism as the division between Catholicism and Protestantism became clearer and more entrenched. The Colloquy of Regensburg in 1541 and the beginning of the Council of Trent in 1545, signalled the Catholic Church's shift towards a more combative approach to Protestantism and Catholic reformers, a trend that was embraced by the Portuguese court.⁸¹ During the 1540s, accomplished scholars of conservative views and staunch orthodoxy

⁷⁹ These matters will be explored in depth on chapter two. Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:475-479, 1:484-488.

⁸⁰ "sempre acompanhou cõ homens daquella farinha [de Lutero] & os defendeu." Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 327.

⁸¹ Dias, *Correntes de Sentimento Religioso*, 216-217.

such as António Pinheiro and Jerónimo Osório achieved great prestige within the court, with Pinheiro even tutoring the heir João in 1545.⁸² Although they subscribed to some humanist precepts, they maintained a clear boundary between the classics and religious studies. Another figure who was not part of the court but played a significant part as an advisor to the king was Diogo de Gouveia the Elder. Gouveia had graduated in theology at the University of Paris in 1510, after which he led a prestigious career there as a professor, diplomat, and principal of the Collège Sainte-Barbe.⁸³ Unlike his nephew André, however, Diogo was a fervent opponent of Erasmus, denouncing him in the Conference of Valladolid of 1527 and praising the banning of his books in Paris. Gouveia was a product of the Collège de Montaigu, one of the colleges in Paris heavily influenced by scholasticism. His outrage over the Reformation led him to viciously attack anyone who had any contact with Protestants, not sparing even his nephew. But more than advising the king, Diogo de Gouveia's position as the leading Portuguese scholar in the University of Paris for decades allowed him to exert considerable influence over Portuguese students. By the time the Colégio das Artes began its operations in 1548, the trend that started decades earlier in France and increasingly saw Christian humanism as heretical had reached Portugal and, with the intellectual debate dangerously conflated with heterodoxy, it would soon result in dire consequences for the whole educational project.

After the 1543 meeting between Gouveia and João III, it would still be five years until the Colégio opened its doors. In the meantime, Gouveia assembled a group of like-minded and distinguished scholars who could reproduce in Coimbra the practices of the humanistic French colleges of the time. The group was already in Coimbra by October 1547, but the rest of the year

⁸² Buescu, *D. João III*, 259-260, 305-307; On António Pinheiro: Ramalho, *Para a história do humanismo*, 5:235; On Jerónimo Osório: Sá, *De Re Erasmiana*, 153-154, and Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, 218-221.

⁸³ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:24-27, 1:84-89, 1:97-103; On Gouveia's diplomatic career: Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:41-76.

was spent organizing the Colégio's structure and operations.⁸⁴ The Colégio's first regulations, the "Primeiro Regimento", were published in November 1547.⁸⁵ In it, the Colégio was granted full autonomy from the University, with its principal reporting directly to the king, who also funded the whole enterprise. The Colégio also enjoyed a monopoly on the teaching of the *studia humanitatis*, becoming the only institution in Coimbra allowed to teach "Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, logic, and philosophy" to lay students.⁸⁶ The students and professors of the Colégio also were granted the same privileges enjoyed by their counterparts at the University. Along with the sizeable investment made hiring the foreign professors under generous salaries, the king incorporated into the Colégio the buildings that housed the colleges of the Santa Cruz monastery, as well as ordering their renovation and expansion to house the new students.⁸⁷ Now established in its own building, with its regulations drawn up, and the professors ready to teach, João III's educational reform reached a new phase with his much desired French-style college coming to fruition: the Colégio das Artes opened its doors on February 22, 1548.

The Colégio das Artes was initially installed in the buildings of the Santa Cruz monastery, which served well the French custom of having their colleges cloistered and their students protected from the outside world.⁸⁸ The Colégio was free for everyone, noble or poor, and accepted students living outside of its walls as well as the boarders living within it. Boarding was seen as the ideal housing and educational choice, and the Colégio's regulations made it clear that as boarders the students may "have no other worry besides learning."⁸⁹ According to João da

⁸⁴ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:517-519.

⁸⁵ "Primeiro regimento," 4-11.

⁸⁶ "latim, grego, hebraico, mathematicas, logica e philosophia." "Primeiro regimento," 4; There was an exception for one extra chair of Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, and moral philosophy at the University, as well as the colleges owned by religious orders in Coimbra, who could teach those subjects to their own novices.

⁸⁷ Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 90-92, 352-354; Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:493-494.

⁸⁸ Access to the Colégio was regulated, with the doors kept open only at the time of the beginning and end of the daily lectures. "Statuta novi Regii Gymnasii," 39; Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 342-343.

⁸⁹ "não tenham outro cuidado senão de aprender." "Primeiro Regimento," 8-9.

Costa in a letter from December 1548, of the almost 1200 students that the Colégio had at the time, only one hundred and six were boarders; the Colégio wished to take in many more, had it been possible to accommodate them.⁹⁰ The boarding followed the French model, in which a small group of students would quarter with one of the professors who was in turn responsible for their care.⁹¹ This arrangement fostered comradery between students and professors while also magnifying the influence that their professor's moral, intellectual, and religious leanings might have on their students.

The surviving statute written by André de Gouveia in April 1548 gives a glimpse of life in the early years of the Colégio.⁹² Studying in the Colégio das Artes was very demanding, and its schedule was often busy and provided little time for rest. The daily schedule was strictly regulated by the sound of the Colégio's bells, signaling when every activity began and ended. The day began at four o'clock in the morning, and the students were kept active until nine at night, when they were required to go to bed. The students had a minimum of six hours of classes every day on either Latin or the Arts, with the older students being able to attend extra Greek, Hebrew, and mathematics classes. After lunch and during the night the students were permitted a short leisure time, but even when not in class the students were expected to be reviewing their lectures and working on the exercises that had been given out. This practice was encouraged and overseen by the principal and the professors. The religious aspect of education was not forgotten by the Colégio: presence in the daily morning mass and in hymn-singing in the chapel at night were mandatory, as well as during any religious ceremonies taking place. The schedule changed

⁹⁰ "Carta do mestre João da Costa, em que dá conta a el-Rei D. João III do numero dos estudantes da Universidade, e collegio de Coimbra, e das obras dele," In *Documentos para a Historia dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 44.

⁹¹ Gabriel Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis,'" in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*, ed. Vincent J. Duminuco (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 33.

⁹² "Statuta novi Regii Gymnasii," 32-42.

on Saturdays, which had a half-day of classes and public disputations after lunch, and on Sundays, which had no lectures. The school year also had numerous festivals and holidays during which there were partial or no lectures. However, the program of the Collège de Guyenne during Gouveia's time suggests that the students were still kept fairly busy during these days, so it is likely that similar activities were performed by the students in Coimbra.⁹³

In addition to the demanding schedule, the Colégio's students lived under a strict discipline. In fact, André de Gouveia judged academic discipline the "foremost foundation of every great school," as he stated in the rules in the "Statuta novi Regii Gymnasii."⁹⁴ Students were expected to be present punctually for their lectures, treat their professors with deference, and avoid quarreling with their colleagues.⁹⁵ There was even an employee of the Colégio hired specifically find and bring to the lecture any missing students, as shown in a royal order.⁹⁶ According to the Colégio's regulations, while enforcing discipline the professors should "first admonish" disobedient students, then "reprehend more harshly," and only if necessary "punish the unruly with moderation."⁹⁷ Needless to say, the abundant work also took its toll on the professors, who worked just as much as the students while also overseeing their discipline.

The "Statuta novi Regii Gymnasii" also gives some insight into how the lectures functioned in the Colégio.⁹⁸ Additionally, the *Schola Aquitanica* helps in the reconstruction of

⁹³ Vinet gives the example of the Feast of Saint Louis: while there were no classes, the students were busy decorating their school and preparing verses and speeches for the public disputations and competitions that were held during the festivities. Massebieau, *Schola Aquitanica*, 32-34.

⁹⁴ "primum fundamentum optimaе cujusque scholae ipsa est scholastica disciplina." "Statuta novi Regii Gymnasii," 32.

⁹⁵ The "Statuta novi Regii Gymnasii" and the "Primeiro Regimento" mention penalties for quarreling and prohibit the carrying of weapons, later reiterated by the king in 1553. Teixeira, *Documentos para a História*, 6, 33, 109.

⁹⁶ "Alvará do homem, que vae buscar os estudantes," in *Documentos para a História dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 28-29.

⁹⁷ "primum admoneat," "acerbius reprehendat," "cum moderatione castiget." "Statuta novi Regii Gymnasii," 33.

⁹⁸ "Statuta novi Regii Gymnasii," 32-38.

the methods and the kind of exercises done by the students in Gouveia's colleges.⁹⁹ Apart from the introductory grammar classes, in which the students spent much of their time learning the letters and how to read and write, the rest of the classes in grammar or the other subjects all functioned in a similar manner. The lectures consisted of two parts: the *praelectiones*, readings and in-depth explanation of a short book passage by the professor; and the *disputationes*, debates, sometimes competitive, between the students in which they discussed points and arguments seen in the *praelectiones*. For the grammar classes, the *praelectiones* concerned themselves with identifying grammar elements of the text and its correct reading and pronunciation, while their *disputationes* usually involved groups of students writing in prose and verse and correcting each other's work. In the Arts classes, the *praelectiones* aimed to properly explain and interpret the philosophical texts which were read, and their *disputationes* involved the scholastic debate of theses and arguments from the students' readings.¹⁰⁰ At the Colégio, the lectures were normally divided between two hours of *praelectiones* and one hour of *disputationes*, with lectures happening twice every day. The *Schola Aquitanica* describes an additional exercise for the grammar classes, the *themata*, which were short passages in vernacular that the professor would give the students for translation into Latin, which he then corrected in front of the class.¹⁰¹ They were done in the classroom or as homework, and the difficulty of the passages increased with the level of the class, including the composition of verse on the higher classes. In addition to the *disputationes* during the lecture time, there were also public disputations, which saw different classes competing against each other on Saturday afternoons. On some holidays, these public *disputationes* took the form of big spectacles, with

⁹⁹ Massebieau, *Schola Aquitanica*, 28-31.

¹⁰⁰ The disputations of the Arts classes are explained in detail in the 1552 program for the Arts course: "Regimento que hão de guardar os lentes," 100-104.

¹⁰¹ The *themata* were also called "Latins" by the professors in Coimbra. Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 280.

teams of students preparing for the competition well in advance, and a victory in them could bring prizes and prestige for the winners.

The Colégio's "Primeiro Regimento" laid out a rough idea of the subjects taught and their importance: "there should be sixteen professors in the [Colégio], namely: two to teach reading, writing, declining, and conjugating; eight to teach grammar, rhetoric, and poetry; three for the Arts classes; and another three to teach Hebrew, Greek, and mathematics."¹⁰² The Colégio's main goal was teaching a high standard of Latin, a mark of a humanistic education, inculcating in the students a solid foundation in grammar and then advancing onto rhetoric and poetry. The study of Latin was not a degree in itself, it was taught as a living language and was merely an initial step in the academic life; after mastering the Latin language in both prose and verse, the student could then proceed in his studies to acquire a Bachelor of Arts in the Colégio, and later seek higher studies at the university.¹⁰³ The use of vernacular was prohibited in the Colégio, except for very young students, and even then the "Statuta novi Regii Gymnasii" instructed that they should be "spoken to in Latin first."¹⁰⁴ The teaching of Latin in the Colégio followed the French method, in which the students were divided based solely on their level, normally in ten classes.¹⁰⁵ The division on ten classes was a significant improvement from the previous three at the Santa Cruz monastery, allowing for a teaching that better fit each student's capabilities. The classes became progressively more advanced, beginning with learning to write the alphabet and finishing with the students capable of writing speeches like Cicero and verses like Virgil. Upon

¹⁰² "que haja no dicto collegio dezeseis regentes, a saber: dous para ensinar a ler e escrever, declinar e conjugar; e oito para lerem grammatica, rhetorica e poesia; e três para o curso das artes; e os outros três para lerem hebraico, grego, e mathematicas." "Primeiro regimento," 4-5.

¹⁰³ Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, "As Artes No Colégio e na Faculdade (Coimbra: 1535-1555)," *Revista de Historia das Ideias* 32, (2011): 66-71.

¹⁰⁴ "[iis] prius latine dicant." "Statuta novi Regii Gymnasii," 33.

¹⁰⁵ The number of students in a certain class could lead it to being subdivided into two, usually on a temporary basis. Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis,'" 34-37.

joining the college, new students would undergo an examination which determined their level of Latin, and they would be placed in a class solely on the basis of the result. Age and length of studies was not taken into account — the Jesuit founder Ignatius of Loyola was famously placed into a class with young children in Paris, even though he was in his thirties at the time. In the Colégio das Artes there is the example of José de Anchieta who, at age fourteen, came from the Canary Islands to study and immediately joined the higher classes due to his good Latin.¹⁰⁶ The students could only advance to the next class by passing exams, which happened a few times throughout the year, depending on the class. Each class level had its own assigned professor, who would remain teaching the same class while the students moved between levels.

A detailed program for the Latin classes in the Colégio during the 1548-1555 period is not known, whether due to it not surviving or simply because the professors were already familiar with Gouveia's program from Guyenne. However, the *Schola Aquitanica* allows for an attempt at reconstructing the program in the Colégio; if the program in Coimbra was not copied in its entirety from the one in Bordeaux, it would at the very least have remained strikingly similar, as is the case with the corresponding regulations that survived from both colleges. The Latin classes of the Colégio began on the 'tenth class', with children as young as seven years old learning the letters and counted down until the most advanced 'first class.'¹⁰⁷ Interestingly, the tenth class is the only one which used religious texts, introducing the letters using well-known Psalms and the Lord's Prayer. In the ninth class, the *Schola Aquitanica* states that children must "learn to read and write well and quickly in Latin and French," which in Coimbra would of

¹⁰⁶ Nair de Nazaré Castro Soares, "Pedagogia Humanista no Colégio das Artes ao Tempo de Anchieta," in *Actas do Congresso Internacional Anchieta em Coimbra - Colégio das Artes da Universidade (1548-1999)*, ed. Sebastião Tavares de Pinho and Luísa de Nazaré Ferreira (Porto: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 2000), 1061-1062.

¹⁰⁷ Masseur, *Schola Aquitanica*, 4-10, 16-18, 22-24.

course have been Latin and the vernacular Portuguese, and start learning elementary grammar.¹⁰⁸ The eighth class saw the students begin to translate vernacular into Latin, while also being introduced to their first selections out of Terence's plays and Cicero's letters. In the seventh, sixth, and fifth classes, the students moved from an elementary grammar to Despauterius', a more advanced grammar which would accompany the students for the rest of their studies, and explored Cicero's *Letter to Friends*, one of his easiest writings.¹⁰⁹ By the fifth class, the students were first introduced to versification by reading Terence and Ovid. The fourth class saw the introduction of an easy "compendium on rhetoric" which, together with poetry, start to comprise a larger portion of the classes.¹¹⁰ In the third class, they moved on to a "rhetoric [book] from some great author" while continuing their readings, and at this point "the rules of grammar have been thoroughly inculcated" on the students.¹¹¹ With a solid grasp on grammar, the students in the second class immersed themselves in rhetoric and poetry, moving on to more advanced texts. The students were also introduced to public and private declamations and the study of history as part of their training in rhetoric. Finally, the *Schola Aquitanica* presents the curriculum for the first class, from which the reader is able to grasp the full capabilities of a student who completed their Latin study in the Colégio das Artes. The students continued their work on rhetoric with Cicero and Quintilian, while honing their oration skills with public declamations on Saturdays and Sundays. History was also read, with texts by "Livy, Justin, Seneca, Eutropius, Mela, or similar authors."¹¹² On poetry, they studied Virgil, Lucan, Persius, Juvenal, Horace, and Ovid, with the caveat of limiting it to texts where the authors "respect the customs," as per the

¹⁰⁸ "pueri bene et velociter Latina Gallicaque legere et scribere perdiscant." Massebieau, *Schola Aquitanica*, 10-15.

¹⁰⁹ Johannes Despauterius, Jean Despautère, or Jan de Spauter. His books on Latin grammar were widely used during sixteenth and even seventeenth century Europe. Massebieau, *Schola Aquitanica*, 18-20, 70.

¹¹⁰ "et compendium aliquod Rhetorices ex facilioribus." Massebieau, *Schola Aquitanica*, 22.

¹¹¹ "praecepta Rhetorica ex aliquo scriptore optimo," "Grammatices praecepta diligenter inculcantur," Massebieau, *Schola Aquitanica*, 22.

¹¹² "Livio, Justino, Seneca, Eutropio, Mela, aut simili." Massebieau, *Schola Aquitanica*, 24.

Christian morality.¹¹³ After years taking in the models of the ancient world, the graduates from the first class were able to read, compose, and declaim their own Latin speeches and poems with the same richness and eloquence found in ancient Rome. With this knowledge and familiarity of the Latin language, they were finally ready to move on to the study of logic and philosophy, as well as performing any secular or ecclesiastical jobs that required skill in writing and composition.

Once the students finished their Latin grammar education, they moved on to the study of the Arts, which in sixteenth-century Europe meant mainly Aristotelian philosophy. The Arts program for the Colégio was published only in 1552, but a comparison with the program laid out in the *Schola Aquitanica* for the Collège de Guyenne allows for further insight on the Colégio's 1548-1551 period.¹¹⁴ In the Colégio, the students learned logic, dialectic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, and ethics from the Aristotelian corpus. The complete Arts course lasted for three and a half years, and it was a requirement for some of the higher studies done at a university level.¹¹⁵¹¹⁶ The Arts classes were also different from the Latin ones in their method: in the Arts, the same professor would stay with a group of students throughout the whole three and a half years of the course. The first year of the Arts focused on dialectics: it began with introductory works, and then moved on to the first books of Aristotle's *Organon* and his *Ethics*.¹¹⁷ During the

¹¹³ "siquid casti habent." Massebieau, *Schola Aquitanica*, 24.

¹¹⁴ "Regimento que hão de guardar os lentes," 98-100.

¹¹⁵ In November 1549 the Colégio shortened the length of the Arts course to three years, but it was soon changed back to three and a half years in December 1550. "Que o collegio de Artes seja sujeito á Universidade," in *Documentos para a Historia dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 52-53; "Que os cursos das artes durem tres annos e meio," in *Documentos para a Historia dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 73.

¹¹⁶ When the Colégio opened, students who wanted to join Medicine or Theology at the University of Coimbra were required to have completed the whole course of Arts, while to be able to join Civil or Canon Law they needed to attend one year of Arts. "Que nenhum estudante seja recebido a ouvir em cima sem licença do Principal," in *Documentos para a Historia dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 25.

¹¹⁷ Listed as one of these introductory works is Porphyry's *Introduction*.

second year, the students read Aristotle's books on logic, finishing the *Organon* and the *Ethics*, even starting *Physics* if there was enough time. In the third and fourth years, they read Aristotle's works on natural philosophy and metaphysics.¹¹⁸

The main contribution of humanism to the Arts was the influence of the *ad fontes* idea to the subject. Medieval Latin commentaries of the Aristotelian corpus, which up until then held pre-eminence, were surpassed in importance by previously unknown classical commentaries from Roman and Greek authors.¹¹⁹ In the same manner, the improved knowledge of the Greek language resulted in better Latin translations of the original Aristotelian books. In the Colégio, although the Arts program did not specify which commentaries were read, it stated that the professors "will follow mainly the commentaries of Greek authors," while also taking into account the Latin authors.¹²⁰ If the account by the Colégio's professor Belchior Beleago is truthful, the Arts professor Nicolas Grouchy took this aspect even further, preferring to explain Aristotle in Greek rather than in Latin.¹²¹

The humanist idea of *ad fontes*, which aimed to examine ancient sources rather than later interpretations of them, meant that the knowledge of Latin alone was not enough for humanist scholars. The wealth of Roman and Greek classical knowledge, which inspired the humanists, required them to learn the Greek language as well, and that knowledge also became useful for Christian humanists studying the Bible and patristic writings. As a result, the study of Greek in Western Europe had grown from a state of almost non-existence during the Middle Ages to a point where it was present at almost every major educational institution during the sixteenth

¹¹⁸ Namely: *Physics*, *On the Heavens*, *On Generation and Corruption*, *Metaphysics*, *Meteorology*, *On the Soul*, and *Parva Naturalia*. "Regimento que hão de guardar os lentes," 99.

¹¹⁹ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 43-46.

¹²⁰ "seguirão principalmente as interpretações dos interpretes gregos." "Regimento que hão de guardar os lentes," 100.

¹²¹ Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 293.

century.¹²² In the Colégio, however, Greek was not taught with the same methodical approach that Latin was. Instead, it was taught in one large class that was not divided by the students' levels.¹²³ As is the case with the Latin classes, there is not a program for Greek in the Colégio, but the *Schola Aquitanica* provides some insight on how Gouveia organized its classes.¹²⁴ Although any student, in theory, could attend the daily Greek class, most students were drawn from the fifth class and higher. They spent half of their lecture learning grammar, while during the other half the professor would read and explain Demosthenes, Homer, or another similar author.¹²⁵ According to the former student Montaigne, in the Collège Guyenne, the same Greek curriculum was repeated every year, so that a student who took the class for five years would have seen the same lectures five times.¹²⁶ It is difficult to be certain that this was the case at the Colégio, but the fact that there was only one professor teaching Greek points to it functioning in the same way.

Besides Greek, the Colégio also offered Hebrew classes, although little is known about them. In this case, not even the *Schola Aquitanica* can help illuminate the program, as the Collège de Guyenne did not have Hebrew classes. While not a prominent language in the classical world, Hebrew experienced a growth in interest from humanist scholars due to its relation to the Old Testament. Erasmian humanists such as Clenard campaigned strongly in the 1530s for the introduction of Hebrew studies in Coimbra, resulting in Hebrew chairs both in the

¹²² Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 88-89

¹²³ There was only one Greek teacher in the Colégio. "Primeiro regimento," 5.

¹²⁴ Massebieau, *Schola Aquitanica*, 26-28.

¹²⁵ The *Schola Aquitanica* recommended Theodore Gaza's grammar, but Clenard's *Institutiones in Linguam Graecam* might have been used in Coimbra, since it was a much praised and widely used grammar in Europe at the time and written by a humanist renowned in Portugal: Eduardo de Almeida Navarro, "O Ensino da Gramática Latina, Grega e Hebraica no Colégio das Artes de Coimbra no Tempo de Anchieta," in *Actas do Congresso Internacional Anchieta em Coimbra - Colégio das Artes da Universidade (1548-1999)*, ed. Sebastião Tavares de Pinho and Luísa de Nazaré Ferreira (Porto: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 2000), 388-390.

¹²⁶ Quicherat, *Histoire du Collège Sainte-Barbe*, 237.

Colégio and in the university.¹²⁷ In 1547, a royal order announced that Master Eusebio was hired to teach “two Hebrew lectures every day,” one in the University of Coimbra “and another in the Colégio das Artes.”¹²⁸ Since the Hebrew course only had one professor, it can be inferred that its structure was similar to the Greek one, where a single professor taught a one-year course that repeated itself every school year. With this methodology, it is hard to imagine that the students would have advanced past a basic level of Greek and Hebrew.

The last subject in the Colégio that has not yet been discussed is mathematics. While it often takes a back seat to the more prestigious study of the letters and Arts, mathematics was an important discipline in humanist colleges. Moreover, the young men graduating from the Colégio would often go on to fill offices in the Church, the government, or handle their families’ own commercial enterprises. In a nation experiencing a growth of mercantile operations and bureaucratic expansion such as sixteenth-century Portugal, knowledge of mathematics came especially handy. The program for the mathematics classes during the 1548-1555 period, just like Latin and Greek, can be reconstructed using the *Schola Aquitanica*. The students began attending the daily mathematics class when they reached the second class of Latin, and continued during their time studying the Arts.¹²⁹ The books listed in the *Schola Aquitanica* were all published in the later part of the sixteenth century, reflecting the rapid development of the subject at the time, but their contents give an idea of what would have been studied in the Colégio.¹³⁰ The first book comprised concepts of addition, subtraction, multiplication, division,

¹²⁷ Clenard’s Hebrew grammar, *Tabula in Grammaticam Hebraeam*, might have been used in the Colégio, although this is only suggested due to his influence in the establishment of the Hebrew chair. Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, “Nicolau Clenardo Hebraísta,” *Humanitas* 33-34 (1981-1982): 53-54; Navarro, “Ensino da Gramática,” 391-395.

¹²⁸ “que mestre eusebio lea nessa uniuersidade duas lições de ebraico cada dia – huã nas escolas gerães aã ora que lhe por vos for hordenada E a outra no collegio das artes.” Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 458-459.

¹²⁹ Massebieau, *Schola Aquitanica*, 26-28, 72.

¹³⁰ Louis Massebieau identified them as Elie Vinet’s *de Logistica libri tres*, and Vinet’s translation of the Byzantine Michael Psellos’ summary of mathematics.

square and cubic roots, proportions and the rule of three, while the second taught arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. The students also read two very influential treatises: Euclid's *Elements*, on geometry; and Johannes de Sacrobosco's *Sphaera*, on astronomy. According to the *Schola Aquitanica*, those topics were covered within a two-year period, after which the course started again, but as is the case with the Greek and Hebrew classes, it is unknown if they followed this same pattern in the Colégio.

After financing Portuguese students in the Collège Sainte-Barbe for decades and hiring its former principal André de Gouveia for the Colégio, it is clear that João III wished to reproduce the methodology of the Parisian colleges in his own country. Gouveia had already been chosen for such a mission before, when the Bordeaux city council hired him in 1534 to lead the Collège de Guyenne in the manner of the Parisian colleges.¹³¹ The *Compendium on the Magnificence, Dignity, and Excellence of the University of Paris in the Year of Grace 1517*, published in 1517 by Robert Goulet, provides a guide to one who wishes to “imitate the mode of living and teaching practiced” in the Parisian colleges, “in which the study of letters flourishes.”¹³² Goulet's book illustrates many aspects of the *modus parisiensis* that were followed by the Colégio das Artes, such as the student's daily routine, their dwelling arrangements, and the great importance attributed to the study and mastery of the Latin language and its position as the foundation for the Arts.¹³³ But what a comparison with Goulet's program also shows is that the Collège de Guyenne in the 1530s and the Colégio das Artes in 1548 were much more progressive in their humanism than what Goulet saw as the standard for a Parisian

¹³¹ Ernest Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne: D'après un grand nombre de documents inédits*. Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1874.

¹³² Robert Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence, Dignity, and Excellence of the University of Paris in the Year of Grace 1517*, trans. Robert Belle Burke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1928). 99-100.

¹³³ Goulet, *Compendium*, 101-111.

college in 1517. The breadth of classical sources used by André de Gouveia's colleges is notably wider than Goulet's Cicero and Virgil, and Gouveia's Arts' classes encompassed much more of the Aristotelian corpus.¹³⁴ And while the Colégio das Artes and the Collège de Guyenne focused on classical commentaries of Aristotle, Goulet's *Compendium* places its focus on medieval and current Latin commentaries. If João III's goal was to bring the humanism of the Parisian colleges to his kingdom, then he surely succeeded with the Colégio das Artes under André de Gouveia.

In the end, João III established a college of Arts that could rival its prestigious counterparts in foreign lands. Over the twenty years between 1527 and 1547, the king sponsored many Portuguese students in Paris, inculcating in the Portuguese academia the same ideas and conflicts that could be found in the University of Paris. In this manner, Christian humanism, as made widespread through Erasmus' writings, achieved a high standing among Portuguese scholars and in the royal court during the 1530s. It is in this very climate that João III chose André de Gouveia to lead his new college of Arts in 1543. But the 1540s represented an intellectual shift in the country, and by the time the Colégio started its classes in 1548, Christian humanism was no longer seen in such a favourable light. The Colégio das Artes as described in this chapter fits the mould of the best Parisian colleges of its time, but as the next chapter will show, the close association of its leaders to Christian humanism and reformist ideas would bring severe repercussions for the Colégio over the first years of its existence.

¹³⁴ Goulet, *Compendium*, 110-111.

CHAPTER II

After the beginning of classes in 1548, the Colégio enjoyed only a few months of tranquility before an unexpected death set forth a chain of events which would result in the Portuguese Inquisition intervening and arresting the professors João da Costa, Diogo de Teive, and George Buchanan. Since its establishment, the Colégio das Artes had its professors divided among two groups: the *bordaleses*, who came to Portugal along with André de Gouveia; and the *parisienses*, who were made up of former Portuguese students of Diogo de Gouveia the Elder. But more than personal allegiances, these two groups mirrored the environment of the University of Paris during the 1520s and 1530s, where the majority of these scholars spent their formative years; the *bordaleses* entertained views that were common among Christian humanists, including Catholic reform, while the *parisienses* loathed any deviation of orthodoxy. With the death of André de Gouveia in 1548, turmoil ensued over the next two years in the Colégio as the two factions competed for its control, resulting in an Inquisition investigation. The Portuguese Inquisition, which before 1545 had hardly acted against the spread of Protestantism, now finally focused its sights on it, while the trial of the professors revealed the alarming influence of the *bordaleses* to orthodoxy in the Colégio. This chapter aims to show that since its opening, the Colégio was an arena in which the scholastic-humanistic conflict played out in Portugal, escalating with the involvement of the Inquisition and the trial of the three professors in 1550. Moreover, it will show that the *bordaleses*, who advocated Erasmian views popular in the Portuguese court during the 1530s, were targeted by the Inquisition in great part due to these views, that were no longer tolerated in the climate of 1550 Portugal.

The University of Paris in the early 1520s was a vibrant intellectual centre, where one could access writings as diverse as the traditional scholastic knowledge of Aquinas and Scotus,

the classical works of Aristotle and Cicero, the biblical humanism of Erasmus and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, and even Luther's prohibited writings. For most of the decade, the French court and the Parliament of Paris did not concern themselves much with the problem of heresy.¹³⁵ The king's own sister, Marguerite de Navarre, was the patron of a group of Christian humanists which included Lefèvre and crept dangerously close to heresy with their Catholic reformist ideas. But if they were not yet worried about Reformation ideas spilling over into France, the University of Paris's Faculty of Theology took this fight upon itself. Led by Noel Beda after 1521, the Faculty of Theology moved against humanism, equating it to Lutheranism due to its basic principles resulting in reinterpretations of Scripture, but the king actively impeded much of their actions.¹³⁶ With king Francis I in captivity in Spain, however, the theologians were able to prohibit vernacular and new Latin translations of the Bible in 1525. Beda and the Faculty also directed their attacks against Erasmus in a campaign that carried on from 1525 until the Faculty's public condemnation of his writings in 1531. Nevertheless, king Francis I continued to take actions to protect humanists during this time, such as banishing Beda from Paris in 1533. Later in the same year, however, Francis I's outlook on this ongoing quarreling would change, after the new rector of the university, Nicolas Cop, delivered a very controversial address in which he attacked scholasticism, asserted the primacy of Scripture in theological studies, and discussed Protestant doctrinal points. After the speech, Cop was accused of heresy and fled to Switzerland with John Calvin.¹³⁷ This situation reflected poorly on the previous rector who had supported Cop in his succession, André de Gouveia. The situation

¹³⁵ Nancy L. Roelker, *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 189-190.

¹³⁶ James K. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France: the Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500-1543*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 170-180, 186-196, 200-203, 206-207.

¹³⁷ Hirsch, "Erasmus and Portugal," 549.

escalated even further in 1534 with the *affaire des placards*, when posters criticizing the Mass were posted around Paris and other cities, prompting a series of repressive measures by the king. Although after 1535 some toleration returned to Paris, humanists and reformers were never again as prominent as they had been previously. The climate that existed in the University of Paris during the 1520s and early 1530s was in some ways reproduced later at the Colégio das Artes in Coimbra. It is even more revealing that it is during this period that humanists such as André de Gouveia, João da Costa, Diogo de Teive, and George Buchanan spent their formative years in Paris.

In Portugal, action against the Protestant Reformation was spearheaded by the Inquisition. However, the Portuguese Inquisition was not established with the main objective of combating Protestantism. Starting in 1496, King Manuel I led a campaign of expulsion and forced conversion of Portugal's Jewish and Muslim population.¹³⁸ In an effort to mend the divisions resulting of this policy and promote religious conformity in the country, and after a long period of negotiations with Rome, the then king João III installed an Inquisition tribunal in 1536 with the papal bull *Cum ad nil magis*.¹³⁹ King João III's choice of his brother Dom Henrique for the office of Grand Inquisitor in 1539 signaled its autonomy from Rome. After 1539, with Henrique in control, the Portuguese Inquisition began to expand and organize itself into the powerful institution that helped shape Portuguese society for centuries.

Although the main victims of the Portuguese Inquisition were those accused of Jewish practices, the tribunal from its inception was also concerned with heterodoxy. This concern was already visible in the first Inquisition bull sent — but which was never promulgated — by Rome

¹³⁸ François Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-7)* (Boston: BRILL, 2007), 21-28, 178-181, 285-287.

¹³⁹ Marcocci and Paiva, *História da Inquisição Portuguesa*, 29-34.

in 1531 which gave the Inquisition power to prosecute those who “observed the Lutheran heresy or others.”¹⁴⁰ This same mandate was repeated in the 1536 bull.¹⁴¹ But the “Monitorio do Inquisidor Geral” of 1536, the document which guided the actions of the Grand Inquisitor, was not specific in clarifying what was classified as a heresy. Aside from a clear mention of it being heresy not to believe in the Eucharist, the authority of the Pope, and the Virgin Mary, the rest of the list is rather vague, contrasting with the detailed list of Judaizing practices, which forms a much longer part of the document.¹⁴² The charge of Lutheranism was not limited to Luther’s ideas, but encompassed all schismatic Christian sects and was complemented by the charge of ‘heretical propositions.’ These were even broader than the former and ranged from blasphemy to deliberately believing in some small deviance of dogma that could not clearly fit any pre-established doctrine, further muddling the identification of existing beliefs.¹⁴³ Prior to the start of the Inquisition, however, there is little hard evidence for the presence of Protestantism in Portugal. The Portuguese humanist João de Barros noted in his *Ropicapnefma* in 1532 that the inhabitants of Lisbon “spoke so freely about Lutheran ideas, as if they were in Germany with

¹⁴⁰ “observam a heresia Luterana ou outras.” “1531, Dezembro, 17 Bula de Clemente VII ‘Cum ad nihil magis’ que estabelece a Inquisição em Portugal,” in *Documentos Para a História da Inquisição em Portugal, Século XVI*, ed. Isaías da Rosa Pereira (Oporto: Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português, 1984), 1.

¹⁴¹ “1536, Maio, 23 Bula de Paulo III “Cum ad nil magis” que estabelece a Inquisição em Portugal.” in *Documentos Para a História da Inquisição em Portugal, Século XVI*, ed. Isaías da Rosa Pereira (Oporto: Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português, 1984), 24.

¹⁴² “Monitorio do Inquisidor Geral,” in *Collectorio de Diversas Letras Apostolicas, Provisões Reaes, e Outros Papeis, em que se Contém a Instituição, & Primeiro Progresso do Sancto Officio em Portugal [...] (Lisbon: Sancta Inquisição, 1596)*, fol. 4r-6v.

¹⁴³ Daniel Norte Giebels, “A Inquisição de Lisboa. No Epicentro da Dinâmica Inquisitorial (1537-1579)” (PhD diss., Universidade de Coimbra, 2016), 229.

Luther.”¹⁴⁴ A more concrete indication comes from the trial of the Flemish weaver Robert Hix, who was tried by the ecclesiastical court of Lisbon in 1536 on the charge of Lutheranism.¹⁴⁵

Although the Inquisition started its activities in 1536, it was still slow to move against Protestantism. At this early stage, most of the accusations of Lutheranism were leveled against foreigners who lived in Portugal, but came from places where a Protestant presence was already established.¹⁴⁶ After 1545, there is a shift in the kind of people targeted by the Inquisition. Over the next three years, the tribunal went after three learned men for alleged heresy, showing that scholars were viewed with suspicion by the Inquisitors who saw humanists as potential supporters of heterodoxy: Damião de Góis in 1545; Fernão de Pina in 1546; and Fernão de Oliveira in 1547.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, in 1547 the Inquisition published its first index of prohibited books which, along with Protestant writers, also censored Christian humanists who had remained Catholics such as Erasmus and d’Etaples.¹⁴⁸ Additionally, the papal pardon given to New Christians in 1548 limited the Inquisition’s actions on that front for a while, which in turn intensified their shift towards combating Protestantism in the following years.¹⁴⁹ The Lisbon Inquisition, for instance, charged no one with Judaism between 1549 and 1551, while during the

¹⁴⁴ “falam tão solto como se estivessem em Alemanha nas xiras de Lutero.” João de Barros, *Ropica Pnema: reprodução fac-similada da edição de 1532*, ed. I. S. Révah (Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1983), 2:5, quoted in José Pedro Paiva, “The Impact of Luther and the Reformation in the Portuguese Seaborne Empire: Asia and Brazil, 1520–1580,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70, no. 2 (2019): 284.

¹⁴⁵ IANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Lisbon. “Processo de Robert (1536-7);” Giebels, “A inquisição de Lisboa,” 201.

¹⁴⁶ Of the eight people accused of Lutheranism by the Portuguese Inquisition between 1536 and 1545, five were foreigners: three from France, and two from the Low Countries. IANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Lisbon. “Processo de Pedro Beringel (1542);” IANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Lisbon. “Processo de Francisco de La Roxa (1543-50);” IANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Lisbon. “Processo de Gabriel Fiamberge (1543-6);” IANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Lisbon. “Processo de Joane [Ilapemdany] (1542-6);” “Processo de Robert (1536-7).”

¹⁴⁷ On Damião de Góis: Elisabeth Feist Hirsch, “Portuguese Humanists and the Inquisition,” 54; On Fernão de Pina: Giuseppe Marcocci, *A Consciência de um Império: Portugal e o seu Mundo (Sécs. XV-XVII)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012), 232-235; On Fernão de Oliveira, also known as Fernando Oliveira: Amanda Cieslak Kapp, “Fernando Oliveira e o Humanismo Português no Século XVI,” (Master’s thesis, Universidade Federal do Paraná, 2013), 15-16.

¹⁴⁸ “Prohibicam dos Liuros Defesos,” 143-150.

¹⁴⁹ Marcocci and Paiva, *História da Inquisição Portuguesa*, 38-39; *Collectorio de Diversas Letras Apostolicas*, fl 47r-47v.

same time charges of Lutheranism reached their highest point until then, and the charges of ‘heretical propositions’ also had a noticeable increase.¹⁵⁰ When the Colégio das Artes started its operations in 1548, the Portuguese Inquisition viewed Protestantism as one of its main concerns, and humanism was already being targeted due to its association to reformist ideas.

While last chapter presented the regulations, the program, and methodology upon which the Colégio das Artes was founded, there is still the human component to be analyzed. The work in a college is really done by the ones teaching, and their views and actions are perhaps the most important aspect of their pedagogy. In the context of the Colégio and the intellectual climate in Portugal at the time, a close look at the professors is paramount. It is worth noting that each individual professor’s biography, career, views, and relationships could itself warrant a full-length study. Regrettably, for many of those who taught in the Colégio during its secular years, little more than their names are known. Fortunately, that is not the case for the ones involved with the Inquisition at the core of this study, and their views, while not monolithic, are similar enough to be representative of the larger group.

The group of professors that André de Gouveia brought with him from France became collectively known as the *bordaleses*.¹⁵¹ These were all men handpicked by Gouveia, trusted by him to introduce in Coimbra the same successful practices that he had established in Guyenne and Sainte-Barbe. The *bordaleses* were also good friends, sharing a comradeship built over years in Bordeaux and Paris, or as Buchanan relates in his autobiography: “most of the company were united to [me] by long-existing ties of the closest friendship.”¹⁵² First, there were the three Portuguese in the group. João da Costa was Gouveia’s second in command, a humanist more

¹⁵⁰ Giebels, “A Inquisição de Lisboa”, 219-229.

¹⁵¹ Literally, ‘the men from Bordeaux,’ in a reference to where many of them taught under Gouveia.

¹⁵² Aitken, *Trial of George Buchanan*, xxi.

known for his administrative acumen than his scholarship.¹⁵³ Next was Diogo de Teive, an excellent Latinist and one of the most notable Portuguese humanists of the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁴ The last Portuguese scholar was Antônio Mendes de Carvalho, a doctor of theology by the University of Paris.¹⁵⁵ There were also five Frenchmen: Nicolas de Grouchy, a dialectician and prolific translator of Aristotle's works; Grouchy's inseparable friend, Guillaume de Guérente; Arnould Fabrice, considered one of the best orators of his time; the mathematician Élie Vinet, who would later become principal in Guyenne and publish Gouveia's program; and Jacques Tapie, about whom little is known.¹⁵⁶ The group was complete with the two Scottish brothers: the exceptional poet George Buchanan and his younger brother Patrick Buchanan. Gouveia's group represented a particular kind of scholar: someone that came of age in the vibrant intellectual environment of the University of Paris during the 1520s and 1530s, where one could have an open mind, debating and criticizing their religion without necessarily being a Protestant.

The least known of the three investigated *bordaleses*, but maybe the most interesting for the purposes of this study, was João da Costa. He was sent to Paris as a teenager in 1527, receiving one of João III's scholarships to study in the Collège Sainte-Barbe.¹⁵⁷ By 1534, Costa had already graduated in Arts, and although he began studying theology in Paris, he soon gave up the program and left the city for Auvergne in 1535.¹⁵⁸ He remained at Auvergne teaching in local schools until 1538 when he was invited by André de Gouveia to join the Collège de Guyenne, where he taught the first class of Latin grammar and, later, an Arts course. While in

¹⁵³ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:262-263, 1:318-321.

¹⁵⁴ Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 396.

¹⁵⁵ José Manuel Pasadas Figueira Pimenta, "Diocese de Elvas (1570-1636): Criação, Organização e Recepção Tridentina" (master's thesis, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2014), 37.

¹⁵⁶ On Grouchy: Francisco Leitão Ferreira, and Joaquim de Carvalho, *Noticias Chronológicas da Universidade de Coimbra*, 3 vols. (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1937-1944), 3:369-370; On Guérente and Fabrice: Gaullier, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, 90-91, 100-101; On Vinet: Massebieau, *Schola Aquitanica*, 54.

¹⁵⁷ João da Costa was born in 1511 or 1512. Brandão, *A Inquisição e os Professores*, I:306

¹⁵⁸ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:308, 1:312, 1:318-321.

Bordeaux, Costa also graduated in Law and, after 1541, he began to focus on the administrative duties of the college. He distinguished himself as vice-principal, while also serving as rector and vice-chancellor of the University of Bordeaux, and left the city in 1547 as an experienced administrator. Despite his career shift, Costa had great interest in theological disputations, and would frequently participate in disputations about the Scripture with theologians at the University of Bordeaux.¹⁵⁹

Just like João da Costa, Diogo de Teive was also sent to Paris as a teenager to study in the Collège Sainte-Barbe under a scholarship from João III.¹⁶⁰ Teive graduated in Arts from Sainte-Barbe, where he studied roughly from 1525 until 1532, and already in that time was considered by Diogo de Gouveia the Elder a smart and talented writer who composed both prose and verse very well.¹⁶¹ Teive then moved to Salamanca to study Law later in 1532, where he only stayed for two years, after which he continued his studies in Toulouse. Financial difficulties had him leave the program before finishing it, and Teive found work as a tutor until he received an invitation in 1536 from André de Gouveia to teach in Guyenne. There he taught the prestigious first class of Latin grammar for two years, but his desire to properly learn Greek drove him to leave Bordeaux for Paris in 1538, where he immersed in its study until 1540. Teive still wandered throughout France until 1543, working as a tutor in Gascony and as a professor in the University of Montauban, and trying without success to complete his Law studies in Poitiers, before finally moving back to Bordeaux, where he soon returned to his prestigious position

¹⁵⁹ Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 28.

¹⁶⁰ Nair de Nazaré Castro Soares, “Diogo de Teive, Vida e Obra,” in *Tragédia do Príncipe João*, by Diogo de Teive, ed. Nair de Nazaré Castro Soares (Coimbra: Centro de Estudos Clássicos e Humanísticos, 2010), 4-10.

¹⁶¹ Teive was back in Portugal in 1532, but the date when he initially departed to Paris is uncertain: Teive claims in his trial that he lived around seven years in Sainte-Barbe, but Gouveia the Elder claims he was only a scholarship recipient for five years. Either Teive erred in his assessment (which did happen during the trial at times), or Gouveia was correct, but Teive lived in Sainte-Barbe for a while without receiving a scholarship. Brandão, *Processo de Diogo de Teive*, 3-4; Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 195; Brandão, *A Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:263, 1:268-272.

teaching the first class. Much like Costa, Teive also enjoyed the confidence of André de Gouveia, and before their departure from Bordeaux to Coimbra he was tasked with frequent travels to Paris in order to recruit professors and acquire typographical equipment for their enterprise.

Although seemingly an outsider, the Scot George Buchanan was cut from the same cloth as Costa and Teive. He was sent to Paris as a teenager in 1520, but financial circumstances brought him back to Scotland in 1522 before he could finish his Arts course.¹⁶² Buchanan then attended the University of St. Andrews, acquiring a Bachelor of Arts in 1525 as a disciple of the scholastic theologian John Major — although later, in his trial, he considered himself to have been “badly educated in grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic” during this time.¹⁶³ He followed Major to Paris in 1526, where he became a master of Arts and soon began teaching Latin grammar in the Collège Sainte-Barbe — a position he held from 1528 until 1531. At this point he was likely in contact with the Portuguese in Sainte-Barbe, including the principal André de Gouveia and the students Costa and Teive. Buchanan later worked as a tutor, first in Paris for the future Earl of Cassilis, and later in Scotland for the illegitimate son of king James V. In 1539, he made his way back to France again, and proceeded to Bordeaux where he taught under Gouveia at the Collège de Guyenne until 1543. Buchanan spent another short period in Paris between 1543 and 1545 teaching in the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine before returning to Guyenne, where he would teach until the departure to Coimbra.

These three men acquired a reputation for their scholarship and achievements in France, but that is not all for which they were known. The period they spent in France was one in which an intellectually curious scholar could explore a variety of new ideas and discuss them with

¹⁶² McFarlane, *Buchanan*, 20-22, 25-28, 42-50, 90-94.

¹⁶³ Also known as John Mair, or Joannes Maioris. Aitken, *Trial of George Buchanan*, 33.

likeminded peers. It was not surprising then that a significant number of people who studied in Paris during that time, even the most orthodox ones, had colleagues or even a professor who eventually became a Protestant.¹⁶⁴ Additionally, Diogo de Gouveia the Elder actively stirred up any existing rumors about anyone connected to his nephew André de Gouveia, leaving the three aforementioned professors, and the whole of the *bordaleses* in general, under suspicion of being Protestants before they even arrived in Coimbra.¹⁶⁵ The investigation for the *bordaleses*' trials revealed many rumors that were heard by the Portuguese students and scholars regarding the *bordaleses*' time in France: the three professors were said to flaunt their disregard for Catholic fasting, openly mock monastic orders and debate heterodox views, and congregate with Protestants. Teive was believed to be an associate of Étienne Dolet, embracing epicureanism and even atheism; Buchanan was said to have escaped Scotland after being outed as a Protestant, leaving his accomplices to burn at the stake. Moreover, there was a general belief that the Collège de Guyenne's faculty counted among its members many Protestants during the period when André de Gouveia was its principal, which was grounded in some truth. The Parliament of Bordeaux investigated suspects of heresy in 1537 - two of them were professors at Guyenne, and one of them left for Calvin's Geneva, where he joined another former professor of Guyenne.¹⁶⁶ Even worse was the case with Gouveia's brother, Antonio de Gouveia, another professor who became suspect of Protestantism and left Bordeaux in 1538. The Parliament of Bordeaux also took measures to prevent any heterodoxy being taught. In 1534, it prohibited any books at the college that had already been censored by the University of Paris, and in 1540 the Parliament

¹⁶⁴ As in the case of Nicolas Cop, who taught João da Costa but also the staunchly orthodox Antonio Pinheiro and the Jesuit Gonçalo de Medeiros. Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:123-124.

¹⁶⁵ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:327-329, 1:360-366; 2:118-123, 2:133.

¹⁶⁶ Andrew Zébedée and 'Master Thibaut' were under investigation in Bordeaux. Mathurin Cordier left Bordeaux in 1536 to teach in Geneva, where he was joined by Zébedée. Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:462-472.

prohibited an extraordinary lecture on the Epistles of St. Paul and the hiring of Hebrew professors. But despite the notoriety that Guyenne achieved, the professors who moved to Coimbra had not been implicated in any investigations in Bordeaux, and for now the rumors remained unproven.

On the first days of June of 1548, mere months after classes started in the Colégio, an unlikely event changed the course of the institution. While on his way to his daily visit to the classes, André de Gouveia unexpectedly fell ill.¹⁶⁷ He was bedridden in agony over the next days, and finally passed away on June 9, 1548. The illustrious pedagogue was dead at age fifty-one “at an unfortunate time, while restoring the Muses back to the people of Iberia,” as Buchanan would say in an epitaph honoring his late friend.¹⁶⁸ Now the college for which Gouveia had set the foundations would have to go on without the mind that conceptualized it. Worse still, his death added more controversy to his group. As his condition deteriorated on the night of his death, a priest was called over, but Gouveia did not give his confession before passing. This incident was investigated by the Inquisition during the trial of the professors. Some witnesses claimed Gouveia was not in a condition to confess, while the priest who attended him alleged Gouveia adamantly refused to do so while claiming he would “confess his sins to God.”¹⁶⁹ Whatever truly happened that night, the fact that Gouveia died without a final confession became public knowledge, aggravating the already existing rumours of heterodoxy surrounding the *bordaleses*.

¹⁶⁷ Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 95-96.

¹⁶⁸ “Alite non fausta genti dum rursus Iberae restituis musas, hic, Goueane, jaces.” Buchanan, *Poemata Quae Extant*, 368.

¹⁶⁹ “direy meus pecados a deus.” Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 81. Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:597-604, 1:607.

André de Gouveia's death took everyone in the Colégio by surprise. While the results of his death were not instantly felt in the Colégio, it later became clear that Gouveia's prestige and the king's confidence in his work was what kept the Colégio functioning smoothly. In the Colégio, the professors who came from France with Gouveia, known as the *bordaleses*, formed a slight majority in the faculty. The rest of the chairs were filled by professors who previously taught in the Santa Cruz monastery and the University of Coimbra, most of them former Portuguese students from the Collège Sainte-Barbe, who were displaced from their prominent positions by the *bordaleses*, and who quickly formed a second group referred to as the *parisienses*.¹⁷⁰ And in the same manner that the *bordaleses* associated with André de Gouveia and his views, the *parisienses* followed the prestigious Diogo de Gouveia the Elder, under whom they studied in Paris and who was personally and ideologically at odds with André. Besides Diogo de Gouveia's personal feud with his nephew André, the rumours of heterodoxy in the College de Guyenne were widely known in Paris and Coimbra and contributed to the conflict that arose between the two factions. Moreover, the displaced professors saw the newcomers as arrogant, and resented them for taking the most prestigious chairs of the Colégio. Thus, the Colégio das Artes' faculty was divided in two factions: the *bordaleses*, who were seen as closer to Christian humanism and more open to religious debate; and the *parisienses*, who were closer to a staunch orthodoxy and were suspicious of the *bordaleses*' religious leanings. Naturally, this dynamic brought about conflict in the Colégio, which permeated the period of 1548-1550 and culminated with the intervention of the Inquisition.

With the death of André de Gouveia in June 1548, his vice-principal João da Costa maintained the normality in the Colégio until September, when king João III finally heeded the

¹⁷⁰ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:533-536, 1:548-558.

advice of Diogo de Gouveia the Elder and named Diogo de Gouveia the Younger to the principalship.¹⁷¹ Diogo de Gouveia the Younger was André de Gouveia's cousin, and also a nephew of Diego de Gouveia the Elder. However, unlike André de Gouveia, Diogo de Gouveia the Younger was much closer to his uncle's views and a supporter of the *parisienses*. He had been recommended to João III by his uncle in 1544 as a better option than André de Gouveia, one of strict orthodoxy.¹⁷² Diogo the Younger had the family's talent for teaching and substantial qualifications for the office: he had a doctorate of theology from the University of Paris, had been rector of the same university, and served as principal for the Collège Sainte-Barbe after André left for Bordeaux. His principalship lasted from September 1548 to October 1549 and was marked by a lack of discipline within the faculty and a growing conflict between the *parisienses* and *bordaleses*. The main issue at the time was between Diogo the Younger and João da Costa, who had remained as vice-principal and was organizing the seemingly profitable and coveted job of serving food to students, to which were added other small grievances between Costa and the *parisienses*. During this period, Arnould Fabrice, Patrick Buchanan, and Elie Vinet left Coimbra.¹⁷³ It is not known whether they were fired by Diogo or left on their own, but the fact that they made this decision while Diogo was away in Lisbon suggests the latter and could be explained by André de Gouveia's death and the increasingly hostile environment for the *bordaleses*. By October 1549, the situation between Gouveia and Costa was untenable, and both scholars made their way to Lisbon to meet with the king and plead their case.

After hearing both scholars, João III must have put his confidence in João da Costa over Diogo de Gouveia the Younger, since in early November 1549 the king named Costa the new

¹⁷¹ Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 101. Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:143-144, 1:613-625, 1:632-633.

¹⁷² Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 327-328.

¹⁷³ One of the three claimed health reasons for leaving, although it is unknown which one did so. Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:618-621, 1:625-626.

principal.¹⁷⁴ It was at this moment that the Inquisition was brought in. On October 17, and the Grand-Inquisitor Prince Henrique ordered an investigation into “the life and customs of both the Portuguese and foreigners” who came to teach in Coimbra to be carried out in Paris.¹⁷⁵ The evidence points strongly towards Diogo de Gouveia the Younger taking revenge on those he perceived as being behind his ousting of the principalship by denouncing the *bordaleses* to the Lisbon Inquisition.¹⁷⁶ Curiously, this denunciation diverted from common practice and does not appear in the Inquisition’s records. However, Diogo de Gouveia the Younger was the only closely involved party which did not provide his testimony, suggesting he had already testified when providing the accusation. Even though at this point Gouveia had not been officially fired as principal, he had already ceased to perform his duties, and the denunciation date being around the same time of his meeting with the king could hardly have been a coincidence. Additionally, there were already enough rumours of heterodoxy surrounding the *bordaleses* to warrant an investigation, but the fact that Prince Henrique ordered the investigation to be first carried out in France suggests there were not enough grounds to charge the professors based only on their actions while in Coimbra. After the king’s decision, João da Costa returned to Coimbra to serve as principal, and meanwhile, the investigation proceeded secretly in Paris.

With the appointment of Costa as principal in November 1549, king João III also made some important changes in the Colégio’s regulations, showing his unhappiness with the current situation.¹⁷⁷ Gone was the complete autonomy that had been granted to the Colégio; it was now subject to the University of Coimbra and under the purview of its rector, who could mediate

¹⁷⁴ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:635

¹⁷⁵ “emformação da vida & costumes asi dos portugeses como dos estramgeiros que vieraõ a este Regño.” Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 1-2.

¹⁷⁶ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:12-16.

¹⁷⁷ “Que o collegio de Artes seja sujeito á Universidade,” 51-53.

disputes between faculty and would visit the Colégio every six months to check on the classes. Moreover, the amended regulations reinforced that the professors “should read no books in class other than the ones ordered by the principal, and when lecturing they should follow in every way and manner what has been assigned and ordered by him.”¹⁷⁸ When seen together, these changes appear to be a compromise by the king: he put one of the *bordaleses* in charge but worked to curtail any possible questionable teaching by bringing the oversight of the University to keep Costa and his choice of curricula in line.

During Costa’s principalship the conflict within the faculty intensified; the change from a *parisiense* to a *bordales* principal aggravated the professors on the *parisiense* side, who during this time went so far as to threaten Diogo de Teive and João da Costa and bring swords to the Colégio.¹⁷⁹ Interestingly, Buchanan did not seem to be involved in most of these conflicts; they seem to be centred on João da Costa and his activities as principal trying to curb the faculty’s lack of discipline. On July 12, 1550, Costa left for Lisbon to meet with the king and left Teive as principal in his place.

Although Teive was only principal for a month, a significant incident happened during his tenure, a week before the eventual arrests of the professors. A French former student of the *bordaleses* in the Collège de Guyenne who had recently arrived in the Colégio was accused of theft, and when the *bordaleses* went through his belongings looking for the stolen property, they found a copy of John Calvin's *Institution de la religion chrestienne*.¹⁸⁰ According to the Colégio’s regulations, a crime of such severity should have been brought to proper authorities.

¹⁷⁸ “não leiam em suas cathedras outros alguns livros senão os, que lhes pelo dicto Principal forem ordenados, e no ler de suas lições, seguirão em tudo o modo e maneira, que lhes elle assignar, e ordenar.” “Que o collegio de Artes seja sujeito á Universidade,” 52.

¹⁷⁹ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:636-658.

¹⁸⁰ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:659-663.

Teive and the *bordaleses*, however, decided to only punish the student for theft and hide the heresy altogether, whipping him and throwing him out of town in the dead of night. The reasoning behind their actions is not clear. The *bordaleses* were aware of an investigation against them in Paris and might not have wanted to raise suspicion due to their former ties with the student, thus deciding to send him away and destroy the book in secret; or perhaps Teive wanted to keep the book for himself, since it would still be found in his chambers a week later during his arrest.

Finally, as a result of the investigation that had been ongoing since October 1549, Diogo de Teive and George Buchanan were arrested by the Inquisition in Coimbra on August 10, 1550.¹⁸¹ João da Costa was also arrested in Lisbon on August 13, and the three spent the next eleven months in the Inquisition's prison while the proceedings took place.

During the trial proceedings, the Inquisition collected depositions from fifty-seven witnesses, in addition to the seven which they had already collected in France.¹⁸² While they continued to press the defendants for a full confession, there is no evidence that the Inquisition made use of psychological or physical torture besides their long solitary confinement. Buchanan himself, writing decades later as a Protestant in Scotland, described many details about the trial in his autobiography, but made no mention of his treatment in prison.¹⁸³ Buchanan soon confessed to a number of offences he had been accused of, satisfying the inquisitors, who judged his case complete and only awaiting its sentence. Teive and Costa, on the other hand, resisted confessing the majority of their accusations, which led their cases to a second phase where they

¹⁸¹ Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 12-13, 18.

¹⁸² Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:236-237, 2:362-366, 2:827-831; Teive was interrogated nine times, Buchanan ten times, and Costa fifteen times during their period in captivity: Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:355.

¹⁸³ Aitken, *Trial of George Buchanan*, xxv.

could present their defence. Nevertheless, the two were also found guilty, and all professors received their sentences. Buchanan had entertained heterodox beliefs and strayed from the Church for three years.¹⁸⁴ Costa had been doubtful of Church doctrine and had prohibited books in his possession.¹⁸⁵ And Teive had criticized the Church and maintained relationships with people of suspicious faith.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, all three of the professors did not keep with the Church's fasting. These crimes were "far from insignificant," as Brandão puts it, and even provided grounds for the three to be considered heretics, which could warrant the death penalty.¹⁸⁷ In the end, Teive was judged "mildly suspect" and Costa "highly suspect" in their faith, with Buchanan confessing to his offences, and all three abjured in private and were sent to different monasteries where they would remain imprisoned while occupying themselves with "things necessary to their salvation."¹⁸⁸

More interesting than their sentences, however, were the details that the records reveal about the personal beliefs of the professors. It is clear from the records that Costa, Teive, and Buchanan did harbour some heterodox beliefs, or at the least considered them and were willing to discuss their validity. But when examined more closely, much of those beliefs coincide with Catholic reformist ideas that had found widespread acceptance during the earlier part of the sixteenth century. Buchanan criticized the excessive appeals to saints instead of God, the Church's greed, and monks who had "abandoned the rules of [their order's] pioneers;" and chastised "those who pray at random" and went to mass only for the sake of appearances, claiming that "familiarity breeds contempt."¹⁸⁹ Teive criticized members of monastic orders for

¹⁸⁴ Ferreira, *Noticias Chronologicas*, 3:438-439.

¹⁸⁵ Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 247.

¹⁸⁶ Brandão, *Processo de Diogo de Teive*, 178.

¹⁸⁷ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:854-860.

¹⁸⁸ "levy suspecto na fee." Brandão, *Processo de Diogo de Teive*, 178; "vehementi suspecto na fee," "se occuparaa nas cousas neçessarias pera sua saluação." Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 247-248.

¹⁸⁹ Aitken, *Trial of George Buchanan*, 5, 23, 21.

not abiding to their own rules, and maintained that men should not join the orders while too young.¹⁹⁰ Costa also disagreed with monastic orders recruiting men too young; criticized the sale of indulgences and benefices for money, going so far as to claim that Rome was taking the money from the Portuguese Church for itself; chastised ignorant clergymen who did not even know how to read properly; and defended the conversion of heretics rather than their burning.¹⁹¹ These criticisms of the Church were all confessed by the defendants, and up until the 1540s, would not have necessarily characterized the professors as Lutherans. The perceived failings of the Church had been written about for a long time, much earlier than Luther's schismatic actions, and humanists such as Erasmus were keen to point out the excessive reliance on rituals and appearances rather than spirituality on both laity and clergymen, being especially harsh on monastic orders.¹⁹²

But despite the defendants' apparent disregard for fasting, and their interest in discussing theological points, at least in public they followed what was expected of them regarding their religion. The defence witnesses attested that Costa and Teive were pious Catholics who maintained an exemplary orthodox conduct in Coimbra and in Bordeaux, being always present in Mass, communicating and going to confession during required periods.¹⁹³ Among the defence witnesses were distinguished men such as the future principal Paio Rodrigues Vilarinho, the prior of the Santa Cruz monastery, and men of noble and royal blood, who would hardly risk getting caught lying to the Inquisition. In comparison, some of the *parisienses* themselves were not exemplary Catholics, such as Afonso de Miranda, who was repeatedly reprehended by Costa

¹⁹⁰ Brandão, *Processo de Diogo de Teive*, 65, 93-94.

¹⁹¹ Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 26-28, 37.

¹⁹² Cameron, *European Reformation*, 64-69.

¹⁹³ Buchanan's case never reached this phase since his confession was deemed enough by the inquisitors. Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:623-645, 2:761.

for not attending Mass daily and was dismissed for his lack of discipline. Moreover, Costa and Teive had kept the students in line with their religious expectations: they made sure the students attended Mass and took down the names of the ones missing so they could be reprimanded; they encouraged the students to go to confession seven times a year and to communicate, again maintaining oversight of the students; and assured that the religious days and festivities were observed with the greatest piety.

The trial records also illuminate the practices that went on in the Colégio. With three of its most prestigious names arrested by the Inquisition, the first question that comes to mind is whether there was any heterodoxy present in the Colégio's curriculum. The surviving records provide no evidence suggesting heterodox ideas were discussed or debated in the classrooms or anywhere in public, or if they did, that it was something out of the ordinary; there would not have any shortage of witnesses for such an occurrence, which would have severely incriminated the professor involved. That is not to say that those ideas could not have been discussed privately, and those do appear in the records, such as one private *disputatio* between a *parisiense* theologian and Costa.¹⁹⁴ The debate was about baptism, where Costa argued that unbaptized babies were saved, and when the opposing theologian argued back that Costa's point denied the original sin, Costa conceded, and accepted the opponent's point.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, the manner in which the professors approached some topics could, just like nowadays, nudge students towards certain interpretations, although that would be hard to do without raising suspicion. A few days before the trial, there is an example of this practice, when Diogo de Teive gave his grammar students a *theme* for them to translate to Latin, as was commonly done in class. The *theme* was a

¹⁹⁴ The *parisiense* was Diogo de Gouveia of Coimbra, a namesake and nephew of the former principal Diogo de Gouveia the Younger. He did not teach in the Colégio but confessed to not being well disposed towards Costa in his Inquisition deposition. Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 71.

¹⁹⁵ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1:650-651, 2:38-40.

story about Hercules taken from Xenophon, in which he had to choose between a life of pleasure or one of hard work and glory and served to illustrate the advice Teive frequently gave to students about not joining monastic orders until they were older. Unsurprisingly, the religious orders in Coimbra were furious with Teive when they heard of this, especially the Jesuits, who had been recruiting young students from the Colégio. Furthermore, the professors could influence the students during their day-to-day life in more subtle ways. João da Costa frequently told his students that they “should not serve God out of fear, but out of love,” a saying that the Inquisition deemed Lutheran, but which his own defence witnesses brought up in an attempt to show his piety.¹⁹⁶

What conclusion can be reached about the trials, the *bordaleses*, and the Colégio? It would be hard to characterize any of the professors as Protestants; even Buchanan, who had confessed to straying from the Church for a while, had apparently been living a mostly orthodox life. The views subscribed by the *bordaleses* represented a humanism deeply linked with Erasmian ideas, which saw the flaws in the Church and wanted to improve it rather than break from it. It was a view that had reached a significant public during the 1530s, including the Portuguese royal court, but had already been supplanted in favour of a conservative orthodoxy during the 1540s, and by 1550 seemed completely out of place in Portugal. Therefore, the king’s own college, which would train the country’s intellectual elite, could not be an instrument for the propagation of a humanism that supported these heterodox views. The personal feuds that led to the Inquisition trials can indeed be considered their principal cause, but these same feuds have to be understood as a product of this same ideological conflict which, although only appearing in Portugal during the 1540s, had already been present at the University of Paris during the 1520s

¹⁹⁶ “que não seruisem a deus por temor, senão por amor.” Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 68; Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:630.

and 1530s. Moreover, the royal court could have stopped the investigations short had they wanted, as they did with Damião de Góis' heresy accusations in 1545 and 1550.¹⁹⁷ The leniency shown to the scholars suggests they were valued as intellectuals, and further implies that the Inquisition was careful enough to curb specific ideas without inflicting severe damage to the Colégio.¹⁹⁸ The Colégio would carry on, but only if it was intellectually aligned with the conservative climate of 1550 Portugal.

¹⁹⁷ Góis would only face his Inquisition trial in 1571. Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:865.

¹⁹⁸ A heavier punishment could also reflect badly on the Inquisition itself, since prominent inquisitors were counted among those who recommended André de Gouveia and his professors to king João III. Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:859-881.

CHAPTER III

The actions of the Inquisition against the three *bordaleses* brought about significant changes to the Colégio das Artes and marked an ideological shift towards scholasticism and orthodoxy. The heterodox humanist views that the *bordaleses* subscribed to would no longer be tolerated anymore in the Colégio. But despite the king and the new principal's actions to ensure that Christian humanism would not retain a presence in the Colégio, its persistence and the looming threat of heterodoxy lingered on. Fortunately for the royal court, the 1540s had brought to Portugal a religious order that reinvigorated its religious establishment. The Society of Jesus arrived in Portugal in 1540, and quickly became favoured by the royal court. Along with their preaching, by the turn of the decade the Jesuits were also involved with the Portuguese educational system, and when the opportunity arose, they were eager to assume control of the Colégio das Artes. The Jesuits' solid orthodoxy appeased the royal court, and their educational program was based on the *modus parisiensis*, the same one João III sought to bring to Portugal with his educational reform. When the Crown found itself under mounting financial difficulties, delivering such a costly educational enterprise as the Colégio to Jesuit hands seemed like the best course of action. This chapter analyses the Colégio das Artes' ideological shift after the Inquisition trial of the *bordaleses*. This shift was first introduced by a new conservative principal, Paio Rodrigues Vilarinho, and later cemented with the transfer of the Colégio to Jesuit control and resulted in the effective end of Christian humanism's presence in the Colégio.

Despite the commotion, and a temporary panic, by the students and faculty, life in Coimbra went on after Costa, Teive, and Buchanan were arrested by the Inquisition in 1550.¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless, there were repercussions for the Colégio. The obvious one was the loss of two

¹⁹⁹ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:177-178.

more professors brought by André de Gouveia, as well as the principal João da Costa. With the three gone from Coimbra, the rest of the *bordaleses* would leave town in the following months, perhaps fearing for their own safety.²⁰⁰ In November 1550, only a few months after the arrests, João III visited the Colégio.²⁰¹ The visit reaffirmed his support of the Colégio, and while there he chose the next principal who would take office in January 1551. João III's choice was the University of Coimbra's professor of Scripture Paio Rodrigues Vilarinho, a theologian graduated from the University of Paris who was among the censors that produced the Portuguese Inquisition indexes of 1547 and 1551.²⁰² Vilarinho had been a protégé of Diogo de Gouveia the Elder, who in 1544 had praised his scholarship and orthodoxy when suggesting Vilarinho to the king as an alternative to André de Gouveia for the principalship of the Colégio.²⁰³ And João III certainly trusted Vilarinho at this point, since the king reinstated the Colégio's autonomy from the University when Vilarinho took office.²⁰⁴ After the arrests of the *bordaleses*, the appointment of Vilarinho was the second severe blow to Christian humanism in the Colégio and in Portugal. The *parisienses* had won, and the faculty disputes subsided with the withering of the *bordaleses*. By carefully selecting Vilarinho, the king was sending everyone a clear message about the Colégio's orthodoxy: the relative intellectual freedom that the *bordaleses* had enjoyed in France, and to a lesser extent in Coimbra, would no longer be tolerated. Although the program and

²⁰⁰ António Mendes taught at least until February 1551, but there is a possibility that he taught until 1555; Nicolas Grouchy was certainly already in France by 1551, since he published his *Praeceptiones Dialecticae* there; Jacques Tapie taught at least until February 1551, but he was not one of the professors in 1555; Guillaume de Guérente had left Coimbra by September 1550, and there is no record of him returning to the town. Brandão *Inquisição e os Professores*, 1: 666-671.

²⁰¹ Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 167.

²⁰² Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 170-171, 183-184; Marcocci and Paiva, *História da Inquisição Portuguesa*, 92.

²⁰³ Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 327-328.

²⁰⁴ "Que o reitor da Universidade não vá visitar o collegio das Artes, nem os lentes dellas se possam aggravar ao dicto reitor," in *Documentos para a Historia dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 79-80.

methodology used in the Colégio's classes remained mostly the same, there was an ideological shift aimed at realigning the Colégio to the Counter-Reformation trends pervading Portugal.

Vilarinho conferred with the king in December 1550, and when he arrived at the Colégio to take office he brought two new royal decrees aimed at protecting the Colégio and its students from further threats of heterodoxy.²⁰⁵ The first one brought the *disputationes* exercises of the Arts classes strictly under control of the principal. According to the decree, the *disputationes* were now to be performed “keeping with the order and manner ordered by Dr. Paio Rodrigues [Vilarinho],” and using only the books “he ordered you to read, and not any other.”²⁰⁶ Although there is no evidence of disputations raising heterodox points in the Colégio, this tight control by the principal inhibited that possibility from happening during class. The second decree prohibited student boarders from leaving the Colégio grounds after classes without permission from the principal, even if accompanied by the professor with whom they shared a chamber.²⁰⁷ Given the recent arrests by the Inquisition, this decree suggests a concern with students spending time and discussing ideas with their professors without any oversight from their colleagues or the principal. In addition to those changes, in 1552 Vilarinho published a program for the Arts course.²⁰⁸ This program was already examined in chapter I for its content, and the curriculum itself does not seem to have changed from what was taught during 1548-1550. There was, however, a clear increase in the importance of the *disputationes* for the Arts students. On Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, the *disputationes* would comprise two hours out of each

²⁰⁵ Brandão, *Colégio das Artes*, 171.

²⁰⁶ “sigam, e guardem a ordem e maneira, que lhes ordenar o doutor Payo Rodrigues” “e bem assim leiam os livros, que lhes elle ordenar, que leiam, e outros algum não.” “Para que os regentes guardem a ordem, que o Principal lhes der, nas lições e disputas,” in *Documentos para a Historia dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 76.

²⁰⁷ “Que os collegiaes não saíam sem licença do Principal, postoque os mestres os queiram levar,” in *Documentos para a Historia dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 77.

²⁰⁸ “Regimento que hão de guardar os lentes,” 98-104.

class instead of the previous one hour, and now there would be a Sunday *disputatio* of two hours as well. Moreover, the program details that the *disputationes* should take place in a very structured manner, with each topic and Aristotle book used to be previously designated. This increased focus on *disputationes*, and their structured manner, reflects the influence of the scholastic traditions favoured by theologians such as Diogo de Gouveia the Elder and Paio Vilarinho, who were now imposing their views on the Colégio with the blessing of the king.

Compared to its turbulent first couple of years, the Colégio das Artes under Vilarinho was a rather calm period, and at the end of December 1554 he passed on the principalship to Diogo de Teive.²⁰⁹ Surprisingly, after being released from the monastery where he had been imprisoned, Teive returned to teach again in the Colégio in 1552. Teive's prestige seemed intact after his conviction: he returned to teach the top Latin class, performed a speech in honour of prince João's marriage in 1552, delivered a speech at prince João's funeral ceremony in the University in 1554, again in 1554 delivered the Colégio's yearly panegyric for King João III, and was the last secular principal the Colégio had. How can one explain his position, given his past arrest by the Inquisition? Teive understood what the trials represented, and he was conforming to the new intellectual climate. He was a magnificent orator and, with his orthodoxy guaranteed, he was able to continue doing what he knew best. There is enough evidence to believe that this would have happened to George Buchanan as well had he stayed in Portugal; in his autobiography, he claims the king urged him to remain in Portugal and provided him with funds for his stay, in spite of Buchanan's bitter attitude towards his time in Portugal.²¹⁰ About Costa there is little information after his release, except that he went on to serve as prior to a church in

²⁰⁹ It is not known for certain if Diogo de Teive was officially the principal at this point, or if he was only interim principal. Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:892-905.

²¹⁰ Aitken, *Trial of George Buchanan*, xxv.

the village of Aveiro.²¹¹ The outcome of the trials for the three professors reinforces the idea that what was on trial was not themselves, but a specific outlook, an attitude towards religion and scholarship that had become very popular in France — and to a certain extent in Portugal — during the 1520s and 1530s, but that in the climate of the 1540s and 1550s had become out of place as the line between Catholic and Protestant became clearer. At this point, when Teive became principal, the negotiations for the transfer of the Colégio to the ownership of the Society of Jesus had already been completed. All that was left for Teive was “to hand over the Colégio das Artes and its administration in its entirety to the priest Diogo Mirão, the Provincial of the Society of Jesus” on October 1, 1555, as specified by a royal order he received less than a month before.²¹² And if Vilarinho’s appointment had been a second blow to Christian humanism in Portugal, the handover of the Colégio das Artes to the Society of Jesus definitively buried it under the ground.

At the same time that the Protestant Reformation was spreading over Europe, the Catholic Church was undergoing its own Reformation, solidifying its doctrine and reorganizing its institutions. One aspect of the Catholic Reform was the reinvigoration of old and the creation of new religious orders. Out of those, the newly founded Society of Jesus would soon become an instrumental part of the Catholic Church. The order was formed by Ignatius de Loyola and his followers, who met as students in the University of Paris during the late 1520s. Ignatius had been a soldier earlier in his life, but a serious injury led him to leave the military life and embrace a spiritual one. He devised the *Spiritual Exercises*, a guide for meditative retreat which aimed at

²¹¹ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:884-885.

²¹² “Mando-vos que entregueis esse collegio das Artes, e governo delle, inteiramente ao padre Diogo Mirão, provincial da companhia de Jesus.” “Para o dr. Diogo de Teive entregar o collegio das Artes ao padre Mirão,” in *Documentos para a Historia dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 180-181.

the “transformation of the sinful man into an instrument of devotion” that was attuned to the will of God, and experiencing it was part of the requirements for entering the order.²¹³ Most importantly, the Jesuits, as they became known, were staunchly orthodox. In the religious environment of the University of Paris during the 1530s in which the order developed, heterodox views had become increasingly common, and the Jesuits offered a firmly orthodox alternative with an engaging internal spirituality. The Jesuits quickly gained renown with the fervour of their militant preaching and their embrace of missionary work. In 1540 they received papal recognition to officially form the Society of Jesus, pledging to reinforce faith among Catholics and actively convert Protestants and non-Christians, while their superiors took a special vow of obedience to the pope. The Jesuits had the strictest admission requirements of all Catholic orders at the time, and placed great importance on its members’ education and their rigorous training. These characteristics set apart the Jesuits from other Catholic orders, and help explain their meteoric rise in prominence; by 1565 the order had over three thousand members, and a presence in most of Western Europe, the Americas, and Asia.²¹⁴

One of the first places where the Jesuits found support was in João III’s Portugal and its overseas territories. Before they had even received their papal authorization, the king had already been informed of the “learned clergymen of exemplary life” who “preach and produce great results wherever they go” by Diogo de Gouveia the Elder.²¹⁵ Loyola and his original followers had been students in the University of Paris and while there they caught the attention of Gouveia, who then recommended them to the king as missionaries. Following the news received, João

²¹³ Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 4-5, 7-14.

²¹⁴ John W. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993), 51.

²¹⁵ “certos clerigos letrados e homens de boa vida” “que andam pregando, por onde quer que vão, e fazem muito fruyto.” Luiz Augusto Rebello da Silva, *Corpo Diplomático Portuguez, Contendo os Actos e Relações Políticas e Diplomáticas de Portugal com as Diversas Potencias do Mundo Desde o Século XVI Até os Nossos Dias*, vol. 4 (Lisboa: Typografia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1870), 104-105.

III's enthusiasm for the Jesuits was such that he ordered his ambassador in Rome to lobby in favour of their papal authorization, as well as extended them an invitation to come to his country. In fact, the Portuguese had a presence within the Jesuits from the start, as Loyola had the Portuguese-born Simão Rodrigues among his first followers. The first two Jesuits sent to Portugal, Simão Rodrigues and Francis Xavier, arrived in 1540 with the intent of acting as missionaries overseas, but they captivated the court to such an extent with their character and spiritual guidance that the king insisted that they stayed.²¹⁶ From then on, the order experienced steady growth in Portugal.

During the 1540s, the Society of Jesus had begun to establish small scale educational institutions, mainly to train their own novices.²¹⁷ In Portugal, they opened their first colleges in 1542, although initially those colleges functioned only as housing facilities: the Santo Antão college in Lisboa; and the Colégio de Jesus in Coimbra, which later in 1547, began to hold classes for the order's novices.²¹⁸ However, their approach changed in 1548, when the Jesuits founded a college in the Sicilian town of Messina that provided free education for secular students and became a model for the order. The talented group sent by Loyola to organize and teach in the college paid off, and the enterprise was a huge success, leading to more colleges opening in Italy over the next years. Providing education to the general population had not been one of the initial goals of the Society of Jesus, but by 1551 Loyola was seeing the benefits of it: the colleges became the centre of Jesuit ministry, where they could promote orthodoxy through education, recruit new members, and in some places even convert non-Catholics. With this

²¹⁶ Alden, *Making of an Enterprise*, 25-27.

²¹⁷ O'Malley lists the novice-only colleges in Paris, Louvain, Cologne, Padua, Alcalá, Valencia, and Coimbra, as well their small-scale experiments in Gandía and Goa. O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 202-206.

²¹⁸ Alden, *Making of an Enterprise*, 28; Rómulo de Carvalho, *História do Ensino em Portugal: Desde a Fundação da Nacionalidade Até o Fim do Regime de Salazar-Caetano*, 4th ed. (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2008), 287-295.

realization, Loyola instructed the Jesuit Provincial in Portugal to establish schools in the country, and in early 1553 they opened classes for the general public on their Santo Antão college to great success. Only two years later they would assume control of the most prestigious college in Portugal, the Colégio das Artes, and by 1556, the Society of Jesus had under its control forty-six colleges in Europe, Brazil and India, continuously increasing until peaking at 712 colleges in 1710.²¹⁹

By the 1550s, the royal court's favour of the Society of Jesus seemed even greater than it had been in the prior decade. The king, his brothers, and his wife were all very fond of the Jesuits.²²⁰ Prince Henrique, the Cardinal and Grand Inquisitor, was already showing his support of the order privately in a letter to Loyola in 1542, and after 1551 he supported them publicly as well.²²¹ Prince Luís was perhaps the most fervent supporter of the Jesuits. He held the order's interests as if they were his own, and tried to join the Jesuits at one point. Queen Catarina had already displayed her sympathies to Rodrigues and Xavier during the early 1540s, and in 1555 she would take the Jesuit Miguel Torres as her personal confessor.²²² King João III, who repeatedly manifested his support of the order since he first invited them to Portugal, happily provided them with the funding and protection necessary for their expansion in his domains. Moreover, António Pinheiro and Jerónimo Osório, members of the court who held great influence during the 1540s, were counted among supporters of the Jesuits since their time in the University of Paris.²²³ The Jesuits, of course, made sure to reciprocate the devotion of the

²¹⁹ Alden, *Making of an Enterprise*, 16-17.

²²⁰ Francisco Rodrigues, *História Da Companhia de Jesus Na Assistência de Portugal*, 4 Vols (Oporto: Empresa Editora, 1931-1950), vol. 1 bk. 2, 587-593, 606-609.

²²¹ Dom Henrique, "47 bis, Henricus Portugalliae Princeps, Patri Ignatio de Loyola, Olisipone 29 Maji 1542," in *Monumenta Ignatiana: Ex Autographis vel ex Antiquioribus Exemplis Collecta*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Typis Gabrielis Lopez del Horno, 1903), 215-216.

²²² Buescu, *D. João III*, 261.

²²³ Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus*, vol. 1 bk. 1, 204-206.

Portuguese Crown, frequently lauding Portuguese assistance, and leading to an ever-strong relationship over the next decades.

The context in which the handover of the Colégio das Artes to the Society of Jesus took place in 1555 was thus one in which the order had a significant influence in the royal court. The matter has been much debated in Portuguese scholarship: the Jesuits themselves attributed the change to the alleged religious heterodoxy of the professors in the Colégio, while scholars of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, fuelled by the Marquis de Pombal's anti-Jesuit campaign, attributed the change to an insidious plot by the Jesuits involving the Inquisition in order to take over the Colégio.²²⁴ A more reasonable explanation is given by Brandão, who attributes the handover to a campaign by the Jesuits to convince the king and court of the moral and financial benefits of giving the college to the order's control. Following the success of the Jesuit college of Santo Antão in 1553, soon a plan to give them control of the Colégio das Artes began to take form. It is unknown where the idea came from, but prince Luís was the one leading the negotiations between the Crown and the Jesuits and, given his inclinations towards the order, it would not have been unlikely for him to have initiated the deal.²²⁵ Despite all the support from the court, João III resisted relinquishing control of his treasured Colégio, even with the financial gains that would come from freeing himself of its upkeep.²²⁶ Nevertheless, by the end of 1554 the negotiations were successful, and at the start of the new school year, on October 1, 1555, the Society of Jesus would be in charge of Portugal's largest and most important college.

²²⁴ Fernando Rodrigues follows the Jesuit side of this debate in his *Historia da Companhia de Jesus na Instituição Portuguesa*, and Teófilo Braga and his *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra* is an example of the anti-Jesuitic view

²²⁵ This conjecture was made by: Rodrigues, *História da Companhia*, vol. 1 bk. 2, 342-343; and reinforced by: Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, II:953.

²²⁶ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:958-960.

The reasoning behind the transfer is a complex one. Although the pressure from the royal court was very significant, as demonstrated by the Jesuits' own worry that they might have pushed too hard in their efforts to acquire the Colégio, it cannot be seen as the only reason for the transfer.²²⁷ The many cases of heterodoxy and suspected heterodoxy within the faculty in the Colégio surely weighed on the mind of the king. Even after the trial of the three *bordaleses*, heterodoxy was apparently still present, and only days after their sentence was promulgated in July 1551, the Colégio professor Marcial de Gouveia was arrested by the Inquisition. Marcial was André de Gouveia's brother and held similar views to the *bordaleses*, but personal reasons, namely a dispute with Diogo de Teive regarding an old debt of his, aligned him with the *parisienses* during his time in the Colégio.²²⁸ Moreover, the heterodox views that followed the Christian humanist professors in the Colégio seemed to have reached the students. During the *bordaleses*' trial, a student of Nicolas Grouchy called Pero de Sousa was accused of saying he "ought to study only to destroy Aquinas," which given Grouchy's indifference to scholasticism suggests the student was inculcated with the same humanist ideals of his professors.²²⁹ This conjecture seems even more likely due to a later fact: Sousa became a professor in the Colégio in 1554, and after only a few months teaching he defended outrageous theological arguments in a disputation, resulting in an accusation of heterodoxy.²³⁰ Thus, despite the changes effected by Vilarinho, the Colégio still had in its midst the humanism that scandalized the most conservative part of academia. If the trials were a campaign to curtail the most progressive humanist views, and those views are still pervading the Colégio despite the repression they suffered, then a

²²⁷ Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:954, 2:836-864.

²²⁸ Dias, *Correntes de Sentimento Religioso*, 201; Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, I:642-644.

²²⁹ "pero de sousa discypolo de mestre Nicolão disera que não avya destudar senão pera estroyr sao thomas." Brandão, *Processo de João da Costa*, 45.

²³⁰ It must be noted that at the time of this incident the handover had already been decided on, but suspicion over Pero de Sousa is likely to have existed since the time of the *bordaleses*' trial. Brandão, *Inquisição e os Professores*, 2:945-948.

transfer to the Jesuits becomes the next logical step, placing the Colégio in the hands of a firmly orthodox order.

By the time the Jesuits took control of the Colégio das Artes, education was already seen as one of the order's core ministries. However, it would take almost fifty years for the Jesuits to publish their *Ratio atque institutio studiorum* in 1599, the document that served as basis for Jesuit educational institutions and their programs. When the subject and period of study then involves a pre-1599 Jesuit education, many questions arise that the *Ratio studiorum* cannot reliably answer. Although they did not have a structured program yet, the Jesuit system of education was since the beginning clearly modeled after the *modus parisiensis*, reflecting the experience that Loyola and the other founding members had in the University of Paris.²³¹ Their views on education were aligned with those of Europe's cultural elite, and "the faith in the formative powers of good literature promulgated by the humanist movement found powerful echo in the Society."²³² The writings of Pedro Perpiñán, a Jesuit priest who taught Latin in the Colégio from 1555-1561, and the instructions left by Jeronimo Nadal in 1561, help reconstruct the program of studies during the first ten years of Jesuit rule in the Colégio.

The daily routine of the Colégio under the Jesuits was recorded in the instructions left by Jeronimo Nadal in 1561, the "Diurnus Ordo in Conimbricensi Collegio."²³³ The daily schedule continued to be very arduous for both the students and professors, with the Jesuit Provincial General Diego Mirón complaining to the Superior General in 1564 that "many good men in this province die or become seriously ill" due to overwork.²³⁴ The day still ran from four in the

²³¹ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 215-216.

²³² O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 209-210.

²³³ "Diurnus Ordo in Conimbricensi Collegio," in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu: quae primam rationem studiorum anno 1586 editam praecessere* (Madrid: Typis Augustini Avrial, 1901), 636-641.

²³⁴ "muchos de los buenos sugetos en essa prouincia, o mueren o enferman grauemente." Diego Mirón, "2185, Patri Didaco Mironi, Roma 16 Octobris 1564," in *Lainii Monumenta: epistolae et acta patris Jacobi Lainii, secundi*

morning until nine in the evening, with at least six hours of lectures every day. Interestingly, the Jesuits changed some of the religious practices expected at the Colégio. The daily mass in the morning before class was maintained, but they apparently ended the practice of hymn singing in the chapel at the day's end. Another change was the addition of a required half-hour of prayers which the students were supposed to perform in their rooms before heading to the morning mass. These changes indicate a bigger concern with inner spirituality rather than outer displays of faith, which fit the Jesuit views in comparison to the regular clergy. The matter of discipline continued to be treated seriously by the Jesuits, but they did not publish new statutes with rules of conduct until 1565, and even when they did the changes were few.²³⁵ There is one addition, which most likely had been implemented since the beginning of Jesuit rule: “[the students] shall go to confession once a month.”²³⁶ Before the Jesuits, students were expected to go to confession a few times during the year, but there was not a rule on it. The Jesuits also changed the way punishment was delivered in the Colégio: the Jesuits delegated the physical punishment to a non-member of the order - officials called correctors - whose duty was to “keep [the students] in fear [...]and punish those who need chastisement.”²³⁷ This practice allegedly freed professors from holding back on punishment on account of affection for a student, but it is difficult to gauge if this brought any practical results on the discipline of the students.

The classes during the Jesuit period continued to function very similarly to the secular period, but there is some evidence that the *disputationes* were assigned an even greater

praepositi generalis Societatis Jesu, ex autographis, originalibus, vel regestis potissimum deprompta a patribus ejusdem societatis edita, vol. 8 (Madrid: Typis Gabrielis Lopez del Horno, 1917), 261.

²³⁵ “Estatutos de D. Sebastião para o collegio das Artes,” in *Documentos para a Historia dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, ed. Antonio José Teixeira (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1899), 416-435.

²³⁶ “confessar-se-hão cada mez uma vez.” “Estatutos de D. Sebastião,” 418.

²³⁷ “Regulae Correctoris,” in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Jesu: quae primam rationem studiorum anno 1586 editam praecessere* (Madrid: Typis Augustini Avrial, 1901), 643.

importance than during the secular period. In 1561, Jeronimo Nadal instructed the Colégio to have a standardized textbook for the Arts course, so that the students would not have to spend lecture time writing down the dictated text. This in turn would allow for the *praelectione* to be cut in half and last only one hour, leaving much more time to be spent with the scholastic exercises of questions, debates, and disputations.²³⁸ Moreover, following the trend after the 1552 change in the regulations for the Arts professors, the public disputations had become very organized affairs, with the topics already sorted out in a rigid schedule and each class knowing well in advance who they were disputing against.²³⁹

Under the Jesuits, the Colégio das Artes continued to be a college focused on the teaching of Latin letters. Right on the outset of Perpiñán's "De Ratione Liberorum," however, there is an indication that the Jesuit faculty may not have valued the study of Latin as much as some of the most ardent humanists. Perpiñán warns against employing professors that held the false notion that "grammar ought to be taught as one of the higher arts."²⁴⁰ Despite that, some of the Latin professors of the Colégio in this period were very accomplished, such as Manuel Álvares and Cypriano Soarez, who wrote textbooks on grammar and rhetoric that became the standard for Jesuit colleges in Europe for many decades. The Jesuits maintained the same ten classes of Latin that the Colégio previously had, but when they took office in October 1555 there was an extra eleventh class, focused on teaching how to read and write.²⁴¹ The total of eleven Latin classes

²³⁸ Hieronymus Nadal, "Instructiones Conimbricae De Curso Artium Datae," in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu: Nova Editio Penitus Retractata (1557-1572)*, vol. 3 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 60.

²³⁹ "Estatutos de D. Sebastião," 421-423.

²⁴⁰ "neque falsa opinione scientiae inflatus, Grammaticam tamquam unam aliquam maximarum artium sibi docendam putet." Perpiñán, "De Ratione Liberorum Instituendorum," 645.

²⁴¹ This was probably a subdivision of the tenth class due to a large number of students, and such an addition was anticipated in the *Schola Aquitanica*. Diego Mirón, "1046, Jacobus Miron, Patri Ignatio de Loyola, Conimbrica 15 Octobris 1555," in *Epistolae Mixtae: Ex Variis Europae Locis ab Anno 1537 ad 1556 Scriptae nunc Primum A Patribus Societatis Iesu in Lucem Editae*, vol 5. (Madrid: R. Fortanet, 1901), 29.

was higher than other Jesuit colleges such as Rome and Évora, and shows the higher concern for Latin teaching inherited from the Colégio's secular period.²⁴² The statute of 1565 confirms the eleven Latin classes, while also confirming the need for students to pass exams in order to advance classes.²⁴³

Although the structure of the Latin classes did not change, the same cannot be said of their content. The grammar textbooks seem to have remained the same from the secular period, but the choice of books to be studied had some changes.²⁴⁴ Until 1561, The Jesuit choice of authors for the higher classes, while not as extensive as during the secular period, was still abundant with a markedly humanistic assembly of Roman and Greek pagan authors.²⁴⁵ After 1561, however, Nadal instructed the professors not to teach poetry in the 'first class', signaling a reduced interest in this major aspect of humanist learning, which evidently conflicted with the Colégio's previous period.²⁴⁶ But the most impactful change concerned a different aspect: there was a visible but slowly introduced religious element emerging in the classes as the Jesuit period progressed. During the 1548-1555 period, the introductory Latin class had a religious component on the use of the Psalms and prayers, but that was the full extent of it in the Colégio. Later, during the 1555-1561 period, there is still no mention of any religious writing in the program. After 1561, however, Nadal ordered the teachers to begin "introducing readings of [the Church

²⁴² Perpinyà, "De Studiis Elegantioris Doctrinae," 659.

²⁴³ "Estatutos de D. Sebastião," 418, 420.

²⁴⁴ Perpiñán names Linacre's grammar, which was Buchanan's favourite, and Despauterius' grammar had been widely adopted by the Jesuits and also might have been used there. Perpinyà, "De Ratione Liberorum Instituendorum," 648-649; Perpinyà, "De Studiis Elegantioris Doctrinae," 658-659; Helena Maria Ribeiro Almeida Costa Toipa, "De Ratione Liberorum Instituendorum Litteris Graecis et Latinis de Pedro Perpinhão: Na Génese da Ratio Studiorum da Companhia de Jesus," in *Legado Clássico no Renascimento e sua Recepção: Contributos Para a Renovação do Espaço Cultural Europeu*, ed. Nair de Nazaré Castro Soares and Cláudia Teixeira (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2017), 358-359.

²⁴⁵ Perpiñán names Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Caesar, and Quintilian on prose, and Ovid, Virgil, Horace, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Martial on poetry. Perpinyà, "De Ratione Liberorum Instituendorum," 650-652.

²⁴⁶ Hieronymus Nadal, "Instructiones Datae Conimbricæ De Studiis Humanitatis et Rhetorices," in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu: Nova Editio Penitus Retractata (1557-1572)*, vol. 3 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 57.

Fathers] with those of the gentiles.”²⁴⁷ Along with those instructions, Nadal clarified the program for the ‘eleventh class’, which could almost be considered catechism, as the students spent only one hour working on their letters, and the rest of the time learning about doctrine.²⁴⁸

Additionally, there was a noticeable concern on the part of the Jesuits in ensuring that the classical texts used by the students did not contain anything that could go against their Christian morals. This concern had also been expressed in Gouveia’s program, but only in passing; with the Jesuits, censorship was apparently taken much more seriously. Perpiñán stated that “every obscene word or situation should be removed” even from the most elegant author, and goes as far as to exclude prominent ones such as Terence and Quintilian from his program.²⁴⁹ While Nadal was in the Colégio, he designated Cypriano Soarez to purge obscenities from Martial, Catullus, Tibullus, and other authors, so that sanitized versions could then be printed for the students to use.²⁵⁰ He also ordered the production of “an imitation of Erasmus’ *Copia*” and of his *On the Writing of Letters* for the students, even though at the time all of Erasmus’ works had already been prohibited by the Catholic Church; despite his label of heterodox, the Jesuits still recognized the value of his works.²⁵¹

The course of Arts during the Jesuit period of the Colégio continued to last three and a half years, with a professor starting the course with a group of students and continuing with them over that whole period.²⁵² The 1552 Arts program was likely still in use, since no other was

²⁴⁷ “para se ir mesclando la lición dellos con las cosas de los gentiles.” Nadal, “Instruções Datae Conimbricae,” 57.

²⁴⁸ “Ordo in Undecima Classe Conimbricae Servatus et Servandus,” in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu: Nova Editio Penitus Retractata (1557-1572)*, vol. 3. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 68-70.

²⁴⁹ “Quamquam eorum etiam, qui elegantia praestant, delectus quidam habendus est, et omnis tum verborum tum rerum obscenitas removenda.” Perpiñà, “De Ratione Liberiorum Instituendorum,” 650.

²⁵⁰ Nadal, “Instruções Datae Conimbricae,” 56-57.

²⁵¹ “Hágasse una epítome en prosa *De utraque copia*, a imitación de la de Erasmo [...] *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, y imprimasse uno y otro.” Nadal, “Instruções Datae Conimbricae,” 57.

²⁵² Nadal states that Ignacio de Tolosa was starting this year’s (1561) Arts course: Nadal, “Instruções Conimbricae De Curso Artium,” 62; The 1565 statutes confirm the course length: “Estatutos de D. Sebastião,” 421.

published, and the short Arts section on the 1565 “Estatutos de D. Sebastião” showed mostly the same curriculum as before.²⁵³ But the shift towards more time spent on scholastic disputations seems even clearer after the Jesuits took control of the Colégio. Due to that shift, the Jesuit professors were having difficulty finishing the whole syllabus within three and a half years. As a response to that difficulty, in 1561 Nadal ordered that parts of the books which Aristotle “treated vaguely, or that are not important to the science” were to be read only in summaries instead of the whole text, and includes a very specific list of which chapters and books were to be read.²⁵⁴ Even before Nadal’s instructions, the Jesuits in Coimbra were planning to write their own textbook for the Arts, which would provide their own selection of Aristotle’s works and their commentaries on them.²⁵⁵ Moreover, there is another significant change at the tail end of the period, but which may represent an earlier trend. Whereas the 1552 Arts program required professors to use mainly commentaries from ancient Greek authors, as was the humanistic tradition, the 1565 statutes do not maintain this rule, instead leaving the choice entirely to the “rector of the Colégio, according to the will of the Society of Jesus.”²⁵⁶ While this does not mean that the humanistic tradition would not be followed, it does leave the possibility of the Jesuits

²⁵³ Nadal’s 1561 instructions provide evidence that, besides the three *Ethics*, all of the Aristotle’s books that were read during the secular period of the Colégio continued to be read: Nadal, “Instructiones Conimbricæ De Curso Artium,” 59-60; “Quæ Professoribus Conimbricensibus Visa Sunt Legenda in Cursu Artium ex Libris Aristotelis.” In *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu: Nova Editio Penitus Retractata (1557-1572)*, vol. 3. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 66-67.

²⁵⁴ “Aristóteles se lea de manera, que muchas partes que él trató difusamente, y no son de importancia para la ciencia, se lean en compendio, diziéndose la substancia solamente dellas, sin se leer la letra.” Nadal, “Instructiones Conimbricæ De Curso Artium,” 59.

²⁵⁵ Already in 1557 Luis Gonçalves da Câmara was instigating professor Pedro da Fonseca to write this textbook, which was published and adopted in 1564 as the *Institutionum dialecticarum libri octo*: Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, “15, Pater Consalvius de Camara, Patri Jacobo Lainio, Olisipone 7 Decembris 1557,” in *Lainii Monumenta: epistolæ et acta patris Jacobi Lainii, secundi praepositi generalis Societatis Iesu, ex autographis, originalibus, vel regestis potissimum deprompta a patribus ejusdem societatis edita*, vol. 8 (Madrid: Typis Gabrielis Lopez del Horno, 1917), 401.

²⁵⁶ “seguirão os auctores, e commentarios que melhor parecer ao reitor do collegio, conforme a ordem da companhia de Jesus.” “Estatutos de D. Sebastião,” 421.

relying on the medieval interpretations favoured by scholastic theologians. In sum, the changes made to the Arts course point towards a more scholastic tradition taking hold within the Colégio.

The study of Greek had noticeable changes in its methods, and its study appears to have improved in the Colégio during the 1555-1565 period. The choice of authors is broadened in comparison to the secular period: Demosthenes and Homer continued as the most prominent, but the Jesuits also added Isocrates and Xenophon for beginners, and Herodotus, Thucydides, Pausanias and Aelianus for the advanced students.²⁵⁷ At some point between 1555 and 1559, the students of the top four Latin classes began to have an extra thirty minutes of Greek teaching during their regular Latin lectures, in addition to their usual daily one-hour Greek lecture. According to the Jesuit leadership, this reorganization greatly improved learning, while the students “barely felt” the half-hour increments.²⁵⁸ In 1561, Nadal reaffirmed much of what was being done in the Colégio until then. He maintained the thirty-minute Greek classes accompanying the Latin ones, beginning at the fourth class of Latin and continuing until the end of the first one: the fourth and third classes worked on the Greek grammar; the second class read “some easy book”; and the first class read “Demosthenes, Homer, Socrates, and other similar authors.”²⁵⁹ The daily one-hour non-mandatory Greek lecture open to all students continued to exist during the 1555-1565 period, although their need had been debated by the Jesuits.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷ Perpinyà, “De Ratione Liberorum Instituendorum,” 651.

²⁵⁸ “casi no sintiéndolo, con media hora que en aquello se gasta, quedan sabiendo griego.” “206, P. Michael de Torres S. I. Praep. Prov. Lusit., P. Iacobo Láinez S. I. Praep. Gen., Olisipone 8 Decembris 1559,” in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu: Nova Editio Penitus Retractata (1557-1572)*, vol. 3. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 294-295.

²⁵⁹ “algún libro fácil,” “Demósthene y Homero y Sócrates y otros autores semeiantes.” Nadal, “Instructiones Datae Conimbricae,” 58.

²⁶⁰ The question of the daily one-hour Greek lecture was discussed by the Provincial Miguel Torres and the Superior General Diego Laynez in 1559-1560: “P. Michael de Torres, 8 Decembris 1559,” 294-295; But its existence is still attested in Nadal’s 1561 instructions: Nadal, “Instructiones Datae Conimbricae,” 59; And the statutes confirm it was still happening in 1565: “Estatutos de D. Sebastião,” 418.

Contrary to Greek, much less is known about the Hebrew classes even during the Jesuit period. As per the Colégio's regulations, there should have been a daily one-hour lecture of Hebrew, but there were difficulties in finding Jesuit professors to teach it. In a 1557 letter, Luis Gonçalves da Câmara indicates that the Colégio was in "dire need of a Hebrew teacher."²⁶¹ Additionally, the demand for Hebrew classes does not seem to have been great, as in 1561 Nadal instructed the Colégio to find out how many of the students would go on to study theology and would be interested in taking Hebrew classes.²⁶² The low demand and the lack of teachers must have led to the royal order from September 1562, whereby the Hebrew lecture of the Colégio das Artes would be taught at the Colégio de Jesus, to be attended by students from both colleges and the university.²⁶³ This practice was further confirmed in the 1565 statute, which states that the Colégio das Artes' students should attend Hebrew lectures in the Colégio de Jesus.²⁶⁴ Moreover, both the difficulty in finding Hebrew teachers and the apparent reduced interest in its classes can be understood as a symptom of the Inquisition's repression on crypto-Judaism and Christian humanism.

The status of the mathematics classes on the Colégio das Artes during the 1555-1565 period is a convoluted one. The regulations of the Colégio clearly stated that there should have been a professor of mathematics, but there is no evidence of who that might have been, of if there even was one. In December 1557, Jesuit correspondence shows that a professor "who

²⁶¹ "Esnos también summamente necessario un lector de ebráico." Câmara, "Patri Jacobo Lainio, 7 Decembris 1557," 401.

²⁶² Nadal, "Instruções Datae Conimbricae," 59.

²⁶³ The Colégio de Jesus had Hebrew lectures since 1558, and a Hebrew professor there might have been prioritized by the Jesuits over the Colégio das Artes: Jorge Rijo, "842, Pater Georgius Rijo, Patri Jacobo Lainio, Conimbrica 7 Maji 1558," in *Lainii Monumenta: epistolae et acta patris Jacobi Lainii, secundi praepositi generalis Societatis Jesu, ex autographis, originalibus, vel regestis potissimum deprompta a patribus ejusdem societatis edita*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Typis Gabrielis Lopez del Horno, 1913), 276; IANTT, Armário Jesuítico e Cartório dos Jesuitas, "Livro dos Estatutos, Provisões, Privilégios e Liberdades do Colégio das Artes, Entregue aos Padres da Companhia de Jesus Pelo Rei D. João III" (1555-1759), f. 62r.

²⁶⁴ "Estatutos de D. Sebastião," 418.

teaches mathematics” is “extremely necessary,” since Pedro Nunes “is not in Coimbra anymore.”²⁶⁵ Pedro Nunes was one of the foremost mathematicians of his age, and lectured in the University of Coimbra from 1547 until 1557.²⁶⁶ This raises the question whether the Colégio really had mathematics classes, or if the students were attending the lectures at the University instead. Royal orders from 1558 and 1559 also count mathematics as one of the subjects in the Colégio, but interestingly, a letter from January 1559 by Queen Catarina states that the Crown had not provided funds to the Colégio das Artes for its mathematics class, which points to the possibility of it only being lectured in the University.²⁶⁷ By 1561, there seems to have been clear changes to the mathematics classes from the secular period. Nadal instructs the Colégio to teach mathematics “by the method of the Roman [College]” in daily half-hour lectures, and only for those in the second and third year of Arts.²⁶⁸ That method comprised of half-hour lectures everyday, and covered Euclid’s *Elements*, Sacrobosco’s *De Sphaera*, geography, planet theory, astrolabe, and perspective.²⁶⁹ There is also the possibility that these half-hour lectures on mathematics were a part of the Arts lectures, instead of a class on their own. While discussing the publication of an Arts textbook, the professor Pedro Fonseca includes Aristotle’s writings on mathematics, and suggests adding parts of Sacrobosco’s *De Sphaera*, “which is read here,”

²⁶⁵ Câmara, “Patri Jacobo Lainio, 7 Decembris 1557,” 401.

²⁶⁶ Roberto de Andrade Martins, “André do Avelar and the Teaching of Sacrobosco’s *Sphaera* at the University of Coimbra,” in *De Sphaera of Johannes de Sacrobosco in the Early Modern Period: The Authors of the Commentaries*, ed. Matteo Valleriani, (Cham, Switzerland: Springer Open, 2020), 316.

²⁶⁷ Teixeira, *Documentos Para a História*, 305, 403, 407.

²⁶⁸ “Véasse si se leerán matemáticas media hora cada dia por el modo de Roma.” Nadal, “Instruções Datae Conimbricae,” 61; Balthasar Torres wrote two similar programs for mathematics in the Roman College during 1557-1560, making it hard to pinpoint which one Nadal was referring to. Their content was similar, with the main difference being one lasted two years and the other three years. Romano Gatto, “Jesuit Mathematics,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, ed. Ines G. Županov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 639.

²⁶⁹ Balthasar de Torres, “Ordo Lectionis Matheseos in Collegio Romano,” in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu: Penitus Retracta Multisque Textibus Aucta Edidit*, ed. Ladislaus Lukács, vol. 2. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 433-435.

which could mean *De Sphaera* was read during the Arts lectures.²⁷⁰ Another piece of evidence pointing to this possibility is that the “Diurnus Ordo in Conimbricensi Collegio” listed in its schedule the Greek and Hebrew extraordinary classes, but does not mention mathematics.²⁷¹ The Colégio’s statute of 1565 also does not list mathematics classes or a teacher, which could mean that mathematics had been completely incorporated into the Arts lectures over the previous years, and mathematics ceased to be a subject of its own in the Colégio.²⁷² This dismissive treatment given to mathematics shows a distancing of practical knowledge by the Colégio which, although counterproductive to the Portuguese context of a seaborne commercial empire, fits the pattern of the Jesuit’s own complicated relationship with mathematics before the *Ratio Studiorum*.²⁷³

The faculty of the Colégio das Artes in the period after 1555 is where one finds the biggest difference in relation to the Colégio’s original secular composition. While the Colégio was under the control of the Society of Jesus, only members of the order were allowed to teach in it. That meant that the Colégio would not have a problem with professors harboring heterodox views, or even humanist views that could be construed as heterodox, since in theory all members of the Society of Jesus had to subscribe the Church’s orthodoxy. While this change solved a problem, it created another one. During the whole period encompassed in this study the Jesuits failed to provide enough professors with the same level of erudition as the ones who composed the secular faculty. It is not in question whether a Jesuit priest could be as well learned as the secular professors before them; they certainly could, and there were many prolific Jesuit scholars

²⁷⁰ “de la sphaera de Sacrobosco, que acá se lee.” “213, P. Petrus da Fonseca S. I., P. Hieronymo Nadal S. I. Commissario Generali, Conimbricae 14 Ianuarii 1562,” in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu: Nova Editio Penitus Retractata (1557-1572)*, vol. 3 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 319.

²⁷¹ “Diurnus Ordo in Conimbricensi Collegio,” 637-641.

²⁷² “Estatutos de D. Sebastião,” 418-419.

²⁷³ Gatto, “Jesuit Mathematics,” 639-640.

who followed some humanist principles and excelled both in their writings and their pedagogy. The problem, rather, is one of sheer scale: the exponential growth of the Jesuit colleges over Western Europe required an equally exponential growth of capable Jesuit professors, resulting in a lingering manpower problem for the order in Portugal.

In May 1555, before the Jesuits even began to manage the Colégio, Loyola was advised by João Nunes Barreto that he would have to provide “men distinguished in rhetoric, logic, and Greek,” since in that college there had been “very learned men, who came from Paris and other parts.”²⁷⁴ By August 1555, the Provincial Diego Mirón reinforced those comments, writing to Loyola that “we find that we lack renowned teachers,” compared to the “much distinguished ones” leaving.²⁷⁵ These warnings were not acted upon by the order, as they did not send any renowned professor at the time.²⁷⁶ Only in 1556 Loyola did send Luís Gonçalves da Câmara to Coimbra to evaluate the Colégio and temporarily supervise it. According to a 1557 letter from Câmara, the Jesuit professors of Art in the Colégio had been mostly unknown by the public in 1555, but by 1557 they had earned the respect of the students.²⁷⁷ Those teaching Latin grammar, however, did not fare so well. Only the three higher classes had professors who were deemed competent, while the professors of the seven lower classes were disparaged. By August 1562 the situation had not improved, and Gonçalves Vaz de Melo complained to the Superior General that

²⁷⁴ “mande prouer de homens insignes em rhetorica, logica e grego” “Esta em custume auerem auido em este collegio homens muy doctos, que vierão de Paris e outras partes.” João Nunes Barreto, “1330, Joannes Nunes Barreto Patriarcha Aethiopiae, Patri Ignatio de Loyola, Olisipone 26 Maji 1555,” in *Epistolae Mixtae: Ex Variis Europae Locis ab Anno 1537 ad 1556 Scriptae nunc Primum A Patribus Societatis Jesu in Lucem Editae*, vol 5 (Madrid: R. Fortanet, 1901), 800.

²⁷⁵ “Hallámonos todauía faltos de leyentes notables, y speçialmente auiendo de succeder á los que dexan de leer, que son muy insignes.” Diego Mirón, “1007, Jacobus Miron, Patri Ignatio de Loyola, Olisipone 5, 25 Augusti 1555,” in *Epistolae Mixtae: Ex Variis Europae Locis ab Anno 1537 ad 1556 Scriptae nunc Primum A Patribus Societatis Jesu in Lucem Editae*, vol 4 (Madrid: Augustinus Avrial, 1900), 775.

²⁷⁶ Rodrigues, *História da Companhia*, vol.1 bk.2, 360-362.

²⁷⁷ Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, “7, Pater Consalvius de Camara, Patri Jacobo Lainio, Olisipone 31 Maji 1557.” In *Lainii Monumenta: epistolae et acta patris Jacobi Lainii, secundi praepositi generalis Societatis Jesu, ex autographis, originalibus, vel regestis potissimum deprompta a patribus ejusdem societatis edita*, vol. 8. (Madrid: Typis Gabrielis Lopez del Horno, 1917), 368-374.

there were too few professors available in Portugal.²⁷⁸ A letter from Miguel Torres only a couple of years later, in 1564, continued to portray the faculty situation as dire, and it reflects the weariness of a Jesuit leadership that had spent almost a decade striving to fulfill a large demand for learned scholars. Torres wrote to the Superior General that due to the many obligations with teaching in the province, “they are forced to place people [as teachers] who not only do not understand Latin, but cannot even read it properly, and that out of four verbs which they choose to conjugate in class, they conjugate three incorrectly.”²⁷⁹ It is clear that during the first ten years of Jesuit control over the Colégio, the quality of those teaching did not match the one presented during the 1548-1555 period, especially on Latin grammar, which was the Colégio’s main object of studies.

Even after the changes brought by João III and Paio Vilarinho in 1551, which favoured scholasticism and tried to dissuade students and professors from heterodox ideas, the embers of Christian humanism were still alive in the Colégio. Eventually, the pressure from the royal court and the Jesuits to resolve this threat in a decisive manner won out. In 1555, the Society of Jesus assumed control of a college that was prosperous at the time, even if recently its reputation had been tarnished by its professors’ Inquisition cases. It had nearly a thousand students, housing the most notable Portuguese students, from nobles to commoners, and taught them in a manner that was similar to the best colleges of the age in Paris, with professors educated in that same environment. From the start, it was clear that managing such a college was a task too great for a

²⁷⁸ Gonçalves Vaz de Melo, “1669, Pater Gundisalvus Vaz de Melo, Patri Jacobo Lainio, Bracara Augusta 25 Augusti 1562,” in *Lainii Monumenta: epistolae et acta patris Jacobi Lainii, secundi praepositi generalis Societatis Jesu, ex autographis, originalibus, vel registis potissimum deprompta a patribus ejusdem societatis edita*, vol. 6. (Madrid: Typis Gabrielis Lopez del Horno, 1915), 365.

²⁷⁹ “Para cumplir con tantas obligaciones desta provincia, como está dicho, son forçados o a poner personas que no solamente no entienden el latín, mas ni leerlo saben distinctamente, y que, de quatro verbos que escogen para dar a conjugar en la classe, jerran los pretéritos de los tres.” Miguel Torres, “237, P. Michael de Torres S. I., P. Iacobo Láinez S. I. Praep. Gen., Olisipone 12 Octobris 1564 Romam,” in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu: Nova Editio Penitus Retractata (1557-1572)*, vol. 3 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 365.

religious order that was only fifteen years old and simultaneously establishing dozens of colleges throughout Europe. As good as their intentions and efforts were, they simply did not have the manpower to supply the necessary number of scholars and maintain the same quality of teaching that the Colégio had previously. During these first ten years of management, the pedagogical methods that were used, and the curriculum that was taught at the Colégio remained largely the same, but there were a few changes that hint at an underlying ideological shift. As one would expect in a change from a secular to a religious management, religious doctrinal teaching was introduced in the lowest class, but by the end of the period it was also starting to make its presence noted in higher classes of Latin. Latin teaching, which had been treated with the utmost importance by humanists, continued to be important, but perhaps not to the same extent as before. The study of Greek appears to have improved, and even though it had been held in great esteem during the secular period, the Jesuits increased its classes and achieved better results. On the other hand, Hebrew suffered both from lack of professors and interest, to the extent that there were no more classes in the Colégio by the end of the period. The study of the Arts appears to have held the most prestige, as it was the foundation of theological studies, and its teaching was guided carefully by the Jesuits. Mathematics, perhaps the most practical side of education, was disfavoured and relegated from the status of an actual discipline. But regardless of the changes in quality or curriculum, the Colégio under the Jesuits achieved what was seen by this study as its main objective: there is no evidence of heterodoxy from professors or students, nor was there any indication that Christian humanism was still present in the Colégio.

CONCLUSION

The dream that King João III had of establishing a college which could rival the best Parisian institutions had apparently succeeded. The Colégio that André de Gouveia organized followed the *modus parisiensis*, but it also leaned towards some progressive humanist views. It taught a high standard of Latin, and just like the Collège Royal in Paris and the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain, also taught the humanist favoured Greek and Hebrew languages. The Colégio's Arts classes focused on classical interpretations of Aristotle rather than scholastic ones, and mathematics, perhaps the most practical side of a sixteenth-century humanist education, had a significant place. But at the time in which the Colégio was opening its doors, some of the ideas that its faculty supported had already been cast aside in Portugal. The intellectual climate in Portugal which had been accepting of Erasmian humanism and similar views, especially in the royal court, was no more. By 1548, when the classes in the Colégio das Artes were beginning, the environment was one in which the main concern was the fight against the threat of Reformation. Instead of a royal court full of scholars associated with Erasmus and Christian humanism, Portugal now had a court dominated by conservative scholars and the influence of the Society of Jesus. The religious climate in Europe and Portugal had also shifted over the first decades of the sixteenth century. Catholics who desired to see their Church rid of its perceived corruption, or who simply desired to experience their faith in a more spiritual way, became increasingly associated with Protestant beliefs. With the Council of Trent finally convening in the 1545, there was little room left for Catholics who did not fall in line with strict orthodox views. In a similar manner, what had begun as a simple methodological debate between humanist and scholastic traditions became increasingly conflated into a debate between Protestantism and Catholicism.

With a context such as the one described above, perhaps the original idea for the Colégio das Artes was bound to fail regardless of André de Gouveia's death. Even with a court that mostly rejected Gouveia's views on humanism, however, João III still continued with his plan for the Colégio. It took more than a full year of conflict between different factions within the Colégio's faculty for any action to be taken against the professors who were rumoured to hold heterodox beliefs, even though these rumours had arrived in Portugal much earlier than the professors themselves. The lines which were previously blurred, now had been clearly defined. Internally, Portugal was also experiencing a shift of focus with its Inquisition. After 1545, the tribunal began to target Protestantism more intensively, and in this movement, a number of Portuguese humanists now came under the Inquisition's sights. The first reports coming out of the Council of Trent were reaching the royal court, and pressure from the king's conservative advisors must have been mounting, spearheaded by the Grand Inquisitor and Cardinal Henrique. By late 1549, the accusations by the former principal of the king's own Colégio, Diogo de Gouveia the Younger, with tacit support from the prestigious Diogo de Gouveia the Elder, proved too much for the king to continue to turn a blind eye to those rumours any longer. Although the Inquisition's investigations were conducted in secrecy, it is hard to believe that, with his brother as Grand Inquisitor, the king was not made completely aware that the professors he brought from France were harbouring Catholic Reformist desires, and at times even Protestant beliefs. João III held true to his Erasmian inclinations as much as he could, but when confronted with hard evidence that those views were allowing for openly expressed heterodox beliefs at his Colégio, he had to change his stance.

The immediate result of this heterodoxy in the Colégio comes only a few months after the professors' arrests. In the turn of 1550, there is a clear reversal of trends in the Colégio's

methods. What had been a program conforming with the most progressive trends in humanism began, after having a *parisiense* conservative theologian such as Vilarinho in charge, to favour the more conservative scholastic tradition. The changes reinforced scholastic exercises, reduced the professor's freedom of teaching, and restricted the professors from spending time with the students without supervision. It seemed like a compromise, maintaining the core program established by Gouveia at the same time that it inhibited any activities which could cause the spread of heterodox ideas. The humanism that promoted intellectual curiosity, inspired theological discussions, and criticized the Church's abuses no longer had a place in Coimbra.

Despite the attempt at compromise, it would prove to not be enough. The evidence shows that heterodoxy stubbornly refused to disappear from the Colégio das Artes. After the three *bordaleses*, more professors were arrested by the Inquisition, and later accusations suggest that these ideas had a larger presence which remained unnoticed by the Inquisition. The religious pressures in Portugal were too great, and the Jesuits, now basking in the great prestige that they achieved at the royal court, appeared as the only ones who could save the Portuguese youth from Luther's heresy. The king's resistance to the handover reinforces his original tendencies – perhaps in his heart he was still an Erasmian – but the risk had proven too great, the compromise had failed, and action was needed again. So, in 1555, the Colégio passed on to the Society of Jesus.

Under Jesuit rule, the ideological shift of the Colégio das Artes was finally complete. It had gone from a faculty made up of professors closely associated with Christian humanism to one made up of priests perceived as among the most conservative within the Catholic Church. There was no compromise anymore; the Jesuits received full authority to implement any changes they deemed necessary, and after a few years their changes were already visible. The previous

tendencies in favour of the scholastic tradition were intensified: as the Arts and scholastic disputations became the priority, the study of the Latin language, rhetoric, and poetry lost their primacy. The Colégio which João III had established to inculcate a high standard of Latin letters in the country was now making use of religious texts in place of prime classical authors. In the end, due to religious fear, it was not only Christian humanism that was gone from Portugal, but important aspects of humanism as well. Or as it is best put by the court minister Martim Gonçalves da Câmara in a letter to the rector of the University of Coimbra in 1570: “[we] should be content in being Christians and Catholics, even if we are worse Latinists.”²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ “e se contentão com sermos Christãos, e Catholicos, ainda que menos Latinos.” José de Seabra da Silva, *Deducção Chronologica, e Analytica*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Officina de Miguel Manescal da Costa, 1767), 55-56.

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