

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

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COORD.



**A CHURCH UNDER INFLUENCE:
THE CISTERCIAN CONVENT OF ODIVELAS
AND THE PATRONAGE OF THE COLLEGIATE
CHURCH OF SÃO JULIÃO DE SANTARÉM
(IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES)**

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Abstract: As part of his strategy for the alienation of property under royal patronage in the city and diocese of Lisbon at the end of the thirteenth century, in 1295, King Dinis donated the collegiate church of São Julião in the town of Santarém to the Cistercian nunnery of Odivelas. The transfer of this royal asset to the nuns marked the beginning of a new stage in the lives of both the church and its newfound patrons. Due to the documentary limitations and lacunae characteristic of the archival reserves of both patron and dependent institutions, it is not always easy to detail the jurisdictional, sociological, economic, and fiscal nuances entailed in the arrangement. Nevertheless, the survival in the Odivelas archive of a hitherto completely overlooked and unstudied set of fourteenth-century documents concerning the church of São Julião reveals some of the aspects involved, especially in terms of the nomination, remuneration, and activities of the clergy serving in São Julião.

Resumo: No âmbito da estratégia de alienação dos bens sob padroado régio na cidade e diocese de Lisboa, em finais do século XIII, em 1295, o rei D. Dinis doou a igreja colegiada de São Julião, na vila de Santarém, ao mosteiro cisterciense de Odivelas. A transferência deste património régio para as monjas marcou o início de uma nova etapa na vida da igreja e dos seus novos patronos. Devido às limitações e lacunas documentais que caracterizam os acervos arquivísticos de ambas as instituições, nem sempre é fácil detalhar as nuances jurisdicionais, sociológicas, económicas e fiscais que o acordo implicava. No entanto, a sobrevivência no arquivo de Odivelas de um conjunto documental do século XIV, relativo à igreja de São Julião, até agora completamente ignorado, revela alguns dos aspectos envolvidos, sobretudo no que diz respeito à nomeação, remuneração e actividades do clero que servia em São Julião.

Introduction

On February 27, 1295, King Dinis, of Portugal, founded and endowed the convent of Odivelas, with the agreement of the Bishop of Lisbon (João Martins de Soalhães) and his Chapter, the support of the abbot (fray Domingos) and brothers of the monastery of Alcobaça¹ and with the authorisation of the abbot of Cîteaux (fray Roberto) with the abbots convened in the Cistercian General Chapter².

¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (=ANTT), *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 1, fl. 7 and ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Alcobaça*, 1.ª Incorporação, Documentos Particulares, mc. 20, no. 2, published by Fr. Francisco Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitana. Quinta Parte* (Lisbon: Oficina de Paulo Craesbeeck, 1650 [New edition with introduction by A. da Silva Rego and notes by A. Dias Farinha and Eduardo dos Santos. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1976]), 325v.º-327v.º (translated on pages 145-149) and Saul António Gomes, coord., *Mosteiro de Odivelas: documentos fundacionais* (Odivelas: Câmara Municipal de Odivelas, 2021), 118-124, doc. 2, with translation on pages 124-129 and facsimile reproduction at the end of the work.

² The authorization given by Roberto, abbot of Cîteaux, and by the assembly of the abbots of the General Chapter, at the suggestion of the abbot of Alcobaça, is contained in a letter issued in Cîteaux, in 1294, at the time of the General Chapter (ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Alcobaça*, 1.ª Incorporação, Documentos Particulares, mc. 19, no. 53 and *Livro 2 dos Dourados de Alcobaça*, doc. 204, fls.

Included in the endowment that Dinis bestowed on Odivelas, was the transfer of his right of patronage in the churches of São Julião in Santarém and Santo Estêvão in Alenquer, and, in the following month, on March 23, 1295, Dinis made a solemn donation of these two churches to the newly founded nunnery³.

With the patronage of the church of São Julião de Santarém passing to Odivelas, it is only natural that a portion of the records relating to the church came to be stored in the Odivelas registry, being thereby subsumed into the general archival collection (*fundo*) of the nunnery. Importantly, the items comprising this documental subset bear witness to the institutional and fiscal ties between the church of São Julião de Santarém and its patron institution, the convent of Odivelas, a still much neglected issue in the study of patronage rights in medieval Portugal⁴.

116v.º-117; published by Brandão, *Monarquia Lusitana. Quinta Parte*, 327v.º-328 (translated on page 150) and Gomes, *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, 115-116, doc. 1, with translation on pages 117-118 and facsimile reproduction at the end of the work).

³ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 3 and ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Alcobaça*, Documentos Régios, mç. II, no. 33, published by Rosa Marreiros, ed., *Chancelaria de D. Dinis. Livro II* (Coimbra: Palimage and Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, 2012), 389-392, doc. 370 and Gomes, *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, 132-133, doc. 4.

⁴ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fls. 1-3, 5 and 87-173; L.º 3, fl. 239 (with documents dated from 1295 to 1734). In fact, the study of the right of patronage in medieval Portugal has focused mainly on its existence in a specific city (e.g., Braga, Évora, Lisbon) and on the scope and chronological evolution of a specific type of patronage (royal and more rarely private), with practically no in-depth study of the fiscal dimension of this right (Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques, “Alguns aspectos do padroado nas igrejas e mosteiros da diocese de Braga (Meados do século XIII)”, in *Actas do Congresso Internacional sobre o “IX Centenário da Dedicção da Sé de Braga*, vol. II/1 (Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa – Faculdade de Teologia – Cabido Metropolitano Primacial de Braga, 1990), 359-387; Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar, “Réseau paroissial et droit de patronage dans le diocèse d’Évora (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)”, in *L’espace rural au Moyen Âge: Portugal, Espagne, France (XIIe-XIVe siècle). Mélanges en l’honneur de Robert Durand*, dir. by Monique Bourin et Stéphane Boisselier (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2002), 125-140 [En ligne: <http://books.openedition.org/pur/19898>]; Mário Farelo, “O direito de padroado na Lisboa medieval”, *Promontoria* 4/4 (2006): 267-289; Mário Farelo, “O padroado régio na diocese de Lisboa durante a Idade Média: uma instituição *in diminuendo*”, *Fragmenta Historica – História, Paleografia e Diplomática* 1 (2013): 39-107; Gonçalo Melo e Silva, “Espiritualidade e Poder na Lisboa dos Finais da Idade Média: a Colegiada de São Lourenço e os seus Patronos (1298-1515)” (M. A. diss., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012). By presenting the specific case of the fiscal “dominion” of a Cistercian convent over an urban

One remarkable aspect of this collection is the complete absence of documents concerning the management of properties belonging to the church, especially emphyteutic contracts, which are well known to be one of the most prominent features of the medieval documentary reserves accumulated in Portuguese religious houses. One can only assume that these were kept in Santarém in the church's own registry. Sadly, of this registry, nothing has survived from the medieval period and in the Portuguese National Archive, the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, all that is to be found are some 37 account books, dated between 1716 and 1828⁵.

It is evidential silences such as this that underscore the great value of this documental nucleus which is only now being brought to light for the first time. Given the thematic concerns of this conference, among the various questions that can be put to this archival subset, we have decided to limit our approach to that which allows us to chart the organization of the collegiate church of São Julião de Santarém between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, examining the fiscal relationship between the Cistercians of Odivelas and São Julião and, when possible, identifying the clergy that served it and attempting to discern some of the conditions of their recruitment.

1. Organization of the collegiate church

The church of São Julião de Santarém was located on the inner wall of Santarém, with its parish aligned along the raised spur leading in the direction of Alfange (a riverside quarter to the south of the town centre), and it formed part of the parish network of the upper-

collegiate church, this work focuses on the operationalisation of a type of patronage (monastic) and a particular dimension of patronage (fiscal) hitherto little studied in Portuguese medieval studies, thus contributing to a better understanding of the variability of its application in the Portuguese ecclesiastical context during the late Middle Ages.

⁵ According to the data provided by the Torre do Tombo's digital archival description platform (<https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=1380164> [accessed February 2, 2022]).

-town area. São Julião and its neighbouring parishes of São Lourenço and Santo Estêvão were the least developed of those contained within the city walls, in the thirteenth century. Mário Viana, in his extensive investigations into the medieval layout of Santarém has found no record of São Julião before 1209⁶. Through an unpublished memorandum of agreement contained in the subset here under analysis, we discover that the *ecclesia* was organized in a collegiate form in 1226⁷. At that time, Bishop D. Soeiro of Lisbon decreed the creation of five portioners (*raçoeiros*) and exhaustively defined the scheme of their remuneration, both in kind and in money, for their tending “of the altar”. The prohibition on any increase in their number contained in the document appears to have been respected, since in 1389 there are still only five portioners present⁸, which, indeed, is in line with the average number of clergy (in fact six, one vicar plus five portioners) in collegiate churches in the medieval city and diocese of Lisbon.

Although the documents here concerned say little about the operation of the collegiate church, they nevertheless provide unprecedented information on the problem of the payment of distributions to the aforementioned portioners, or “beneficiaries”. From a document dated 1358, we discover that this had been the subject of a constitution

⁶ Mário Viana, *Espaço e Povoamento numa vila portuguesa (Santarém 1147-1350)* (Lisbon: Caleidoscópio / Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2007), 88 (for the location of the church of São Julião in the urban context, see the “Figura 12 – O desenvolvimento do espaço urbano”, page 74). The first documentary reference is thus found in a bull of Innocent III, given in Viterbo, dated September 11, 1209 (ANTT, *Coleção Especial (Bulas)*, cx. 1, no. 39, mentioned by J. dos Santos Abranches, *Summa do Bullario Portuguez* (Coimbra: 1895), 7, no. 40 and Peter Linehan, *Portugalia Pontificia: Materials for the History of Portugal and the Papacy*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2013), 126, no. 62, and published by Avelino Jesus da Costa and Maria Alegria F. Marques, eds., *Bulário Português. Inocência III (1198-1216)* (Coimbra: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica / Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura da Universidade de Coimbra, 1989), 273, doc. 140).

⁷ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 97, of June 20, 1226 (inserted in a diploma of May 30, 1351).

⁸ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 108, of March 6, 1389 (with a copy, on paper, on fls. 109-112).

drawn up by Bishop D. Gonçalo Pereira of Lisbon entitled “*Consatis*”⁹. Although the document does not detail the contents of the synodal constitution, this reference to it is a new and important element enabling us to better understand the provisions that the bishop made at a synod convened in 1324, which would provoke reactions from the Santarém clergy¹⁰.

The issue was resolved sometime between 1342 and 1344, during the visitation of Bishop D. Vasco of Lisbon, during which he decided that the receiver of the produce of the church should deliver to the provost (*prioste*) all the portions of the resident portioners, and that the provost would then distribute the said portions to the beneficiaries (portioners)¹¹. However, by 1358, this process was no longer working, as there were resident portioners who were refusing to celebrate mass in protest of the fact that the receiver was delivering portions to their colleagues who were absent. To remedy the situation, Guillaume Carbonnel, the bishop’s representative in Santarém, introduced some stipulations regarding the receiver’s role in the process: he was to deliver to the provost, at the beginning of each month, the wine and the victuals for the resident portioners; the bread, in turn, had to be delivered to the provost when the “granary was shared with the bishop”, so that the portioners had bread all year round and the provost could give each one his right¹².

In this same document, Guillaume Carbonnel set out a few of his findings concerning the behavior of the parishioners of the church,

⁹ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 88, of October 31, 1358 (written in Santarém, in the churchyard of Santa Maria de Marvila). This term is probably a corruption of the expression "Cum satis", which corresponds, as our document mentions, to the remuneration issues associated with clerics' absenteeism from canonical hours. See, on the subject, Isaias da Rosa Pereira, "Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1434-1481)", *Lusitania Sacra* 8 (1967-1969): 136.

¹⁰ Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, "Gonçalo Pereira (1322-1326)", in *Bispos e Arcebispos de Lisboa*, directed by João Luís Fontes and coordinated by António Camões Gouveia, Maria Filomena Andrade and Mário Farelo (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2018), 265.

¹¹ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 88, of October 31, 1358 (written in Santarém, in the churchyard of Santa Maria de Marvila).

¹² *Ibidem*.

which afford a rare glimpse into the pastoral dynamics of São Julião de Santarém at the time. In particular, three problems are highlighted: clergy and laity living in mortal sin by being public *barregões* (living together as a couple whilst being unmarried); lack of attendance at the divine office, and the performance of clandestine marriages.

Carbonnel was resolute in his pronouncements: public *barregões* should be judged by the bishop; parishioners were to attend the liturgical services each Sunday and during feast days and were to receive communion annually at Easter; and, so that the parishioners would not marry clandestinely, Carbonnel ordered that the vicar or a cleric with the cure of souls be present in church to satisfy this sacrament on three Sundays or three feasts. Interestingly, some parishioners stated to Carbonnel that the vicar and the clergymen of the church in fact performed the divine office and the sacraments very well when requested to do so. Apparently then, it was not all bad in at least one parish in mid-forteenth-century Santarém.

The survival of this information, rare in the Lisbon documentation for the period prior to the fifteenth-century visitations, is owed to the fact that it is contained in documents relating to financial affairs between the church of São Julião and the convent of Odivelas to which we shall now turn our attention.

2. Fiscal relations between the Cistercian patron and the dependent parish

King Dinis's charter of endowment of the convent of Odivelas, of February 27, 1295, establishes the limits of the fiscal jurisdiction of the new Cistercian cenobium in terms of the episcopal reservation of tithes, first fruits and mortuaries on the property of the nunnery. In the section referring to the endowed assets, the bishop of Lisbon, while acknowledging the royal donation of the churches of São Julião de Santarém and Santo Estêvão de Alenquer, recognizes the right of the abbess and the nuns to apply the income from the latter to the

“uses” of the convent¹³. The lack of clarification as to what exactly these “uses” are (“uses” that only appear particularised in a document of 1527¹⁴) is compensated for by the condescension to detail when setting out the prerogatives of the ordinary: he has the right to confirm the presentation of the portioners and the vicar, the latter’s presentation being specifically made by the convent and subject to taxation in favour of the ordinary. This cleric is responsible to the bishop for the care of souls of the people and must comply with the decisions of the bishops and the Church of Lisbon, the synodal constitutions, and the payment of the pontifical third. Likewise, the bishop takes charge of the visitation, the reformation, and the correction of all church officials (vicar, portioners, chaplains and clerics) and of his parishioners, and has the right to receive the respective fees consequent upon the episcopal visitation¹⁵.

Significantly, nowhere in the document is reference made to the sharing of church revenues. It is possible to think that this would have taken place before 1299, since, on that date, the letter of presentation of the vicar João Mendes establishes an annual payment in his favor of 250 pounds, in addition to other payments in wine and cereals¹⁶. Following the process regarding his enthronement in the church, it is known that such division would have been made

¹³ The division of church property was subject to episcopal confirmation, as were any changes relating to it. This ordinary prerogative would be more operative in this case, since the right of patronage reverted to the benefit of a monastic institution. Certainly, Bishop João Martins’ particular interest in this division can not be justified only by his role in the foundation of Odivelas, but also by the fiscal benefits he could derive from it, in his capacity as diocesan ordinary.

¹⁴ From this document we know that the income from the church of São Julião de Santarém was to be applied toward the nuns’ clothing or other things that were necessary for them: “*pellla dita senhora dona abbadesa e convento foy dito em presença de mim notairo appostolico e testemunhas abaixo nomeadas que era verdade que entre as igrejas que ao dito moesteiro e convento sam dadas e unidas per el Rei dom Dinis asi era ha parrocchial igreja de Sam Giam da vila de Santarem ha qual foy añexa e unida ao dito moesteiro com pacto e condiçam que os frutos dela que ao priol pertenciam fosem pera ha vistoria das monjas do dito moesteiro ou pera qualquer outra cousa que lbe necessaria fose*” (ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 119, of April 3, 1527).

¹⁵ Cf., *supra*, note 2.

¹⁶ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 95, of January 5, 1299.

by the bishop of Lisbon. Upon the resolution of this issue, in 1308, the convent of Odivelas would take the annual sum of 800 pounds from the income of the church of São Julião. The remainder would remain to the vicar, “for his maintenance and for his benefit to fulfill and pay all the charges that belong to the said church also from crops and from requests and from fees and all other things in any way that the said church is required to do”¹⁷.

Curiously, this information shows that the famous taxation of Portuguese ecclesiastical goods, carried out by apostolic officials in 1320-1321, can be taken at face value. In fact, the values recorded therein (280 pounds for the vicar and 250 pounds for the common property of the portioners¹⁸) correspond to the share of the income

¹⁷ On the document: “[...] e que o dicto Jobane Meendez de aa dicta abadessa e convento as dictas oytocentas libras em cada huum anno assy como dicto he e que o mays que ouver nos fruytos da dicta eygreia com todolos outros derectos e perteenças e beens que perteencem aa dicta eygreia assy spirituaes come temporaes en qual maneira quer que lhy perteescam que os aja o dicto Jobane Meendez pera sa manteença e pera sa prol pera comprir e pagar todolos carregos que aa dicta eygreia pertecerem tambem de colbeytas come de pididas come de custas come de todalas outras cousas, em qual maneira quer a que a dicta eygreia for tehuda de fazer” (ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 96, of June 20, 1309, illegible [with an undated and unauthenticated copy on page 87]; published, from the copy, by Gomes, *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 19, pages 155-160, with translation on pages 161-163 and facsimile reproduction at the end of the work). In the power of attorney that he passed in favor of his brother, on September 6, 1304, João Mendes had already committed himself to give the convent of Odivelas what was established in the division that had been made by the bishop of Lisbon: “Ac insuper Ulixbonensi episcopo pontificale tercium et procuracionem seu collectam que racione uisitacionis debantur necnon portiones clericis et stipendia capelanis et thesaurario eiusdem ecclesie ac aliis quibus opus esset et eis uidebitur dandum et ministrandam et propterea monasterio sancti Dionisii de Hodiuellis predicte diocesis summa seu cantitatem pecunie soluendum iusta ordinacionem et diuisionem per dominum Ulixbonensem alibi facta de fructibus redditibus et prouentibus ipsum ecclesie dandum et tribuendum ipsi monasterii et etiam secundum quod idem monasterium anuatim ab eadem ecclesia sancti Juliani habere actenus consueuit” (the power of attorney is copied into the document already referred to in this note). In 1338, the income from the properties of the church of São Julião de Santarém was calculated at 1100 pounds, of which 800 were to be delivered to the convent of Odivelas. The remaining 300 pounds would certainly have been used to pay the vicar (250 pounds) and to purchase the quantities of wine and grain that were to be delivered to this cleric (ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 104; see also the document mentioned in footnote 15).

¹⁸ Stéphane Boissellier, ed., *La Construction Administrative d'un Royaume. Registres de Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques Portugais (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles)* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa – Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2012), 185 [114]: “¶ Item vicariam ecclesiam Sancti Julianii ad ducentas et octaginta libras; ¶ Item comune

belonging to the members of the church, since the share of the church of São Julião de Santarém that belonged to the convent of Odivelas was included in the taxable income of the latter¹⁹. In fact, the documents belonging to the subset confirm such arrangement. A letter from the abbot of Alcobaça, dated 1389, reveals that, according to the division made by the ordinary, the revenues of the church were distributed one third for the bishop and two thirds for the convent. For their part, the abbess and the nuns had to pay the maintenance of the five portioners and the same 280 pounds of the old currency to the vicar, as well as the fees (“procurations”) occasioned at the time of the episcopal visitation²⁰.

It should be stressed that this figure of 280 pounds paid yearly to the vicar could include an estimate of the remaining payments due to him in kind. In fact, at the time of João Mendes’ presentation, the amount of remuneration was set at 250 pounds²¹, and this was the amount in force at the time of his death in 1341. At that time, the letter of presentation of his successor mentions the same 250 pounds, to which the bishop ordered the addition of another 50 pounds, while the new postulant was vicar²².

The absence from the documental subset of the remaining letters of appointment means that we have no information concerning fluctuations in the amounts due to the vicar of São Julião de Santarém. However, the same document of 1389 confirms that the income of

porcionariorum ad ducentas et quinquaginta libras”. The 280 pounds for the vicariary of São Julião de Santarém is confirmed in a diploma kept in the registry office of the convent of Odivelas: “¶ *Vicariam ecclesiam Sancti Juliany Santaren ad CC.^{as} et obtuaginta libras*” (ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 5, published in the end of this paper).

¹⁹ “¶ *Item monasterium domnarum de Odivellis cum ecclesiis Sancti Jullyani Sanctarensis et Sancti Stephani de Alanquerio et Sancti Julliani de Freelis cum viccarya a duo millia libras*” (Boisselier, *Construction Administrative*, 180 [5, 6, 7, 8]).

²⁰ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 108, of March 6, 1389 (with a copy, on paper, on pages 109-112).

²¹ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 95, of January 5, 1299.

²² ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 103, of May 17-18, 1341 (with a copy of February 9, 1634, on paper, on pages 131-138).

the church was affected by the possibility of fluctuations and that this had an impact on what could be apportioned²³. As we know, whilst the Plague of 1348 had immediate moral and spiritual consequences, the serious demographic and economic repercussions were severely aggravated by the Fernandine wars that devastated crops and drastically reduced the manpower available for tilling the land. As a result of this evil triplex, the church estates were not farmed as they once were, at a time when most of the church's labourers had died, casualties of plague, starvation, or war. Therefore, at some uncertain date, but somewhere in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the convent of Odivelas and the collegiate church made an agreement whereby the former granted their respective portioners one of the two parts of the revenues that belonged to Odivelas. From the remaining part, the nuns would pay the amount due to the vicar.

This agreement would be altered after the king of Castile invaded Portugal and occupied Santarém, around 1384-1385, when, because of this military intervention, the church was damaged and its estates "completely destroyed", the farmers killed or driven away, and the farms of the church "stripped and precipitated into wilderness and forest". So, after the king of Castile left Santarém, the abbess and the nuns of Odivelas could not pay the 280 pounds that the incumbent vicar was to receive from the convent for his provision and maintenance, which was to be payed out of their remaining third part of the produce of the church. For this reason, the abbess and the convent had to resort to other revenues to pay the vicar and to supply the expenses of the church, thereby suffering great financial loss. By then, the vicar Estêvão Anes wanted to sue the abbess and the convent for arrears of three years of unpaid provision, which, with the

²³ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 108, of March 6, 1389 (with a copy, on paper, on fls. 109-112). The convent suffered along with other institutions the loss of income during the period, as was the case of the Portuguese University, for example (André de Oliveira Leitão, "A universidade medieval portuguesa e os problemas do seu financiamento [II]: os conflitos entre *studium* e Igreja durante o século XIV", *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura* 19 (2019): 54-56).

devaluation of the currency, amounted to 2000 pounds. Both parties finally came to an agreement by which the convent of Odivelas gave up the last third of the church's produce in favor of Estêvão Anes, "in his lifetime or while he was vicar", so that he "would be more or less content through this" and no longer demanded from the community of Odivelas his past and future provisions. The nuns also passed to him the obligation of meeting the expenses of the church and financing the bishop's visitation costs.

This new arrangement freed the nuns from the last financial obligations towards one of the most important churches of their patronage whilst, simultaneously, they gave up any income they might have hoped to receive from it²⁴. Nevertheless, although the financial benefits from the church were lost to them, the nuns maintained their patronage rights over it, thereby maintaining their spiritual relations with the respective parishioners that such rights usually entailed.

The situation was only belatedly reversed in 1527 in a new agreement between the abbess of Odivelas, Violante Cabral, and the vicar of the church (who was already an old man and therefore concerned to unburden his conscience and to save his soul), after the nuns had obtained from Pope Clement VII (1523-1534) a rescript in their favour²⁵.

Of course, the extinction of the financial obligations of the patron towards the client parish for 138 years may well be the reason there is a lack of information of this kind in the Odivelas archive for that period.

Further, along with information of a fiscal nature, also lost was precious information on the identification and recruitment of the vicars who passed through the church. Even if the study of recruitment to the vicariate of this church does not fully explain the fiscal context

²⁴ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 108, of March 6, 1389 (with a copy, on paper, on fls. 109-112).

²⁵ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 119 (of April 3, 1527). This agreement was later confirmed in an apostolic letter (ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 90, original, and fls. 149-150v.º, paper copy).

analysed above, clarification of the process involved constitutes an important element contributing to a better understanding of the application of this right to patronage an integral part of which was the right to appoint the respective vicar. It is therefore to this that we will now turn our attention.

3. Identification and brief analysis of recruitment of vicars to São Julião de Santarém (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries)

The documental subset here at issue only affords knowledge of the vicars of São Julião de Santarém from the time of the donation made by the king, in 1295. For the preceding period, the few existing references are gathered principally from apostolic documentation. The earliest document referring to the church is dated 1209 and reveals that Pope Innocent III trusted the ability of its rector to resolve the legal matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction that had arisen between the two largest monastic houses in Portugal, the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, and the monastery of Alcobaça²⁶. A similar letter, of 1233, demonstrates that this trust was maintained during the pontificate of Gregory IX²⁷. Designated by benefice and not by name, we deduce that such clerics must have had at the very least, sufficient juridical training to deal with intricate questions of canon law. Even so, we do not know if they had other institutional links to the papacy or the crown, or even if they accumulated other benefices.

²⁶ Cf., *supra*, note 6.

²⁷ ANTT, *Coleção Especial (Bulas)*, cx. 2, no. 54, mentioned in Linehan, *Portugalia Pontificia*, vol. I, 223, no. 259.

Cronology	Name	Observations
1209	[...]	[...]
1233	[...]	[...]
1234	P. Pais	Canon of Lisbon, prior of the collegiate church of São Tomé de Lisboa, he was chaplain to the Castilian cardinal Gil Torres, with whom he was present at the pontifical curia in 1229.
1263	Durão Pais	Canon of Braga, chancellor of the queen of Portugal, prior of the collegiate church of Santa Maria de Óbidos, he would be elected bishop of Évora (1267-1283).
a. 1299	D. Domingos Peres	Records show that on January 5, 1299, the church was vacant on account of his death.

Table 1. Rectors of the church of São Julião de Santarém in the thirteenth century.

We can confirm both items of information listed in the above table concerning the rector P[edro] Pais. Chaplain of the Castilian Cardinal Gil Torres, prior of the collegiate church of São Tomé in Lisbon, and a canon of the Lisbon chapter, he was presented to the church of São Julião de Santarém by the king in about 1234. Since he already held an ecclesiastical benefice in Lisbon, P[edro] Pais managed to persuade the Pope to charge the archbishop of Compostela with confirming his benefice in Santarém, by virtue of “his personal merit” and the fact that his benefices up to that time had only allowed him to maintain himself for “only half the year”²⁸. Pedro Pais’ connection with Cardinal Gil Torres was previous to this appointment since both men are attested in the pontifical curia in 1229²⁹.

Later, in 1263, Durão Pais, canon of Braga and chancellor of the Queen of Portugal, would be given a dispensation so that he could

²⁸ Lucien Auvray, ed., *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, Tomo 1 (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1896), no. 1935, written at Rieti, May 31, 1234: “*Archiepiscopo Compostellano committit quatenus, – cum P. Pelagii, canonicus Ulixbonensis, capellanus Aegidii, Sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani diaconi cardinalis, ad vacantem ecclesiam Sancti Juliani Santarenensis per Portugaliae regem, patronum ipsius, esset Ulixbonensi capitulo praesentatus, et ipse P. peteret ut ad eam, non obstante ecclesia Sancti Thomae Ulixbonensis, quam tunc obtinebat, de qua cum praebenda sua vix poterat per medietatem anni commode sustentari, per ipsum papam admitteretur, – consideratis personae meritis et reddituum sufficientia competenti, super praemissis prout viderit expedire, provideat*”.

²⁹ Auvray, *Gregoire IX*, no. 307.

simultaneously hold several benefices, including one in the church of São Julião de Santarém and another in that of Santa Maria de Óbidos, both in the diocese of Lisbon³⁰. Whilst we know little more of Pedro Pais, by contrast, Durão Pais had a stellar career being nominated, still in the 1260s, as bishop of Évora³¹. Our documental subset further discloses some details pertaining to the life and the vicariate of João Mendes (1299-1341). This former “servant of the convent” was presented by the abbess and the nuns in 1299³² and, after a lengthy legal dispute in the Apostolic Curia with a dependent of the bishop of Lisbon that was already ongoing in 1303, he was finally recognized in the benefice towards the end of 1308³³.

³⁰ Archivo Apostolico Vaticano (=AAV), *Reg. Vat.* 27, fl. 72, no. 2, *Exhibita nobis devotionis*, given at Orvieto, that of May 4, 1263 (published by Jean Guiraud, ed., *Les Registres d’Urbain IV (1261-1264)*, tomo 1 (Paris: Albert, 1901), no. 267 and Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, ed., *La documentacion pontificia de Urbano IV (1261-1264)* (Roma: Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, 1981), 111-112, no. 68).

³¹ We can read his biography in Leontina Ventura, “A Nobreza de Corte de D. Afonso III” (PhD diss., Universidade de Coimbra, 1992), vol. 2, 768-770 and Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar, *As Dimensões de um Poder. A Diocese de Évora na Idade Média* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1999), 57-61 (on page 66 this author refers to the library, with books on theology, that Durão Pais left to his successor in the episcopal chair of Évora, Dom Domingos Anes Jardo, and that he handed over, in his will, in 1291, to the hospital of São Paulo).

³² ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 95, of January 5, 1299.

³³ For the different procedural pieces of this lawsuit preserved in the former archive of the convent, see ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 3, fl. 239 (sentence of the apostolic auditor *Onofrius de Trebis*, dated April 13, 1303); L.º 2, fl. 96 (João Mendes’ power-of-attorney dated September 6, 1304, exemplified in a royal letter original, illegible – there is an undated and unauthenticated copy, but in good condition, on page 87 –, published, from the copy, by Gomes, *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 19, pages 155-160, with translation on pages 161-163 and facsimile reproduction at the end of the work); fls. 91, 92, 115-118 (3 exemplars of the same Clement V’s letter, dated June 19, 1306); fl. 93 (another letter by the same pope, dated July 1, 1306); fl. 102 (letter of the apostolic auditor Beltramino de Milão, dated March 11, 1307); fl. 95 (dated December 28, 1308, by order of the archbishop of Braga, with his seal, which is a certified copy of the letter of presentation of João Mendes as vicar of São Julião de Santarém, by the abbess of Odivelas issued on January 5, 1299). The king determined that João Mendes had to pay from 1309 onwards the yearly amount due to the convent, according to a royal letter of that year, a proof that the lawsuit had been resolved in his favour. Nevertheless, in 1314, he was still trying to retrieve the expenses he had won from that lawsuit before the curial courts (see respectively ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fls. 96, 87 [dated June 20, 1309] and fl. 114 [dated January 21, 1314]).

João Mendes had multiple affinities with Coimbra. Designated as a cleric of that diocese, he accumulated his vicarage of São Julião de Santarém with a portion in the church of São Cristóvão de Coimbra³⁴. In 1337 he made his will in Coimbra, in which he determined that if he died in that city or in its circuit (*termo*), he should be buried in the church of São Cristóvão. He left to the church, for this purpose, five pounds and an olive grove in Vila Franca (in the circuit of Coimbra)³⁵, if the prior and the chapter accepted that he be buried inside the church, near the altar of St. Christopher (“at the foot of the steps before the altar of St. Christopher”) or before the crucifix (“before the crucifix or inside, before the door of the vestry”)³⁶, and he also required that they dedicate an anniversary to him with an officiated mass on the day of his burial, and that they pass over him with a cross, incense and holy water. He also added as a condition that one of his servants named Lourenço should keep this olive grove while he lived, receive its fruit (*colheita*), and give twenty *soldos* annually to the church for his anniversary. After the death of this servant of his, the olive grove was to remain to the church of São Cristóvão, and as many anniversaries were to be recited there for his soul as there were pounds received from the income of the grove. In the case that the prior and the chapter of the church did not want to give him that burial or perform those anniversaries, then he wanted to be buried in São Domingos, next to his brother, Frei Estêvão

³⁴ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 96 (original, of June 20, 1309), 87 (copy), published from the latter by Gomes, *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 19, pages 155-160, with translation on pages 161-163 and facsimile reproduction at the end of the work. On June 7, 1337, and December 5, 1340, he is still referred to as a *raçoeiro* in the church of São Cristóvão de Coimbra (ANTT, *Colegiada de São Cristóvão de Coimbra*, cx. 1, mç. 6, no. 2 and ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Celas*, mç. 4, no. 8, this one published by Maria do Rosário Barbosa Morujão, *Um Mosteiro Cisterciense Feminino. Santa Maria de Celas (século XIII a XV)* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 2001), doc. 187).

³⁵ Besides this property, his will only mentions a vineyard (with an olive grove) in Coimbra, in the circuit (*termo*) of Gemil.

³⁶ «a so os degraos dante o altar de Sam Cbrisprovam»; «ante o crucifixo ou dentro ante a porta do outintal» (see the following note).

Mendes, inside the church, leaving them ten pounds for this purpose³⁷. His brother lived in the Dominican convent of Coimbra, being documented as the prior of the community in 1302 and 1317³⁸.

We also learn from his will that João Mendes had received training in the convent of São Domingos, for which he was grateful, bequeathing the convent his Bible³⁹. He also had other books although, unfortunately, he does not itemise them. He possessed dwelling houses in Coimbra which he ordered to be given, with their improvements, to the abbess of the Cistercian nunnery of Santa Maria de Celas⁴⁰. They would certainly have been houses in Rua Nova, backing onto the city wall, which had belonged to two nuns from that nunnery⁴¹. Indeed, João Mendes particularly favoured the convent of Santa Maria de Celas, leaving it seven pounds for a pittance, and another five pounds for Clara Martins, a nun of the convent, so that she would pray to God for him and for those from whom he had received the money⁴². Indeed, João Mendes' close relations with this female house

³⁷ ANTT, *Colegiada de São Cristóvão de Coimbra*, cx. 1, mç. 6, no. 2 (original, of June 7, 1337) [we thank Dr. Maria Amélia Campos for having helped us in the discovery of this document and for providing its digitalization]. Saul António Gomes refers to João Mendes' intention to be buried in São Domingos, without mentioning that this would only happen if the prior and the Chapter of São Cristóvão de Coimbra did not accept the conditions he presented for burial in his church, because he was following BGUC's lesson (BGUC – *Código 636*, fl. 226-226v.^o), where we find a truncated transcription of this will made by João Pedro Ribeiro (Saul António Gomes, "As Ordens Mendicantes na Coimbra Medieval: notas e documentos", *Lusitania Sacra* 10 (1998): 177 and 179).

³⁸ Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and João José da Cunha Matos, "O Convento Velho de S. Domingos de Coimbra (contributo para a sua História)", *Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português [Actas do II Encontro sobre História Dominicana]* 3/2 (1986): 50.

³⁹ An aspect highlighted by Gomes, "As Ordens Mendicantes na Coimbra Medieval", 177 and 179.

⁴⁰ ANTT, *Colegiada de São Cristóvão de Coimbra*, cx. 1, mç. 6, no. 2 (original, of June 7, 1337).

⁴¹ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Celas*, mç. 4, no. 8 (original, of December 5, 1340); published by Morujão, *Um Mosteiro Cisterciense*, doc. 187.

⁴² ANTT, *Colegiada de São Cristóvão de Coimbra*, cx. 1, mç. 6, no. 2 (original, of June 7, 1337). Clara Martins had been married to Martim Peres, the king's clerk in Oporto, and meanwhile had annulled her marriage so as to profess in the convent of Santa Maria de Celas, in Coimbra, where she is documented as a nun between 1293 and 1340. Clara Martins had in her possession (on loan) the houses where João Mendes lived. It is not known how much rent João Mendes received for them, but it

could explain his connection to the convent of Odivelas, since he was presented as vicar of the church of São Julião de Santarém by Elvira Fernandes, the first abbess of Odivelas (1295-1299), who may well have come from the convent of Celas, where a nun with that name is documented in 1268⁴³.

João Mendes is mentioned for the last time as still living in Decembre 5, 1340⁴⁴, but he apparently died soon after, since on May 17, 1341, Gil Esteves was presented to the vicariate⁴⁵. His condition as canon of the church of Santa Maria de Alcáçova gives rise to the suspicion that, unlike João Mendes, this new vicar had possessed deeper roots in the town of Santarém. It is not known if he belonged to the queen's household, a connection that emerges in 1332 with the granting of an expectative grace of a portion in the church of São Julião de Santarém to one Lourenço Afonso, at the request of Portuguese queen, Elisabeth (Isabel) of Aragon, whilst at about that same time, a certain Pedro Afonso, a cleric in the queen's service, received another portion in the church⁴⁶.

In this regard, we recall that Queen Elisabeth appears with King Dinis, her husband, in all the royal donations made to the convent of Odivelas and that the seal of the abbess of Odivelas, in 1318,

is known that, after his death, Clara Martins received three pounds of annual rent from the tenants who came to inhabit these houses (Morujão, *Um Mosteiro Cisterciense*, 144 and 438-439 (doc. 187); Luís Miguel Rêpas, "Esposas de Cristo. As Comunidades Cistercienses Femininas na Idade Média" (PhD diss., Universidade de Coimbra, 2021), vol. 2, tomo 1, 38, note 22).

⁴³ Rêpas, "Esposas de Cristo", vol. 2, tomo 2, 466-469.

⁴⁴ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Celas*, mç. 4, no. 8; published by Morujão, *Um Mosteiro Cisterciense*, doc. 187.

⁴⁵ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 103, of May 17-18, 1341 (with a copy of February 9, 1634, on paper, on fls. 131-138).

⁴⁶ See, respectively, Guillaume Mollat, ed., *Jean XXII (1316-1334). Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*. Paris: École Française de Rome, 1904-1947, no. 56389 (February 12, 1332) and no. 58600 (October 26, 1332). The relationship with the *Casa da Rainha* was maintained, since in 1377 a chaplain to the queen named João Esteves was a chaplain to the church of São Julião de Santarém (ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 106, of August 20, 1377).

displayed representations not only of the coat of arms of Portugal, appropriate to King Dinis, but also the coat of arms of the Crown of Aragon, allusive to his queen, Elisabeth⁴⁷. We must also remember that, although the nuns of the convent of Odivelas were subject to strict enclosure, as stipulated in the statutes that had been granted by the founding monarch, when these statutes were revised by the king in 1306, it was provided that both he and his wife, Elisabeth, could enter the convent whenever they wanted and with whomsoever they wanted. This privilege was reserved exclusively to them and not enjoyed even by their first-born son (the heir apparent), nor the bishop of Lisbon, nor the archbishop of Braga, nor the abbot of Alcobaça, all of whom could enter only when necessary, accompanied by only two honest people⁴⁸.

Cronology	Name	Observations
1298-1341	João Mendes	Cleric of Coimbra; clergyman of the church of São Cristóvão de Coimbra; who made his will in 1337.
1341	Gil Esteves	Canon of the Church of Santa Maria de Alcáçova in Santarém.
1357-1359	Gonçalo Anes	
1385-1409	Estêvão Anes	In 1385, he was presented to the church of Santo Estêvão de Alenquer by the abbess and nuns of the convent of Odivelas.

Table 2. Perpetual vicars of the church of São Julião de Santarém from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Unfortunately, the lack of documents in the subset for subsequent decades prevents us from discovering Gil Esteves's successors save

⁴⁷ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Alcobaça*, 1.^a Incorporação, Documentos Particulares, mç. 27, no. 1, mentioned and published by Luiz Gonzaga de Lancastre e Távora (Marquês de Abrantes), *O Estudo da Sigilografia Medieval Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1983), no. 347, with an error in the reading of the legend and in the identification of the abbess, who, in 1318, was Urraca Pais (cf. Rêpas, "Esposas de Cristo", vol. 2, tomo 2, 521-534, which corresponds to Urraca Pais' biography).

⁴⁸ See Luís Miguel Rêpas, "As abadessas e as monjas do Mosteiro de Odivelas no tempo de D. Dinis", in *Mosteiro de Odivelas: documentos fundacionais*, edited by Saul António Gomes (Odivelas: Câmara Municipal de Odivelas, 2021), 51-77.

for one Gonçalo Anes who, thanks to an apostolic petition, is identified as vicar of São Julião de Santarém between 1357 and 1359⁴⁹.

The end of the century yields a little more information. By a power of attorney addressed to residents in Lisbon, it is known that in 1385 one Estêvão Anes, vicar of São Julião de Santarém, was presented to the vicarage of Santo Estêvão de Alenquer, another church under the stewardship of the convent of Odivelas⁵⁰. He was the vicar, mentioned above, to whom the convent handed over the remaining third of São Julião's income four years later⁵¹. Possibly connected to the city of Lisbon, our documental subset contains references to his action as the convent's procurator (agent) in 1402⁵² and 1405⁵³, with the last reference to him dating in 1409⁵⁴.

Conclusion

To sum up, we have tried to probe the informational potential of a documental nucleus concerning a parish church preserved in the registry of its patronal institution. If the contribution of this nucleus is fairly limited in terms of the identification and sociological profiling of the vicars and portioners of São Julião, the jurisdictional connections between São Julião and Odivelas explains the survival of an important set of administrative and judicial items. As we have seen, the binding thread in this collection is the economic-fiscal link that tied Odivelas to the collegiate church and vice-versa. Indeed, this documental subset

⁴⁹ António Domingues de Sousa Costa, ed., *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. 1 (Porto: Livraria Editorial Franciscana, 1986), 355, no. 174.

⁵⁰ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 107, of December 23, 1385. Estêvão Anes is documented as the vicar of São Julião de Santarém since August 19, 1385 (ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 9, fl. 86).

⁵¹ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 108, of March 6, 1389 (with a copy, on paper, on fls. 109-112).

⁵² ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, Tomo 1.º, Maço ou Cód. 44 (cx. 35), fl. 94, of September 8, 1402.

⁵³ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 6, fl. 13, of January 23, 1405.

⁵⁴ ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 6, fl. 17, of September 16, 1409.

reveals, first, the definition of the responsibilities of each institution, which evolved, with the difficulties arising in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, into a process of economic and fiscal disengagement of the patron house from the dependent church.

In the broader landscape, this is an arrangement that remains largely invisible in the various documentary reserves of dependent parochial churches whose archives present a dearth of prescriptive material but where contracts relating to management of patrimony are in plentiful supply.

Based on documental nuclei such as the example presented here, it will be important to examine the customariness of this disengagement model that appears, from the end of the fourteenth century, to have altered the fiscal relationship between the patron and its dependent⁵⁵. Doubtless, such evaluation will constitute an important step towards deepening our understanding of how rights of patronage were exercised over late-medieval Portuguese ecclesiastical institutions.

Document 1⁵⁶

[1326-1344]⁵⁷ – *Receipt with the payment of the tax for the convent of Odivelas and the churches of its patronage (São Julião de*

⁵⁵ This must be verified or disproved by future examination of other cases. Given the lack of research on this specific issue, no comparison can be made at this time.

⁵⁶ In the transcription that we present, we follow the rules of Avelino de Jesus da Costa, set out in *Normas Gerais de Transcrição e Publicação de Documentos Medievais e Modernos* (Coimbra, INIC, 1993).

⁵⁷ This document is necessarily later than 1326, since it refers to the taxation ordered by the bishop of Lisbon D. João Afonso de Brito, who occupied the episcopal seat between 1326 and 1342 (Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa and Mário Farelo, “João Afonso de Brito (1326-1342)”, in *Bispos e Arcebispos de Lisboa*, directed by João Luís Fontes and coordinated by António Camões Gouveia, Maria Filomena Andrade and Mário Farelo (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2018), 277-286). The year 1344 as terminus *ad quem* corresponds to the end of the prelate of his successor, D. Vasco, who was responsible for the following taxation, precisely from that date (see Arquivo Distrital de Braga, *Coleção Especial*, no. 778 and Mário Farelo, “Payer au roi et au pape. Les décimes pontificales imposées au clergé portugais pendant l’époque avignonnaise”, in *Financiar el reino terrenal. La contribución de la Iglesia a finales de la Edad Media (s. XIII-XVI)*, edited by Jordi Morelló Baget (Barcelona: CSIC-Institución Milà I Fontanals-

Santarém, Santo Estêvão de Alenquer, São Julião de Frielas and São João do Lumiar). The values indicated correspond to those of the taxation of 1320/1321.

A) ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Odivelas*, L.º 2, fl. 5, receipt neither dated nor authenticated, in good condition, but with a nutgall ink stain affecting the first sixteen lines.

¶ Monasterium de Odivellis cum ecclesiis Sancti Juliany Santarensis et Santi Stephany de Alanquerio et ecclesiam de Freellis cum vicariam ejus ad duo milia librarum.

Pagou o dicto moesteiro por si e pelas dictas egrejas a que he teudo de pagar noventa e duas libras e mea das cen libras que avya de pagar. E as VII libras e mea ha de pagar o vigairo da igreja de Freellas porque a igreja foi partida despois da tausaçom pelo bispo don Joham Afonso que mandou que o dicto vigayro pagase as sete libras e mea pola dizima das quaes noventa e duas libras e mea recebeu Bernalde Anes XL^a libras da primeyra paga do primeyro ano pustomeyro dia d'outubro.

Item recebeu em este mesmo dia Gonçale Steveen L^a e duas libras e mea.

¶ Ecclesiam de Luminary ad CCC^{as} libras.

Pagou o moesteiro d'Odivellas pelo que recebe da dicta igreja convem a saber Gonçalo Steveen nove libras e mea da primeira paga do primeiro ano prestomeiro dia d'outubro.

-Departamento de Ciências Históricas-Estudios Medievales, 2013), 93). We lean towards a date of redaction close to October 31, 1341, taking into consideration that the first payment of the first year of the tenth biennial granted by Pope Benedict XII to King Alfonso IV, on April 30, 1341, to which this document most likely refers, corresponds to All Saints' Day of 1341: "*Solucionis, siquidem, huiusmodi decime primum terminum primi anni fore statuimus festum Omnium Sanctorum proximo futurum, secundum uero terminum festum Ascensionis Domini post illud proximo secuturum, in alio anno dicti biennij similibus terminis obseruandis*" (*Monumenta Henricina*, vol. I (Coimbra: Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1960), 178-194, docs. 84-85; cf. Farello, "Payer au roi et au pape", 83-84).

Pagou o vygayro e os raçoeyros pela outra meatade que elles recebem nove libras e mea e asy he pagado todo o da egreja com o cumum dos raçoeyros da primeyra paga do primeyro ano prestomeyro dia d'outubro. Esto recebeu Bernalde Anes.

¶ Vicariam ecclesiam de Freellis debet solvere pro ea monasterio de Odivellis C.^m quinquaginta libras.

Pagou o vigayro desta egreja da primeira paga do primeiro ano dia primeyro de novembro sete libras e mea. Esto recebeu Gonçalo Steveez.

Non pagou o moesteiro porque o bispo dom Joham Afonso a fez partir e a partiu depois da tusaçom e mandou que o vigayro pagase a dizima da vigaria.

¶ Vicariam Sancti Stephany de Alanquerio ad CC.^{as} libras pro qua debet solvere monasterio de Odivellis.

Pagou o dicto moesteiro d'Odivellas pela dicta vicaria da primeyra paga do primeyro ano prestumeiro dia d'outubro dez libras. Esto recebeu Bernalde Anes.

¶ Vicariam ecclesiam Sancti Juliany Santarensis ad CC^{as} et obtuaginta libras.

Pagou o dicto vigairo desta egreja da primeyra paga do primeyro ano pela dicta egreja prestumeyro dia d'outubro quatorze libras. Esto recebeu Bernalde Anes.

On the verso (various hands):

5 [in a perpendicular direction to the text that follows]

Dizimas papaaes.

Do que pagou este mosteiro polas suas ygrejas.

Odivelas.

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