

The Convent of Lorvão and its patronage of urban parishes in Coimbra during the Middle Ages: São Bartolomeu and São Pedro

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Abstract: The Convent of Lorvão held the right of patronage over about two dozen parish churches, distributed over several dioceses. This situation implied that the conventual community had the ability to recruit a group of clerics that guaranteed the spiritual and temporal administration of those churches under its tutelage. This article examines the exercise of Lorvão's right of patronage over two collegiate churches in Coimbra during the Middle Ages (10th-15th centuries). From a definition of the concept of the right of patronage and an exposition of the organization of collegiate communities, this article moves on to analyse the exercise of the right of patronage of Lorvão. Questions problematized include the institutional and financial implications of patronage and highlights elements of the ecclesiastic network of recruitment of the prebendaries presented by the Convent, whilst taking account of clashes with the interests of the bishop.

Keywords: Cistercians; right of patronage; collegiate churches; benefice holders; episcopal rights.

El patronato del Monasterio de Lorvão sobre las parroquias urbanas de Coímbra durante la Edad Media: São Bartolomeu y São Pedro

Resumen: El Monasterio de Lorvão tenía el derecho de patronato sobre cerca de dos docenas de iglesias parroquiales, distribuidas por varias diócesis. Esto suponía que la comunidad monástica tenía potestad para nombrar a un grupo de clérigos que garantizase la administración espiritual y temporal de estas iglesias. Este artículo pretende analizar el ejercicio del derecho de patronato por parte de dicho monasterio sobre dos colegiatas de Coímbra durante la Edad Media (siglos X-XV). En primer lugar, se definirá el concepto de derecho de patronato y se aclarará la organización de las comunidades de las colegiatas, para pasar después a examinar el ejercicio de tal derecho. A tal fin, intentaremos problematizar cuestiones como las implicaciones institucionales y financieras del patronato, definir la red eclesiástica de captación de los beneficiados presentados por el monasterio, y distinguir los momentos de cooperación o de conflicto de intereses con el obispo.

Palabras clave: Cistercienses; derecho de patronato; colegiatas; beneficiados; derechos de los obispos.

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Introduction¹

The system of ecclesiastical patronage, whether understood as referring to the protection of saints or to powerful magnates with respect to local churches, can trace its origins to the beginnings of Church history (Gaudemet 1997). In the era of the early Church, patronage operated under a regime in which churches were privately owned, enabling founders and their successors to possess the buildings, their assets and ecclesiastical revenues, and which also gave them the right to appoint officiating clerics. Such prerogatives were conferred on the owners of the land and/or those who sponsored the building and maintenance of the churches, in recognition of their role in the foundation process. In the context of the Reform Church between the 11th and 13th centuries and the creation of ecclesiastical *dominium* (Mazel 2013, 2021) when simony and other forms of secular interference in ecclesiastical affairs were restricted or prohibited, and at a decisive moment in the development of Canon Law (Viaut 2021), the right of patronage came to replace the right of possession and recognised certain privileges to the founders regarding the churches established by them. Among other honorary and material rights,² the right of patrons to appoint priests continued to be recognised, whom the respective diocesan bishop would confirm and invest with the *cura animarum*. In turn, the right to the revenues of these institutions was replaced by the collecting of an annual tribute designated *colheita* (harvest) or *jantar* (a meal).

Despite the setting-out of these particulars in legislation produced in the 12th century, up to the end of the Ancien Régime, the right of patronage continued to represent an important form of power over ecclesiastical institutions and was the cause of frequent jurisdictional disputes and judicial litigation—both in lay and ecclesiastic courts—over institutional, fiscal and territorial land rights (Gonçalves 2000). In Portugal, study of the right of patronage in the Middle Ages has not been copious, but it has inspired important research on networks of patronage, at regional and diocesan level—Braga in the 13th century (Marques 1990) and Évora in the 14th century (Vilar 2002)—and at urban level with respect to Lisbon (Farelo 2006). In Portugal, as in the rest of Europe (Brown 2014), this right, which represented one of the most potent forms of lay interference in the ecclesiastical sphere, has also been the subject of studies concerned with the nobility and royal power (Sá-Nogueira 1988; Farelo 2013).

It is, however, a dimension that has been little touched-upon in the context of monastic history, despite the fact that Portuguese monasteries held the right of patronage over a considerable number of churches.³

In the case of the Monastery of Lorvão, identifying all the churches over which it exercised the right of patronage has proven a highly complex task. The inherent difficulties of this undertaking are owed to the fact that the acquisition of these rights which was normally through donations to the monastery, go back to its sparsely-documented early history, and, no less important, the fact of the monastery having suffered certain vicissitudes in its history, namely in the first quarter of the 12th century, which interfered in the composition of the monastic estate.

Thus, it is imperative to go back to the context of its foundation (or refoundation, according to some authors), to understand its geopolitical importance in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, and, as briefly as possible, to understand the reasons for its swift regional implantation. Such factors, as we shall see, led to numerous churches being incorporated within its estate together with the respective right of patronage over them. We will also examine how the transfer of the Monastery of Lorvão, along with all its assets, to the Cathedral of Coimbra in 1109—and its retention under the cathedral's control until 1116—significantly influenced its destiny in various crucial ways. This impact extended to matters of ownership and the patronage of numerous churches.

¹ Abbreviations used: Alc.= Alcobacense; ANTT= Torre do Tombo National Archive; BNP= National Library of Portugal; cx.= box (caixa); doc(s).= document(s); par.= parish (freguesia); ff.= folio(s); gav.= drawer (gaveta); m.= bundle (maço); mun.= municipality (concelho); n.= number; OC= Cistercian Order; S.= Saint; v.= village; vol.= volume.

² Gaudemet (1997) states that in addition to honorary privileges (a place within the church, for example) and the guarantee of being provided for out of church assets in the event of extreme poverty, the patron enjoyed a *ius providendi* (a position of responsibility as much as a privilege) which obliged him to oversee the maintenance of the buildings and the conservation of the church's properties as well as the priest's moral rectitude and to oversee the church's accounts.

³ In this field, for the Convent of Odivelas, see the recent work by Farelo and Rêpas 2024. See, also, for the Monastery of Santo Tirso, Correia 2008, vol. I, 224-227 and vol. II, 7-13.

1. The context of Lorvão's foundation

The Monastery of Lorvão, situated approximately 17 kilometres from the city of Coimbra, holds a prominent place as one of Portugal's most significant and thoroughly studied monasteries. However, its origins remain a subject of debate, with respected scholars offering differing interpretations.

To summarise the issue, some believe that the primitive community dates back to the early 6th century, a theory initially proposed by Fr. Bernardo de Brito and later supported by other 17th-century writers⁴ and, more recently, by Nelson Correia Borges, who tried to rehabilitate the Cistercian chronicler's thesis, using archaeological sources checked against chronological data related to Lucêncio, Bishop of Conimbriga between 561 and 572. Lucêncio, if this hypothesis is confirmed, would have been the first abbot of Lorvão (Borges 1983, 57-58; 1984, 143-158). Other authors, however, claim that the monastery's foundation dates back to the second half of the 9th century, while differing over precisely when it occurred. Rui de Azevedo advanced the position that it was founded in the last quarter of the 9th century, shortly after the reconquest of Coimbra in 878 and the subsequent repopulation promoted by Hermenegildo Guterres (Azevedo 1933). This position was followed by several authors, such as Maur Cocheril (1966, 84; 1986, 217-218; 1992, 522), Maria Alegria Marques (1998, 75), Adriano de Gusmão (1989, 60) and Maria João Branco (2008, 32),⁵ but meanwhile Aires Nascimento (2008; 2009) contested it, arguing that the 777 date of a document included in the *Liber Testamentorum Coenobii Laurbanensis*—evidently an error—should be read 857 and that Lorvão Monastery would have been founded sometime prior to that year.

In 2021, Maria Alegria Marques—who, in 1998, agreed with Rui de Azevedo's thesis (Marques 1998, 75)—recognised the difficulty of the question by stating that it is not clear when the monastery came into existence, but accepted the date of 857, saying that “the historical existence of the Monastery of Lorvão is attested by the middle of the 9th century, even if the date supporting the hypothesis does not find agreement among scholars” (Marques 2021, 21).⁶ Indeed, the dating of this document has not achieved a consensus and José Mattoso (2009) has pointed out the impossibility of this interpretation, stating that “the emendation to 857, correct from the palaeographic and diplomatic point of view, is contrary to what we know about the political history of the intervention of the kings of León in the Coimbra area”, and countering it with the position of José María Fernández Catón, who proposes that the diploma's date be corrected to 907 or 917 (Mattoso leans more towards the latter).⁷ Aires A. Nascimento, in a more recent work, readily admits that “the oldest authentic document attesting to the existence of the monastery dates from 911” (Nascimento 2016, 15, note 8).

Recently, Manuel Real (2022) attributed the foundation of Lorvão Monastery to Prince Bermudo Ordonhes, “working with [his nephew] Ordonho ([who was] still prince regent or already acting as King of Gallecia), [...] in the first decade of the 10th century, if not in 911”. According to Real, Ordonho (who was later King of Leon) was attentive to the matters of the frontier and, therefore, would have been interested in “founding a well-supported monastic house in the Mondego valley, which would serve as a rearguard to the settlement of the land of Coimbra.” The aforementioned author states that:

⁴ Fr. Bernardo de Brito said that the Monastery of Lorvão was founded in the lifetime of the Patriarch St Benedict (†547) and was dedicated to the eastern martyrs Mamede and Pelagius (Brito 1602, 447), specifying elsewhere that its foundation would have occurred between 530 and 547 and that its first abbot was Lucêncio, later elected Bishop of Conimbriga (561-572) (Brito 1609, 190). This information was repeated by D. Rodrigo da Cunha, in his *Catalogo e Historia dos Bispos do Porto* (Cunha 1623, Part I, 50), and later enlarged upon by Fr. Leão de São Tomás who, over the course of 11 chapters, developed the theme of the coenobium of Lorvão, highlighting that it would have been the first Benedictine monastery to be built in the Kingdom of Portugal (“o primeiro Mosteyro que da Ordẽ de S. Bento se edificou no Reyno de Portugal”) (when today we know that the Rule of St. Benedict only arrived in what is now Portuguese territory in the last two decades of the 11th century; Mattoso 2002, 102-107), and that it was the only refuge of Christians in the district of Coimbra during the Muslim occupation, as well as the legendary role played by its monks in the conquest (and reconstruction) of Coimbra (São Tomás 1644, 307-308). This chronology was reinforced by Ferreira (1724) and accepted as “probable” by Almeida (1967, 52), authors who also confirm Lucêncio's founding role.

⁵ José Mattoso once admitted both theories (foundation in the last quarter of the 9th century or pre-existence of a monastic community), highlighting the importance of the studies of Nelson Correia Borges for giving “some credibility to the second hypothesis” (Mattoso 1992, 473-474). In a more recent text, the same author seems to favour a foundation after the reconquest of Coimbra in 878 (Mattoso 2009). Aires Gomes Fernandes (2004, 67-69) also mentioned the two theories, with their respective foundations, without taking a position.

⁶ Marques (2021), on page 189, accepts 857, without reservations, as the date for the donation to the abbot Justo, which was copied in the *Liber Testamentorum* and which is at the centre of this discussion (published in Nascimento and Fernández Catón 2008, doc. 41).

⁷ For a discussion of the key hypotheses concerning the critical dating of this document, along with the doubts raised about each, see the well-supported observations presented by Fernández Catón 2008, 467-475.

To secure and stabilize the territory, now under Christian control, it was necessary to establish a robust community in a strategically defensible second-line location, though still within contested areas. It was crucial to create an institution capable of spiritually dominating the region, inspiring enthusiasm, and consolidating resources. Such an institution would play a key role in encouraging new settlers to establish themselves while mobilizing the population to protect the recently secured lands.⁸

Setting aside the issue of the monastery's founding date—undoubtedly important but not our primary focus here—we wish to emphasise that, with the Monastery of Lorvão existing as early as 911, its manorial domain expanded rapidly during the 10th century. This growth, fuelled by both purchases and donations,⁹ reflects the pivotal role the monastery played in the religious and economic life of a society located on the Mondego River frontier. For this reason, it is unsurprising that the monastery enjoyed the support of the Leonese counts and monarchs, who were keen to strengthen their hold on the kingdom's western territories and solidify their recent conquests.

Among the various donations that were made to it, for the present we are particularly interested in the innumerable churches that the new lords of the region were building at that time to respond to the spiritual yearnings of the Christian population and which ended up being transferred to the monastery in remission for the sins of their respective donors. Until 987, that is to say for about eight decades, there are 19 letters of donation and testamentary disposition, in which there are almost three dozen churches and small monasteries donated or bequeathed to the Abbey of Lorvão.¹⁰

This was certainly due to the rigorous way of life of the monks, which encouraged believers to make oblations in order to benefit from their prayers. But the historical conditions were, in fact, extremely favourable. We need only look at the location of the properties donated to Lorvão in these first centuries, already mapped by Rui de Azevedo (1933, 27) and Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques (2021, 119), to understand how the growth in importance of the monastery is perfectly articulated with the Christian *Reconquista* and, above all, with the efforts made to intensify the settlement of the conquered areas. This context explains why the assets donated to Lorvão were located throughout the county of Coimbra, aligning mainly along two axes: from Águeda southwards to the city of Coimbra; and, along the Mondego basin, from Montemor-o-Velho to the interior, passing through Coimbra, the area surrounding the Abbey of Lorvão, Penacova, Vila Nova de Poiares, Lousã, Arganil, Mortágua, Santa Comba Dão, Papízios (in the municipality of Carregal do Sal), Tábua, Oliveira do Hospital and Seia, and then, a little further north, Tondela and Viseu. Importantly, there is not a single donation of properties located north of the river Douro and the number of donations above the river Vouga is extremely small.

However, the incursions of Almansor, who took Coimbra in 987, Viseu in 997 and Montemor-o-Velho in 1000, devastating all the lands up to the Douro, would have shaken the region.¹¹ For a hundred years, with the territory of Coimbra under Muslim rule, the donations recorded are very few and only one, dated 1002, includes churches: in fact, half of the churches of São Vicente (par. São Vicente de Pereira Jusã, mun. Ovar), Santa Cristina (which we have not been able to identify) and São Martinho, in Maçada (v., par. São Martinho da Gândara, mun. Oliveira de Azeméis),¹² all located further north, in the Terra de Santa Maria.¹³

⁸ Original version, in Portuguese: “O povoamento e a segurança do território, agora sob alçada cristã, exigiriam a implantação de uma forte comunidade em um lugar de 2ª linha, relativamente bem defendido, embora integrado nas zonas em disputa. Importava criar uma instituição capaz de dominar espiritualmente o território, captar vontades e congregar meios, contribuindo desse modo para estimular a presença de novos colonizadores e mobilizar as populações para a defesa das terras recentemente apresuradas” (Real 2022).

⁹ Cf. Fernández Catón 2008, documents 1-5, 8-11, 13-31, 33-43, 47-50 and 52-66, for donations, and documents 7, 44-45 and 51, for purchases.

¹⁰ See Table 1, in Appendix.

¹¹ Beirante 1993, 263. The devastation of the territory is recorded in a report of 1005, by a deacon, Sandino (Herculano 1867-1873, doc. CXCIV).

¹² Marques (2021, 194) identifies it with the church of São Martinho de Arada (par., mun. Ovar). However, considering that in the *Inquirições* of 1288 it is said “que na freeguessia de Sam Martinho que he soffraganha de Sam Vicente de susso dicto ha hum logar que chamam Maçada” (Sottomayor-Pizarro 2015, 306-307; index, 812), we believe that it is the church of São Martinho de Maçada, Maçada being presently located in the parish of São Martinho da Gândara in the municipality of Oliveira de Azeméis. This association of the church of São Martinho with Maçada on the one hand and, on the other, with the church of São Vicente (par. São Vicente de Pereira Jusã, mun. Ovar), also included in this donation, seems to leave no room for doubt as to the identification of the church in question.

¹³ Herculano 1867-1873, doc. CLXXXIX; Nascimento and Fernández Catón 2008, doc. 31; quoted by Marques 2021, 194.

The political and military conjuncture would, however, change and the definitive conquest of Coimbra, by Fernando Magno (“the Great”) in 1064, re-established the defensive border-line of the River Mondego.¹⁴ The monks of Lorvão quickly recovered most of their lost possessions, adopted the Rule of St. Benedict,¹⁵ saw their old prestige return, and experienced a growing increase in the number of donations bestowed upon them.

However, the incorporation of new churches among the possessions of the monastery was by then happening at a slower pace, perhaps because the structure of the parish network was increasingly more defined and because the influxes of new colonisers rarely justified adding to the number of existing churches. Or perhaps because, by then, only a short distance from Lorvão, the Monastery of Vacariça was flourishing, with a new sanctuary, that of São Salvador and São Vicente, which was more popular, thus exerting a greater influence on the generosity of the faithful.¹⁶ However, this slowdown was not the most punishing event that Lorvão Monastery experienced at this time.

The greatest setback occurred when, on 29 July 1109, the Count and Countess of Portucale, Henrique and Teresa, donated it (and all its possessions) to Bishop Gonçalo Pais and the Cathedral of Coimbra, allegedly to remedy the latter’s material needs, the gift being confirmed by the Pope Pascoal II.¹⁷ It was to be restored on 19 March 1116 by the same bishop who appointed the Prior Eusébio as its abbot, stipulating that the election of its future abbots was to be done with the approval of the Cathedral, to which the monastery remained subject: “Et ut ipse abbas [Eusébio], cum omni suo conuentu [de Lorvão], sit subditus episcopo et canonicis prefate sedis, et sine eorum consilio, isto defuncto, nullatenus alter eligatur.”¹⁸

This continued subjection to Coimbra Cathedral is essential for understanding the future role of the Bishop of Coimbra, Pedro Soares, in the process that led to the expulsion of the Benedictine monks from Lorvão Monastery in the early 13th century and their replacement by a female community under the tutelage of Queen Teresa (daughter of Sancho I of Portugal), and the reason why, unusually among Cistercian houses,¹⁹ Lorvão was not exempted from diocesan jurisdiction.²⁰

Furthermore, as Rui de Azevedo (1933, 35) and José María Fernández Catón (2008, 458), among others, have noted, Bishop Gonçalo Pais, when restoring the Monastery of Lorvão, did not return to it all the property it had possessed in 1109.²¹ This issue was so important that the monks of Lorvão, at the end of the 12th century

¹⁴ It is not our place here to analyse the legendary intervention of the monks of Lorvão in this military success, which, even though it involves the church of São Pedro of Coimbra, goes beyond the objectives of this study.

¹⁵ The first documentary reference to the Rule of Saint Benedict in the Monastery of Lorvão dates from 1100 (Herculano 1867-1873, doc. CMXXXVI).

¹⁶ See Azevedo 1933, 31.

¹⁷ By the bull *Sciatis omnes*, issued from the Lateran on 12 January [1110-1112] (Azevedo 1958, doc. 15; Rodrigues and Costa 1999, docs. 59 and 625).

¹⁸ ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 1.^a Incorporação, Documentos Particulares, m. 3, doc. 23 (original), published by Azevedo 1933, doc. 16 and Moraes 2020, doc. 7; Rodrigues and Costa 1999, doc. 61; Nascimento and Fernández Catón 2008, doc. 65.

¹⁹ This is the subject of Maria João Branco’s contribution, entitled “The installation of Cistercian nuns in Lorvão. Contours of a complex process, in a kingdom in turmoil,” which is published in the present issue.

²⁰ It is known that the Convents of Arouca, Almoester and Odivelas were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, in accordance with the privileges and usage of the remaining monasteries of the Order, and that even the Monastery of Bouças, where a community of Cistercian nuns was to be installed (but in fact came to nothing), had its exemption safeguarded by Queen Mafalda with the Bishop of Porto through an agreement that was confirmed by Innocent IV’s bull of 9 October 1249, *Cupientes tuam*. For the Convent of Arouca, see Coelho 1988, docs. 211, 239, 240 and 246. As for Almoester, it is known that the founder, Berengária Aires de Gossende, despite having consent for the foundation of the Convent from the Cistercian General Chapter (1287) and the Supreme Pontiff, Nicholas IV (1289), did not come to an agreement with the Bishop of Lisbon, Domingos, since Domingos wanted the new Convent to be subject to him in temporal and spiritual matters. Only with the death of this prelate and the election of João Martins de Soalhães to the government of the diocese of Lisbon in 1294 was this issue—obviously a problem of exemption from diocesan rights—overcome (Rêpas 2021, vol. I, 141, from ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Almoester, m. 10, doc. 47, of 15 May 1293, and BNP, Codices Alcobacenses, 228, ff. 211-211v, of 24 June 1294, published by Rêpas 2006, doc. 4). Similar difficulties did not arise in Odivelas, especially as the promoter of the initiative was the monarch himself. Both the Bishop of Lisbon (the aforementioned João Martins de Soalhães) and the Abbot of the Monastery of Alcobaça (to which the new nunnery was affiliated) were perfectly aligned with the intentions of King Dinis, who immediately safeguarded, for his Convent, exemption from diocesan jurisdiction (Rêpas 2021, vol. I, 141). As for Bouças, the documents concerning the agreement between Queen Mafalda and the Bishop of Porto can be found in the *Censual do Cabido da Sé do Porto*, ff. 61-61v and 89-89v (*Censual* 1924, 232-233 and 337-340), dated 5 and 12 July 1249 (a large part of the first of these documents was also transcribed by Peter Linehan 2013, vol. II, n. 383a, pp. 70-71, from ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Arouca, gav. 1, m. 4, doc. 7; the second of these documents was transcribed by Coelho 2005, doc. 11, from ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Arouca, gav. 2, m. 8, doc. 2). The bull *Cupientes tuam*, issued by Innocent IV on 9 October 1249, which confirms the agreement, is found in ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Arouca, gav. 1, m. 4, doc. 7, and was referred to by Peter Linehan (2013, vol. I, n. 388, pages 288-289) as well as transcribed by Avelino de Jesus da Costa, Joaquim Tomás M. Pereira and Marcelino Rodrigues Pereira (1962, vol. 2, n. 718).

²¹ José María Fernández Catón (2008, 458) even says that the bishop kept those properties closest to the city of Coimbra, but at least in the part that remained for the Monastery of Lorvão, we cannot rely upon straightforward reasoning. Note, for example, in

or beginning of the 13th century, in a context of conflict with the Bishop of Coimbra, Pedro Soares, wrote a *Memória sobre os agravos e usurpações que o mosteiro de Lorvão sofreu dos bispos de Coimbra* (“Memoir concerning the grievances and usurpations that the Monastery of Lorvão suffered at the hands of the Bishops of Coimbra”), where they listed the property formerly theirs, that Bishop Gonçalo had failed to return to them in 1116 (Azevedo 1933, 32 and doc. 21).

In other words, regardless of the property that Lorvão had received since the earliest days of its existence, on 19 March 1116, Bishop Gonçalo Pais fixed the amount of it to be restored.²² Among these properties, of particular interest for our purposes here are the churches of São Pedro (with its vineyards and vegetable gardens) and of São Bartolomeu (with its vineyards), located on the outskirts of Coimbra (*arrabalde*), which shall be the focus of our attention: “et infra ciuitatem predictam ecclesiam beati Petri cum omnibus suis uineis et ortis. Et in suburbio eiusdem ecclesiam beati Bartholomei cum omnibus suis uineis [...] excepta parte episcopali, harum supradictarum quinque ecclesiarum.”²³

Of course, Lorvão continued to increase its possessions, mainly through donations, reflecting the prestige of the monastic community and the devotion of the faithful to the sanctuary of São Mamede. We emphasise, among many others, those donations made by D. Afonso Henriques in 1133 while still a count, and later those he made as the first monarch of Portugal in 1174, 1175, and 1176 (in April and May),²⁴ which demonstrate how the abbey stayed under careful royal consideration.

This long introduction will help us retain some important points for a better understanding of the next topics of analysis. From the very start, the number of churches donated to Lorvão was indeed extraordinary, a fact associated, on the one hand, with the repopulation of the land along the Mondego River following the first reconquest of Coimbra and, on the other, with the role played by the monks of Lorvão, including the prestige they achieved as well as the support granted to them from the beginning by the Leonese monarchs and the counts of the region. Thus, the right of patronage Lorvão held over a considerable group of churches in the 13th and 14th centuries can in fact be traced back to the 10th century.

Secondly, the loss of the territory of Coimbra to Almansor in 987 slowed down this growth, but after the definitive reconquest of Coimbra by Fernando Magno in 1064, the monastery recovered most of the assets it had lost and underwent remarkable development, both economically and culturally, which is evident, among other things, from the importance of its *scriptorium* and in the quality of the codices produced there.²⁵

Thirdly, the donation of the Monastery of Lorvão and its property to the Cathedral of Coimbra, by the Count and Countess, D. Henrique and D. Teresa, conditioned its subsequent history at various levels. Although restored in 1116, it remained subject to the Cathedral, saw its property greatly diminished and the number of churches over which it held the right of patronage reduced to less than half of those it had held beforehand. This fact sustained the tensions between the monks of Lorvão and the Cathedral, which resulted, for instance, in the aforementioned *Memória sobre os agravos e usurpações* written by the monks between 1192 and 1205 (Azevedo 1933, 32 and doc. 21), which could have motivated their expulsion by Bishop Pedro Soares. It is also worth remembering that at the time of the monks’ expulsion—which Maria Alegria Marques places between March 1205 and September 1206 (Marques 1998, 87)—the prelate of Coimbra gave the Monastery of Lorvão to D. Teresa, daughter of King Sancho I of Portugal, with the careful exception of episcopal rights (“concessimus uobis memoratum monasterium saluo iure in omnibus sedis episcopalis”), thus starting a long and complicated process that only ended in 1211 when an apostolic judgment was executed determining the establishment of the first community of Cistercian nuns in Portugal.

relation to the *villa* of Oliveira de Currelos (par. Currelos, mun. Carregal do Sal), bequeathed to the Monastery of Lorvão through a will of the Count of Coimbra, Gonçalo Moniz and his wife, Mumadona Froilaz (on 22 December 981) (Herculano 1867-1873, doc. CXXX; Morais 2020, doc. 2), that the bishop, on 19 March 1116, only returned the church, giving the *villa* to the Cathedral of Coimbra on the same day (Azevedo and Costa 1980, doc. 6; Rodrigues and Costa 1999, doc. 630; Morais 2020, doc. 8).

²² ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 1.^a Incorporação, Documentos Particulares, m. 3, doc. 23 (original), published by Azevedo 1933, doc. 16 and Morais 2020, doc. 7; Rodrigues and Costa 1999, doc. 61; Nascimento and Fernández Catón 2008, doc. 65.

²³ ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 1.^a Incorporação, Documentos Particulares, m. 3, doc. 23 (original), published by Azevedo 1933, doc. 16 and Morais 2020, doc. 7; Rodrigues and Costa 1999, doc. 61.

²⁴ Azevedo 1958, docs. 132, 322, 324, 328 and 331.

²⁵ We are, of course, referring foremostly to the *Liber de auibus (siue de bestiis et aliis rebus)*, by Hugo de Folieto (1184) (ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, Livraria, Livro 5), and the *Commentarium in Apocalypsin*, by Beato de Liébana (1189) (ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, Livraria, Livro 44), although also worthy of mention are the *Enarrationes in psalmos* by Saint Augustine (1183) (ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, Livraria, Livro 10 and Livro 50), and the *Martyrium et Miracula S.ⁿⁱ Thomae Cantuariensis* (1185) (BNP, Alc. 143). For all these codices, see Nascimento 2016, 17-36 (who at several points erroneously exchanges the date of the ‘Book of Birds’ (the *Liber de auibus*) with that of the *Enarrationes in psalmos*). For the ‘Book of Birds’, see also Gonçalves 1999.

Finally, despite the loss of much property, which resulted in its incorporation into the episcopal sphere in 1109, and its unsatisfactory restoration in 1116, Lorrvão continued to exercise the right of patronage over a fairly considerable number of churches, as can be seen in Table 1 in the appendix, especially when compared with more recent monasteries, founded in the 13th century.²⁶ Ultimately, this discrepancy reflects the historical importance of the Monastery of Lorrvão.

2. The churches of São Pedro and of São Bartolomeu in the context of the formation of the ecclesiastic map of Coimbra (12th-13th centuries)

In the wake of the Christian military success of the 11th century, the ecclesiastical authorities sought to organise their territorial structure in the region. After the definitive conquest of the city of Coimbra in 1064, whereby the River Mondego now formed a relatively stable border,²⁷ we find D. Paterno (Morujão 2010, 81-85) instated as the first bishop of the restored diocese, prior to 1080. The documentation produced in Coimbra gradually over the course of the 11th and 12th centuries, particularly that collected in the cathedral cartulary in the 13th century, reveals a city where buildings were built and rebuilt, for ordinary housing as well as for civil administration and ecclesiastical tutelage (Rossa 2001, 235-394). Thus, this documentation also allows us to recognise the presence of more or less ancient churches in the urban fabric whose ecclesiastical functions and status as parish churches came to be defined within the administrative framework of the Reform.²⁸ Between the beginning of the last quarter of the 12th century and the end of the first quarter of the 13th century, we can see that these churches were the scene of a refoundation that manifested at several levels, two of which we will highlight. The first concerns the buildings themselves since, at this time, all of them were rebuilt in the Romanesque architectural style, and thus the marks of an artistic and formal programme already widespread in the centre of Christendom came to be adopted in its westernmost extremity (Alarcão 2008, 145-192; Botelho 2013, 433-455). The second is related to its institutional character, as we come to discern the formation of small ecclesiastical communities that shared a common life within the same temple and that, from the 13th century onwards, are designated unequivocally as chapters. The earliest references to these communities are very vague in the definition of their typology, but from the second half of the 12th century the mentioning of priors or prelates reveals that there occurred a separation and hierarchization of clerical functions. Thus, at the beginning of the 13th century, Coimbra had seven collegiate houses that would survive throughout the Middle Ages and the *Ancien Regime*, with a community structure characterised by a body of portionaries (*porcionários*) or prebendaries (*raçoeiros*) directed by a prior (Campos 2019). In the case of the collegiate church of São Pedro, which we will discuss further below, there also emerges the figure of the cantor (Varandas 1999).

In the western part of the Iberian Peninsula, as in the rest of Western Christendom, these were centuries in which ecclesiastical institutions and functions came to be defined, and during which bishops consolidated their authority over their territories as well as over the populations and churches within their dioceses (Mazel 2016, 237-306). Moreover, this period was marked by the enforcement of Rome's authority to unify the liturgical rite and religious practices, shaping the clerical body of the peninsula in line with the norms and precepts established by the Supreme Pontiff for the broader Christian world. As has been stressed in the historiography concerning Coimbra and its diocese, this policy of integrating the conquered territories of western Europe into

²⁶ The Monastery of Lorrvão is similar in this respect to the Monastery of Arouca, also founded between 915 and 925 in the context of the Christian reconquest (Coelho 1988, 22-23). Although both Lorrvão and Arouca were only incorporated into the Cistercian Order in the 13th century as communities of nuns (Lorrvão in 1211 and Arouca in 1224-1226), they were monasteries whose properties had been consolidated since the 10th century, and which therefore incorporated a large number of churches. A different conjuncture applies to the other Cistercian nunneries, for which, although having also appeared in the 13th century, it was only then that the process of accumulating their property began. This is the case with the Convent of Celas, in Coimbra, incorporated into the Cistercian Order between 1227 and 1232; with the Convent of São Bento de Cástris, in Évora, founded in 1274-1275; with the Convent of Almoester, whose foundation process began in 1287, and which exercised the right of patronage only over the church of Almoester, donated to it by its founder, Berengária Aires; and with the Convent of Odivelas, founded in 1295 by King Dinis, from whom, in that year, it received the right of patronage over the churches of Santo Estêvão de Alenquer and São Julião de Santarém, and later from the same monarch, rights over two more churches, São João de Lumiar and São Julião de Frielas, in 1318 (Répas 2021, vol. I).

²⁷ Stability was sometimes compromised by the incursions to the north of Islamic armies, as happened with the Almoravid sieges of 1111 and 1117, with significant consequences in the region of Soure and Montemor-o-Velho (see Barroca 2003, 36-48).

²⁸ On the establishment of the parish network in the Christian West, in the framework of the Church Reform of the 11th to the 13th centuries, see, among many other studies, Hamilton 2013. See also the historiographical review of this topic in the recent study by Guijarro González and Díez Herrera 2022, 13-25.

the ecclesiastical network, and of organising and administering them in a uniform way from Rome, was done by appointing foreign clerics to peninsular cathedral chapters and to episcopal chairs. This was the case with Maurício Burdino, Bishop of Coimbra between 1099 and 1108 (Morujão 2010, 90-93; Renzi 2021, 23-37), whose initiatives were to be continued by the autochthonous Gonçalo Pais (Bishop of Coimbra between 1109 and 1127†), an important reformer of the chapter of Coimbra who introduced the Roman Rite and was an unequivocal defender of the Reform (Morujão 2010, 93-98). During the episcopates of these two bishops, we notice a tendency to receive donations of churches located throughout the Coimbra diocese, which Maria do Rosário Morujão, with whom we are fully in accord, interprets as being a concerted strategy to establish episcopal rights over the whole territory (Morujão 2010, 93).

During the episcopate of Maurício Burdino, who came from the Cluniac priory of Saint Martial of Limoges (indeed, he had accompanied Archbishop Bernardo of Toledo on his arrival in the Iberian Peninsula),²⁹ there was the donation of the church of Santa Justa de Coimbra to the priory of Sainte Marie de la Charité of the Loire, also belonging to Cluny (Rodrigues and Costa 1999, doc. 22). This donation has been interpreted as a gesture by the prelate with a double meaning: on the one hand, it reveals the desire of connecting the city and the diocese of Coimbra to the network of Cluniac priories to reinforce reformist intentions; on the other, it supported the previous donation of the Monastery of São Pedro de Rates also to the same priory, by the Count and Countess D. Henrique and D. Teresa.³⁰ Importantly, over and above these interpretations, we want to emphasise that this donation was made with the exception of the episcopal rights of the Bishop of Coimbra over this institution, which shows that despite the prelate's generosity towards Cluny, he would not abdicate the prerogatives and privileges of his position.

From the episcopate of his successor, in addition to the restoration of a vast number of churches throughout the diocese, the aforementioned donation of the Monastery of Lorvão in 1109 to the Bishop of Coimbra, stands out. After, in 1094, Bishop Crescónio (1092-1098†) (Morujão 2010, 86-90) had received the donation of the Monastery of Vacariça,³¹ with all its assets, including the church of São Salvador de Coimbra, the Monastery of Lorvão was the last of the Mozarabic monastic strongholds in the region, which thus came under the tutelage of the prelate of Coimbra. In 1116, Bishop Gonçalo restored the Monastery of Lorvão and, among other assets, handed it the churches of São Pedro and São Bartolomeu, both in Coimbra, whose association to the monastery dated back further, as we have already said. Despite the significant amount of property that this document transferred to the monastery, since at this same time the bishop elected an abbot to lead the life of the monks from then on, the act clearly expressed the obedience that this community henceforth would owe to the bishop and the canons of the Cathedral of Coimbra.³² In the following pages we shall consider how this submission conditioned the management of the monastery's property with regard to its right to exercise its patronage over these churches of Coimbra. Before doing so, however, it is important to present briefly the institutional history of both churches.

3. An institutional history of the churches of São Pedro and São Bartolomeu

Both churches are documented since the 10th century, but despite the significant efforts of archaeologists (Alarcão 2008), architects (Rossa 2001) and art historians (Real and Fernandes 2021), it is difficult to divine the characteristics of the primitive buildings. The church of São Bartolomeu, previously called São Cristóvão, was the object of a donation dated 957 to the Monastery of Lorvão. This church, together with that of São

²⁹ On the passage of Maurício through Toledo and the importance of this aspect for his rise to the episcopate of Coimbra, see Veloso 2006, 128-129 (according to which Maurício Burdino, for around ten years, served as archdeacon to Archbishop Bernardo of Toledo (1086-1124), to whom he was close), and the recent work by Amaral and Renzi 2023, 87-122. Maurício Burdino's interesting ecclesiastical career has attracted the attention of various specialists, especially with regard to his episcopate in Braga (from 1109) and his election as 'antipope' Gregory VIII by Emperor Henry V in 1118. In addition to the aforementioned works, on his activities, see: Erdmann 1935, 20-34; Erdmann 1940; David 1947, 441-501; Amaral 2007, 417-447 and 500-520; Amaral and Barroca 2012, 195-210.

³⁰ See Azevedo 1958, doc. 6 (1100): donation confirmed in July 1146-1147, by D. Afonso Henriques and D. Mafalda (Azevedo 1958, doc. 217). For an assessment of these donations to the Order of Cluny and their implications, see Campos 2017, 68-76 and Reglero de la Fuente 2008.

³¹ See Rodrigues and Costa 1999, doc. 82 or Herculano 1867-1873, doc. DCCCXIII (13 November 1094). See also Rodrigues and Costa 1999, doc. 41 (27 February 1093).

³² See Rodrigues and Costa 1999, doc. 7: "...ut ipse abbas, cum omni suo conventu, sit subditus episcopo et canonicis prefate Sedis, et sine eorum consilio, isto defuncto, nullatenus alter eligatur."

Cucufate, belonged to the estate of priest Pedro, who left it to Lorvão through the priest Samuel, his vicar. The document concerning the bequest describes this church as follows: “ecclesia Sancti Christofori qui uocant ea Sancti Bartolomeus [...] in arrualde de Conimbrie et suos domos cum suas cortes et suas uineas qui sunt in giro de illa(s) ecclesia(s).”³³ In terms of Coimbra’s topography and urban structure, São Bartolomeu occupied a privileged position in the lower part of the city, next to the bridge which was the most impressive entrance to the city throughout the Middle Ages (Campos 2021).

As far as the church of São Pedro is concerned, we can only identify this patron saint after the count’s conquest in 878, in a contract of sale dated 980, which mentions a *court* in the suburbs of Coimbra that faced the church of São Pedro on one side.³⁴ This identification presupposes that this church was later moved to within the city’s walls, since this is where it stood after the conquest of Fernando Magno (“the Great”).³⁵ Having disappeared during the central and Late Middle Ages, it is known that this church was located adjacent to a main street in the medieval city which connected the Castle to the Alcáçova.

For the first half of the 12th century, we can trace the existence of a confraternity in each of these churches, which was otherwise only the case with the Church of Santiago.³⁶ Given the way these indications appear, we have been tempted to consider, along with Cristina Guardado (2000, 27), that by this time the confraternities of these churches corresponded to the designations of their first ecclesiastical communities. Indeed, as we have already mentioned, the ill-defined typology of ecclesiastical institutions in this period is evident for both this region and the rest of Western Christendom. For her part, Ana Rita Rocha (2019, 194-196) recalls how it was common for confraternities to operate within churches, or in close connection with them, to reinforce the religious service and spiritual support they provided to local populations. A careful analysis of the documentary sources has not yet allowed us to present certainties about the functions of these confraternities. On the one hand, the written sources tend to show that they were institutions, distinct from their respective churches, with communities³⁷ that included clergy and laypeople, men and women,³⁸ who benefited from important donations,³⁹ and that retained and eventually operated in their own buildings. On the other hand, from the moment that terms such as “prior,” “canon,” “portionary” and “chapter” become standardised in the lexicon of the documentation of Coimbra, reference to these confraternities seems to become less frequent, which may lend force to the first hypothesis. Moreover, it should be noted that, throughout the 14th century, when the term collegiate house is plainly established and in use in different types of documents, there is (or continues to be) ambiguity in the sources, since the small collegiate church of São João de Almedina is frequently referred to as the Church and/or Collegiate of São Brás—the patron saint of the confraternity that occupied it.⁴⁰

What is certain is that, by the middle of the 12th century, both churches and confraternities functioned to provide a spiritual framework for local populations as the seats of parishes. In the case of São Bartolomeu, this is evident in documentation post 1144;⁴¹ in the case of São Pedro, post 1165.⁴² From the same period we also have evidence of the rebuilding of both churches and, in the case of São Bartolomeu, we know that its new church was consecrated on 27 July 1214 (Campos 2020a, 29). Throughout the 13th century, both were fully regarded as chapter communities headed by a prior. At São Pedro, after one acknowledges the isolated refer-

³³ Herculano 1867-1873, doc. LXXIV; Nascimento and Fernández Catón 2008, doc. 17.

³⁴ Herculano 1867-1873, doc. CXXIX (980): “in arrualde de Conimbria [...] secus ecclesie Sancti Petri.”

³⁵ Herculano 1867-1873, doc. DCCXCI (1092): “aeclesiae Beati Petri sitae in ciuitate Conimbria pertinenti ad urbanense cenobium.” On the terminology associated with reference points within the city of Coimbra at this time, see Ventura 2000, 7-36.

³⁶ See Ventura and Faria 1990, 155, doc. 33 (May 1147) and Rocha 2019, 196.

³⁷ See Guardado 2000, vol. 2, doc. 1 (April 1126): Goldrego and his children, João, Julião, Justa and Legundia Pais sold a house in Coimbra, near the church of São Bartolomeu, to members of the confraternity of São Bartolomeu, Pedro Aires, João Vistreliz and Martim Soares.

³⁸ See Varandas 1999, vol. II, doc. 5 (16 April 1159): “Hec est carta venditionis et firmitudinis quam iussi facere ego Gunsalvus Gunsalvis et uxor mea Adosinda Godiniz vobis confrates de confraria Sancti Petri tam clericis quam laici sive femine...”

³⁹ See Ventura and Faria 1990, 159, doc. 37 (February 1149); Rodrigues and Costa 1999, doc. 551 (18 September, without year indicated).

⁴⁰ See, for example, ANTT, Colegiada de São João de Almedina, m. 1, doc. 21 (28 July 1338); m. 1, doc. 35 (9 May 1367); ANTT, Colegiada de Santa Justa, m. 9, doc. 171 (4 April 1372); m. 30, doc. 679 (6 July 1388).

⁴¹ From studies so far carried out, we can regard a toponymic identification contained in a sale contract of March 1144 as the first reference to the parish of São Bartolomeu [ANTT, Colegiada de São Salvador, m. 1, doc. 1 (Antiga Coleção Especial): “...domibus quas habuimos in suburbio Colimbrie in collacione Sancti Bartolomei...”].

⁴² As far as São Pedro is concerned, we can document this function from January: Varandas 1999, doc. 6 (1165 January): “Petrus Pelaiz et uxor mea Frandia vobis freigueses Santi Petri et priori Sancti Petri [...] de 1^a domo qua habemus in collacione Sancti Petri.”

ences to a Prior Pedro in 1139⁴³ and 1143,⁴⁴ we are aware that this position was established definitively from 1165 onwards and that a community of clerics lived there.⁴⁵ Examination of the oldest documents produced or preserved by the Church of São Pedro suggests that its institutional organisation developed early, since we only have information about other priors and beneficiaries of other parish churches in Coimbra from the second half of the 12th century onwards.⁴⁶ Despite this, the term *capitulus* is used for the first time for this church only in the second quarter of the 13th century.⁴⁷ Unlike all the other collegiate churches in Coimbra—whose communities would have had only a prior and a body of beneficiaries assisted by a group of auxiliary clerics and officials, laypeople and clerics—São Pedro also had a cantor from 1282 onwards.⁴⁸

Regarding São Bartolomeu, we have knowledge of a prior as early as 1169⁴⁹ and, a document survives from 1201 recording an agreement between the prior of São Bartolomeu and the abbot of the Monastery of Lorvão concerning the number of prebends sustainable within the chapter of that church (Marques 1998, doc. 2). The number was not to exceed twelve, otherwise it could compromise the status of the prebendaries and the service provided by the church. This document not only marks an important moment in the institutionalisation of the chapter of São Bartolomeu in Coimbra, but it is also proof of the influence, power and authority of the Benedictine community in this church.

4. The character of the right of the Monastery of Lorvão to exercise patronage over the collegiate churches of Coimbra

After having presented the churches of São Pedro and São Bartolomeu and their connections to the Monastery of Lorvão, it is now necessary to detail the character of the relationships between them and their patron throughout the Middle Ages. This study is based on the documents preserved in the archives of the respective collegiate churches and the monastery, kept at the Portuguese National Archive, and some documents published in various other works. Analysis of this corpus shows that, throughout the Late Middle Ages, Lorvão's right to exercise patronage over the two churches expressed itself in two ways. At the church of São Bartolomeu, the monastery had the right to receive every year a hide, often called *falifa*, and an annual harvest (*colheita*) when the abbess travelled to Coimbra. At the church of São Pedro, the monastery held the right to appoint a benefice.

At the beginning of the 13th century, in the Roman Curia the Monastery of Lorvão claimed the right to the papal third of the tithes owed by both churches, but this question never arose again, which suggests that, from then on, the bishop asserted the primacy of his episcopal right over these churches⁵⁰—as he did over the monastery itself, through his donation of it to D. Teresa Sanches, which Maria Alegria Marques places between March 1205 and September 1206 (Marques 1998, 87).⁵¹

Throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, there are several indications of how the abbesses of Lorvão controlled the right to the harvest and to receive a hide. In 1309, a bailiff was sent to Coimbra to demand five

⁴³ See Varandas 1999, vol. 1, 20-21 and vol. 2, doc. 3 or ANTT, Colegiada de São Pedro, cx. 5, single m., doc. 37 (1139 April).

⁴⁴ See Varandas 1999, vol. 1, 20-21; ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, Antiga Coleção Especial, m. 3, doc. 15.

⁴⁵ See Varandas 1999, vol. 1, 20-21 and vol. 2, doc. 6 or ANTT, Colegiada de São Pedro, cx. 5, single m., doc. 6 (January 1165): “priori sancti petri scilicet Dominicus presbyter et omnibus clericis ibidem commorantibus.”

⁴⁶ For comparison, we may note that, in addition to São Bartolomeu, which we will describe in more detail below, we know of a prior existing at the following churches: from 1175 at the church of Santa Justa (Campos 2017, 169); from November 1184 at the church of São João de Almedina (ANTT, Colegiada de São João de Almedina, m. 6, doc. 7); from 1188 at the church of Santiago (ANTT, Colegiada de Santiago, single m. among documents of the “Antiga Coleção Especial,” doc. 6); and from 1199 at the church of São Cristóvão (Matos 1998, doc. 43). However, the prior of the church of São Salvador is not known until 1232 (ANTT, Colegiada de São Salvador, single m. among documents of the “Antiga Coleção Especial,” doc. 3).

⁴⁷ See ANTT, Colegiada de São Pedro, cx. 5, single m., doc. 17 (1231 November): “...vobis P. Munionis, prior et capitulo ecclesie Sancti Petri de Colimbria...”

⁴⁸ See ANTT, Colegiada de São Pedro, m. 6, without number (formerly numbered 65), published by Varandas 1999, doc. 9 (8 November 1325, County of Coimbra): conveyed in the form of a public letter, dated 4 February 1282, recognising an anniversary founded by João Martins, who had been a cantor of the church.

⁴⁹ See Guardado 2000, 41-44 and ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, Antiga Coleção Especial, m. 4, nos. 19 and 20 (January 1168): “Egeas prior de Santo Bartholomeo vidit.”

⁵⁰ ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, Antiga Coleção Especial, Documentos Eclesiásticos (DE), m. 1, doc. 1 (16 July 1202, Latrão), published by Costa and Marques 1989, doc. 85.

⁵¹ See Marques 1998, docs. 7 and 8.

pounds for the said hide and her harvest (*colheita*) of bread, wine and fish, an entitlement deemed to have existed since “the time of the ancient population of the land” (“o tempo d’antigidade delo poboamento da tera.”)⁵²

More illuminating is the disagreement between the abbess and the prior and chapter of São Bartolomeu, which occurred early in the tenure of D. Mécia Lopes (1350-1388)⁵³ and has come down to us through a judgment document published by Saul Gomes (2020, 49-51).⁵⁴ Unhappy because her harvest was not paid, the newly appointed Abbess D. Mécia Lopes had a new psalter of the collegiate pawned.⁵⁵ The prior and the prebendaries of São Bartolomeu complained about this to Bishop Jorge, claiming to have already paid what was owed for that year, even though they had done so to the previous abbess. Through the letter of judgment, the prelate of Coimbra was vehement in stating that the said church was subject to the bishop, by ordinary law, and not to the abbess. Therefore, not only did the abbess have no right to seize any property, but, in these matters, she had to obey the ordinary authority of the bishop, who threatened her with excommunication in the event of a repeat offence.

Later, in 1356, following a disagreement about the value of the harvest and its insufficiency for the abbess and her entourage’s sojourns in the city, the vicar-general of the Bishop of Coimbra issued a sentence ratifying the agreement between the two parties that established the value of the harvest at 70 pieces of bread, three *almudes* of wine and six fresh, or eight dried, hakes (Guardado 2000, doc. 48).⁵⁶ However, the disputes between the Lorvão abbesses and the prior and chapter of São Bartolomeu of Coimbra, arising from the non-fulfilment of these obligations, lasted throughout the 14th century,⁵⁷ leading to later revisions to update the value of the harvest, as also occurred in the 15th⁵⁸ and 16th centuries.⁵⁹ Throughout the 15th century, this dispute forced both parties to resort to episcopal, archiepiscopal and pontifical audiences.

From an overall reading of the documents drawn up as part of these processes, we can see that the church of São Bartolomeu represented, from the material and logistical point of view, in Coimbra, a guarantee of provision for the abbess and her circle, which was especially opportune when she came to the city to receive the prelate’s blessing and confirmation in her office. At least that was the case with D. Mécia Vasques da Cunha (1390-1399)⁶⁰ and, apparently, also with D. Mécia Lopes, namely when she had the aforementioned psalter pawned. However, the influence that the Convent had on the religious and community life of the collegiate church would be very small, if any, since there is no record of the abbess interfering in the choices of priors or prebendaries, nor was she consulted during processes of vacancy, election, selection and confirmation, which explains the total absence of documentation concerning litigation over such a right, had she had one.⁶¹

In 1453, following the death of Prior Nicolau Ramos of São Bartolomeu, Bishop Luís Coutinho appointed Gil Martins, half-canon of the cathedral, to the vacant position, assigning to him spiritual and corporal care and regimentation of that church, declaring that he was responsible for the presentation of the prior and prebendaries

⁵² ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, gav. 2, m. 1, doc. 6, published by Fernandes 2004, doc. 16 (1309 November 1, Coimbra).

⁵³ Répas 2021, vol. II/1, 54, note 98, which corrects the chronology previously proposed by Santos 2001, 21 and 141.

⁵⁴ Document from the private collection of Rainer Daehnhardt.

⁵⁵ On the collegiate library of São Bartolomeu, see the record of a visitation made to the church in the early 15th century: Guardado 2000, doc. 126 [1402-1406].

⁵⁶ Payment in kind reflected the nature of the tribute. The *colheita* was, according to Friar Joaquim Viterbo, “a certain fee and pension that vassals paid to a prince or lord when he visited their land once each year and, if he did not come, they did not pay him. However, as the years went by, they would pay him, whether he did in fact come or not. *Colheita*, *comedora*, *procuração*, *visitação*, *jantar* and *parada* are synonyms or differ very little in meaning” (Viterbo 1865, vol. II, 113). Avelino de Jesus da Costa devotes several pages to the subject (“jantar, colecta, procuração e visitação”), when addressing the economic, administrative and parochial organization of the archdiocese of Braga after the time of Bishop Pedro. This author seeks to dissociate the *jantar* (supper) from other terms for forms of tribute, such as *collecta*, *colheita*, *parada*, *comedoria*, *comedura*, *procuração* and *visitação*, to which Henrique da Gama Barros, like Viterbo, as we have seen, attributes the same meaning (Barros [1945-1954], vol. II, 268). Avelino de Jesus da Costa points out that “in the Braga Census [...] the term *colheita* could refer to a gift and *jantar* to a tribute different from *procuração*” (Costa 1997-2000, vol. I, 435).

⁵⁷ See ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, gav. 2 m. 1, doc. 4 (12 May 1400, Coimbra).

⁵⁸ See ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, gav. 2 m. 1, doc. 5 (5 March 1405) and doc. 7 (29 March 1406, Braga).

⁵⁹ See Viterbo 1865, under the word “falifa”: he cites a document concerning the collegiate church of São Bartolomeu and the Convent of Lorvão from the 16th century.

⁶⁰ See Répas 2021, vol. II/1, p. 81. In the time of Prior Raimundo Beltrães (1369-1412), the abbess of Lorvão spent at least eight years (1390-1398) without receiving the harvest (ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, gav. 2, m. 1, doc. 4).

⁶¹ In truth, there are also few references regarding the awarding of benefices at São Bartolomeu. See ANTT, Colegiada de São Bartolomeu de Coimbra, m. 3, doc. 2, published by Guardado 2000, doc. 109 (22 February 1390, Coimbra) and ANTT, Colegiada de São Bartolomeu de Coimbra, m. 3, doc. 4 (December 1434, Coimbra); ANTT, Colegiada de São Bartolomeu de Coimbra, m. 3, doc. 6 (10 June 1441, Coimbra).

of São Bartolomeu.⁶² Although there is reference to a constitution drawn up at the time of the prelate João Cabeça de Vaca (1378-1384), we do not know of any normative document concerning the life of the chapter that allows us to say that this had been the practice in previous times, but at the beginning of the second half of the 15th century, the Bishop of Coimbra gave little margin for the influence or interference of other ecclesiastical powers in the affairs of this institution. In contrast to the practices in the city's other collegiate bodies, it is remarkable that the chapter's authority appeared to be side-lined. Typically, in the other collegiate institutions of Coimbra, the standard method for selecting the prior involved election and co-option among the beneficiaries of the chapter (Campos 2019).

This was, then, the practice in the collegiate church of São Pedro. As has been studied, the understanding of the daily life of this collegiate church benefits from a compilation of statutes, unique for their detail and the circumstances under which they were produced.⁶³ After 1348, when the whole community of São Pedro disappeared having fallen victim to the plague, the new prior, supported by the cantor and two prebendaries, set down the customs for the church that were to take effect from then on.⁶⁴ This directive opens specifically with the provisions concerning to the election of prebendaries and the provision of prebends, stipulating clearly that whenever there was a vacancy, all the prebendaries in the kingdom were to be summoned by sealed letter to elect a successor. This document adds, in this regard, the total prohibition of the prior electing without the chapter, as well as confirming a benefice that had not resulted from an election.⁶⁵ None of the constitutions mention patronage, nor do they refer to the Convent of Lorvão, or the Bishop of Coimbra, nor do we know of the bishop's confirmation of these directives. However, the survival and preservation of the document to the present-day suggests its content had been observed in the organisation of community life.⁶⁶

However, despite the silence of the statutes of this collegiate church in relation to the influence of its patron in the organisation of community life, the remaining documentation shows that the Monastery of Lorvão intervened in the provision of one of the prebends of the chapter. It was a privilege exercised at least since the time of Abbess D. Maria Afonso (1237-1255).⁶⁷ Naturally, this benefice in Coimbra was used by the abbesses to finance men they trusted in the city, or simply to reward them for services previously rendered, either directly or through the collation of their relatives or heirs. Thus, in 1283, D. Maria Anes de Sousa nominated, in anticipation, Martinho Afonso, son of Afonso Peres, a citizen of Coimbra, identified as someone always devoted to the Convent.⁶⁸ In July 1346, Jorge Afonso, a cleric of minor orders, who served in the bishop's court, was nominated and confirmed,⁶⁹ and, in January 1349, a servant of the Convent, Vasco Anes, was nominated.⁷⁰ The confirmation of these individuals to the prebend of São Pedro was carried out by the prior, in the presence of the rest of the chapter. In this regard, we do not know if the latter was confirmed in the prebend, since the prebendary who received the nomination letter stated that, on his own, he had no authority to confirm a prebend. Furthermore, in October of that year, Pero Esteves, prior of Tentúgal, was confirmed in that prebend.⁷¹

In this respect, there seems to have always been an understanding between the two institutions until October 1396, when the provision of the income belonging to the son of Gonçalo Mateus gave rise to a conflict between the latter and the collegiate church of São Pedro, which was eventually resolved in an audience with the Archbishop of Braga who decided in favour of the church of Coimbra. Gonçalo Mateus, who lived in

⁶² See ANTT, Colegiada de São Bartolomeu de Coimbra, m. 3, doc. 7 (27 September 1453, Coimbra).

⁶³ Silva 2009; Campos 2020b.

⁶⁴ See ANTT, Colegiada de São Pedro de Coimbra, Livro 4, partially published by Pereira 1985.

⁶⁵ See ANTT, Colegiada de São Pedro de Coimbra, Livro 4, ff. 1v-2. Unfortunately, we do not have election records, nor those that confirmed the prior, the cantor or the prebendaries for this collegiate church. The only document that echoes these issues dates from 1434 and records an exchange of prebends between a prior from São Pedro and a prebendary from the church of São Cristóvão (ANTT, Colegiada de São Pedro de Coimbra, m. 1, without number).

⁶⁶ We know of other examples of statutory documents that, because they were not in accordance with the precepts and designs of the bishop, were ordered to be destroyed. See Campos 2017, docs. 2 (25 December 1322, Coimbra), 3 (26 December 1322, Coimbra) and 4 (27 December 1322, Coimbra).

⁶⁷ Information that comes to us from a letter of award for this benefice passed by D. Maria Anes de Sousa (1281-1288) (ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, gav. 2, m. 4, doc. 13/1).

⁶⁸ See ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, gav. 2 m. 4, doc. 13/1 (letter of appointment of 1 April 1283, Lorvão).

⁶⁹ See ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, gav. 2 m. 4, doc. 9/1 (letter of appointment of 25 July 1346, Lorvão, opened at the collegiate church of São Pedro on 27 July 1346).

⁷⁰ See ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, gav. 2 m. 4, doc. 10/1 (10 January 1349, Lorvão, opened at the collegiate church of São Pedro on 12 January 1349).

⁷¹ See ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, gav. 2 m. 1, doc. 11 and ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, gav. 2 m. 4, doc. 12/1 (letter of appointment of 21 October 1349, opened at the collegiate church of São Pedro on 27 October 1349).

Coimbra, had complained at an audience of the Bishop of Coimbra that the prior and the chapter of São Pedro had not handed over the part of the revenues that belonged to his son, André Anes, holder of a prebend of the church which belonged to the Convent of Lorvão. Faced with a judgment that required them to deliver the said revenues to André Anes within eight days, under penalty of excommunication, the prior and chapter said they could not accept a judgment from an audience to which they had not been summoned, nor did they recognise the standing of a layman to claim ecclesiastical property, and they had no knowledge that Gonçalo Mateus was the legitimate representative of his son. These arguments were enough for them to win the process at a hearing of the Archbishop of Braga, who exempted them from any excommunication penalty they might have been subject to.⁷²

Conclusion

We have showed that the connection of the churches of São Pedro and São Bartolomeu in Coimbra to the Monastery of Lorvão is attested from the 10th century and extended throughout the Middle Ages. After the monastery's restoration, in 1116, and, more specifically, after its incorporation into the Cistercian Order, this connection survived in accordance with the precepts of the right of patronage. Gone are the days of private churches, and we now find a system of shared patronage, and why not say it, regulated by the Bishop of Coimbra, who not only never abdicated his episcopal authority over these churches, as he did in the other parish churches of the city, but also never abdicated his ordinary authority over them.

Despite what we have just said, the churches of São Pedro and São Bartolomeu in Coimbra always played an important role within the institutional network and in the array of revenues that constituted the seigniorship of the abbesses and the Convent of Lorvão. At São Bartolomeu, the abbess had a place of shelter and provision whenever she went to Coimbra or, if she did not go in person, where she could send her proxy to claim her harvest or dues (*jantar*), as well as a hide. At São Pedro, the privilege of appointing a benefice holder enabled the abbess to sustain or reward men she trusted, whom she thus placed in the seat of the diocese.

Appendix:

Table 1

Churches donated to the Monastery of Lorvão up to 1109
<i>Diocese of Coimbra:</i> Santa Cristina (now São Tiago, par. São Bartolomeu, mun. Coimbra), next to the ramparts, at the door of Almedina (in 957 designated São Cucufate); São Cristóvão/São Bartolomeu, on the outskirts of Coimbra (now São Bartolomeu, par., mun. Coimbra); São Vicente, on the outskirts of Coimbra; Vilela (par. Torre de Vilela, mun. Coimbra); São Martinho de Freixeneda (now São Martinho de Árvore, par., mun. Coimbra); São Miguel de Tentúgal (par., mun. Montemor-o-Velho); São Pedro de Tentúgal (par., mun. Montemor-o-Velho); Santa Eulália [de Ferreira-a-Nova]⁷³ (par., mun. Figueira da Foz); São Martinho de Seliobria (now Pedrulhais, par. Sepins, mun. Cantanhede), São Cucufate, in Arcos (now São Tiago, in Moita, par., mun. Anadia); (Monastery of) Santa Maria de Lamas (or de Marnel)⁷⁴ (par. Lamas do Vouga, mun. Águeda); São Martinho, in Mucela (par. São Martinho da Cortiça, mun. Arganil); São Martinho, in Silvã (par. Casal Comba, mun. Mealhada); (Monastery of) Friúmes (par. Friúmes, mun. Penacova); Santo Adrião, in Sazes (par. Sazes de Lorvão, mun. Penacova); Santa Eulália de Cácemes (par. Sazes de Lorvão, mun. Penacova);

⁷² See ANTT, Colegiada de São Pedro de Coimbra, m. 4, doc. 26 (16 October 1396, Braga).

⁷³ Identification obtained from the geographical proximity of the churches mentioned in the same donation. There was no other church in *Baixo Mondego* with the invocation of Santa Eulália, as confirmed in the famous taxation document of 1320, when the church of Santa Eulália still existed and was taxed at 30 pounds (Boissellier 2012, 174).

⁷⁴ This is how it appears in Rodrigues and Costa 1999, doc. 111 (957) and Nascimento 2008, doc. 61 (961). Marnel is the name of a medieval lineage and of a river, affluent of the Vouga; in the latter sense, it also gives its name to a medieval bridge (the Ponte Velha do Marnel, officially designated as Ponte do Cabeço de Vouga), located in Lamas do Vouga (par., mun. Águeda); as a common noun, it also designates a marsh or a marshy ground (with a marl bottom).

Santa Eulália, in Oliveira⁷⁵ (par. Oliveira do Mondego, mun. Penacova); São Jorge and Santo Estêvão, in **Vilarinho**⁷⁶.

Diocese of Viseu:

Santa Comba (par. Santa Comba Dão, mun. Santa Comba Dão); (Monastery of) **Treixedo** (with its church of **Treixedelina**) (par., mun. Santa Comba Dão); (Monastery of) **Oliveira de Currelos** (par. Currelos, mun. Carregal do Sal); São Miguel, in **Molelos** (par., mun. Tondela); (Monastery of) São Salvador, in **Sperandei** (v. Mosteirinho, par. Couto de Baixo, mun. Viseu⁷⁷); **Santa Eulália**, in Rio Mau (par. Couto de Baixo, mun. Viseu).

Diocese of Lamego:

(Monastery of) **Bagaúste** (par. Parada do Bispo, mun. Lamego) and **Santa Eulália** [de Pedorido] (par., mun. Castelo de Paiva).

Diocese of Oporto (in Terra de Santa Maria):

Half of **São Vicente** (par. São Vicente de Pereira Jusã, mun. Ovar), of **Santa Cristina**⁷⁸ and of **São Martinho de Maçada** (v., par. São Martinho da Gândara, mun. Oliveira de Azeméis)⁷⁹.

Returned churches to the Monastery of Lorrão in 1116

Diocese of Coimbra:

[S. Mateus de] **Botão** (par. Pampilhosa [do Botão], mun. Mealhada); **São Pedro** de Coimbra; **São Bartolomeu** de Coimbra; **São Cucufate** (now São Tiago [de Coimbra]); São Martinho de **Freixeneda** (now **São Martinho de Árvore**, par., mun. Coimbra); **São Martinho de Senobria** (now Pedrulhais, par. Sepins, mun. Cantanhede).

Diocese of Viseu:

Treixedo (par., mun. Santa Comba Dão), **Oliveira de Currelos** (par. Currelos, mun. Carregal do Sal), **Sabugosa** (par., mun. Tondela), (Monastery of) **Sperandei** (v. Mosteirinho, par. Couto de Baixo, mun. Viseu) (with its churches of **São Martinho** and **Santa Eulália**)⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques (2021, 194) identifies it with Oliveira [do Mondego] (par., mun. Penacova), possibly due to its proximity to the monastery. However, the existence of any church in Oliveira do Mondego is not recorded in the 1320 taxation assessment and its current invocation is Santa Marinha. In the transcription of the text of the *Liber Testamentorum* it is identified as “Oliveira (de Correllos)” (Nascimento 2008, 661, doc. 44). However, the patron saint of the church of Oliveira de Currelos (par. Currelos, mun. Carregal do Sal) in 1320 was Saint Mary (Boissellier 2012, 171).

⁷⁶ Given the number of localities with this name, and without further information, it is difficult to precisely locate these churches. Considering the other estates included in the same donation (the town and church of Mucela, par. São Martinho da Cortiça, mun. Arganil, and a *quintã* in Algaça, par. Arrifana, mun. Vila Nova de Poiares), it should be considered the hypothesis of being located south of the Mondego River, for example, on the parish of Vilarinho (mun. Lousã). However, there is no other record confirming the existence of two churches with these invocations in the abovementioned parish. Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques (2021, 190) also did not venture any hypothesis for their location.

⁷⁷ According to Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques (2021, 191), *Sperandei* was located on the parish of Mosteirinho (mun. Tondela). However, other authors, safeguarding the imprecision of the location of the Monastery of São Salvador de *Sperandei*, suggest that it was located in Mosteirinho, in the parish of Couto de Baixo (mun. Viseu) (Martín Viso 2018, 53). We prefer this hypothesis since it is known that the Monastery of Lorrão held, for centuries, considerable assets in the parish of Couto de Baixo (mun. Viseu), designated in medieval documentation as *Rio de Asnos* [as, indeed, recorded in the summary of the *Liber Testamentorum*: “*Testamentum de Rido de Asinus et de Speraindeo*” (Nascimento 2008, 684, doc. 61)]. Furthermore, the existence of a church with the invocation of Santa Eulália in the parish of Couto de Baixo, donated to the Monastery of Lorrão in 1098 [recorded in the *Liber Testamentorum*: “*Testamentum de Frogia Presbiter de Sancta Eolalia de Rido de Asinus*” (Nascimento 2008, 685-687, doc. 62)], reinforces this hypothesis, given that in 1116, in the document restoring the Monastery of Lorrão, the Monastery of *Sperandei* is associated with the churches of São Martinho and Santa Eulália, thus making sense that they were located in the same parish. The church of São Martinho, in turn, had already been mentioned (because it was integrated) in the donation that Inderquina Palla made in 957 to the Monastery of *Sperandei* (Rodrigues and Costa 1999, doc. 111).

⁷⁸ We have not been able to identify the location of this church, but it was, like the other two listed in this donation, in Terra de Santa Maria: “*Et sunt illas ecclesias [...] fundatas in uilla Peraria, prope ciuitas Sancte Marie, discurrante ribulo Azeuedo, territorio Portucalensis*” (Nascimento 2008, doc. 31). The summary recorded in the *Liber Testamentorum* mentions only the church of São Vicente de Pereira, which illustrates the lesser importance of the churches of Santa Cristina and São Martinho, which we know to be suffragan of São Vicente de Pereira (see next note).

⁷⁹ Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques (2021, 194) identifies it with the church of São Martinho de Arada (par., mun. Ovar). We believe, however, that it is the church of São Martinho de Maçada, being Maçada currently a place in the parish of São Martinho da Gândara, in the municipality of Oliveira de Azeméis, given that the Inquiries of 1288 state “that in the parish of São Martinho, which is a suffragan of the above-mentioned São Vicente, there is a place they call Maçada” (“que na freeguessia de Sam Martinho que he soffraganha de Sam Vicente de susso dicto ha huom logar que chamam Maçada,” Sottomayor-Pizarro 2015, vol. IV/2, 306-307; index, 812). This association of the church of São Martinho, on the one hand, with the place of Maçada and, on the other, with the church of São Vicente (par. São Vicente de Pereira Jusã, mun. Ovar), also included in this donation, seems to leave no room for doubt as to the identification of the church in question.

⁸⁰ In 1133 (20 March), the Monastery of *Sperandei* was ceded (*coutado*) to Lorrão by King Afonso Henriques, together with the towns of Sabugosa (par., mun. Tondela), Treixedo (par., mun. Santa Comba Dão) and Midões (par., mun. Tábua), and with the donation

Monastery of Lorvão's documented churches (1117-1406)*Diocese of Coimbra:*

[Santa Maria de] **Serpins** (par., mun. Lousã); São Martinho de **Casal Comba** (par., mun. Mealhada); **São Pedro** de Coimbra; **São Bartolomeu** de Coimbra; São Pedro de **Cantanhede** (mun. Cantanhede); **Abiul** (fg., mun. Pombal); São João de **Brasfemes**; [S. Mateus de] **Botão** (par. Pampilhosa [do Botão], mun. Mealhada); **Cacia** (par., mun. Aveiro); **São Martinho** de Coimbra, **de Campo** or de Árvore (mun. Coimbra); **Vilela** (par. Torre de Vilela, mun. Coimbra); **Figueira [de Lorvão]** (par., mun. Penacova); São Tiago de **Souselas** (par., mun. Coimbra).

[wayside shrine of] **Santo André**⁸¹; [wayside shrine of] São Salvador de **Almoster** (par., mun. Alvaiázere); chapel of the hermitage of **Santiago da Guarda** (mun. Pombal); [S. João de] **Sepins** (par., mun. Cantanhede); [Santa Maria de] **Midões** (par., mun. Tábua).

Diocese de Viseu:

Santa Maria, in the *couto* of **Treixedo** (par., mun. Santa Comba Dão); **Santa Eulália** do Couto [of Rio de Asnos] (par. Couto de Baixo, mun. Viseu); São Martinho de **Óvoa** (par., mun. Santa Comba Dão); São Pedro de **Espinho** (par. Espinho, mun. Mangualde)⁸².

Diocese of Guarda:

Santo André da Covilhã.

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of all the king's property located in the couto of Rio de Asnos (ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, Liv. 329, ff. 29-31v.^o; published by Azevedo 1958, doc. 132 and Morais 2020, doc. 10). The churches of Santa Eulália de Couto [of Rio de Asnos] and São Martinho de Couto [or of Rio de Asnos] are mentioned, usually sequentially, for example in the Inquiries of 1288 (Sottomayor-Pizarro 2015, vol. IV/2, 550-551) and in the taxation document of 1320 (Boissellier 2012, 171).

⁸¹ This church was to be cared for by the tenant who had the *almuinha* of Santo André, which was next to Santa Margarida, near Coimbra. Leasing the *almuinha* implied the delivery of the church (being its maintenance ensured by the leaseholder) and the house (ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Lorvão, gav. 2, m. 3, docs. 13 and 14, 15 September 1300, 9 October 1300 and 5 January 1354).

⁸² Church not located by Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques (2021, 197). However, since the donation also includes the *villa* of *Valle de Ermegildo*, in Vale de Remígio (par., mun. Mortágua), it makes sense that the donors' estates were located in the same area, in this case, the Mondego River line.

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