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Dom Duarte's *Leal Conselheiro* within the context of Medieval Iberian texts of Authority: The influence of Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas* and Alfonso de Cartagena's *Memoriale Virtutum* on the *Leal Conselheiro*¹

O 'Leal Conselheiro' de Dom Duarte no contexto dos textos ibéricos medievais de autoridade: a influência das 'Siete Partidas' de Alfonso X e do Memoriale Virtutum de Alfonso de Cartagena no 'Leal Conselheiro'.

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Abstract : The first half of the 15th century in Portugal saw the publication of Portuguese king Dom Duarte's sapiential work, *Leal Conselheiro* in 1438. This work represented yet another Portuguese literary piece that showed the influence of Castilian legislation (*Siete Partidas*) and other sapiential work since the mid-13th century onward. One Castilian sapiential work that influenced Dom Duarte was the *Memoriale Virtutum* by the converso Alfonso de Cartagena, who was sent to Portugal on four diplomatic missions from 1421 to 1427. The Portuguese Crown Prince, Dom Duarte, was in close contact with the Castilian envoy. It was purported that upon request from the Crown Prince, the Castilian envoy, Alfonso de Cartagena, published the *Memoriale Virtutum*. This close contact shows the mutual influence that both kingdoms had on each other in the creation and publication of sapiential work.

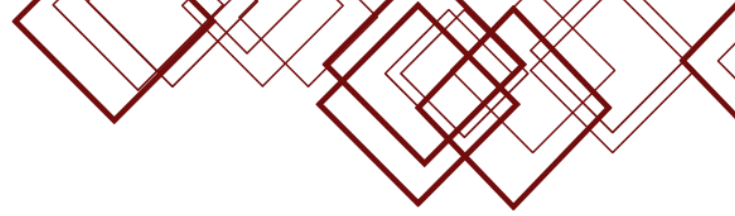
Keywords: Dom Duarte of Portugal; Alfonso de Cartagena – converso; sapiential literature.

Resumen: La primera mitad del siglo XV en Portugal vio la publicación de la obra sapiencial del rey portugués Dom Duarte, *Leal Conselheiro* en 1438. Esta obra representó otra pieza literaria portuguesa que mostró la influencia de la legislación castellana (*Siete Partidas*) y otras obras sapienciales desde el mediados del siglo XIII en adelante. Una obra sapiencial castellana que influyó en Dom Duarte fue el *Memoriale Virtutum* del converso Alfonso de Cartagena, quien fue enviado a Portugal en cuatro misiones diplomáticas entre 1421 y 1427. El príncipe heredero portugués, Dom Duarte, estaba en estrecho contacto con el enviado castellano. Se pretendía que a petición del Príncipe Heredero, el enviado castellano, Alfonso de Cartagena, publicó el *Memoriale Virtutum*. Este estrecho contacto muestra la influencia mutua que ambos reinos tuvieron en la creación y publicación de obras sapienciales.

Palabras clave: Dom Duarte de Portugal; Alfonso de Cartagena – converso; literatura sapiencial.

¹ This paper will use the names of the main characters in their original language.

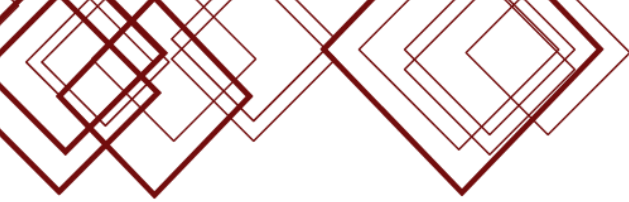
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In 1438 Portuguese King Dom Duarte published his *Leal Conselheiro* or *Loyal Councilor* before passing away after a five-year reign (b. 1391, r. 1433-1438). Prior to his actual reign, he had helped his aging father, João I, the founder of the Avis dynasty, with the affairs of state. Notwithstanding his short reign, Dom Duarte was able to leave behind a legacy of many texts of authority and *sapience* or knowledge. He has been considered as a multifaceted figure in Portuguese history and culture from the time of his reign until today. He was not only important for his administrative and legislative abilities but also for his literary achievements as a pre-Renaissance humanist. Dom Duarte also continued the political trend initiated by his father in the centralization of monarchic power. He believed that the king should be a role model in the behavior of the nobility, and that the nobility, in turn, should be a role model for the realm's subjects. His younger brother, Dom Pedro, also would support the royal endeavors in the improvement of moral behavior of the ruling elites. With help of his wife, Queen Leonor, King Dom Duarte was able to compile the many years of written material and publish two books of authority on his thoughts and reflections on the conduct of his elites before his premature death in 1438.

Dom Duarte's reflective or speculative work is in line with prior late medieval authority literature from the Iberian Peninsula, such as Alfonso X of Castile's 13th century *Siete Partidas* or *Seven Parts*, which was Europe's largest compendium of medieval legislation. King Alfonso X's legal work was also a moral and ethical council for the behavior of the monarch, on both his personal conduct, as well as how he should he behave towards his subjects. It also was to provide a moral guide for the nobility's behavior, as well as its responsibilities as an elite governing body. This paper will establish the influence of the *Siete Partidas*, which left a huge imprint on the Portuguese king's approach to good governance via a comparison-contrast of the two works on princely authority. Nonetheless, Dom Duarte was not only influenced by 13th century written works of *specula* but by the mentoring of the Castilian humanist, Don Alfonso de Cartagena, ambassador at the Portuguese court and writer of the reflective *Memoriale Virtutum*. The paper will also analyze the ideals and concepts in these works, especially the role of knowledge, that were prerequisite for ideal governance.

The historical context for the *Leal Conselheiro* was the aftermath of the socio-political upheavals of 1383-85, which tore the kingdom of Portugal between partisans of the Castilian pretender (pretendiente) to the Portuguese throne, King Juan I and Master João of Avis, the half-brother of the recently deceased Portuguese king, Fernando I. The Master of Avis would

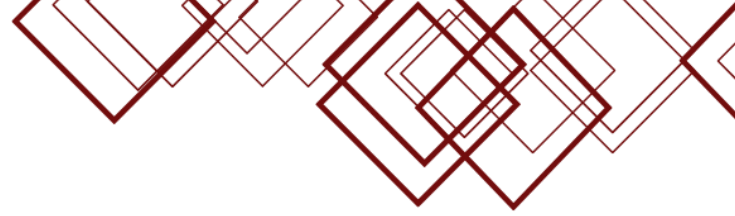


become king of Portugal as João I, and successfully fight against the Castilians and establish a new dynasty, the House of Avis. In the aftermath of the war, many members of the established aristocratic elite of Portugal, who had supported Castilian King Juan I, immigrated to Castile. This aristocratic vacuum in Portugal was replaced by members of the lower nobility and ennobled burghers, who became a new “nationally conscious” Portuguese elite.

It was the social behavior of this new elite that caught the attention, if not alarmed João I's heir, Dom Duarte, to write a book on the personal and social conduct for this new ruling class, the *Leal Conselheiro*. In it, the monarch wrote about the concepts of prudence, justice, temperance, fortitude and all of the conditions necessary that should belong to a good counselor. Dom Duarte believed that the ruling elite should and must rule fairly over its subjects. He believed that the nobility should always show compassion and restraint when making decisions. The king also thought that the aristocracy's decisions were to be prudent, measured and follow the rule of law. The king based his ideas and notions on the writing of other authors, both religious and secular, from classical Greco-Roman scholars and philosophers. (Botelho, 1991, 115-116).

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King Dom Duarte was not the only prince who wrote didactic books, such as the *Leal Conselheiro*. His younger brother, Prince Dom Pedro wrote the *Livro da Virtuosa Bemfeitoria* or *Book of Virtuous Betterment*. Dom Duarte's book was a prime example of theoretical and practical reflections on how to rule. It represented an anthropomorphic image of society, conceived as a collective organism, whose function and balance was guaranteed by the coherent cooperation of all of its members. Barros Dias discussed how Dom Duarte was influenced by previous authors in their reflections on how to conduct themselves and same use of their narrative style. She established that the oldest sources used were the 13th century *Crónica Particular de San Fernando*, *Crónica de Veinte Reyes/versão crítica*, *Primera Crónica General de España*, along with its broadened version, *version amplificada de 1289* and *Crónica de 1344*. Barros Dias discussed how these princely speculative treaties were an *ars vivendi* enumerating the qualities and responsibilities of the ideal sovereign (Dias, 2005, 118-121). Barros Dias went on to argue that reflective anecdotes placed into the narrative of the chronicles were like “small mirrors” of princely reflection in order to be used in the interaction with the social body of the kingdom. She also explained how concrete examples of real-life situations were *exempla* or exemplary behavior, whereas *specula* were the more theoretical modes of absolute qualities

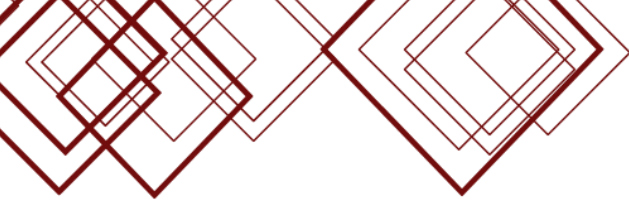


(Dias, 2005, 126). Dom Duarte in his work was able to tie in both the concrete examples from his own life experiences or *exempla* with the theoretical framework of *specula*.

According to Seixas and Galvão, the speculative writings of Dom Duarte and Dom Pedro acted as manuals of governance, encompassing simultaneously a religious, moral and intellectual education, as well as administrative exercises. As such, the monarchy had to recognize that the primary purposes of exercising power were to construct peace, practice justice and strive for the well-being of the community. The king, as the center and model of society, had the obligation to serve as a virtuous mirror for his subjects, who would reflect the behavior of their supreme lord (Seixas, 2014, 275-276).

According to historians Carvalho Homem and Beceiro Pita, King Dom Duarte was not only a man of knowledge but a man of power. Already as Crown Prince, Dom Duarte was in charge of different posts of responsibility. In 1408, he was granted the ability to impose taxes on his own domain. By 1411, the royal chancellery provided many testimonies of the Crown Prince managing a vast financial and fiscal domain for his father, King João I. He would become more involved in administering justice and matters of defense of the realm. Not only did he possess his own domains but had officers, privates and counselors under his command as well. Historians could see the relinquishing of governance on the part of an aging king, Dom João I, to the apprenticeship of a young, dynamic and ambitious prince, Dom Duarte, who was not yet thirty (Homem, 2007, 933-934).

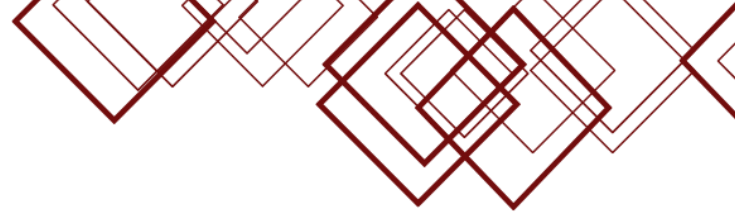
Not only was the Crown Prince interested in affairs of the state but in compiling the legislation of his father, João I, into one legal compendium or ordinances. The process began in 1418 with the Courts of Santarem and would continue after Dom Duarte's death into the mid-1440s under the supervision of his son Afonso V. As such, these ordinances would be called the *Ordenações Afonsinas* after Dom Duarte's son, who finished the work under his supervision. It was also Dom Duarte, as Crown Prince, who commissioned the famous chronicler, Fernão Lopes to write about the advent of the new Avis dynasty that his father João I established in 1385. The purpose of the commission was the propagandistic legitimization of the new dynasty as it rebelled against the pretenses of the King of Castile, Juan I, who had married the young Princess Beatriz of Portugal and wanted to rule over Portugal in her name during her minority. As such, the chronicles were to create a new "memory" of the Portuguese nation and to claim its specificity in the peninsular setting (Homem, 2007, 934-935).



In terms of his intellectual development, Dom Duarte had a vast library for a sovereign from that period. From his collection, which his *Livro dos Conselhos de El-Rei D. Duarte* (*Livro da Cartuxa*) has registered an inventory, Document 54 testifies to an inventory of 87 books. In it one finds *História Geral* and *Crónica de Espanha* and *Crónica de Espanha em Cadernos*. However, one cannot establish if these volumes were the original 13th century Castilian works or the later 14th century editions written in Portuguese by Count Dom Pedro de Barcelos. In his inventory, King Dom Duarte had the *Primera Partida* of the legislative compendium of King Alfonso X's *Las Siete Partidas*. Perhaps the entire compendium was in the royal chancellery. King Dom Duarte also had Castilian literary works that influenced his thinking and world outlook, such as the didactic *Book of Conde Lucanor* by Count Don Juan Manuel, the work of *exempla* by Juan Ruiz, the Archpriest de Hita, *El Libro de Buen Amor* (*The Book of Good Love*) and two books of Confessions by Martín Pérez (Duarte, *Livro da Cartuxa*, 1982, 208-210). One can see how the political and literary elites from the two kingdoms mutually influenced one another.

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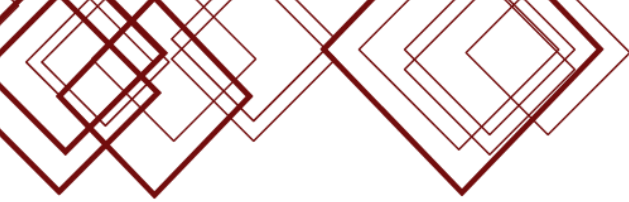
Dom Duarte's reflective work can be seen as a culmination of medieval texts of authority on the Iberian Peninsula. Dom Duarte followed in the tradition of other Iberian monarchs and noblemen in the late Middle Ages who had set the stage in terms of their council and reflections on human action, behavior and ethical and moral stances. In the second half of the 13th century, King Alfonso X, the Wise, of Castile and Leon in his quest for gathering, compiling and spreading knowledge, authorized the publishing of books on science, astrology, medicine, mathematics, history, laws, songs and poetry. On the one hand, his books on history expressed the king's ideological stance to the development of the Kingdom of Castile within Iberian history and the important role of the monarch vis-à-vis the nobility. Here we can see how Dom Duarte was influenced by Alfonso X in the need to record a certain type of "collective memory" for posterity. On the other hand, his compendium of laws, the *Siete Partidas*, reflected the sovereign's thoughts and beliefs on the role of the monarch and his responsibility to himself as the head of state and his responsibility to his subjects. The *Siete Partidas* also discussed the responsibility of the nobility to its serfs (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2000, 264-265). Here one can see the correlation between Alfonso X legalistic compendium and Dom Duarte's *Leal Conselheiro* and the need to justify the rule of a sovereign as a centralizing authority over all other orders throughout the realm.



On a European level, the *Siete Partidas* was the largest and most comprehensive body of legislation produced in the Middle Ages (López Estrada, 1992, 9). It stands out for its attempt to provide consistency in a legal patchwork of different laws and privileges of the medieval period (López Estrada, 1992, 28). It also made a clear separation of the spiritual authority of the Church in the first part or *Primera Partida* from the secular and temporal power of the monarch placed in the following second part or *Segunda Partida* (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2000, 271-272).

In the prologue to his book, King Dom Duarte stipulated that his work would be an ABC on loyalty for the new nobility. In other words, it would be a didactic book that would teach the new nobility how to conduct itself. The central piece to the king's ideological approach to good governance was the concept of loyalty, which was a combination of three distinct parts: A) the awareness of the power and passions that we have; B) the greater good rewarded to those who follow the path of virtue and goodness; and, C) awareness of the evil inherent in all of us and of our sins. He went further to state that by “loyalty” one understands, is awareness of and recognition of our power, wants, memory, understanding, desire, of striving towards and possessing virtues, as well as committing sins and other faults. Loyalty is to be held and respected by all throughout the realm, be it lords and servants or husbands and wives. Dom Duarte also believed that through reading “good” books and having good conversations, they would lead to growth in knowledge, just as a body grows over time. The king believed that from reading, people could obtain three benefits or advantages: First, spending time in performing good acts; second, growth in sound knowledge; and, third, when remaining idle and reflecting, to remember the things that one has read and go back to do things that make our sound knowledge and virtues grow (Botelho, 1991, 47-48).

As one of the concepts to good governance, Dom Duarte placed an emphasis on memory, which as one of the faculties that humans have to recall past experiences played an important role in the *Leal Conselheiro*. In epistemology, it is one of the ways of knowing for human beings as it helps humans to learn from past experiences, as well as shapes our identity of who we are and where we come from. In Chapter 2 “Understanding and Memory”, Dom Duarte made the difference between “understanding” or reason and intelligence (*entendimento*) and “to understand” or comprehend, perceive (*entender*). According to Dom Duarte, to understand, comprehend or perceive are divided into four branches: *scilicet* a knowing agent, who is aware, speculative and practical. However, for Dom Duarte's purpose, he claimed that sound

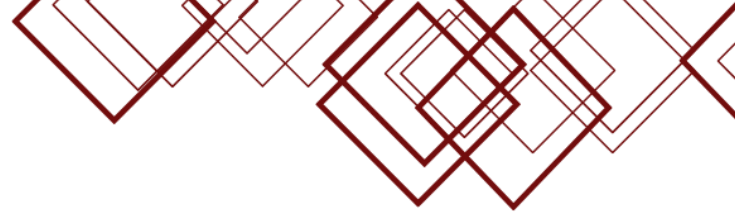


understanding or reasoning (*bom entendimento*) encompassed memory and good will. He distinguishes between two types of memory: one that pertains to reason and the other to the senses (Barbosa, 1982, 35). Dom Duarte warned that regardless of how intense memories were, that they should not be trusted completely as memories tend to fail us and/or “fade” with time. Therefore, it is imperative to write them down, as it is the best way to remember or recall events (Barbosa, 1982, 36). Here Dom Duarte is speaking like a legal counsel to his audience, the new elite, in how it should conduct its daily affairs of state by recording all interactions and decisions and not relying on memory, which is fallible and could lead to possible future problems. Good governance cannot rely solely on the recourse of an individual’s memory as it is faulty. Instead, princes should rely on written records to avoid mistakes and arbitrary decisions.

Reflecting on how the *Siete Partidas* interpreted how a monarch should display sound understanding and judgement, Laws 1, 2, 4, 6 and 16 of Title 5 went on to discuss the importance of a monarch’s deeds, as well as his behavior and conduct. The king should be proactive in being well-versed and well-read and that he uses “good understanding” or “sound judgement”, which is “*buen entendimiento*” in Castilian. Alfonso X believed that any monarch that did not try to keep abreast with knowledge would be like despising himself and his creator (Alfonso X, 1992, 145-149).

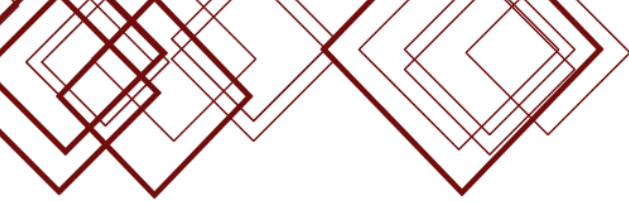
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The idea of “*buen entendimiento*” was so important for Alfonso X that the *Segunda Partida* had an entire title, number 31, dedicated to the importance of higher studies, knowledge and scholars of the kingdom. Here we see how imperative the role of education, knowledge and wisdom was for the well-being for the realm. Not only were the aforementioned qualities or traits important, but also was sound understanding or “*entendimiento*” (Alfonso X, 1992, 229-236). This clearly demonstrated how highly the king and his legal team revered learning, scholarship, scholars and their expertise. This, in turn, would improve the performance of the court staff and the livelihood of the subjects. This is a clear demonstration of the Crown acting on its ideals set out in the didactic works and literature of authority of the late medieval Iberian kings in how a monarch should rule in the best interests of its subjects and the realm. The concept of understanding relates to the way and manner King Dom Duarte of Portugal in the 15th century would later interpret it as well. It demonstrates the continuity in Iberian didactic and authority literature in the late medieval period of how the monarch as the center of society should be model and instructor of moral conduct.



The centerpiece to Dom Duarte's work, however, is Chapter 50, in which he discussed the importance of the concepts of prudence, justice, temperance, fortitude and the conditions that belong to a good counselor. In the development of his thinking, Dom Duarte alluded back to the concepts of memory, understanding and desire, stating how prudence governs memory and understanding. He explained that prudence consisted of three aspects: the remembrance of things past, consideration of things present and of those things that are to happen, in terms of all possible consequences of one's deeds and actions. Continuing with his thinking, Dom Duarte wrote that knowledge, desire and power are ruled by prudence, justice and temperance respectively. Without them, the state and its subjects would be imperiled and fall into bad governance (Botelho, 1991, 115-116). Dom Duarte discussed how he inherited from his father the ability to rule wisely based on four conditions: 1) the fear of bad governance; 2) to use justice through temperance; 3) to satisfy the discontented; and, 4) end all endeavors without personal gain or self-aggrandizement (Botelho, 1991, 117).

These thoughts and reflections are clearly seen in the *Segunda Partida* or Second Part of his legal compendium (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2000, p 274 and 279-280). It was in Title 1, Laws 8 and 9 that King Alfonso discussed what the power of the king was and how it should be used, claiming that the king must protect the common good and welfare of his people as if there were his own for their good and wealth is like his own (Alfonso X, 1992, 135-136). The Castilian sovereign went further to state that the king must be true to himself, especially through his thoughts. King Alfonso X discussed this further in detail in Title 3 that the nature of man, and note, not the grace of God, is ruled by three categories: his thoughts, his word and his deeds. In Law 1 of Title 1, Alfonso X states that thoughts consist of the quality that men have to measure things past and those that are to be done. In Law 2 of Title 1, the king declares that thought is born through *reason* and helps men to keep from harm, such as greed, pride and vice (Alfonso X, 1992, 139-140). It is here that the Castilian king and his team of legal experts went beyond dictating laws and explained their purpose of legislating through logic and reasoning and not through force. No longer should sovereigns use the Church or the fear of God to justify their laws but rather the use of the human capacity to reason and use logic to explain how and why rulers should reign. The *Siete Partidas* was to provide a moral compass and guide for men and not simply provide an exhausting list of things they were allowed to do or not. This legal compendium was not just a dry list of laws but a reflection on the human mind and its capacity

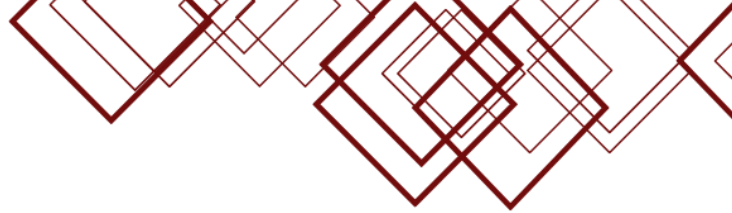


to reason, speak in a measured manner and to judge men, as well as kings, by their deeds and actions.

Continuing with the duties of the king in the *Segunda Partida*, Alfonso X and his legal team believed that the monarch had a responsibility towards his people or subjects. In Laws 1, 2 and 3 of Title 10, it was stated that the king must love, honor and protect his people. According to Alfonso X, there were three ways of demonstrating this through mercy, piety and clemency or compassion. (Alfonso X, 1992, 173-176). Once again, one sees the need to explain the legal writings in a rational manner to justify the positions of the monarch to his own words and actions, his court and his people. This need to rationalize the Crown's decision-making and legislation would be taken by Portuguese King Dom Duarte in his *Leal Conselheiro*.

Dom Duarte believed that in order to extend his decision-making for the well-being of the realm, it was the monarch's ability to choose the best from the nobility to serve the interests of the Crown. Once again in Chapter 50 of the *Leal Conselheiro*, the monarch's assistants had to display special attributes and virtues; such as, demonstrating loyalty and obedience to the Crown; good memory in retaining of what they learn and hear; to be courteous and know how to speak mildly; that they be knowledgeable in many disciplines. They should also be honest and truthful and avoid lying; that they are not drunks or fornicators; that they are honorable; that they are not greedy for riches, such as gold and silver. Especially important that they love justice, abhor the abuse of power and justice and come to the rescue those affected by such abuses. The king's assistants must also be strong and demonstrate perseverance in all of their endeavors. They should also be well-versed in budgeting and bookkeeping. The king's assistants must also not be loose-tongued, as well as do not speak to those who are loose-tongued or drink, not to show a tendency to antics and to show temperance in their actions. Finally, that they know how to console the king's subjects and correct and amend their mistakes by providing counsel to them (Botelho, 1991, 117-119).

Once again, one can see how Dom Duarte's views of the nobility reflected those of Alfonso X, who believed that the monarch's legal extensions, the nobility, was to play a role in assisting the king rule over the realm and was also expected to behave in a manner that was exemplary. The aristocracy was expected to conduct itself and its deeds in a measured and supportive manner to the king and his kingdom. Hence the name of the Second Estate or aristocracy, which was "nobility" and the expectation that it showed clemency, kindness and

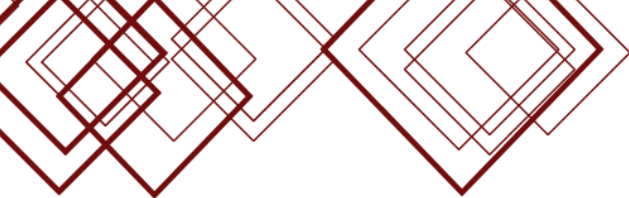


graciousness to its subjects, as well as temperance and sound judgment in its behavior and decision-making. One must highlight how these late medieval texts of authority wanted to set a moral compass and guide for all members of the kingdom to follow and provide a legal, philosophical and socio-political framework to work in (Alfonso X, 1992, 164-165). Again, this relates to how Dom Duarte believed that the new Portuguese nobility should conduct itself after having been empowered in the aftermath of the events of 1383-1385. Dom Duarte wanted to ensure that the new elite be beyond reproach as it was in charge of assisting the Crown in the affairs of the state.

Finally, the last chapter of the *Leal Conselheiro*, Chapter 103, was dedicated to preserving “loyalty” in the kingdom. The monarch discussed the responsibility of each individual to him or herself, the responsibility of each lord to his household or domain and last, how the kingdom and city, through mutual loyalty, have a responsibility to their subjects to be well governed. The king emphasized the importance of loyalty in preserving of the realm, as a weakening of such loyalty could lead to the kingdom’s downfall. He argued that the best governance is based on loyalty between lord and his subjects, servants and vassals so that they may live in peace and in conformity with the laws of the land. These, in turn, must be based on reasoned understanding and that without them, the towns, cities and domains could not be ruled in a lasting manner (Botelho, 1991, 138-140).

Once again, one can see how Dom Duarte drew his ideas of the king’s duties towards his subjects. A century earlier Portuguese King D. Dinis (r. 1279-1325) had the *Siete Partidas* translated into Portuguese and as a result, Dom Duarte had access to its dedicatory message of reflection on princely rule (Ferro, 2006, 131). Alfonso X and his legal team in the 13th century also believed that the monarch had a responsibility towards his people or subjects. In Laws 1, 2 and 3 of Title 10, it was stated that the king must love, honor and protect his people. According to Alfonso X, there were three ways of demonstrating this through mercy, piety and clemency (Alfonso X, 1992, 173-176). Once again, one sees the need to explain the legal writings in a rational manner to justify the positions of the monarch to his own words and actions, his court and his people. This need to rationalize the Crown’s decision-making and legislation were taken by Portuguese King Duarte in his *Leal Conselheiro*.

In terms of the king and his word, Alfonso X redacted in Title 4, Laws 2, 3, 4 and 5 that a monarch should be measured in his speech and tone and should never use vulgarity. The king



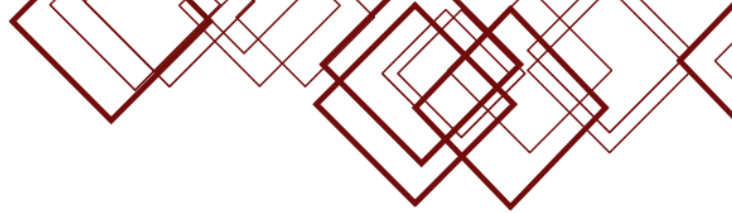
went on further to say that kings should never lie or be loose of tongue, as the former would damage their reputation and the latter would compromise kings' reputation as sovereigns. As such, the monarch's word, his deeds and actions must be governed by temperance. (Alfonso X, 1992, 145-149). It is clear that Dom Duarte took from this legislation in order to write his own consideration in Chapter 50 of the *Leal Conselheiro*.

One final aspect of the *Siete Partidas* is the concept of justice, which was covered in the third part or *Partida Tercera* and that was covered by other authors on medieval texts on authority, such as King Duarte of Portugal. Even though the Third Part is dedicated to procedural law, it proceeds to define what is "justice" as a concept before going into the technical details of its organization and administration. In Title 1, justice is the source in which all right emanate and what keeps the world in order (Alfonso X, 1992, 240). In terms of justice as a concept or intellectual construct, Alfonso X and his legal team discussed that it was a deeply rooted virtue that strived towards what we consider the truth. In the title itself, the expression was to look towards the "true sun" or light.

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Justice, as a philosophical construct or concept, contrasts the different acts of men and distinguishes the good from the bad. In Law 2 of Title 1, the *Siete Partidas* reasoned the advantages of living according to a just life, which consists of a measured life without causing discomfort or malaise to others. Finally, Law 3 provided a construct with the concept of "rights" that was ruled by three commandments. The first one was that man live honestly to himself, the second was that he causes no damage to others, and three that he allows rights to others. (Alfonso X, 1992, 240-242). Once again, a link can be made between Alfonso X's law giving and moral teachings of the 13th century to the writings of Dom Duarte and Dom Pedro, as well as their use of visual imagery to transmit these same concepts of justice or loyalty to the rest of society in the 15th century.

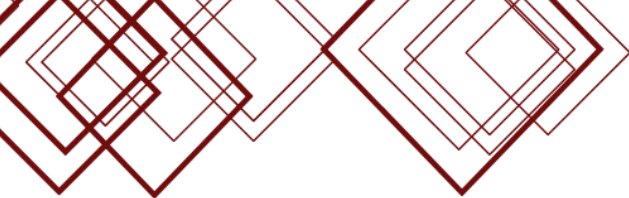
Another aspect of the revolutionary nature of the *Siete Partidas* was that it was written in the vernacular, Castilian, breaking the tradition of writing official state documents in Latin. As a result, Alfonso X established secular sovereignty over his own subjects and created a distance to papal authority. The Castilian king not only established his temporal authority over his territory but would extend his own personal authority in terms of expressing his thoughts and beliefs in what he believed how the monarch should hold himself in a dignified manner at court and under what conditions he should rule over his subjects. Dom Duarte also explained why



the Portuguese Crown chose the Portuguese language over Latin in Chapter 99 of the *Leal Conselheiro* so that more people could understand texts and many people could understand the message conveyed by the writer. In this case, the writer was no longer the Church or its authorities but the king and his counselors. Dom Duarte, in the tradition of Iberian didactic and authority literature, would take these notions of the central role of the monarch in providing a moral compass, instead of that of the Church, for his court and subjects and apply them to his work the *Leal Conselheiro*.

Perhaps as important as the use of previous works of jurisprudence and didactic books of reflection, was the intellectual relationship that Dom Duarte maintained with the Castilian ambassador, Don Alfonso de Cartagena. Not only was the Castilian ambassador a diplomat to the royal court in Lisbon but also a former counselor to Castilian King Juan I, and an established humanist author who helped develop Dom Duarte's intellect when he was still the Crown Prince. According to Buescu, Don Alfonso de Cartagena was originally from a prominent family of Jewish converts who helped establish humanism on the Iberian Peninsula. He translated classical authors such as Aristotle, Cicero and Seneca into Castilian. He wrote a moral treatise, *Memoriale Virtutum*, that was based on many precepts from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and that was later used by Dom Duarte in his *Leal Conselheiro* and acknowledged by the king himself in Chapter 50 of the book (Buescu, 2007, 151-152). This demonstrates, not only the importance of the direct discourse between Don Alfonso and Dom Duarte in the development of princely authority, but the influence of Castilian thought in Portugal within an Iberian context in the late medieval period.

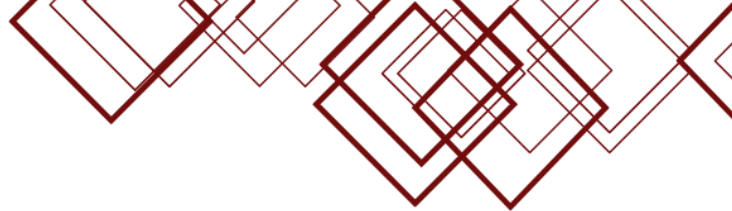
Dionísio discussed in his article “Do *Memoriale Virtutum*, de Alfonso Cartagena ao *Leal Conselheiro*, de D. Duarte” how Don Alfonso de Cartagena was sent to Portugal on four diplomatic missions from 1421 to 1427. It was also when he came into contact with the Crown Prince, who by then had already ten years of governing experience. It was during his stay in Portugal that he translated the classical works upon request from Dom Duarte into the vernacular and composed his *Memoriale Virtutum*. In fact, Alfonso de Cartagena's *Memoriale Virtutum* influenced Dom Duarte in composing his *Leal Conselheiro*. Dionísio argued that Don Alfonso exercised a tremendous influence on the Portuguese intellectual milieu in the first half of the 15th century (Dionísio, 2004, 262-264).



Dionísio established that there were many points of similarities and coincidences between the two works of *specula* and authority. Dionísio compared the chapters from the two books in a chart; which showed the chapters that were similar. There was a total of 29 chapters in the *Leal Conselheiro*, which were chapters: 1, 2, 8, 9, and 34-60. Dionísio also compared in the chart the concepts that were in the *Memoriale Virtutum* with the chapters of the *Leal Conselheiro*: Justice (Ch. 50 and 60), Understanding (Ch. 1, 2, 8 and 9), Prudence (Ch. 51-59), Fortitude (Ch. 50), and Temperance (Ch. 50). Dionísio also compared certain passages, especially in dealing with justice (Dionísio, 2004, 267-273). It is through such cross-referencing and comparison and contrast of sources that historians and investigators can establish the strong influence of Don Alfonso de Cartagena on Crown Prince Dom Duarte and how there was a continuous sharing and borrowing of thoughts and reflections between the two Iberian kingdoms in this period.

It was the combination of Dom Duarte's practical experience in presiding over certain aspects of the kingdom, as well as the literary cultural life at the court, that provided fertile soil for a mentor like Don Alfonso to foster the intellectual growth of his protégés, the Portuguese Crown Prince, Dom Duarte and his brother, Dom Pedro. The friendly rapport encouraged a philosophical discussion between the three in general and influenced Dom Duarte's approach to learning in particular, which was based on personal experience, reading "good" books and developing healthy discussion to elaborate and expand upon ideas. On a larger historical scale, the relationship represented a human dimension to the mutual influence of both Castile and Portugal within an Iberian context of princely works of *exempla* and *specula*.

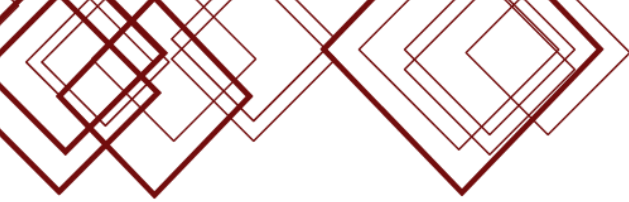
Following in the line of late medieval books of authority, Portuguese King Dom Duarte's work, the *Leal Conselheiro*, can be considered as the fruition and culmination of the development in late medieval Iberian philosophical, didactic and speculative literature. It was demonstrated how the *Leal Conselheiro* was influenced by prior speculative and authority works, such as Alfonso X *Siete Partidas*, other 13th century sapiential works and Don Alfonso de Cartagena's *Memoriale Virtutum*. These works overlapped in their approach to concepts such as justice, temperance, loyalty, prudence, good understanding and sound judgement and how the monarch with his elites had to conduct themselves in an exemplary manner, as a chain of command going from the center to the periphery.



Dom Duarte, through a multi-faceted approach, was able to transmit the notion of the centralizing authority of the Crown to the different sectors of society: first through the courtesans and then the lower strata of society. This message was the link between all members of society through loyalty and the permanency of the king through a line of exemplary moral conduct (Seixas, 2014, 277). Dom Duarte continued with the tradition established by previous rulers and princes of providing a moral example for his subjects. However, Dom Duarte went beyond previous didactic teachings to a more developed epistemological approach to moral conduct by asking questions on the nature of human knowledge, understanding, memory, as well as such concepts as justice, loyalty and truthfulness. As such, Dom Duarte left his own imprint on the discussion of human behavior and moral conduct, not only for his 15th century Iberian contemporaries but also for future generations on a broader scale.

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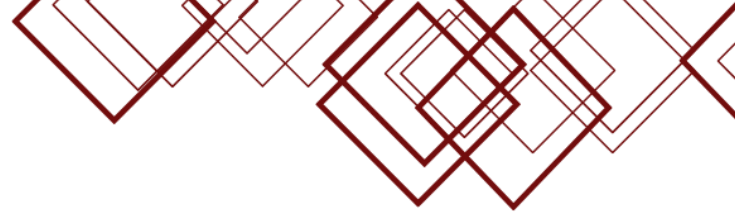
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