

**REFLECTION ON PORTUGUESE UNIVERSITY IN THE REIGN OF KING
AFONSO IV: ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENT ACTIONS IN SUPPORT OF
GENERAL STUDY**

***REFLEXÃO SOBRE A UNIVERSIDADE PORTUGUESA NO REINADO DE D.
AFONSO IV: ANÁLISE DAS AÇÕES GOVERNATIVAS EM PROL DO ESTUDO
GERAL***

***REFLEXIÓN SOBRE LA UNIVERSIDAD PORTUGUESA DURANTE EL REINADO
DE D. ALFONSO IV: ANÁLISIS DE LAS ACCIONES GUBERNAMENTALES EN
FAVOR DEL ESTUDIO GENERAL***



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ABSTRACT: Based on a set of Royal Letters from the "Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis" (1996), this article aimed to reflect on the Portuguese University in the reign of King Afonso IV (1291, 1325-1357)⁴ and his governmental actions in favor of investment in the protection, maintenance and development of the General Study, founded by King Dinis around 1290 in Lisbon. Inserted in the field of History of Education, the bibliographic and documentary research was based on the theoretical principles of Social History and the concept of long duration, particularly in the formulations of Bloch (2001). The analysis, articulated with the political context of the time, showed that the university institution enabled a more centralized reign, especially due to the monarchical legislative corpus focused on social organization. The General Study subsidized the strengthening of royal authority, but the government of King Afonso IV that gave the Portuguese mentality of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries new perspectives on society and the leadership.

KEYWORDS: Medieval Portugal. Alfonso IV. Portuguese monarchy. Medieval Portuguese University.

RESUMO: Com base em um conjunto de Cartas Régias da "Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis" (1996), este artigo objetivou refletir sobre a Universidade Portuguesa no reinado de D. Afonso IV (1291, 1325-1357) e suas ações governativas em prol do investimento na proteção, manutenção e desenvolvimento do Estudo Geral, fundado por D. Dinis em torno de 1290, em Lisboa. Inserida no campo da História da Educação, a pesquisa bibliográfica e documental se sustentou nos princípios teóricos da História Social e no conceito de longa duração, particularmente nas formulações de Bloch (2001). A análise, articulada ao contexto político da época, evidenciou que a instituição universitária possibilitou um reinado mais centralizado, sobretudo em virtude do corpus legislativo monárquico voltado à organização social. O Estudo Geral subsidiou o fortalecimento da autoridade régia, mas o governo de D. Afonso IV que conferiu à mentalidade portuguesa dos séculos XIII-XIV novas perspectivas sobre a sociedade e as lideranças postas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Portugal medieval. D. Afonso IV. Monarquia portuguesa. Universidade medieval portuguesa.

RESUMEN: A partir de un conjunto de Cartas Reales publicadas en el "Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis" (1996), este artículo pretende reflexionar sobre la Universidad portuguesa durante el reinado del Rey D. Afonso IV (1291, 1325-1357) y su acción de gobierno hacia la inversión en la protección, mantenimiento y desarrollo del Estudio General, fundado por el Rey D. Dinis hacia 1290, en Lisboa. En el ámbito de la Historia de la Educación, la investigación bibliográfica y documental se basó en los principios teóricos de la Historia Social y en el concepto de larga duración, especialmente en las formulaciones de Bloch (2001). El análisis, articulado con el contexto político de la época, mostró que la institución universitaria posibilitaba un reinado más centralizado, especialmente debido al corpus legislativo monárquico centrado en la organización social. La fundación del Estudo Geral subvencionó el fortalecimiento de la autoridad real en Portugal, pero fue el gobierno del rey Afonso IV el que proporcionó a la mentalidad portuguesa de los siglos XIII y XIV nuevas perspectivas sobre la sociedad y los liderazgos vigentes.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Portugal medieval. Alfonso IV. Monarquía portuguesa. Universidad Portuguesa Medieval.

⁴ The first date refers to the year of birth, the second one to the ascension of the Portuguese throne and the third one to the year of death.

Introduction

The seventh king of Portugal, born in 1291, D. Afonso IV ascended to the Portuguese throne in 1325, where he remained representing the Dynasty of Burgundy (or Afonsine) until his death in 1357. His reign lasted about thirty-two years and included actions who sought both the consolidation of royal authority and a diplomatic relationship abroad, aiming to ensure the internal and external political strengthening of the Portuguese kingdom. It was this centralizing and diplomatic policy that ensured the maintenance of the University, since the actions and alliances established by D. Afonso IV created conditions for the survival of this institution for future generations.

To ensure the university rights already granted to the university, D. Afonso IV authorized the continuity of the rights and privileges that D. Dinis (1261, 1279-1325) granted to the General Study and, subsequently, defended measures that preserved university development - as evidences the documentation compiled in the “*Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis - CUP*” (1996), measures that were extensive and varied. D. Afonso IV's interest in protecting the university favored the development of the Iberian region and can be explained by two factors: a) respect for the will of his predecessor and father, D. Dinis, who delegated a lot towards the General Study; b) the very political and social benefit that the university could offer to its government. These two factors led D. Afonso IV to provide, right at the beginning of his reign, the reform of the royal ruling with the intention of speeding up the promulgation of laws, which tended to superimpose the Crown on Portuguese interests.

Faced with these considerations, this study aims to think about the main aspects of the Portuguese University in the reign of D. Afonso IV and to analyze the governmental actions of this monarch, which converged with the investment in the protection, maintenance and development of the General Study, founded by D. Dinis around 1290, in Lisbon. By means of a bibliographical and documentary review and of the theoretical principles of social history, especially the concept of long duration (BLOCH, 2001), the research was organized in three moments supported by a set of Royal Letters published in the “*Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis*” (1996). The first moment presents the conditions of the Portuguese university in the reign of D. Afonso IV; the second deals with the continuity of this Institution in the period between 1325 and 1357; the third, in turn, deals with the political relations established by this king with a view to the necessary conditions for the maintenance of the University and the monarchical centralization.

Due to the objective and guiding sources of our reflections, we adopted bibliographical and documentary research as a methodology, which was based on the theoretical principles of Social History and the concept of long duration, particularly in Bloch's (2001) formulations. Regarding the selection of the Royal Charters, the criterion was based on a temporal and spatial cut of the “Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis”, prioritizing the official acts of the government of D. Afonso IV regarding the General Study instituted in Portugal in the 13th century, so that that the documentary analysis was developed articulated to the political context of the time, that is, considering the content of some of the Royal Charters – as was done in the article “Chartularium Portugalensis: reflections on the medieval university in the 14th century and politics”, by Terezinha Oliveira (2017). For didactic purposes, charts 1, 2 and 3 present an organization of the analyzed documentation:

Chart 1 – Chartularium universities Portugalensis – Coimbra 1308-1338

Dynasty	Period/Place	Date	Document	Page	Title	Subject and relevance to this study
I Portuguese Dynasty – Burgundian or Afonsine Dynasty	Coimbra 1308-1338	May 22, 1325	Letter 64	88	D. Afonso IV grants the privileges granted by D. Dinis and the Pope to the University of Coimbra.	A royal document was issued by D. Afonso IV who, at the time, granted and confirmed the privileges granted to the University of Coimbra by his father and predecessor D. Dinis and also by the Pope. This conduct can be analyzed from the effective scope (continuing the paternal legacy), but its consequences had mainly political effects (providing and protecting the University required investment and a dispute for power).
		January 20, 1327	Letter 74	101	D. Afonso IV orders a charter of D. Dinis to be transferred.	These documents prove that D. Afonso IV issued a charter and a letter from D. Dinis that granted privileges and favorable dispositions to students of the University of Coimbra, such as the right to buy items at the best price, the rental of accommodation at lower prices, the security of their assets and what would allow a living condition to keep studying, for example. The structure of these documents demonstrates a standardization in writing and a growing legislative value.
		January 20, 1327	Letter 75	102	D. Afonso IV orders a letter from D. Dinis to be transferred.	

		June 6, 1327	Letter 78	105	D. Afonso IV determines the fulfillment of the conservatives' sentences.	In that document D. Afonso IV determined that all authorities in the Kingdom would comply with and enforce the sentences given by the conservators of the University of Coimbra. The position of conservator was held by a royal official, who had the duty to watch over and protect order within the University and on the issues that involved it. Therefore, it is possible to perceive that the socio-political practices of D. Afonso IV tended to benefit and care for teachers and students, students would not need to dedicate their energy to causes other than study.
		July 15, 1328	Letter 79	106	D. Afonso IV to Francisco Anes, conservator of the University of Coimbra.	Royal document addressed to the curator of the University of Coimbra authorizing him to compel the beneficiaries of the military religious units (or commendations) of Pombal and Source to pay, on Tuesdays, the sums allocated to the salaries of the Lectures of the University. At first, the salary of Lentes was maintained by an agreement between the Crown and the Church. The conservator also had the duty to charge and collect the values.

Source: Chart prepared by the authors based on the work *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis* (1288-1377). Lisbon: Institute of High Culture, 1996.

Chart 2 – Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis – Lisbon 1338-1354

Dynasty	Period/Place	Date	Document	Page	Title	Subject and relevance to this study
I Portuguese Dynasty – Burgundian or Afonsine Dynasty	Lisbon 1338-1354	August 17, 1338	Letter 109	131-132	D. Afonso IV transfers General Studies to Lisbon.	The document makes official the royal decision to transfer the General Study from Coimbra to Lisbon. Action that remains today without a proven justification, but much criticized among historians. In fact, this measure had political and financial consequences, as the commendatories from Coimbra were released from their fees, since the University was no longer headquartered in Coimbra.
		September 18, 1338	Letter 110	132	D. Afonso IV appoints Afonso Pais conservator of	The document shows that the king was concerned with maintaining the position of active conservator within the

					the University of Lisbon.	University, which is why he also appointed an official who could occupy it in Lisbon, since the University had been transferred there from Coimbra.
		May 5, 1339	Letter 111	133	Determination of D. Afonso IV over the conservator.	The document determines, on the initiative of D. Afonso IV, that during academic time the public of the University of Lisbon (rector, doctors, students) could only be sued (investigated, sued by the courts, be a defendant) before its conservator. Initiative that aimed to protect and support those linked to the Portuguese University through attacks and/or accusations that harmed their rights, honor or distanced them from the path of wisdom.
		January 10, 1345	Letter 132	148-149	Supplication of D. Afonso IV to Pope Clement VI.	With the return of the university to Lisbon, it is likely that the commentators of the churches located in the diocese of Coimbra felt released from university funding. In view of this, the Crown sought to support the <i>Studium</i> in Lisbon. Until, approximately six years after the transfer that took place in 1338, the king issued Letter 132, which was configured as a plea from D. Afonso IV, asking Pope Clement VI for authorization to apply 3,000 pounds from the revenues of the churches of his patronage in the salaries of masters, doctors and bachelors, as well as other things necessary for the University of Lisbon.
		January 10, 1345	Letter 133	149	Document of Clement VI for the Bishops of Lisbon and Évora.	Ecclesiastical document issued by Pope Clement VI and addressed to the bishops of Lisbon and Évora authorizing, at the request of King Afonso IV, the assignment to the University of Lisbon of 3,000 pounds of income from the Churches.

Source: Chart prepared by the authors based on the work *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis* (1288-1377). Lisbon: Institute of High Culture, 1996.

Chart 3 – Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis – Coimbra 1354-1377

Dynasty	Period/Place	Date	Document	Page	Title	Subject and relevance to this study
I Portuguese Dynasty – Burgundian or Afonsine Dynasty	Coimbra 1354-1377	December 6, 1354	Letter 197	209	Confirmation of D. Afonso IV's privileges at the University.	Letter from D. Afonso IV confirming to the University all the privileges that had previously been granted to him, when he was in Coimbra and during his stay in Lisbon, that is, regardless of his location in Coimbra or Lisbon.
		January 5, 1355	Letter 199	211	Determination of D. Afonso IV on the conservator of the General Study of Coimbra.	Document by which D. Afonso IV determined that the conservator general of Coimbra would receive and judge all civil cases and crimes in which the parties were schoolchildren or their servants. This demonstrates the commitment that the monarch made to protect those connected to the University, a protection that required the Crown to have a privileged position of power and political influence in that society.

Source: Chart prepared by the authors based on the work *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis (1288-1377)*. Lisbon: Institute of High Culture, 1996.

The documents chosen for evaluation allow an analysis of the privileges, concessions and sponsorship of D. Afonso IV to the University of Coimbra, thus allowing the understanding of the relationship between the king and the academic institution, as well as the analysis of the reasons that led D. Afonso IV to support the university.

Document analysis and content analysis were methodological processes used in this study to identify ideas, patterns, trends and intent in the pre-selected set of Royal Letters. Thus, the analysis involved the identification, codification and decoding of these documents according to the theme related to the Portuguese general study and the period of government of

D. Afonso IV. Coding, that is, the transformation and organization of information into structured data for analysis, occurred through the identification and classification of information contained in the Letters, prioritizing the subject, date and relevance for this study. Likewise, the decoding of these data was based on the translation of documents and correlation with Portuguese historiography.

It is important to emphasize that the documental analysis was carried out according to two perspectives: the historical and the sociological. The historical perspective was used to understand the political context in which the Portuguese General Study was founded; the sociological perspective was used to understand the influence of the documents in the structure and organization of the university at the time. From the analysis of these Royal Charters, it was possible to identify that D. Afonso IV sought, through his speech, to standardize and regulate the legislative documentation of his government, in order to promote the institutionalization of the Portuguese General Study.

The charts presented give us an initial overview of the Letters and allow us to trace the relevance of D. Afonso IV as a ruler, especially with regard to his relationship with the University, since, in effect, the foundation of the General Study subsidized the strengthening of the royal authority in Portugal, but it was the centralizing character of the government of D. Afonso IV that gave the Portuguese mentality of the 13th and 14th centuries new perspectives about themselves, society and the leaderships that were in place.

The conditions of the Portuguese university in the reign of King Afonso IV

D. Dinis was the founder of the Portuguese General Study, and the task of defending this institution, ensuring its maintenance and development throughout the 13th and 14th centuries fell to his successor and son: D. Afonso IV. One of the indispensable conditions for the success of this monarch's reign was due to the fact that he surrounded himself with jurists from the university so that he could succeed in governing, producing, applying and supervising new laws. To a large extent, this process was characterized as one of the highest points of the Portuguese Middle Ages, as it is understood that “The establishment and stabilization of this officer corps, as well as its 'sedentarization', correspond to a process of specialization and improvement of the crown's legislative and administrative practices [...]” (SOUSA, 2009, p. 92, our translation).

This initiative to use the literati to specialize and improve the legislative body in Portugal was followed by the publication of laws that restricted the power of the nobles, curtailing the right they previously had to take up arms to defend their interests. With the coronation of D. Afonso IV, the nobility was forced to resort to royal justice because, in addition to political, administrative and judicial issues, the monarch acted in several fields, regulating Portuguese social life (SOUSA, 2009).

With the purpose of ensuring compliance with the laws he created, D. Afonso IV reformulated the function of the Corregidor instituted in the previous government and, according to Mattoso (1997, p. 519, our translation), these royal officials should circulate throughout the kingdom “[...] to repress abuses, dispatch grievances and supervise the performance of judges and notaries; and arrest evildoers [...]”. Having grown up in the Court and observing that, despite the social regulations instituted by his father, some religious still found ways to circumvent the legislation, D. Afonso IV looked for ways to combat these episodes with more emphasis. At this point, the kingdom already had the supervision of corregidores, local judges appointed by the Councils and with a strong legislative apparatus, and also created the position of judge-from-fora, who started to work together with the corregidores and local judges, but because they were “[...] appointed by the king, they gradually replaced the local judges appointed by the Councils, culminating in the definitive prohibition of private justice, passing legal practices into the hands of the king” (SCHIAVINATO, 2009, p. 98-99, our translation).

The documentary contribution contained in the “Chartularium” allows us to highlight the actions of the then monarch towards the continuity of the efforts of D. Dinis with a view to the development of the university. As an example, we cite Letter 64, of May 22, 1325, when, upon ascending the throne, D. Afonso IV “[...] confirmed all the privileges granted by D. Dinis and the Pope to the University of Coimbra” and, likewise spelled out “[...] the letters and privileges that belong to the Pope. And I order that they be complied with and kept in all their content and that no one goes against them at the mercy of my entourages” (CUP, 1996, p. 88, our translation). Upon referring to the university, granting and confirming the Charters and privileges once received from D. Dinis and the pope, D. Afonso IV assumed his father's desire to promote knowledge and, therefore, took care to record that the protection given to the university by his predecessor would be maintained in his government, and he took upon himself the duty that D. Dinis had as his own: to provide and protect masters and students throughout his kingdom. The acts promoted by the king were subsidized by the actions of those that Le

Goff (2006) defined as thinkers by profession, educated at universities and, because they were literate, were able to conduct the necessary knowledge to, through the exercise of their profession, have access or influence power.

In any case, this thought about these thinkers from the formative social space 'university' brings us closer to the idea that the governmental actions of D. Dinis and D. Afonso IV were aimed at a greater good. In this sense, the university's activities were correlated with social life, enabling, through the expression of knowledge, development and, therefore, the university received protection and privileges of a secular and religious nature. For Oliveira (2017, p. 589-590, our translation), this condition was vital for the development of science “[...] which was being protected at the time when the king granted privileges to students” and also to masters, according to we illustrate with two letters: a) Letter 74, promulgated by D. Afonso IV on January 20, 1327, ordering the transfer of a charter of D. Dinis from 1315: “[...] I make it known that the university of my study in Coimbra presented me with a letter from King Dom Dinis, my father, [...] because the said letter was on paper, they asked me to transfer it with my authority” (CUP, 1996, p. 101, our translation); b) Letter 75, in which D. Afonso IV conveyed from D. Dinis “[...] certain provisions favorable to students at the University of Coimbra” (CUP, 1996, p. 102, our translation).

It is important to note that these two royal documents have the same date, textual and vocabulary structure: the introduction, the voice that the king gives to the other (part that demands attention, in this case the University of Coimbra), the reinforcement of his authority and benevolence, the greetings and identification of the chancellor. This fact reveals that the written record had been acquiring prestige since the reign of D. Afonso III and that, in the governmental actions of D. Dinis and D. Afonso IV, it found even more notoriety. At the time, the intention was for the king to transfer (read: pour) the referred Letters from his authority and he did so, giving the royal seal and his recognition to the new document.

D. Afonso IV's gesture demonstrates that he was willing to renew the Portuguese Crown's commitment to the university, to serve and defend university interests, as well as his kingdom and God. In addition to D. Afonso IV meeting the university's requests, there are indications that with the university promoting literate culture, records became increasingly viable and important. Therefore, standardized documental models were created, formal organizational and practical to the legislation and the current legislator, which were 'edited' according to the occasions. In view of the above, upon assuming the kingdom, D. Afonso IV tried to sign and renew the laws that were in favor of the Portuguese university, which enabled

conditions for the maintenance of this institution and guaranteed its continuity with a view to strengthening and autonomy of the monarchy. It was, therefore, the centralizing character and the actions undertaken by this monarch in favor of the university that socio-politically strengthened the Crown.

The continuity of the Portuguese university in the reign of King Afonso IV

If at the beginning D. Afonso took care to reaffirm the Crown's responsibility over university issues, over time, in addition to transferring the dispositions and privileges favorable to masters and scholars instituted in previous governments, he also began to disseminate laws of his own authorship and, as a result, its centralizing profile stood out even more in the dispute for political leadership in Portugal. Letter 78, of June 6, 1327, by determining that all authorities comply with the sentences given by the conservators of the University of Coimbra, highlights the actions of D. Afonso in favor of the university: “[...] keep the sentences of the conservator of the Study throughout Portugal. [...] of my Coimbra Study as judged by them [...]” (CUP, 1996, p. 105, our translation). Supported by Torquato (2020, p. 80, our translation), it is possible to perceive that the socio-political practices of D. Afonso IV tended to benefit and care for teachers and students “[...] that is, the more they were protected and placed in favorable conditions for study, [...] students would be more prone to learning and masters would be more focused on teaching, without worries that [...] would deviate them from the path of wisdom”.

Political actions were important to provide conditions and ensure the continuity of the Portuguese university, in addition to allowing the king greater control over the issues of his kingdom. This is what we can see, for example, with the creation of the role of conservator, which gained prominence throughout the reign of D. Afonso IV, according to four Letters promulgated by him: a) 79, of July 15, 1328, in which orders the curator of the University of Coimbra to oblige the beneficiaries of the Pombal and Soure commendations to pay the sums allocated to the salaries of the professors at the University (CUP, 1996); b) 110, of September 18, 1338, issued to appoint the conservator of the University of Lisbon (CUP, 1996); c) 111, of May 5, 1339, ordering that during academic time the rector, doctors and students of the University of Lisbon may only be sued before its conservator (CUP, 1996); d) 199, of January 5, 1355, in which it orders that the conservator of the University of Coimbra may receive and judge all civil acts and crimes involving students of the said University or its servants (CUP, 1996). The first Charter shows that the king was concerned with maintaining the position of

active conservator within the University, so he also appointed an official who could occupy it in Lisbon, since the University had been transferred from Coimbra to this place. Likewise, the second indicates that during academic time the public of the University of Lisbon (rector, doctors, students) could only be sued (investigated, sued by the court, be a defendant) before its conservator. Initiative that aimed to protect and support those linked to the Portuguese University through attacks and/or accusations that harmed their rights, honor or distanced them from the path of wisdom. And, for this reason, in the third Charter, D. Afonso IV determined that the general conservator of Coimbra would receive and judge all civil acts and crimes and that the parties were schoolchildren or their servants. This corroborates the commitment that the monarch made to protect those connected to the University, protection that required the Crown to have a privileged position of power and political influence in that society.

Documents such as those cited explain that the issues surrounding the Portuguese University were treated seriously in the government of D. Afonso IV. From our perspective, the royal attention given to this institution was a way of ensuring the order and development of Portugal. Therefore, we argue that the actions of this monarch in favor of the university, in addition to benefiting Portuguese culture and education, created mechanisms to make his policy present in the extension of his kingdom, therefore, he collaborated in the dissemination of the ideas of the Portuguese Crown.

Despite the theories about the transfer of the General Study, which are normally approached as a negative aspect of the relationship between this institution and the Portuguese Crown, we understand that this movement, of an itinerant nature, has collaborated to the dissemination of the ideas that we have already mentioned. Regarding this, in particular in Letter 109, issued by D. Afonso IV when the General Study was transferred from Coimbra to Lisbon, on August 17, 1338, the king's intentions to show the people his desire to transfer the university from Coimbra to Lisbon, expressly in the section "They continue to live part of the year in the City of Coimbra" (CUP, 1996, p. 131, our translation). But, according to the king, the city was unable to accommodate his Court and the members of the General Study, given the demand for inns during the school year.

On the possible reasons that motivated the transfer of the General Study from Coimbra to Lisbon, in the case of the year 1338, Mattoso (1997, p. 137, our translation) makes a specific criticism of the government of D. Afonso IV, claiming that it was not a matter of trying to place the university closest to the court and, yes, maintain "[...] the privileges given by D. Dinis; [...]"

treats the University like a tenant that the landlord decides to dismiss without much explanation. [...] that the proximity of the students did not please D. Afonso IV.”

With the return of the university to Lisbon, it is likely that the commanders of the churches located in the diocese of Coimbra felt released from university funding, as “Since King D. Afonso IV moved the University to Lisbon, it seems that the commanders of Pombal and Soure refused to contribute the three thousand pounds to her expenses” (RIBEIRO, 1871, p. 435). In view of this, the Crown sought to support the Studium in Lisbon. Until, approximately six years after the transfer that took place in 1338, the king issued Letter 132, which was configured as a supplication of D. Afonso IV, asking Pope Clement VI for authorization to apply 3,000 pounds from the revenues of the churches of his patronage in the salaries of masters, doctors and bachelors, as well as other things necessary for the University of Lisbon, dated January 10, 1345.

According to Ribeiro (1871), the amount requested by the monarch, that is, 3000 pounds in Portuguese currency, was equivalent to the amount that was collected before by the diocese of Coimbra and, that in “[...] consequence, the monarch asked of the pontiff, and Clement VI (bull of January 10, 1345) ordered to unite the fruits of some churches of the royal patronage, up to the amount of the said three thousand pounds, for the expense of the University of Lisbon”. Thus, the royal request was granted, allowing the annexation of six churches appointed by the monarch, according to Letter 133, which refers to the fulfillment of the Bull by the bishops of Lisbon and Eborensis, which can be confirmed via “Bull of Clement VI for the Bishops of Lisbon and Évora authorizing, at the request of D. Afonso IV, the consignment to the University of Lisbon of 3,000 pounds of church rent” (CUP, 1996, p. 149, our translation).

Leitão (2019, p. 50, our translation) indicates that despite this funding for the General Study, maintaining it seems to be a duty devolved to the churches of all Portuguese dioceses, with the comings and goings of this institution throughout the fourteenth century, “[...] reinforces the tendency for its sources to be confined to the diocese where, at a given moment, the Portuguese university is installed”, however its financing demanded commitment and diligence from the monarchs in order to guarantee it. Marques (1987) states that, from 1345 onwards, six of the churches of the royal patronage (in the South) contributed annually with 3000 pounds. However, the situation was not resolved, because, with the crisis, the income of all the churches and, consequently, those of the university, fell, so that there was a refusal or delay in paying this contribution from the churches to the university.

With this affirmation, the Portuguese prelates signed a commitment to provide the payment of teachers with income from churches that would be indexed to the General Study. Charter 133 (CUP, 1996) shows that, although called by the Bull of Clement VI to honor this commitment, some of the churches showed refusal or slowness in relation to their contribution. Leitão (2019, p. 49) corroborates our studies by stating that in a “[...] context of successive relocations of the study between Lisbon and Coimbra, and given the need to provide the essential income for the support of its lecturers, the Portuguese Crown [...] ‘recurred’ [...] to a set of churches of the royal patronage, having repeatedly asked the Pontiff to confirm them” (LEITÃO, 2019, p. 58, our translation).

For Leitão (2019, p. 58, our translation), the refusal of churches and abbeys to collaborate in maintenance, through a bull, made it possible to request “[...] the incorporation of several churches located in the diocese of Lisbon, namely: Azambuja, Santa Maria and Santiago de Óbidos, Sacavém and Santa Maria do Castelo de Torres Vedras”, so that the fulfillment “[...] shortly after the terrible plague of 1348, led us to face the context of the annexation as a maneuver of the king to face a more than predictable resistance from the priors of these churches to their connection to the general study”. It is also important to pay attention to Letter 197 of “D. Afonso IV confirming to the University all the privileges that had previously been granted to him, when he was in Coimbra and during his stay in Lisbon”, dated December 6, 1354 (CUP, 1996, p. 209, our translation) and determining that the orders of D. Dinis were kept and fulfilled; validating all privileges to the university, regardless of its location in Coimbra or Lisbon.

The realization that D. Afonso IV, despite the setbacks, mediated the transfers of the Portuguese University between Coimbra and Lisbon and committed himself not only to negotiating with the Church the investments for the maintenance of that Institution, but also to guaranteeing the privileges that the it had been conferred, regardless of the Portuguese region in which it was headquartered, allows us at least two conclusions favorable to the monarchical performance: a) the University's comings and goings between Lisbon and Coimbra collaborated with the royal 'campaign', in the sense that they promoted increasing influences of the king in Portuguese society; b) the Afonsine Dynasty reigned through the conquest, formation, territorial delimitation, economic, intellectual, political and legal strengthening of the entire Portuguese kingdom, because the monarchs of this dynasty understood it as their duty to expand and protect their territory, especially through the promoted justice, in turn, by legislation that aimed to

attribute to kings more and more sociopolitical influence, legislative and executive power and, with it, political centralization.

The quest for political centralization, which progressively fostered a sense of belonging to the kingdom of Portugal, was not unrelated to the divine origin of authority and attributions proper to monarchs and, due to the context, nor could it be. However, it should be noted that even though the king was aware of the latent religious influence in power relations, the growing number of scholars absorbed by the Crown demonstrated that the legislation and posture during the government of D. Afonso IV sought autonomy in relation to the ecclesiastics and, therefore, the monarchical consolidation.

Portuguese political relations between the University and the Monarchy

The previous subtitle dealt with the conditions of the University upon the ascension of King Afonso IV to the Portuguese throne in 1325, exposing some governmental actions around the royal legislation that ensured the maintenance, continuity and development of the University in Portugal. In this context, the political profile of D. Afonso IV as a centralizer and diplomat was essential to ensure the Portuguese university institution for future generations. A fact that leads us to reflect, in a little more depth, on monarchical socio-political relations and university demands. Legal training, fostered by the ideals of D. Afonso III, reinforced by D. Dinis and expanded by D. Afonso IV, was possible because, according to Sousa (2009, p. 91, our translation), in the Medieval West, “[...] the resurgence of Roman law and the specialization required in its application were the work of jurists trained in universities and who, even when clerics, often had relative autonomy vis-à-vis ecclesiastical powers”.

At the beginning of the 14th century, this trend was observed in Portugal, as “[...] Civil Law and Canon Law were part of the General Study since its foundation and were, with high probability, the main subjects taught there [...]”. In short, for the success of this process, the jurists played a fundamental role, as they were “[...] who drafted the laws [...] surrounded the monarch, who advised him and provided him with technical knowledge and practical instruments to legislate were, increasingly, the lawyers with legal training whose weight in the court was increasing visibly” (SOUSA, 2009, p. 91, our translation). The performance that knowledge promoted in Portugal focused on the social whole, since “[...] every law ordains for the common good in the name of the subjection of each of the parts to the whole to which it

belongs, which this applies to each man, as part of a perfect community” (TOMÁS DE AQUINO, 1997, p. 09, our translation).

The administration of the kingdom demanded from D. Afonso IV the protection of the university, a source that provided the 'matter' for the legislative corpus, the exercise of governance and its authority – curious to think that, at the same time, it was this corpus that maintained, by the royal authority, the maintenance of the university, as in a cycle. Sousa (2009, p. 92, our translation) states that the scholars recruited by the Crown acted in the dispatch of the affairs of the kingdom or directly in the drafting of laws and ascended as “[...] royal officials whose qualification was directly linked to their status as scholars. and coroners”. Soon, this strategy of D. Afonso IV, of surrounding himself with scholars, flowed towards the secularization process of the royal decision.

It is important to consider that the literati of western medieval society had their education subsidized by the medieval university, that is, by an institution maintained by monarchical and ecclesiastical power, but which tended, according to Sousa (2009), towards the secularization of the royal decision. D. Afonso IV knew how to make use of spiritual and secular prerogatives to imprint an image of sovereign authority to “[...] impose himself as a hegemonic authority, superior to all other authorities in law or in fact”. For this, it was based on the “[...] divine origin of royal power, assimilating values and concepts originating from Christian doctrine and canon law, but also incorporating the influences of a resurrected Roman law that placed the monarch at the top of the hierarchy politics” (SOUSA, 2009, p. 116-117, our translation).

In the imagination of the time, the image of the king as a model of virtue and morality already prevailed and this “[...] notion that the king, as the true holder of public power, had a special authority over all free men, which translated, on a practical level, by the ability to demand taxes of fiscal origin [...]” (MATTOSO, 1997, p. 224, our translation). These principles that, throughout the Middle Ages, fell to the figure of the monarch, apply to the centralizing policy of D. Afonso III, D. Dinis and D. Afonso IV and, it is precisely through this policy that “[...] the foundations on which the modern State would be built, a few decades later” (MATTOSO, 1997, p. 232, our translation). According to Mattoso's analysis (1997), during the government of D. Afonso IV, political centralization had not reached its apex, so the political regime in the process of strengthening was the monarchy, from which emerged the necessary bases for the national character that would unfold in Portugal years later and, consequently, political centralization itself.

For Mattoso (1997), from the reigns of D. Dinis and the rise of D. Afonso IV we can understand the existence of a nation, since Portugal already had, at that point, its territory established, its internal and external relations organized and with the potential to become even stronger, with a political regime, in theory, structured; a geographic space with delimited borders, subsidized by a political and cultural unit, holder of its own language. However, the sense of belonging and the collective conscience, which is expected from nationalism and patriotism, only awoke at the end of the fourteenth century, specifically from 1385, as reiterated by the aforementioned author. Therefore, the royal actions, the social transformations that they sought to legislate and the intensification of monarchical authority can be directly related to the social function exercised by the university, which, through the sciences, scholasticism and canon and Roman rights, constituted, from the Dinis government, “[...] increasingly the monarch [as] an institution that summarizes the country” (MATTOSO, 1997, p. 312, our translation).

Although for Mattoso (1997) each reign has an inimitable personality, it is necessary to consider that the political-legal apparatus idealized by the monarchs of the first Portuguese dynasty was forged over the centuries by rulers who paid attention to the social, economic, political and intellectual potential of the Portucalense County and proposed to lead with a view to the common good. The governing action of the first dynasty, mainly under D. Afonso III, D. Dinis and D. Afonso IV, was dynamic and committed to the dissemination of scientific education in Portugal. The interest in knowledge, in founding and maintaining a Studium in the kingdom was a way of supplying the internal demand for scholars who, trained through science and law, could take on functions in the administration of the kingdom itself, and it was also a sign of prestige both to the monarchy as to the episcopate, 'forcing' the articulation between these powers in the effective university maintenance (NORTE, 2013).

From the perspective of the articulation of powers around the university of Portugal, the king and the ecclesiastics needed to 'align interests' and value diplomacy, which certainly did not extinguish the conflicts between these leaderships, since, according to Norte (2013, p. 179, our translation), “[...] the pope and the Roman curia, [...] limited themselves, as a rule, to granting and ratifying royal proposals, granting the Study various benefits and privileges, such as the legalization and legitimization of the status of studium generale at the end of the thirteenth century”. The same author elucidates that the “[...] papacy also proved to be a facilitator of university access to ecclesiastical students, granting exemptions, benefits, legitimations and

canonical dispensations to various clergy interested in their attendance”, with the aim of improving “the training rates of its members”.

In this sense, university education became essential to the status that intellectuals acquired over time, as it was based on the teaching promoted by it that they were trained to act in the political and social fields. Verger (1990, p. 100-101, our translation) states that university life demanded responsibility and that, therefore, “[...] the university certainly contributed to the formation of men of knowledge, endowing them, not only with a certain intellectual baggage, but of know-how and socially and politically useful resourcefulness”. Through this teaching, people were able to deconstruct some thoughts and build a different mentality, based on the sciences that was widespread in university environments.

In this context, as the monarchy strengthened, the king sought to surround himself with these 'men of knowledge', because through the functions they performed, they were able to offer an overview of the vastness of the kingdom and, if it was necessary to embark on in internal or external confrontations, the king would have an effective notion of the conditions of his kingdom, both in relation to wealth, as well as in relation to territory, taxation, taxes and other sources of income. With that, Sousa (2012, p. 47, our translation), explains that “[...] as the centuries advanced, reading and writing became indispensable to the exercise of public and private, personal or collective administrative activities”, not only for registering and keeping their deeds in the collective memory, but mainly because they were taught through the sciences.

Educational training was then based on scholastic principles, the Trivium (Dialectics, Grammar and Rhetoric) and the Quadrivium (Arithmetic, Astronomy, Geometry and Music), that is, the seven liberal arts on which the philosophical thought conceived in medieval universities rested. and found beyond a teaching method, a way to explain the reality of a time to the men who experience it, or rather, to understand the very human essence (OLIVEIRA, 2005).

Considering these transformations and given that D. Afonso IV inherited a territorially and economically organized kingdom, it fell to him to sequence the project of political centralization of his predecessors and, for that, he relied on the prerogatives of Roman law, which gave him conditions to overcome ecclesiastical reasons. What differentiates him is that he promoted the development of the kingdom with the least possible number of conflicts and confrontations – which we attribute to the laws that, since previous reigns, had been regulating social behavior, but which, precisely in the government of this monarch, became made more effective thanks to the secular character that already emanated from the university institution.

In this way, D. Afonso IV understood the importance of the General Study for the consolidation and monarchical centralization, as well as for the development of Portuguese culture. Thus, his government was responsible for laying the foundations for the maintenance and development of the Portuguese University, claiming it as a symbol of sovereignty and royal authority.

Through the Royal Charters, the king promoted several initiatives in favor of this Institution, which were related to the granting of privileges, the regulation of prerogatives and the centralization of monarchical power. He was at the forefront of the movements that led to the deepening of royal centralization and the development of the Portuguese University, which, in turn, became essential to the establishment of a culture of leadership in the Iberian Peninsula.

During the reign of D. Afonso IV, the Portuguese University was the target of a major governmental boost. The monarch understood the importance of developing higher education to train qualified professionals prepared to serve the Crown, and for this he edited new laws, regulations and privileges to encourage General Studies. Therefore, the analysis of the Letters of D. Afonso IV allowed the understanding that the actions developed by the ruler for the protection and maintenance of the University were directly and indirectly related to the political centralization of the monarchy, since it was these actions that made possible a wide process of consolidation of royal authority in Medieval Europe, investing in the education of its subjects as a way of ensuring political stability. We therefore infer that the protection, maintenance and development of the University were, in fact, a key factor for the consolidation of royal authority in Portugal, under the reign of D. Afonso IV.

Final remarks

As the Dinis actions triggered and were allied to the origin of the General Study, D. Afonso IV ruled in favor of the policy of monarchical centralization, instituted a legislative apparatus that supported the assertion of the monarch's authority over the other leaders who craved power, this because it relied on the university and the sociocultural transformations that came from it. Indeed, the foundation of the General Study helped to strengthen royal authority in Portugal, but it was the centralizing character of the government of D. Afonso IV that gave the Portuguese mentality of the 13th and 14th centuries new perspectives about themselves, society and leadership that were posted. This investment in studies and the absorption by the Crown of scholars trained at the university show, from our point of view, the intentions of D.

Afonso IV in relation to the improvement of the legislative apparatus and, consequently, the strengthening of monarchical power in that society, what was possible through the emergence and development of the General Study.

The university institution, at first generated and maintained by the spiritual and temporal powers, over time, configured itself as a mechanism beyond the diplomacy between these two powers. It became a secular arm that, through science, disseminated knowledge from a secular perspective and formed literates who, in what concerns them, transformed the legislative base with a view to the political centralization of the monarchy, given that many of these professionals were absorbed by the Crown Portuguese, gradually legitimizing the king's power through laws, secular character and writing. Therefore, it was interesting for the Crown to provide favorable conditions for masters and students, since with its protection, the number of scholars increased – helping to spread within Portuguese medieval society the necessary elements so that the legal and administrative apparatus idealized by the king found fertile ground for effective monarchical consolidation. In other words, the cultural and political aspects that the University acquired during the reign of D. Afonso IV gave the monarchy conditions to establish itself as a social institution, and as such, it managed and led Portuguese medieval life. In turn, the king made an effort to maintain and provide for the demands of this institution, as its functioning gave him the legal security, he needed to conduct the Crown's clashes, whether they were economic, political or religious. D. Afonso IV invested in and defended the University, zealous for its continuity because the training of scholars, under his government, consolidated the royal authority in Portugal.

Through long duration, we can consider human actions and demands over the centuries under a broad view, which allows us to understand the singular and collective aspects of a given historical time and, at the same time, understand the collective and mental aspects involved with the event and its reality. Thus, at the same time that this reality is experienced and transformed, it is also configured as a source, therefore, an object of history by giving us clues about thought, culture, religion, teaching, politics, economics and other aspects that have structured and continue to structure the lives of individuals and society.

It is with this look that we seek in the past the knowledge to reflect on today and, based on the idea of long duration, it is possible to draw a parallel with the present, because there is a permanent background that interconnects the structures and relationships that marked out human life over time. With the geographic and temporal differences safeguarded, this parallel starts from the idea that the conduct of D. Afonso IV turned to the promotion of education with

a view to strengthening the monarchy, which leads us to a reflection on the government plan that we have experienced in current affairs and what has been a priority for the Brazilian political scenario in general.

The Brazilian University has its roots in the Portuguese General Study, which was historically defended by the political leaderships that were placed in the Portuguese Medieval period: Church and Monarchy. While in that period there was an interest in ensuring the continuity of this educational institution, protecting teachers and students and managing conditions favorable to study, what is currently observed is that this interest has been mischaracterized over time and superimposed by others of an individual nature. Due to these changes in the role and place of the University, as a result of a series of events typical of the present time, we are witnessing a certain devaluation of higher education, a dismantling of science, and, especially, a significant reduction in investments in education. We thus observe that the crisis of the Brazilian university has harmed the development of science and technology in the country, and has had a profound impact on the quality of services provided.

The lack of investment in public education and the increase in social inequalities have contributed to the weakening of higher education institutions. Brazilian universities suffer from reduced resources, which results in a lack of physical structure, equipment and raw materials for academic activities. The picture is aggravated by the reduction of investments in research and development, which undermines the quality of education. Another factor that contributes to the problems of the Brazilian university is the lack of investment in teaching careers. To reverse this situation, it is necessary to take specific political-public measures to ensure funding for higher education and, therefore, research in the country.

The idea that D. Afonso IV set himself up as a good ruler, who worked above all for the common good does not indicate that he actually abdicated his own interests, but that he knew how to govern not pure and simply by the interests of himself or his political allies, but also contemplated human formation and education, which gave people a sense of belonging that helped in the performance of a social role based not only on the understanding of individual responsibility, but also of collective responsibility. Therefore, it is the struggles and clashes waged by historical actors over time that give us the conditions to perceive human formation as fundamental to social organization and the improvement of civility. This is because, at this or that time, by promoting education and human training, the rulers make it possible for society to develop positively.

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