

# Two Men, One Historiographical Identity: Friar Gil Lobo and Friar Gil de Tavira

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## Abstract

This article seeks to analyze the problematic question of the identity of Friar Gil Lobo and Friar Gil de Tavira, confessors of Dom Duarte and Dom Afonso V, respectively, two Franciscan friars who have been studied as if they were the same individual. Once the origin of this problem had been identified, as well as some of its consequences, it was possible to definitively distinguish the identity and history of these two men, thanks to an unpublished document from the Chancery of King Afonso V. Furthermore, from other data that was collected, the foundations have now been laid for further reflections on the role that these two clerics played at the Royal House of Avis.

## Keywords

Friar Gil Lobo, Friar Gil de Tavira, Royal clergies, Royal confessors, Leal Conselheiro

## Resumo

Este artigo pretende analisar a problemática da identidade de Fr. Gil Lobo e de Fr. Gil de Tavira, confessores de D. Duarte e de D. Afonso V, respetivamente, dois frades franciscanos que têm sido estudados como se fossem um único indivíduo. Identificada a génese deste problema, e algumas das suas consequências, foi possível destrinçar definitivamente a identidade e o percurso destes dois homens, graças a um documento inédito, proveniente da Chancelaria de D. Afonso V. Além disso, e a partir de outros dados recolhidos, são lançadas as bases para novas reflexões sobre o papel destes clérigos junto da Casa Real de Avis.

## Palavras-chave

Fr. Gil Lobo, Fr. Gil de Tavira, Clérigos do Rei, Confessores reais, Leal Conselheiro

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## Introduction

Friar Gil Lobo de Tavira was a Franciscan friar who never existed. However, several texts, from different literary traditions, are known to have acknowledged his biographical information. Starting with Rui de Pina, who was a chronicler at the service of King Manuel I, this information has continued to be considered as true in various studies and articles that have been published until today. I myself tried to gather together his biographical details when, in a previous work, I sought to study the confessors of the Portuguese Royal Family in the fifteenth century (Rodrigues, 2019). Gradually, by the hands of many diverse authors, this notable but fictional figure grew in stature, displaying details of a considerable career in the Crown's service.

This essay establishes that this fictional character can be split into two other figures, who were, in fact, real: Friar Gil Lobo and Friar Gil de Tavira. At this point, I shall not attempt to completely disentangle the historiographical confusion that has built up around these two men over several centuries. For the time being, I will try to establish the origin of this entanglement, its consequences, and the reasons for its existence. The next step will be to unravel the details pertaining to the lives and careers of these two men. I intend to undertake this task in my master's degree thesis, which is nearing completion. With all the data that I have collected, some of which has yet to be published, I will reconstruct the two biographies.

## The Historiographical Creation of “Friar Gil Lobo de Tavira”

Who or what led to this fusion the identity of Friar Gil Lobo and that of Friar Gil de Tavira? I believe that the problem arose from the pen of the chronicler Rui de Pina, when, in around 1504, he was entrusted with the task of writing the *Crónica de Dom Duarte* (Chronicle of King Duarte) (Serrão, 1977:56). Naturally, among the narrated episodes, the chronicler describes the participation of the Portuguese embassy at the Council of Basel. Among the Portuguese representatives, the author refers to “Meestre Frey Gil Lobo da Ordem de São Francisco”<sup>2</sup> (Master Friar Gil Lobo of the Order of St. Francis). This appears to have been the starting point, the beginning of the knot that would entwine the paths of these two Franciscan friars.

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<sup>2</sup> Pina, Rui de (1977), ‘Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Duarte’ in *Crónicas de Rui de Pina*. Porto: Lello & Irmão. p. 506.

I believe, as we shall discover later on, that it was not Friar Gil Lobo who participated in this Portuguese embassy, but Friar Gil de Tavira. The former was Dom Duarte's confessor, and it was in this role that he featured in a famous episode from the chronicle, in which he rebuked the monarch for his excessive sorrow following the death of Dom João I.<sup>3</sup> The latter, Friar Gil de Tavira, was sent to the Council of Basel,<sup>4</sup> later becoming Afonso V's confessor, as is mentioned in the contemporary documentation.<sup>5</sup> In another episode from this king's chronicle, which will be discussed later on, he is also referred to as Dom Duarte's confessor.<sup>6</sup>

Changing the ambassador's second name seems to me to have been an honest mistake. As we already know, Rui de Pina started to write the Chronicle of Dom Duarte in 1504, roughly 70 years after the events that he narrated (Serrão, 1977:56). While this chronological distance may well justify many inaccuracies in the text, it is important to bear in mind that the confusion arose from the fact that the two individuals had the same first name, and that they were both Franciscan friars and, simultaneously, royal confessors. Furthermore, they were both often referred to merely by the name of "Frey Gil"<sup>7</sup> or "Egidius,"<sup>8</sup> thus making it even more difficult to distinguish between the two.

The aforementioned episode from the Chronicle of Dom Afonso V, in which Friar Gil de Tavira is mentioned as being Dom Duarte's confessor,<sup>9</sup> is the only textual evidence we have to prove that he did, in fact, hold this position. We know for certain that he was Dom Afonso V's confessor, but there is no known document indicating that he held this position in relation to his predecessor. Thus, there are two possible interpretations of this passage. Either it is a blunder on the part of Rui de Pina, no matter whether it was a real or fictional scene, or Friar Gil de Tavira was, in fact, the confessor to Dom Duarte, despite the lack of any other evidence to support this fact.

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<sup>3</sup> Pina, Rui de (1977), 'Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Duarte' in *Crônicas de Rui de Pina*. Porto: Lello & Irmão. p. 491.

<sup>4</sup> Sá, Artur Moreira de (1966), *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis (1288-1537)*. Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, vol. IV, p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V* - L. 23, fl. 77.

<sup>6</sup> Pina, Rui de (1977), 'Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Afonso V' in *Crônicas de Rui de Pina*. Porto: Lello & Irmão, p. 594.

<sup>7</sup> Sá, Artur Moreira de (1966), *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis (1288-1537)*. Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, vol. V, p. 132.

<sup>8</sup> Sá, Artur Moreira de (1966), *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis (1288-1537)*. Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura. vol. IV, p. 103.

<sup>9</sup> Pina, Rui de (1977) 'Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Afonso V', in *Crônicas de Rui de Pina*. Porto: Lello & Irmão, p. 594.

Following the clues left by Rui de Pina, I was able to discover the *História Seráfica da Ordem dos Frades Menores* (Esperança, 1666, t. 2). In the mind of the author of this work, there is no doubt about the identity of Friar Gil Lobo de Tavira. Among other references, the work dedicates to him Chapter XXI of Volume 2, titled: “*Do Mestre F. Gil Lobo, pregador de três reis, confessor de dous, mestre de hum, capelão do Papa, e Comendatário d’Alpendorada*” (Mestre F. Gil Lobo, the preacher to three kings, the confessor of two, the master of one, the chaplain of the Pope, and the commendatory abbot of Alpendorada). Here, the intersection of the two identities is quite clear; however, to justify the use of two different names, he states: “Huas vezes o achamos nomeado Fr. Gil Lobo, conforme o apelido da geração, que foi nobre, outras, Fr. Gil de Tavira a respeito da cidade deste nome no Algarve, donde era natural: mas he a mesma pessoa, com estes dous sobrenomes.” (We sometimes find him named Friar Gil Lobo, in keeping with the surname of his noble lineage, and, at other times, Friar Gil de Tavira, in accordance with the city of this name in Algarve, where he was born. But he is the same person, with these two surnames) (Esperança, 1666, t. 2:693).

Thanks to the sheer amount and diversity of the information collected by the author, some of the biographical data relating to this character is gathered together in this work. Once made available, this information was the source used by most authors when writing about Frei Gil Lobo de Tavira. On the one hand, in reasserting the value of the work, it is clear that the contemporary documentation was afforded sufficient consideration: on the other hand, the already-mentioned chronicles may not, however, have been read with the necessary critical eye. Furthermore, based on these chronicles, certain details were created and added to this Franciscan’s biography. The foundations for this “identity theft” were thus laid, with the consequences that will now be analyzed below.

### **A False Identity and its Consequences**

With the identification of Friar Gil Lobo de Tavira (apparently) established, this question never again attracted any particular attention from historians. Several texts, all dealing with a variety of different themes, briefly touched upon this character and his influence over the course of events. He was mentioned in relation to the court society (Gomes, 1995:118-20) and the confessors of the royal family (Marques, 1993; Rodrigues, 2019). He was also mentioned in the context of the history of culture (Viterbo, 1904; Dionísio, 2002), religion (Martins, 1951; Lopes, 1979), or by other Portuguese scholars from

the fifteenth century (Costa, 1967, 1990). Despite the numerous references to this character, none of these studies actually questioned his identity.

This subject only took on a new dimension in 1942 when, in his edition of *Leal Conselheiro*, Joseph Piel pointed to two chronological indicators that would make it possible to date Dom Duarte's text (Piel, 1942:IX-X). The first of these was a letter written by the monarch to Dona Leonor's brothers, inserted in Chapter 98 and dated 24 January 1435. The second was the expression "*que deos perdoe*" (may God forgive [him]), associated with the name of Friar Gil Lobo, in Chapter 91. In the latter case, assuming that the expression indicated the character's passing, it would be sufficient to ascertain the last reference made to the confessor in order to arrive at an approximate idea of the date when the text was written.

As we shall see, this reasoning would be taken up by several authors. In the case of Piel, there seems to be no doubt: "refere-se no cap. 91 a Frei Gil Lobo, seu confessor e colaborador, servindo-se da expressão que deos perdoe, que claramente indica que este franciscano tinha falecido quando o rei compilou o seu livro." (in Chapter 91, he refers to Friar Gil Lobo, his confessor and collaborator, using the expression *que Deos perdoe*, which clearly indicates that this Franciscan was dead when the king compiled his book) (Piel, 1942:IX). The author goes on to mention Friar Gil's presence in the Portuguese embassy to the Basel Council. This embassy must have begun its journey in 1436, returning to the Portuguese kingdom in May, 1437. As his source for this information, Piel refers to the *Diário de Jornada do Conde de Ourém* (the Count of Ourém's Travel Journal) (Piel, 1942:IX).

However, this text does not allow for the identification of Friar Gil Lobo, Dom Duarte's confessor, as the Friar Gil that is mentioned as being the Portuguese ambassador to Basel. In the *Diário de Jornada do Conde de Ourém*, there are three direct references to Friar Gil (Dias, 2003:69, 70 and 73). In these references, it was possible to obtain some information about Friar Gil: "frei Gil, o licenciado que estava hi no Concilio por embaixador" (Friar Gil, the graduate who was at the Council in his capacity as ambassador) and "frei Gil, frade da Ordem de Sam Francisco" (Friar Gil, friar of the Order of St. Francis) (Dias, 2003:69, 70). None of these references mentions a second name or the role of the royal confessor. If this Friar Gil was, in fact, the monarch's confessor, it would be strange that such a fact was not mentioned, even once, in the whole of the text.

Taking it for granted that Friar Gil Lobo was alive in 1437, the author reaches the conclusion that the text of the *Leal Conselheiro*, or at least that of the Paris manuscript,<sup>10</sup> would

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<sup>10</sup> Manuscript Portugais 5 at the National Library of France [BITAGAP manid 1154]

have been completed between that year and 1438 (Piel, 1942:X). For Piel, it was during the last year of his reign, and of his life, that Dom Duarte concluded his *Leal Conselheiro*, because “talvez fosse precisamente o sentimento da morte próxima que o decidiu a fazê-lo, como que para prestar conta dos seus actos e deixar uma obra” (it was perhaps precisely his feeling of being close to death that led him to decide to do so, as if to account for his acts and to leave a body of work after his death) (1942:X).

In 1948, José Hermano Saraiva disputed Joseph Piel’s proposed dating for the writing of the *Leal Conselheiro*, stating that, in that last year, between 1437 and 1438, the monarch would have had other concerns that would have kept him from his literary activity (Saraiva, 1948:322). He was referring to the failed expedition to Tangier and its consequences, namely the fact that the Infante Dom Fernando was taken hostage. He also questioned the validity of the formula “*que deos perdoe*,” addressed to Friar Gil Lobo, as a chronological marker of the text, as it could be a later addition made by a scribe or copyist, thus making it an insecure indicator for dating the manuscript (Saraiva, 1948:323).

Despite these uncertainties, but following the lead of the character Friar Gil Lobo de Tavira, the author mentions that he would still have been alive in 1442, based on a privilege registered at the chancery of Dom Afonso V, in favor of his brother-in-law, who was living in Tavira (Saraiva, 1948:322). However, this document does not refer to Friar Gil Lobo, Dom Duarte’s confessor, but to Friar Gil, who was certainly from Tavira. This Friar would already have been Dom Afonso V’s confessor and master, and not the confessor of his predecessor. Devaluing the expression “*que deos perdoe*,” as a later addendum, the author concludes by stating that “o Leal Conselheiro é anterior a 1436” (the *Leal Conselheiro* was written before 1436) (Saraiva, 1948:323).

In the twenty-first century, João Dionísio and Bernardo de Sá Nogueira (2007) have once again analyzed the issue of the manuscript’s dating. In an article divided into two parts, following the clues left by Piel (1942), the authors reached conclusions that were the key to understanding this text’s objectives. In the first part, under the direction of João Dionísio, in addition to revisiting the historiography surrounding the manuscript’s dating and trajectory, considerations were made about the identity of the character Friar Gil Lobo de Tavira. In the second part, edited by Bernardo Sá Nogueira, the aim was to ascertain the origin and meaning of the expression “*que deos perdoe*,” which was an essential question, as we shall see.

In this first part, João Dionísio ends up attributing to the expression the same meaning as the one that had already been advanced by Piel, stating that “a fórmula ‘*que Deus perdoe*’ não deixa margem de dúvida de que o indivíduo a que ela se refere já tinha falecido no

momento em que é produzida” (the expression “*que deos perdoe*” leaves no doubt that the individual to whom the phrase refers had already passed away at the time of its production) (Dionísio; Nogueira, 2007:122). This statement is strongly supported by the second part of the article. Here, Nogueira lists dozens of quotes from documents containing that expression, in which it was used to refer to dead people. The author also mentions that there seems to have been an equivalence between the expressions “*cuja alma Deus haja*” (whose soul may God have) and “*a que Deus perdoe*,” to indicate the passing away of an individual (Dionísio; Nogueira, 2007:123).

About the dating of the manuscript P,<sup>11</sup> João Dionísio mentions that this would have to be brought forward to 1451, as Friar Gil Lobo, “já depois de Dom Duarte ter falecido, foi confessor do infante Dom Pedro, durante a regência, e ainda de Afonso V, encontrando-se ainda vivo nesse ano” (after Dom Duarte passed away, was already the confessor of the Infante Dom Pedro, during the period of his regency, and also of Afonso V, since he was still alive during that year) (Dionísio; Nogueira, 2007:123). The author bases his statement on a plea made to the pontiff on 23 February 1451, in which Friar Gil de Tavira requested confirmation of the possession of the monastery of São João de Alpendurada. However, an analysis of this document, reproduced in the appendix (see Doc. 1), does not prove any of those statements.

In this document, there is no reference to Friar Gil Lobo, nor to the role of confessor. In fact, Friar Gil de Tavira (“*fratris Egidii de Tavira, ordinis fratrum Minorum professoris, in theologia licenciat?*”) is mentioned as the commendatory abbot at the monastery of São João de Alpendurada. The friar would have been interested in confirming the legitimacy of the proceedings brought against the late Dom André, the Bishop of Mégara, which allowed him to obtain the commandery of the monastery. Similarly, even if we acknowledge the confusion between those two Franciscan friars, there is also no reference in that document to the Infante Dom Pedro or to Dom Afonso V.

Addressing the question of their Franciscan identification, João Dionísio states that “a identidade de frei Gil de Tavira é deixada clara num documento de aproximadamente um ano e meio antes” (the identity of Friar Gil de Tavira was made clear in a document approximately one and a half years earlier) (Dionísio; Nogueira, 2007:123). Mention is made of the granting of the privilege of royal protection to the monastery of São João de Alpendurada by Dom Afonso V, dated 13 August 1449 (see Doc. 2). Here too, the document is unable to confirm the author’s statements, as will be demonstrated below.

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<sup>11</sup> Manuscript Portugais 5 from the National Library of France [BITAGAP manid 1154]

At the beginning, we read the following: “por os muytos serviços que frey Gill de Tavira, abade do mosteiro de sam Joham d’Alpendorada tem fectos a elRey meu senhor e padre, cuja alma Deus aja, e a nos, em sendo nosso pregador e confessor e meestre” (for the many services that Friar Gil de Tavira, abbot of the monastery of São João de Alpendurada, rendered to the King, my lord and father, whose soul may God have, and to us, as our preacher and confessor and master) (see Doc. 2). As we have seen, the text does not refer to Friar Gil Lobo, but clearly mentions Friar Gil de Tavira. The latter is said to have rendered “muytos serviços” (many services) to Dom Duarte, not mentioning which ones, and to Dom Afonso V, as his “pregador, confessor e meestre” (preacher, confessor, and master).

These “many services” rendered by Friar Gil de Tavira to the deceased monarch are not likely to include his duties as a confessor. For these, we have no documentary evidence, except for the reference by Rui de Pina, which has already been analyzed. I believe that these services included Friar Gil de Tavira’s attendance at the Basel Council.<sup>12</sup> And such services would not have been minor ones, given the great responsibility inherent in this mission.

As stated and regarding the relationship with Dom Afonso V, the functions of Friar Gil de Tavira are evident in the text: “nosso pregador, confessor e meestre” (Our preacher, confessor, and master). Here, contrary to what may be thought, the possessive adjective “nosso” (our) may refer only to Dom Afonso V, for two reasons. On the one hand, because this term is used twice more in the text, referring on both occasions to the monarch; on the other hand, if Friar Gil de Tavira, born in 1391, had been Dom Duarte’s master, he would already have been very old, which seems unlikely, to say the least.

In the second part of the article, under the direction of Sá Nogueira, there are numerous examples of the use of the formula “*que deos perdoe*.” With these documentary references dating back to the reign of Dom Dinis and to subsequent chronicles, the author seeks to identify the origin and the meaning attributed to this expression, concluding that “é possível indicar o reinado de Dom Afonso IV como época de génese da mesma” (it is possible to indicate the reign of Dom Afonso IV as the time of its origin) (Dionísio; Nogueira, 2007:130). Furthermore, in relation to the meaning of the phrase, the author mentions that “associado ao contexto de ocorrência, sobretudo confirmações de actos jurídicos praticados por antecessores, trata-se aparentemente de propiciar o perdão por Deus para os pecados dos reis passados” (associated with the context of the occurrence, especially the confirmations of legal acts practiced by predecessors, it is apparently a matter of

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<sup>12</sup> Sá, Artur Moreira de (1966), *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis (1288-1537)*. Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, vol. IV, p. 128.

providing God's forgiveness for the sins of past kings) (Dionísio; Nogueira, 2007:127). I stress that, at the end of the article, the meaning of the formula "*que deos perdoe*" unequivocally refers to someone who has already passed away.

The date established in this article for the last reference to Friar Gil de Tavira is 1451. Recently, following in the footsteps of Piel (1942) and the conclusions reached by João Dionísio and Bernardo Sá Nogueira (2007), and based on a document preserved at the Portuguese National Library, referring to the monastery of São João de Alpendurada, Filipe Alves Moreira (2018) managed to change that date to May 1, 1458. Consequently, there is an extension of the possible chronological period for the writing of the manuscript of the *Leal Conselheiro* (Moreira, 2018:127).

As already mentioned, attempts to date that manuscript based on the dating of the last reference to Friar Gil de Tavira are only valid if it is accepted that this is the same person as Friar Gil Lobo. However, I shall prove that these are two different individuals. This document presented by Moreira (2018) did, in fact, make it possible to identify one final reference to Friar Gil de Tavira. But this cannot be associated with the date of the death of another Franciscan friar, Friar Gil Lobo, Dom Duarte's confessor, on which the dating of the royal manuscript depends.

From all of this, we must bear in mind some information that has been made clear. The meaning of the expression "*que deos perdoe*" has been unmistakably proven. It refers to a person who belongs to the past, someone who has passed away. The only reference to Friar Gil Lobo as an ambassador to the Council of Basel is contained in the chronicle of Dom Duarte. Just as the only known reference to Friar Gil de Tavira as Dom Duarte's confessor is to be found in the chronicle of Dom Afonso V. Both these pieces of information are taken from Rui de Pina's work, neither of which has any known documentary support.

#### 4. Solving the Problem: Two Different Men

Returning to this paper's initial statement, the character who has been referred to as "Friar Gil Lobo de Tavira" was not just one single person. In fact, there were two people: Friar Gil Lobo and Friar Gil de Tavira. As mentioned before, this identification is the main objective of this text. Therefore, it is important to consider the arguments that justify our starting point.

Let us begin with what should be the first indication of these men's different identities: their names. Friar Gil Lobo and Friar Gil de Tavira have the same first name, but different surnames. It is not possible to find even one contemporary document in which a single individual makes use of both names; in other words, it is not possible to find anyone

who is identified as Friar Gil Lobo de Tavira. This only happens, perhaps for the first time, in 1666, in the aforementioned *História Seráfica* (Esperança, 1666). Similarly, I did not find any document in which these two men appeared simultaneously, which, itself alone, would not be enough to justify their individuality.

The second aspect to be considered is the lack of any documentary evidence, as already mentioned, that could confirm that Friar Gil Lobo was one of Dom Duarte's ambassadors to the Basel Council.<sup>13</sup> Except for the chronicle of Dom Duarte and his subsequent narratives, all contemporary documents, both Portuguese and pontifical, refer to Friar Gil de Tavira as a member of the embassy. Furthermore, the latter is never referred to as Dom Duarte's confessor, which would be relevant information, and would certainly be included in the various petitions that he addressed to the pontiff.<sup>14</sup> Once again, the only source of this information is the chronicle of Dom Afonso V.

Finally, a third aspect arises, perhaps the most illuminating of all, and one which supports the first two: an unpublished document, dated 7 November 1439, from King Afonso V's Chancery (see Doc. 3). It is a confirmation granted by the monarch, under the authority of his mother, Queen Leonor, of a privilege conferred during the reign of Dom Duarte. This privilege, dated 15 May 1436, is granted to Martim Gomes, resident in Estremoz, and refers to his position as a scribe of the municipal construction works. He is presented as being "*irmão de frey Gil Lobo nosso confessor que Deus perdoe*" (the brother of Friar Gil Lobo, our confessor, may God forgive him).<sup>15</sup>

According to this document, Friar Gil Lobo passed away before 15 May 1436. Another document, inserted in the same folio, and also dated 7 November, 1439, similarly refers to Martim Gomes, and mentions that he was the brother of "*frey Gil Lobo que foy confessor do my alto e virtuoso e da gloriosa memoria el Rei meu senhor e padre cuja alma Deus aja*" (Friar Gil Lobo, who was a confessor to the very high and virtuous King, my Lord and father, of glorious memory, whose soul may God receive).<sup>16</sup> Although not as explicit as the first document in reporting the Franciscan's death, this document nonetheless confirms the

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<sup>13</sup> This did not prevent the name of Friar Gil de Tavira, or simply Friar Gil, found in several publications and documentary collections, from being replaced by that of Friar Gil Lobo in their summary. This lack of rigor only served to increase the confusion surrounding these two men. See Sá, Artur Moreira de (1966), *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalsis (1288-1537)*. Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, vol. IV, p. 128.

<sup>14</sup> For example, Sá, Artur Moreira de (1966), *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalsis (1288-1537)*. Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, vol. IV, pp. 139, 192-4.

<sup>15</sup> ANTT – Chancelaria D. Afonso V, liv. 20, fl. 49. Published as Doc. 3 in the appendix.

<sup>16</sup> ANTT – Chancelaria D. Afonso V, liv. 20, fl. 49.

family ties between the two individuals, and reinforces Friar Gil Lobo's position as Dom Duarte's past confessor.

Bearing in mind that we have identified a reference to the date of Friar Gil Lobo's death as being prior to 15 May 1436, he cannot therefore be identified as Friar Gil de Tavira for several reasons. Firstly, because there are secure records relating to Friar Gil de Tavira's activity until 1464.<sup>17</sup> I am referring to the *prazos* (leases) that he granted as the abbot of the monastery of São João de Alpendurada. This information, the last reference to Friar Gil de Tavira, means that there is at least a thirty-year gap between the deaths of the two Franciscans.

Secondly, if Friar Gil Lobo died in 1436 or earlier, it is not possible for him to have participated in the Portuguese embassy in Basel. The party began its journey in January 1436 and reached its destination in December of the same year (Dias, 2003:9). For this reason, even if Dom Duarte ever considered appointing his confessor to this diplomatic mission (of which we have no documentary evidence), then such an intention was never, in fact, realized. Even if he had died during the trip, the absence of any such mention, either in the *Diário da Jornada do Conde de Ourém* or in contemporary documentation, is unusual.

## Conclusion

I believe that I have presented sufficient evidence to solve the identity problem of Friar Gil Lobo and Friar Gil de Tavira. I found that the mistake, leading to the creation of the character "Friar Gil Lobo de Tavira," derived, perhaps inadvertently, from Rui de Pina's works. This happened on two different occasions: firstly, when appointing the Portuguese ambassadors to the Basel Council, exchanging Friar Gil de Tavira for Friar Gil Lobo; and secondly, when naming the former as Dom Duarte's confessor, a fact that has remained unproven to this date. This identity swap became further consolidated in the following years, namely in the *História Seráfica dos Frades Menores*, which ended up merging the identities of the two Franciscan Friars into one.

The arguments I have put forward are reinforced by the document of May 15, 1436, identified in the Chancery of Dom Afonso V. Together with Bernardo Sá Nogueira and João Dionísio's clarification of the meaning of the formula "*que deos perdoe*," this document made it possible to point out a chronological marker for the date of Friar Gil Lobo's death. As a

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<sup>17</sup> BNP, PGS. 140 P. There is another document that, clarifying its date (as between 1455 or 1465), could extend this date by another year: BNP, PGS. 142 P.

result, I believe that there is no doubt about the difference between him and Friar Gil de Tavira: the former was Dom Duarte's confessor and literary collaborator; the latter was certainly Dom Afonso V's confessor, preacher, and master. Both served the monarchy as ambassadors in European circles.

In addition to the dating of Dom Duarte's *Leal Conselheiro*—the main aim of some of the articles cited in this text—many other questions may be raised after the clarification of this identity problem. Firstly, in relation to the study of royal clergy or of those who were in the service of the royal family, their analysis cannot be properly carried out if Friar Gil Lobo and Friar Gil de Tavira are considered as if they were just one man. Secondly, for the study of the Order of Friars Minor in Portugal, both Franciscans seem to have played a significant role within the Portuguese Province of St. Francis at different times during their lives, with an evident impact on the history of the Order itself. Thirdly, in relation to the history of our medieval culture, “Friar Gil Lobo or de Tavira” is considered to have been a character of considerable cultural importance in these years of the fifteenth century, both as Dom Duarte's literary collaborator and as Dom Afonso V's master. These merits must now be divided between the two men who have been concealed under one identity.

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## Appendix

### Document 1

23 de Fevereiro de 1451

Sumário: Fr. Gil de Tavira, abade do mosteiro de S. João de Alpendurada, pede ao papa a confirmação da legitimidade do processo conduzido contra o anterior abade, D. André, bispo de Mégara.

Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Reg. Suppl. 448, fl. 260-260v.

Published: Costa, António Domingues de Sousa (1967), Mestre André Dias de Escobar, figura ecuménica do século XV. Rome/Porto: Editorial Franciscana. pp. 404-5.

Beatissime pater, dudum felicitatis recordationis Eugenius papa quartus, predecessor vester, religioso viro Gometio, priori monasterii sancte Crucis extra muros Colimbriën ut si, vocatis quondam Andrea, olim episcopo Megareñ, et aliis qui essent evocandi, sibi de certis delictis et excessibus per dictum episcopum commissis et aliis tunc expressis legitime constaret, commendam eidem episcopo de monasterio sancti Johannis de Pendorata ordinis sancti Benedicti Portugaleñ dioceses, dudum apostolica auctoritate ad beneplacitum sedis apostolice concessam, cessasse et expirasse auctoritate apostolica eadem declararet per quasdam primo et deinde ut si et postquam declarationem huiusmodi per eum fieri contingeret, dictumque monasterium per obitum quondam Stephani, illius ultimi abbatis extra Romanam curiam defuncti, sive alias quovis modo, etc., vacare inveniret, de persona devoti oratoris vestri fratris Egidii de Tavira, ordinis fratrum Minorum professoris, in theologia licentiatum, monasterio prefato provideret, etc., per alias suas litteras commisit et dedit in mandatis prout in ipsis litteris, quorum tenores, etc., plenius continetur. Quarum quidem commissionis et mandati necnon litterarum predictarum vigore, prefatus Gometius, constituto sibi, ut creditur, legitime de premissis, ad executionem litterarum predictarum procedens, commendam predictam cessasse et expirasse auctoritate predicta declaravit et successive de persona dicti fratris Egidii monasterio prefato providit, etc., prout in ipsius prioris litteris, quarum etiam tenores, etc., plenius continetur, quarum litterarum vigore, dictus Egidius possessionem monasterii predicti et bonorum illius assecutus exitit, prout eam tenet de presenti.

Cum autem, pater sancte, de declarationis, provisionis et assecutionis [fl. 260v] predictarum viribus dubitetur dictusque Andreas episcopus extra dictam curiam sit iam vita functus, ac per eius obitum dicta comenda cessasse et expirasse necnon monasterium prefatum vacare credatur. Supplicat igitur S[ancitatis] V[est]re dictus Egidius abbas quatinus declarationem, provisionem et assecutionem predictas et inde secuta et secutura apostolica auctoritate rata et grata habentes, illasque et illa auctoritate eadem confirmare de persona dicti Egidii abbatis monasterio prefato, etiam si per obitum dicti quondam Andree episcopi comenda illi dudum de eo facta cessaverit et propterea seu alias quomodolibet et ex cuiuscunque persona dictum monasterium vacaverit et vacet, etiam si tanto tempore vacaverit, etc., de novo providere seu provideri mandare ipsumque illi in abbatem et pastorem preficere, curam, regimen et administrationem illius sibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie de novo committendo, litteras apostolicas desuper in forma nove provisionis seu perinde valere vel alias, prout dicto Egidio abbati utilius fuerit expediri, mandando, dignemini misericorditer de gratia speciali. Cum non obstañ et clausulis in dictis litteris expressis aliisque non obstañ et clausulis oportunis. – Fiat ut petitur. C.

Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum. Septimo kalendas martii. Anno quarto. R. Simoneta F. Portuensis.

## Document 2

13 de Agosto de 1449

Sumário: D. Afonso V concede carta de privilégio ao mosteiro de S. João de Alpendurada e ao seu abade, fr. Gil de Tavira.

Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo [ANTT], liv. 4 de Além Douro, fl. 184.

Published: Costa, António Domingues de Sousa (1967) Mestre André Dias de Escobar, figura ecuménica do século XV. Rome/Porto: Editorial Franciscana. pp. 403-4.

Ao abade e moesteyro de Sam Joham d'Alpendorada privilegio per que tomou a elles e a seus servidores e todas suas cousas em guarda e em comenda, etc.

Dom Affonso, etc. A quantos esta carta virem fazemos saber que por os muytos serviços que frey Gill de Tavira, abade do mosteiro de sam Joham d'Alpendorada tem fecto a elRey meu senhor e padre, cuja alma Deus aja, e a nos, em sendo nosso pregador e confessor e meestre, tomamos elle e o dito seu moesteyro e servidores e todas suas cousas em nossa especial guarda e emcomenda e sob nosso defemdimento. E porem rrogamos e emcomendamos e mandamos aos yffantes e duque meus muyto prezados e amados irmaão, tyos, e emcomendamos e mandamos aos comdes e a outras quaaesquer pessoas de nossos rregnos e a todollos corregedores, juizes e justiças deles e a outros quaaesquer offiçiaaes e pessoas a que esto pertemçer e esta carta for mostrada, que ajam assy o dito frey Gill e o dito seu moesteyro e todos seus servidores e cousas por especialmente rrecomendados a nos, e por o nosso lhes façam toda homrra e gasalho e os traudem e mandem trautar como cousas nossas, de que grande carrego temos. E nom comsentaes que per pessoa alguua, de qualquer estado e condiçom que seja, lhe seja fecto agravo nem outra alguua ssem rrezam e em caso que lhe fecta seja cousa como nom deve, assy a sua pessoa como ao dito sseu moesteyro e cousas suas ou cada huua dellas, lho façam logo correger e emendar como for rrezam e direito e lhe cumpram e guardem e façam bem cumprir e guardar todollos privilegios, homrras, liberdades que o dito seu moesteyro de nos tem, e lhe nom vaam nem consentam hir contra ellas em maneyra alguua por que assy he nossa merçee, sem outro embargo, sendo certo que aquelles que o fezerem, lho agardeçeremos e teremos em serviço e do contrayro nos desprazera e tornaremos a elle como nossa mercee for. E all nom façades. Dada em os nossos paaços da Serra, XIII dias d'Agosto. Vasco d'Abull a fez, anno do nosso Senhor Jhesu Christo de mil e IIIc R IX.

## Document 3

Data: 7 de Novembro de 1439 (doc. inserto 16 de Abril de 1436)

Sumário: Confirmação de D. Afonso V da nomeação do ofício de Martim Gomez, escrivão das obras do concelho de Estremoz, feita por D. Duarte.

Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo [ANTT] - Chancelaria D. Afonso V, liv. 20, fl. 49.

Dom Afonso e etc a quantos esta carta virem fazemos saber que Martim Gomez morador em Estremoz nos mostrou perante nos huum alvara do muy alto e virtuoso e da gloriosa memoria el Rei meu Senhor e padre cuja alma Deus aja siinado per ell do qual o teor tal he: Nos el Rei fazemos saber a vos juizes e vereadores e homeens boons dessa villa d'Estremoz que a nos praz de seer escripvam de todallas obras desse concelho Martim Gomez hi morador

irmãao de frey Gil Lobo nosso confesor que Deus perdoe que aja d'escriver<sup>18</sup> os recebimentos de todallas despesas que se fazem em elas asy e todallas outras cousas que aas dictas obras preteencem. E porem mandamos que <asy> o ajaes por escrivam dellas<sup>19</sup> e outro nhum nom e aja mantimento que por ello deve d'aver segundo he costume de se dar aos outros escripvaees das obras dos dictos lugares semelhaavees sem outro nhum embargo que lhe sobre ello ponhades. Unde all [nom] façades. Fecto em Estremoz XVI dias d'Abril Joham de Ponte a fez era de mil e IIII<sup>c</sup> e XXXVI annos.

E pedio nos o dicto Martim Gomez que lhe confirmasemos o dicto alvara e nos visto seu pidir e querendo lhe fazer graça e merçee confirmamos lhe o dicto alvara asy e pella guisa que em elle he contheudo. E porem mandamos quais quer nossos ofiçiaaes e pessoas a que o conhecimento desto perteençer per qual quer guisa que<sup>20</sup> los (?) compram e guardem e façaes comprir e guardar o dicto alvara segundo nelle faz mençom sem outro nhum embargo que lhe sobre ello seja posto. Dada em Alamquer VII dias de Novembro el Rei o mandou com autoridade da Senhora Rainha sua madre como <sua> tetor e curador que he, Rui Vaasquez a fez. Era de mil e IIII<sup>c</sup> e XXXIX anos. O qual Martim Gomez jurou em a nossa chamcelaria aos santos evangelhos que bem e diretamente e como deve obre e use do dicto ofiço e guarde a nos o nosso serviço e ao poboo seu direito.

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<sup>18</sup> Riscado “to”.

<sup>19</sup> Riscado “com os escripvaees”.

<sup>20</sup> Riscadas três letras.