

ESSAYS ON LAY AND ECCLESIASTICAL COMMUNITIES IN AND AROUND THE MEDIEVAL URBAN PARISH

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**BISHOPS AND DIGNITARIES OF COIMBRA
IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY:
A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL STUDY**

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Abstract: The diocese of Coimbra was restored around 1080, following the definitive conquest of the city by the Christian armies led by the emperor Fernando the Great. Together with Sesnando Davides, the Mozarabic count to whom he handed over the government of an immense territory that included the city, one of the first measures he took was to provide the main church of the city with a canonical body that would assist the bishop in his pastoral tasks. About a century later, a new cathedral was built, which had a strategic role in the organization of the space of Coimbra's "almedina", as the headquarters of the main parish of the city.

Although the general features of the chapter's evolution are already known, as well as the action of its bishops, neither the social composition nor the dynamics of the canonical recruitment in the Cathedral of Coimbra have been studied yet. Studying them is the purpose of this paper.

Resumo: A diocese de Coimbra foi restaurada por volta de 1080, após a conquista definitiva da cidade pelos exércitos cristãos liderados pelo imperador Fernando Magno. Juntamente com Sesnando Davides,

o conde moçárabe a quem entregou o governo de um imenso território que incluía a cidade, uma das primeiras medidas que tomou foi dotar a igreja matriz da cidade de um cabido de cónegos que auxiliasse o bispo nas suas tarefas pastorais. Cerca de um século depois, foi construída uma nova catedral, que teve um papel estratégico na organização do espaço da almedina de Coimbra, como sede da paróquia principal da cidade.

Embora se conheçam já os traços gerais da evolução do cabido, bem como a ação dos seus bispos, não estão ainda estudadas a composição social nem a dinâmica do recrutamento canónico na Sé de Coimbra. Estudá-las é o objetivo deste trabalho.

Introduction

The diocese of Coimbra was restored in 1080 or thereabouts, following the definitive conquest of the city by the Christian armies led by Emperor Fernando the Great¹. The town was an important point in his victorious campaign, giving him sovereignty over vast territories of the future Portugal as he took advantage of the weakness caused by the fragmentation of the Muslim caliphate of Córdoba into small taifa kingdoms². To conquer this important site, strategically

¹ About the restoration of this diocese, see Maria do Rosário Barbosa Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra: a instituição e a chancelaria (1080-1325)* (Lisboa: FCG/FCT, 2010), 39-50.

² For a synthesis about this period, see Luís Manuel de Araújo, “Os Muçulmanos no Ocidente peninsular”, in *História de Portugal*, ed. by José Hermano Saraiva, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Alfa, 1983), 245-289; José Mattoso, “A política”, in *História de Portugal*, ed. by José Mattoso, vol. 1: *Antes de Portugal* (Lisboa: Presença, 1992), 567-570; Mário Jorge Barroca, “A Reconquista cristã (1064-1249)”, in *Nova História Militar de Portugal*, ed. by Manuel Themudo Barata, Nuno Severiano Teixeira, vol. 1 (Rio de Mouro: Círculo de Leitores, 2003), 28-33. For those who do not read Portuguese, see for instance A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: From Beginnings to 1807*, vol. I: *Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Stephen Lay, *The Reconquest Kings of Portugal: Political and Cultural Reorientation on the Medieval Frontier* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) or Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

located on the north bank of the Mondego River, Fernando collaborated with Sesnando Davides, the Mozarabic count to whom he handed over the governance of an immense territory – with Coimbra as its centre³.

One of Sesnando's first measures, together with the bishop assigned to the diocese, was to provide the main church of the city with a chapter that would assist the bishop in his pastoral tasks⁴. This ecclesiastical organization was one of the ways of guaranteeing the solid occupation and settlement of these conquered zones. Thus began a new phase in the life of Coimbra and its diocese – almost three centuries after falling under the Muslim rule.

The chapter began by implementing the practices of the 'common life' as recommended by the peninsular ecclesiastical councils and the Gregorian reform, as was being implemented in the Iberian Peninsula at that time. However, the inexorable process of secularization that was becoming the trend throughout Western Europe also began in Coimbra, from the early twelfth century⁵.

The general features of the chapter's evolution during the Middle Ages have already been studied – as has the episcopal action from the restoration of the diocese until the first decades of the fourteenth century⁶. The social composition and the dynamics of the canonical recruitment in the Cathedral, however, have yet to be the subject of the careful analysis they deserve, in order to understand the ecclesiastical elite of the city that, until the middle of the thirteenth century, was of the greatest importance in the Portuguese kingdom. Within which social groups were the bishops and the chapter's dignities recruited? What steps were to be taken in order to build their careers? What ties existed – of influence and/or dependence – with the power wielded by the king?

³ About Sesnando Davides, see Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, "Nos alvares da história de Coimbra – D. Sesnando e a Sé Velha", in *Sé Velha de Coimbra: Culto e Cultura* (Coimbra: Catedral de Santa Maria, 2005), 11-39.

⁴ Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 40-47.

⁵ Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 195-210.

⁶ Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 75-193.

The aim of this paper is to open this particular avenue of study for the cathedral of Coimbra, focussing on the thirteenth century – a period for which there are equivalent records regarding other cathedrals for comparison.

This analysis utilizes the extant data collected for this author's prior studies on the cathedral⁷, as well as the database created and enriched within the scope of the project *Fasti Ecclesiae Portugaliae*⁸, such as the information contained in the wills of bishops and chapter members published by the project⁹, and furthermore in the cathedral's fourteenth century obituary¹⁰. The data was approached with the prosopographic method once again, as it has proved so effective for organizing a questionnaire on a particular social group, and likewise has been employed in the main studies carried out on ecclesiastical communities both in Portugal and abroad¹¹. The prosopographic

⁷ Maria do Rosário Barbosa Morujão, “La famille d'Ébrard et le clergé de Coimbra aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles”, in *A Igreja e o clero português no contexto europeu. Colóquio Internacional* (Lisboa: CEHR, 2005), 75-91; “O báculo e a coroa na Coimbra medieval”, in *Raízes Medievais do Brasil Moderno. Actas*, ed. by Margarida Garcez, José Varandas (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 2008), 43-66; “Bispos em tempos de guerra: os prelados de Coimbra na segunda metade do século XIV”, in *A guerra e a sociedade na Idade Média. VI Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de Estudos Medievais*, ed. by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, Saul António Gomes, António Manuel Ribeiro Rebelo, vol. 1 ([Torres Novas]: SPEM, 2009), 539-550; *A Sé de Coimbra*; Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, Maria do Rosário Barbosa Morujão, “Les testaments du clergé de Coimbra: des individus aux réseaux sociaux”, in *Encontro Internacional Carreiras Eclesiásticas no Ocidente Cristão (séc. XII-XIV)* (Lisboa: CEHR, 2007), 121-138.

⁸ About this project, see Ana Maria Jorge, “*Fasti Ecclesiae Portugaliae*: prosopografia do clero catedralício português (1071-1325)”, *Lusitania Sacra* 13-14 (2001-2002): 665-666.

⁹ Maria do Rosário Barbosa Morujão, ed., *Testamenta Ecclesiae Portugaliae (1080-1325)* (Lisboa: CEHR, 2010).

¹⁰ Pierre David, Torquato de Sousa Soares, eds., *Liber Anniversariorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Colimbricensis (Livro das Kalendas)*, 2 vols. (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1947-1948).

¹¹ About this method, see Barrie Dobson, “The prosopography of late medieval cathedral canons (some reflections on *I canonici al servizio dello Stato in Europa secoli XIII-XVI*, by H. Millet). *Medieval Prosopography*, 15 (2) (1994): 67-92; Jean-Philippe Genet, Günther Lottes, eds., *L'État moderne et les élites XIII^e-XVIII^e. Apports et limites de la méthode prosopographique* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1996); *Aragón en la Edad Media. La Prosopografía como método de investigación sobre la Edad Media. Sesiones de trabajo. Seminário de Historia Medieval* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2006). About its application to the study of members of the secular clergy in Portugal, see Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar, *As dimensões de um poder. A diocese de Évora na Idade*

structure used to organize the data has already been tested in several studies and includes the items presented on Table 1¹².

Identification	Name Chronology Status in ecclesiastical hierarchy Holy orders Geographical origin
Social position: family	Parents Siblings Other relatives
Private life	Descendants Death Will Chapels and anniversaries Place and tomb Executors of the will
Kinship network	Protectors Relatives in the Church hierarchy Executor of wills Clientele Appearance as witness
Career in the cathedral	Service of the chapter Service of the bishop Journeys
Career outside the cathedral	Regal and aristocratic power Ecclesiastical power
Economic position	Patrimony – acquisitions Patrimony – management Lifestyle
Studies and cultural level	Intellectual life Books

Table 1. The prosopographic file used
(adapted from Morujão and Saraiva, “A clergyman’s career”).

Média (Lisboa: Estampa, 1999); Ana Maria S. Rodrigues, “Para uma prosopografia dos cônegos de Braga”, in *Elites e redes clientelares na Idade Média*, ed. by Filipe Themudo Barata (Évora: CIDEHUS, 2001), 141-168; Anísio Miguel de Sousa Saraiva, *A Sé de Lamego na primeira metade do século XIV (1296-1349)* (Leiria: Ed. Magno, 2003); Mário Sérgio da Silva Farelo, “O Cabido da Sé de Lisboa e os seus cônegos (1277-1377)”, 2 vols. (unpublished master's thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2003); Ana Maria Seabra de Almeida Rodrigues et al., *Os capitulares bracarense (1245-1374): notícias biográficas* (Lisboa: CEHR-UCP, 2005).

¹² More specifically, this is the file used by Morujão and Saraiva, “O chantre de Viseu” and “A clergyman’s career”.

The bishops

The thirteenth century in Portugal was marked by vigorous conflicts between royal and episcopal power – it was also a time when kings sought to place their own candidates as bishops and a period of growing papal interventionism in the concession of episcopal benefices¹³.

During this century, there were seven bishops in Coimbra, as shown in Table 2. The majority came from the ranks of cathedral chapters: two from Coimbra¹⁴, one from Braga¹⁵, two from the Castilian diocese of Palencia¹⁶, whilst two were transferred from the episcopal chairs of Évora and Viseu¹⁷ – although Mateus Martins, formerly bishop of Viseu, appointed by the pope to the bishopric of Coimbra, was never recognized as such either by the king or the canons, and returned to the see he occupied before. Four held their position until passing

¹³ See for instance Mário Farelo, “Les clercs étrangers au Portugal durant la période de la papauté avignonnaise: un aperçu préliminaire”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 22 (2010): 85-147 and several articles by Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar: “No tempo de Avinhão: Afonso IV e o episcopado em meados de Trezentos”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 22 (2010): 149-168; “Les *clerici regis* et le service du roi dans le Portugal des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles”, in *Église et État, Église ou État?*, ed. by Christine Barralis et al. (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2014), 153-158; “Episcopal appointments and royal power: theory and practice of an unwritten privilege in medieval Portugal”, *Imago Temporis – Medium Aevum*, 11 (2017): 233-254; “The «life and times» of Martinho Peres de Oliveira: from Évora to Braga”, in *Medieval Studies in Honour of Peter Linehan*, ed. by Francisco J. Hernández, Emma Falque, Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras (Firenze: Sismeli, 2018), 323-344.

¹⁴ Pedro Soares was the chapter's dean and Domingos was a canon; see Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 118-124 and 130, respectively.

¹⁵ Egas Fafes; see below and Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 130-138.

¹⁶ Tibúrcio and Aymeric d'Ébrard; see Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 124-129 and 140-154, respectively. About the latter, see also below.

¹⁷ Pedro Martins and Mateus Martins; see Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 154-165 and 138-139, respectively. About the former, see also Vilar, *As dimensões*, 61-66, and Leontina Ventura, João da Cunha Matos, “O testamento de D. Pedro Martins, bispo de Coimbra, e as suas relações de parentesco com a aristocracia medieval coimbrã”, *Lusitania Sacra* 39 (janeiro-junho 2019): 177-213. About the latter, see Mário Farelo, “O episcopado após 1147”, in *História da diocese de Viseu*, ed. by José Pedro Paiva, vol. 1 (Viseu: Diocese de Viseu / Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2016), 200-203.

on¹⁸; one was deposed – Pedro Soares, the first bishop of the century¹⁹ – another, Egas Fafes, became archbishop of Compostela²⁰.

Pedro Soares	1192/07 – 1232/05
Tibúrcio	1234/08 – †1246/11/21 or 22
Domingos	1247/02/02 – 1247/04
Egas Fafes	1247/05 – 1267/12/18
Mateus Martins	1268/07/31 – 1279/01/13
Aymeric d'Ébrard	1279/01/09 – †1295/12/04
Pedro Martins	1296/08/09 – †1301/11/03

Table 2. Bishops of Coimbra during the thirteenth century (adapted from Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 80-81).

Reliable information regarding social standing and lineage only exists for three bishops: Egas Fafes, Aymeric d'Ébrard and Pedro Martins. It is not by chance that they all belong to the second half of the century or, in Fafes's case, the middle: data is much more abundant after 1250.

Bishop Egas belonged to the ancient noble family of Lanhoso, from northern Portugal²¹, and during the first half of the thirteenth century the lineage was trying to recuperate their venerable prestige. One strategy employed was the placement of certain family members in ecclesiastical positions – and likewise the king's service. Egas began his career in Braga, his region of familial origin, studying Law at the university. He left a number of important manuscripts on this subject to the chapter so that family members who were canons could utilize

¹⁸ Tibúrcio, Domingos, Aymeric d'Ébrard and Pedro Martins; see above, notes 14, 16 and 17; for the last two, see also below.

¹⁹ See note 14 and below.

²⁰ See note 15 and below.

²¹ About his family see Leontina Ventura, "A nobreza de corte de Afonso III", vol. 2 (PhD thesis, University of Coimbra, 1992, 750-755), and José Augusto de Sotto Mayor Pizarro, *Linbagens medievais portuguesas. Genealogias e estratégias (1279-1325)*, vol. 2 (Porto: Centro de Estudos de Genealogia, Heráldica e História da Família da Universidade Moderna, 1999), 119-138.

them whilst they themselves studied²². He became a canon and later an archdeacon in the cathedral of Braga²³, then moved to Coimbra where he was bishop for 20 years, until his final transfer to Compostela; however, he did not actually occupy that see, having died in Montpellier on his journey from Rome to Galicia to take that role²⁴.

Aymeric d'Ébrard also belonged to the nobility, but, in his case, local gentry whose wealth was centred on the small village of Saint-Sulpice in the French region of Quercy²⁵. His family provides a good example of the possibilities of social climbing opened by ecclesiastical positions, which were multiplied for families from the southern regions of France by the papacy's settlement in Avignon, especially for those, like the Ébrard, who came from the diocese of Cahors, from where came Pope John XXII's family. This pope surrounded himself with relatives and fellow countrymen, to whom he granted numerous benefices, both in France and in other countries²⁶. However, the arrival of Aymeric to the See of Coimbra preceded that pope, being a direct appointment by Nicolas III – explained by the presence of Aymeric's relatives in the French secular clergy's hierarchy and the knowledge Aymeric had of the Iberian microcosm, obtained as an archdeacon in Palencia. It is also possible, although an estimation without direct evidence, that Aymeric had been an apostolic collector, as two of his nephews were. He had a long episcopate in Coimbra, lasting 18 years, and whilst clearly present in the diocese, he also

²² Morujão, *Testamenta*, doc. 2.28, 299-316, and Morujão and Saraiva, "O chantre de Viseu", 94.

²³ For his career in Braga see Ana Maria Rodrigues et al., *Os capitulares bracarense (1245-1374): notícias biográficas* (Lisboa: CEHR, 2005), 93.

²⁴ See above note 15.

²⁵ See note 16 and Pierre David, *Français du Midi dans les évêchés portugais (1279-1390)* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1944); Gérard Pradalié, "Quercynois et autres méridionaux au Portugal à la fin du XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle: l'exemple de l'Église de Coïmbre", *Annales du Midi. Revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale*, 94 (1982): 369-386; Morujão, "La famille d'Ébrard"; Farel, "Les clerics étrangers".

²⁶ On John XXII, see Colloque de Fanjeaux, *Jean XXII et le Midi* (Toulouse: Privat, 2012).

managed to frequently visit his homeland, where he decided to eventually be buried²⁷.

Pedro Martins, his successor, was not a nobleman – instead coming from the mercantile oligarchy of Coimbra – but was also looking for social advancement through the service of the king and entry into the clergy²⁸. His brother was a wealthy merchant, whose son-in-law had the same trade, and two of his nieces were nuns in the Cistercian monastery of Celas²⁹. Pedro studied Medicine and was King Afonso III's physician, and later became King Dinis's chancellor. He was a canon in Coimbra's chapter, then a candidate for Lisbon's episcopate; not having obtained this See, he was elected for Évora, and transferred afterwards to Coimbra, where he remained until his death five years later.

These three bishops had relatives in the chapter of Coimbra and/or in other ecclesiastical institutions. Nepotism was widespread at the time, and seeking to benefit from those who shared the same blood was normalised³⁰. A relative in a desirable position within the Church would naturally open doors for other family members, for instance to nephews, who progressed in the capitular hierarchy thanks to their influence. Egas Fafes was the uncle of a dean, an archdeacon and two canons of Coimbra, and his illegitimate son was

²⁷ His tomb with recumbent statue remains at the monastery of Val Paradis, in Espagnac Sainte-Eulalie, which he had protected; see Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 144-145.

²⁸ See above, note 17.

²⁹ About this monastery and these nuns, see Maria do Rosário Barbosa Morujão, *Um mosteiro cisterciense feminino: Santa Maria de Celas (séculos XIII a XV)* (Coimbra: BGUC, 2001), 38, 146-147, 154, and Luís Miguel Malva de Jesus Rêpas, "Esposas de Cristo. As comunidades cistercienses femininas na Idade Média" (PhD thesis, University of Coimbra, 2021), vol. 1, 333-336.

³⁰ About nepotism in medieval Portuguese Church, see Maria Antonieta Moreira da Costa, "Nepotismo e poder na arquidiocese de Braga: 1245-1374". *Lusitania Sacra* 17 (2005): 117-140; Mário Farelo, "A quem são teúdos os barões e sages cônegos? Perspectivas sobre as redes de solidariedade no cabido da Sé de Lisboa: 1277-1377", *Lusitania Sacra* 17 (2005): 141-182; Anísio Miguel de Sousa Saraiva, "Nepotism, illegitimacy and papal protection in the construction of a career: Rodrigo Pires de Oliveira, Bishop of Lamego (1311-1330†)", *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 6, n.º 1 (Summer 2008), https://digitalis.uc.pt/pt-pt/artigo/nepotism_illegitimacy_and_papal_protection_construction_career_rodrigo_pires_de_oliveira.

a canon in Braga; half a century later there were still relatives of his in the chapter of Coimbra³¹. Aymeric brought a vast group of relatives from France, both close and distant, who, during the following decades, completely dominated the clerical benefices in Coimbra – especially those of the cathedral, but also in the main collegiates of the city; moreover, two of his nephews made their career in the chapter and were later bishops of the diocese themselves during the first half of the fourteenth century³². This French predominance was difficult to accept for the Portuguese clerics, and there were inevitable conflicts³³. As for Pedro Martins, two of his nephews were canons in Coimbra, a third at Lisbon’s cathedral, and another was prior at the (rich) collegiate of Santa Maria da Alcáçova of Santarém³⁴. Of the remaining bishops, there is only extant information about Pedro Soares – who also had family members in the chapter³⁵.

As can be seen, family ties abound, mostly between uncles protecting nephews, as well as examples of bishops who were at the king’s service and who were thus protected in accessing the episcopal chair. Several careers were made within cathedral chapters, in Coimbra or another diocese, given that mobility existed between sees. This was more frequent between Portuguese dioceses but also happened abroad, especially with Castile, as would be expected given the geographical proximity. Several ecclesiastics went through a *cursum honorum* from simple canons to the most important dignities, such as the deanery. At that time, the role of the bishop of Coimbra was almost always the culmination of a career, with few who held this role not remaining there until their passing³⁶. As can be seen from the studies already

³¹ See above, notes 15 and 21.

³² See above, notes 16 and 25.

³³ See Pradalié, “Quercynois”, 379-380 and Morujão, “La famille d’Ébrard”, 85-87.

³⁴ See above, note 17.

³⁵ See above, note 14.

³⁶ This would not be the case in the following century, when Coimbra lost importance and was, more often than not, a ‘passage’ diocese; see Morujão, “Bispos”, 541-542.

carried out in this regard, the reality of other Portuguese dioceses was no different³⁷.

The dignities

The chapters had a certain number of canons, some of whom performed specific functions, the ‘dignities’, who occupied the top of the capitular hierarchy. In Coimbra, the number of dignities was fixed in the statutes granted by the papal legate, Cardinal Jean of Abbeville, in the late 1220s³⁸. At that time, they numbered eight, and were structured in descending order of importance as so: a dean, a cantor, a scholaster, a treasurer and four archdeacons, corresponding to the four areas into which the diocese was divided (Coimbra, Penela, Vouga and Seia)³⁹. Across other Portuguese dioceses, the organization of chapters was broadly similar – they all had a dean, a cantor, and a treasurer, but, for instance, the scholaster was not a dignity in Évora until the fourteenth century⁴⁰, and in Lamego neither the scholaster nor the archdeacons were dignities before the fifteenth century⁴¹. In Braga, the dean usually accumulated an archdeaconry⁴² and, in Lisbon, there was a chancellor during the first half of the thirteenth century, a role that vanished henceforth, and only two archdeacons until the fifteenth century⁴³.

³⁷ See the bibliography mentioned in note 30, as well as Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar, “Episcopal appointments and royal power: theory and practice on an unwritten privilege in medieval Portugal”, *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum* 11 (2017): 233-254.

³⁸ About the chapter’s evolution and its composition during the thirteenth century, see Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 205-210.

³⁹ For the geography of the archdeaconries, see Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 65-72.

⁴⁰ Vilar, *As dimensões*, 156-157.

⁴¹ Saraiva, *A Sé de Lamego*, 111.

⁴² Maria Cristina Almeida e Cunha, *A chancelaria arquiépiscopal de Braga (1071-1244)* (Noia: Toxosouto, 2005), 94-97; Maria Justiniana Pinheiro Maciel Lima, *O cabido de Braga no tempo de D. Dinis (1278-1325)* (Cascais: Patrimonia, 2003), 154.

⁴³ Farelo, “O cabido”, 15-16.

Throughout the thirteenth century, there were five deans, nine cantors, three scholasters, fourteen treasurers and twenty-one archdeacons, as shown in the tables 3 to 7.

Gonçalo Dias	1193/05 – †1201/02/21
Julião Juliães	1205/01 – †1262/06/29
Estêvão Moniz	1264/03/22 – †1285/09/10
Fernão Soares	1285/11/07 – †1292/12/18
Raymond d'Ébrard	1293/02/16 – 1318/06/17

Table 3. Deans of the cathedral of Coimbra during the thirteenth century (*apud* Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 210-218).

Paio Gonçalves	[1200] – †[1206]/11/15
Martim Pais	1207/06 – †1223/01/05
João Eanes	1223/06/23 – †1236/10/06
Martim de Sousa	1230/03
Pedro Rodrigues	1239/09 – 1257/01/08
Pedro Pais	1257/06 – †1263/12/08
Gonçalo Gonçalves	1264/03/22 – 1282/04/14
Guillaume of Goudou	1285/01/12 – 1291/07/07
Pedro Martins	1293/09/03 – †1322/07/20

Table 4. Cantors of the cathedral of Coimbra during the thirteenth century (*apud* Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 219-223).

Pedro	1193/05 – 1223/06/23
Pedro Martins	1229/05 – †1281/03/10
João Peres	1283/01/08 – †1301/11/16

Table 5. Scholasters of the cathedral of Coimbra during the thirteenth century (*apud* Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 223-226).

João Salvado / Salvador	1183/03/19 – 1210/03/17
Pedro Rodrigues	1223/04 – 1236/07/03
J. Peres	1243/07
João Domingues	1244/06/30 – 1244/07/01
Pedro Gonçalves	1248/08/30
João Martins	1249/06 – 1254
P.	1257/01/08
Estêvão Moniz	1258/11 – 1262/09
Gil Juliães	–
Fernão Soares	1268/03/08 – 1277/07/21
Domingos Martins	1279/ 07/15
Fernão Soares	1283/03/29 – 1285/03/03
Raymond d'Ébrard	1291/11/06
Gonçalo Mendes	1293/09 – 1310/07/25

Table 6. Treasurers of the cathedral of Coimbra during the thirteenth century (*apud* Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 226-232).

Mendo Martins	Coimbra	1192/07 – 1222/02
Martim Martins	–	1200/04 – 1223/10
João Vicente	–	1227/10/07
Gonçalo de <i>Porzeli</i>	Seia	1229/04/06 – 1230/02
João <i>Sendini</i>	Coimbra	1229/08 – 1229/10
João Martins	Seia	1230/03 – 1239/08
Paio Álvares	–	1230/03 – 1239/08
Pedro Peres	–	1231/08 – 1234/08/02
J.	Vouga	1232/06/25
Domingos Eanes <i>Rabies</i>	Penela	[before 1235/04]
Pedro Gonçalves	Coimbra	1242/06 – 1245/03
Vicente	Penela	1251/08
Gonçalo <i>Facundi</i>	Seia	1255/05/18 – 1270/02/14
João de Galiano	Coimbra	1262/02/23 – 1263/04/10
João Vicente	Penela	1264/12/30 – 1290/10/24
Martim Viegas	Vouga	1268/03/08 – 1270/09/06
Pascoal Nunes	Seia	1281/03/07 – 1290/06/27
João António	Vouga	1287/11 – 1298/03/13
Bernardo	–	1291/03/23
Pedro Garcia	Coimbra	[before 1294/05/15]
Fernão Garcia	Penela	1299/12/22 – 1321/02

Table 7. Archdeacons of the cathedral of Coimbra during the thirteenth century (*apud* Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 232-242).

Some dignities were occupied, as a rule, for life, others spanning several decades; some, however, served above all as steps in climbing to higher benefices, and were thus occupied for only a few years, which, to a large extent, explains the variation in the numbers presented. These figures allow an estimation that the longest service in office was attained by scholasters and deans, with the dignity of treasurer being less permanent, serving as a step to more prestigious benefices. The significantly greater number of archdeacons is due to the fact there were four simultaneously.

In most cases, information has not survived regarding the familial placement of dignitaries. When this does exist, it shows a broadly similar vista to that which was seen in terms of bishops: family ties between various clerics – mostly, once more, uncles nurturing nephews – and between these clerics and holders of offices with the king, namely chancellors. In addition, we also find several cases in which the dignitaries themselves belonged to the closest circle of royalty and government of the kingdom, and there was further the possibility of mobility between dioceses. Moreover, the possibility of accumulating benefices can also be added to these prior features.

In this regard, the first deans of the century are very good examples: Gonçalo Dias and Julião Juliães were uncle and nephew, respectively brother and son of the famous royal chancellor Julião Pais, who served three kings⁴⁴; the last dean of this period, Raymond d'Ébrard, was one of Aymeric's nephews, who ascended from canon to treasurer, dean, and finally bishop⁴⁵; Guillaume of Goudou was also a relative of Bishop Aymeric, who, after being cantor in Coimbra was a papal

⁴⁴ About them, see Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 215. About Julião Juliães, see also Armando José Gomes do Norte, "Letrados e cultura letrada (séculos XII-XIII)", unpublished doctoral thesis. Universidade de Lisboa, 2013, vol. 2, 179-181 and, about Julião Pais, 181-183; about this royal chancellor, see also Ingo Fleisch, "Kirche, Königtum und gelehrtes Recht im hochmittelalterlichen Portugal", unpublished master's thesis, Universität Bamberg, 1998, 70-74, and Maria João Branco, "Poder real e eclesiástico. A evolução do conceito de soberania régia e a sua relação com a praxis política de Sancho I e Afonso II", unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidade Aberta de Lisboa, 1999, vol. 1, 206-211.

⁴⁵ Morujão, "La famille", 81, 85, and Farelo, "Les clerics étrangers", 144.

chaplain, general vicar of Sicily and archbishop of Salerno⁴⁶. Another cantor, Gonçalo Gonçalves, accumulated both chantries of Coimbra and Porto⁴⁷. Pedro Martins, nephew of Bishop Pedro Soares, was scholaster for more than half a century⁴⁸; his successor João Peres was not only scholaster for the last decades of the century, but also the rector of a parish church, and had a nephew who was a portioner of the cathedral's chapter⁴⁹. It is also worth mentioning Pedro Gonçalves, whose career alternated between the cathedrals of Coimbra and Viseu, starting as a canon of the former, later becoming cantor of the latter; afterwards he became archdeacon and then treasurer in Coimbra, finally ending his days as bishop of Viseu⁵⁰. Lastly, analysing archdeacons, Martim Viegas, who was a nephew of Bishop Egas Fafes⁵¹, and Pascoal Nunes, who had connections with the mercantile milieu of Coimbra, being the brother-in-law of a merchant⁵², are both worth noting.

Another important element is the educative level of these clerics, which can be assessed through three main indicators: the title of *magister* associated with their name, the exercise of judicial functions, and the possession of books on subjects studied at higher levels of education⁵³. Table 8 presents the numbers and percentage of scholars, compared to the total number of ecclesiastics in each category.

⁴⁶ Morujão, "La famille", 83, and Farelo, "Les clercs étrangers", 125.

⁴⁷ Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 221.

⁴⁸ Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 225-226.

⁴⁹ Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 226.

⁵⁰ Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 230, 239, and Farelo, "O episcopado", 199-200.

⁵¹ Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 240.

⁵² Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 240-241.

⁵³ About these indicators, see Norte, "Letrados", vol. 1, 48-52.

Bishops	5	71%
Deans	3	60%
Cantors	5	56%
Scholasters	1	33%
Treasurers	5	36%
Archdeacons	7	33%

Table 8 – Number and percentage of clerics with higher education (*apud* Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*).

This percentage is especially high in the most prominent ranks, among bishops, deans, and cantors; it is lower in the other dignities, possibly due to the lack of extant information. However, it clearly shows the importance of studies to progress in the chapter's hierarchy and to be able to reach higher benefices, such as those awarded at the episcopal level.

Canons

Moving attention to the canons of the cathedral – the members of its chapter who did not perform any specific singular function – it should be noted that their number is not defined in the sources that have survived but can be estimated at approximately 25. This in itself forms a rather considerable community – by comparison, a similar educated guess points to around 30 individuals in Braga and Lisbon; furthermore, the other Portuguese cathedral chapters with extant information did not exceed twenty canons⁵⁴.

When referring to the bishops and dignities, mention has already been made of some of the canons of Coimbra. Their prosopographic files are still being studied and expanded upon; as such, a brief overview regarding some of those about whom information exists, namely within wills, will be given.

⁵⁴ See Morujão, *A Sé de Coimbra*, 245, where all these figures are presented.

As shown, the aegis of a member of the chapter or a bishop could be determinant for a cleric to become a canon, and indeed this guardianship was often granted to family members, but was not exclusively so: there were also clientele networks and the influence of the king, who rewarded those who served (or were close to) him with ecclesiastical positions, namely by entering them in to the cathedral chapters.

Bishop Domingos, who, as seen, was at the head of the diocese for a mere couple of months in 1247 – during the civil war for the Portuguese throne – had been a canon of the cathedral’s chapter. Of the remaining thirteenth century bishops, Pedro Martins also began his journey as a canon in the chapter of Coimbra, and had his career granted, as demonstrated, by his proximity to the kings. His two nephews, as mentioned, were likewise canons in Coimbra, whose entry into the chapter he certainly supported. Again, there is the example of Pedro Gonçalves, starting as a canon of Coimbra and later becoming bishop of Viseu, and in a similar manner, there is the case of the French clerics nurtured by Aymeric d’Ébrard and his relatives, who entered the chapter and made their career from there.

Another cleric whose long and prosperous career began with a prebend in Coimbra’s cathedral chapter during the thirteenth century was João Martins de Soalhães, an illegitimate son of a noble family, nonetheless supported by his uncle, the archbishop of Braga⁵⁵. He began his ecclesiastical life as a canon in Coimbra, studied law, became the bishop’s vicar, and was one of the king’s representatives to the pope in the negotiations that put an end to the serious conflict with the hierarchy of the Church that king Denis had inherited from his father, Afonso III. Later, João Martins became the Bishop of Lisbon and, as allowed by such longevity as his, finally passed away whilst serving as Archbishop of Braga.

⁵⁵ Maria Justiniana Pinheiro Maciel Lima, “João Martins de Soalhães (1294-1313)”, in *Bispos e arcebispos de Lisboa*, ed. by João Luís Inglês Fontes (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2018), 237-245.

These were canons who had, as a commonality, an ascendant journey to the episcopate – and they were a minority. The majority simply remained within the chapter without even becoming dignities. Some of them started out as portioners, which meant they only received a fraction of a prebend. There were canons who stood out for their knowledge of Law, which allowed them to become judges; a certain *master* Gonçalo, who studied Medicine became a physician for King Dinis⁵⁶; another, Vasco Afonso, had a rather unusual destiny, however: after entering the chapter as a canon, he married, raised a family and became *alcaide* (which can be translated as a rough approximation of mayor) of Coimbra. In his will, he chose to be buried in the Cathedral to which he had once belonged, in what can be considered as a return to the home that had welcomed him during his youth⁵⁷.

These few examples indicate that the chapter of Coimbra was no different – in terms of the way in which canons were recruited or their social sourcing and backgrounds – from the other Portuguese cathedrals whose chapters have already been studied. The patient organization and elaboration of prosopographic files should thus continue, in order to furnish a more complete knowledge of the clerics who were part of the chapter of the Cathedral of Coimbra, not only during the thirteenth century, but throughout the entire medieval period.

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⁵⁶ Coelho, Morujão, “Les testaments”, 134, and Morujão, *Testamenta*, doc. 2.46.

⁵⁷ Coelho, Morujão, “Les testaments”, 129, and Morujão, *Testamenta*, doc. 2.37.

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