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**CHURCH DISCIPLINE AND SOCIAL SATIRE  
IN MEDIEVAL PORTUGAL**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of  
Ph.D. in the Department of Hispanic  
Studies of the University of Glasgow.

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## ABSTRACT

The principal aim of this study is to clarify the topic of clerical abuse as it is depicted in the satirical literature of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In Chapter One we examine the satirical works of medieval Portugal (deemed to begin with the Galician-Portuguese satirical lyric, and to close with the works of the poet and dramatist, Gil Vicente). This analysis will establish which are the predominant stereotypes of the clergy and to construct a view of the kinds of representations of the Church that are found in a wide range of writings. Because of the scarcity of medieval Portuguese examples and information, it is essential to refer to the literatures of other, parallel Western European societies: the total volume of extant literary works in medieval Portuguese is too slight to permit us to draw realistically founded conclusions. Also included are comparisons of attitudes to the clergy and the Church, to allow insights into variations of local history and circumstance, and to supply the means to measure the performance of the Portuguese clergy against that of their peers. Once the survey has been carried out, it becomes clear that there are two distinct and opposing images of the clergy in medieval literature. The first of these corresponds to the ecclesiastical ideal, that of the Good Shepherd, the cleric who performs his duties and follows the rules and recommendations of his institution. The other stereotype, found in more than one genre and throughout the period under investigation, tends to be that of the corrupt cleric, a person who falls short of the Church's own clearly stated ideals. Much of the medieval anticlerical satire discussed derives from a perceived discrepancy between ideal and reality. It does not necessarily stem from a ridiculing of normal human weakness, but rather from the failure of the clergy to live up to the proclaimed ideals of their own institution.

In Chapter Two, we compare the literary stereotypes of members of the clergy with more reliable, objective views and depictions. Literary descriptions, comments and criticisms of the clergy are set against opinions and views found in other kinds of documents and

sources, principally in the writings of the clergy itself. By following this methodology, we are able, to some extent, to determine whether the vision of the clergy that emerges from the literature corresponds to the social reality of the Middle Ages. In order to gauge clerical success or failure in matching Church ideals, certain fundamental areas of clerical activity are singled out for examination: the duties of attending and convoking councils and synods and carrying out visitations. The conclusion reached is that clerical performance is not uniform or regular. This patchiness may be partially due to the uneven pattern of survival of medieval texts and documents, but even taking this factor into account, we must conclude that the Portuguese clergy did not always carry out these specific duties with the assiduity that was expected of them. After a careful review of copious listings of councils, synods, visitations and sermons, it was concluded that the weakest area of performance was that of convening councils and synods. There is documentation to show that visitations were carried out, in order to maintain the discipline of the Church, and to safeguard Church privileges and property.

In Chapter Three, we explore another sphere of clerical endeavour, the preaching of sermons. The very small numbers of extant medieval Portuguese sermons might at first cause us to assume that the clergy neglected this obligation. However, a careful scrutiny of a range of source materials (letters, supplications, chronicles, *exemplum* collections, synodal statutes, ecclesiastical arbitrations, secular legislation) leads us to the conclusion that preaching, in general, is treated seriously and carried out regularly. Standards of preaching inevitably vary at different times and within different sectors of the clergy, but there is never a period within the three hundred years when an extensive variety of sermons are not being preached to an equally wide section of the population. In this respect, the clergy live up to the ideals of their own institution.

Chapter Four contains discussion of a specific type of misconduct, and allows us to assess the official responses of the Church (and State) to delinquent behaviour by both clergy and laity. The area selected for scrutiny, superstitious beliefs and practices, lends itself to analysis because of the volume of documentation available for the period in question. This documentation serves a double function: it reveals clerical delinquency, but equally it reveals the mechanisms of ecclesiastical discipline in action, brought to bear as much against the clergy as against the laity.

The fifth and final chapter of the thesis presents a review of gambling in medieval Portugal, drawing principally on the literature and legislation of the period. It becomes clear that this was a significant area of clerical abuse, but equally, we find that the Church made serious and sustained efforts to denounce and punish those members of the laity and clergy who contravene the ecclesiastical laws against gaming.

The conclusions reached are that the Portuguese clergy did, on the whole, carry out their duties as prescribed by the Church. While it is undeniable that a proportion of the clergy were negligent or remiss, there is proof that throughout the medieval period a nucleus of conscientious, industrious clerics were bent on doing their duty, despite various difficulties or impediments. As regards delinquent behaviour by the clergy, it can be shown that the Church, like the civil authorities, legislated against such conduct, and did not hesitate to castigate its own members, when they were found guilty of contravening its laws. Some of the fiercest anticlerical satire of the Middle Ages was composed by members of the ecclesiastical community itself, not only by laymen. Admittedly, some of the clerical satirists may have written out of thwarted ambition or a sense of grievance, but it is significant that they were criticizing from within an institution that they knew extremely well, and which allowed them to voice their disapproval. The anticlerical satire found in medieval Portuguese literature derives from a response to certain aspects of clerical behaviour, but at the same time derives

from a well-established literary tradition. The literary stereotype of the cleric corresponds to social reality, but to one particular social reality. As one would expect, given the selective nature of this conventional social satire, it fails to take account of the more positive aspects of the medieval Portuguese Church. It would be simplistic to seek an absolute correlation between literary stereotypes and social reality, without recourse to some corroboratory evidence. Finally, it may be stated that the satirical literary stereotypes offer an accurate depiction of certain kinds of social realities, but, by their very nature, they exclude other ones.

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## CHURCH DISCIPLINE AND SOCIAL SATIRE IN MEDIEVAL PORTUGAL

### INTRODUCTION

The satirical literature of the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages has received a good deal of more or less piecemeal attention from modern critics. Manuel Rodrigues Lapa and Alan D. Deyermond have, for example, studied in detail the satirical Galician-Portuguese *cancioneiros* and parodic aspects of the *Libro de Buen Amor*; Kenneth R. Scholberg has made a broader survey of the tradition of verse-satire, Neil T. Miller has analysed the dialogues and poems of Henrique da Mota, and Mário Martins has made a brief examination of Portuguese satire in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Yet there remain gaps, in relation to both individual genres and to overall themes and problems.

The purpose of this thesis will be to clarify the issue of clerical abuse as it is depicted in the satirical literature of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This is a topic with obvious social implications, and we shall explore these in relation to secular and ecclesiastical legislation (particularly local), the audience to whom particular works were directed, and the actual social conditions as reflected in narrative and documentary sources.

## CHAPTER ONE

### STEREOTYPES AND SOURCES

Our first task is to identify and characterize those stereotypes which the satirical writers of medieval Portugal create and perpetuate in their poems, prose and plays. Of particular interest are the ways in which they perceive and represent Church and clergy, the substance of their satire and complaint, the kinds of accusation that they level at the Church, and their depictions of clerical vices and sins. In order to explore these areas, we must make a close examination of the literary works of medieval Portugal. But such an examination will, for a number of reasons, prove difficult. It is misleading, even inaccurate, to talk in terms of a specifically Portuguese literature. For that matter, the whole concept of national literatures in the Middle Ages may be something of an anachronism. The apparent scarcity of original Portuguese texts compared, for instance, with those for Middle English, the number of translations or adaptations from Latin, French, Castilian or Italian, the problem of lost or uncatalogued manuscripts, all of these factors must be taken into account in any discussion of medieval Portuguese literature. That is not to suggest that medieval Portuguese works are necessarily lacking - the most cursory glance through Valle Cintra's *Bibliografía de Textos Medievais Portugueses* will demonstrate the contrary.<sup>1</sup> More precisely, the pattern of survival of medieval works is different in Portugal from that of other countries. Portugal's relatively small population<sup>2</sup> and its status as a frontier society, with the lengthy process of reconquest and resettlement of the national territory<sup>3</sup> must have had some bearing on the late development of certain literary genres. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel's remarks on literary production in medieval Spain hold equally true for Portugal:

Las muy peculiares condiciones históricas de la España medieval - co-existencia de tres religiones con sus correspondientes lenguas doctas y literaturas, perpetua guerra fronteriza - debieron de trabar su desarrollo.<sup>4</sup>



Likewise, the early years of the Portuguese monarchy, marked by internecine struggles, conflict with the Church, and the eventual deposition of D. Sancho II, could not have created the most favourable conditions for literary or artistic activity, though it must be stated that many Peninsular poets were able to compose their Galician-Portuguese verse against a background of skirmishes with the Moors or virtual civil war.

As regards the incidence of translations or reworkings in medieval Portuguese, there are valid reasons for considering these alongside indigenous Portuguese works and using them as sources for an investigation of social satire in medieval Portugal. Most medieval literature derives in one way or another from the Church; works were either written by clerics or by authors who had received their education from the clergy, the socio-professional group with the monopoly of literacy and learning. Given the international nature of the Church, with its own international language, it is hardly surprising that the Western European Catholic kingdoms should share a common cultural heritage. We have only to consider how freely the legislative, doctrinal and pastoral literature of the Church circulated between these countries. A commentator might be born in France, live and work in England, but his writings could still find their way into the monastery library of Alcobaça. As far as medieval writers and readers are concerned, ecclesiastical literature has a relevance and applicability that completely transcend political or national frontiers, as can be seen from the enormous diversity of manuscripts that constitute the Alcobaça collection. We find, for example, the twelfth-century *Epistolae* of Peter of Blois, 'a favourite homiletic source for subsequent generations'<sup>5</sup> and:

an instrument for conveying moral, legal and theological instruction, and for satire on men and institutions.<sup>6</sup>

Or there is the *Liber Penitentialis* of Alain de Lille, Étienne de Bourbon's *De dono timoris* and Stephen Langton's *Expositio super Ruth*.<sup>7</sup> Material from Thomas de Chobham's confessors' manual *Summa cum Miserationes Domini*<sup>8</sup> is incorporated into the Castilian

*Libro de las confesiones* of Martín Pérez.<sup>9</sup> This pastoral work is in turn translated, albeit incompletely, into Portuguese, and D. Duarte is known to have owned two manuscripts containing the manual.<sup>10</sup> Also, the Infante Santo asked the Prior of Alcobaça to lend him the monastery's manuscript for him to have copied:

Façovos saber que a mim prazeria aver o treslado do livro de Martim Pires que nesse mosteiro tendes. Por ende vos rogo, e encomendo que vos praza de mo enviardes pelo Portador, e tanto que eu ouver tresladado volo mandarei tornar, e fazerme eis em esto prazer e servio que vos gradecerei.<sup>11</sup>

The *Duodecim Abusiones* was widely known and appreciated in the Middle Ages:

It was an extremely popular work, as can be deduced from its fairly frequent entry in the catalogues of medieval libraries, and the opening, which summarizes the Twelve Abuses in epigrammatic form, was versified over and over again in English throughout the period.<sup>12</sup>

As well as versions in Latin, Anglo-Saxon and Middle English, there is also a medieval Portuguese translation of this work, *Doze Abusões som deste Mundo*, contained in the *Orto do Esposo*, a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century *exemplum* collection.<sup>13</sup>

Ecclesiastical literature was known and read throughout Western Europe; literary works considered to have some didactic or artistic merit, if not entertainment value, crossed national frontiers in exactly the same way. The readership would have been largely the same, members of the clergy and nobility, and there must always have been some demand for the latest best-sellers from abroad, manuscripts brought in the baggage of students, or teachers returning from the universities of England, France, Italy and Spain, by clerics returning from the papal *curia* or even by foreign brides sent to Portugal with their retinues in order to make dynastically useful marriages. How else can we explain the existence of manuscripts of the *Libro de Buen Amor* in fifteenth-century Portugal,<sup>14</sup> the Portuguese version of Frère Robert's *Chastel Périlleux*, the *Castelo Perigoso*,<sup>15</sup> a Portuguese translation of Aesop's

*Fables*, the *Fabulário Português*,<sup>16</sup> and the lost Portuguese version of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.<sup>17</sup> John Matthews Manley goes so far as to speculate:

if someone thought it worth his while to carry to Portugal the poem of John Gower - as surely did happen - may we not believe that manuscripts of the poems of Chaucer were also carried there?<sup>18</sup>

This suggestion raises all kinds of interesting questions about literary borrowings and influences, especially if we subscribe to Alan D. Deyermond's reminder that Chaucer might have known the *Libro de Buen Amor*:

the discovery that Chaucer travelled in Spain when the *LBA* was circulating widely, compels us to consider whether there may not have been a direct influence ... While coincidence remains on balance the most probable explanation of the resemblance (...), there is certainly enough evidence to warrant closer investigation.<sup>19</sup>

Medieval notions of authorship and authority were such that borrowings and adaptations were not condemned as acts of plagiarism, but viewed as positive and eminently justifiable. If an idea, image or theme was appropriate, useful or pleasing, there was no reason not to use it time and time again.<sup>20</sup> Hence the recurrence of estates satire,<sup>21</sup> from Bernard of Morval's *De Contemptu Mundi* in the twelfth century<sup>22</sup> to Gil Vicente's *Auto da Embarcação da Glória* at the very close of the Middle Ages.<sup>23</sup> Hence, too, the widespread use of the *Ubi Sunt* motif, in Walter of Châtillon:

Ubi sunt ecclesiam in Christo regentes, qui velint existere beneficientes, exemplorum lumine tantum relucetes, ut letentur pariter et exultent gentes?<sup>24</sup>

in André Dias:

E hu som os confessores,  
clerigos, religiosos et pastores  
que en no serviço de Deus Jhesu eram muyto  
ferventes.<sup>25</sup>

or even - though more profanely - by François Villon, in the *Ballade des Dames du Temps Jadis*:

Mais où sont les neiges d'antan!<sup>26</sup>

Medieval reliance on the techniques of imitation or adaptation is clearly illustrated by the use of Jacopone da Todi's *Del pianto de la Chiesa redutta a mal stato* by two authors, Frei Álvaro Pais, and André Dias.<sup>27</sup> Should we disregard the writings of Álvaro Pais because he was a Galician who drew on Italian sources? Certainly not, when we know that he looked to the Franciscan spiritual tradition for literary inspiration, composed his own treatise then reworked it precisely when he was Bishop of the Portuguese diocese of Silves, adding specific references to Portuguese society and its failings.<sup>28</sup> André Dias, as we have seen above, preferred to write his verse in Portuguese, not his customary Latin, with some fairly substantial alterations and additions, in what must surely have been a conscious attempt to reach a Portuguese readership. We cannot dismiss these works any more than we can discount the plays of Gil Vicente because he wrote in Castilian as well as Portuguese.

For the purposes of this discussion, Portuguese literature will be understood to comprise works composed in Latin or a vernacular language by Portuguese subjects at home or abroad. The Galician-Portuguese Lyric of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries will also be used as a source, because of the wide circulation of these verses in the medieval Peninsular courts. The presence of Portuguese troubadours at the courts of Leon and Castile and the great cultural centre of Santiago has been well documented.<sup>29</sup> The common denominator in all cases, is, of course, the Portuguese readership or audience who would receive, and subsequently be conditioned by critical views of the clergy. As Jill Mann has pointed out:

the way an individual author writes about monks or women can well influence the way in which his audience henceforth perceives monks or women in real life.<sup>30</sup>

It would in any case be wrong to consider medieval Portuguese anticlerical satire as independent of or unrelated to that of other Western European societies, if only because the Church that authors are attacking is the same for all of these, ruled from Rome or Avignon, set in the same structures and hierarchies and, even if we take account of local circumstances and variants, prone to the same besetting evils.<sup>31</sup>

The stereotypes to be explored will be taken from the profane Galician-Portuguese *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer* and the sacred Alphonsine *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,<sup>32</sup> the *Libro de Buen Amor*,<sup>33</sup> the *exempla* of the *Orto do Esposo*,<sup>34</sup> André Dias' *Cantar que diram os desenparados, e em este mundo atribulados, e seram per Jhesu livrados*,<sup>35</sup> the satirical compositions of Garcia de Resende's *Cancioneiro Geral*,<sup>36</sup> and the plays of Gil Vicente.<sup>37</sup>

The *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer* and Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, although not Portuguese literature proper, will be examined as a stereotypical source for a Portuguese view of the Church. Not all *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer* were written, or necessarily read, by Portuguese poets. Nevertheless, the Galician-Portuguese lyrics, both satirical and religious, form the very basis of the Portuguese literary stereotype of the medieval clergy. Without this corpus of poems, there would be substantially less evidence of a long-standing tradition of anticlerical satire in Portuguese literature, though as a source, they must be used selectively. Reading Rodrigues Lapa's edition of the satirical *cantigas*, we find that more than seventy poets were involved in composing some four hundred and thirty poems, thirty-six of which take as their principal theme either the Church as institution, or members - often named - of the clergy. The *cantigas* as a whole were written over a period of more than a hundred years, therefore through several generations and reigns. The poems vary in tone from playful, light-hearted ridicule to acerbic, venomous condemnation of their

objects. Some are masterpieces of literary parody, others are pieces of startling obscenity. According to the fragmentary *ars poetica* at the beginning of the Colocci-Brancuti manuscript, no fewer than six different kinds of satirical style can be distinguished,<sup>38</sup> while the spectrum of topics is extraordinarily wide, ranging from the downright trivial, Sueiro Fernandes' gilded shoes, to the unrelentingly serious, the frustration of Alfonso X's imperial aspirations.<sup>39</sup>

There are inevitably some difficulties associated with using these poems as a primary source. Firstly, perhaps, the lack of information about particular poets and their reasons for writing certain poems. Patronage must have been one motive; the poet's preoccupation with his livelihood is expressed with brutal clarity in poems that bemoan the lack of generosity of a king, knight, or a member of the lesser nobility:

Os vossos meus maravedis, senhor  
que eu non ouvi, que servi melhor  
ou tan ben come outr' a que os dan,  
ei-os d'aver enquant'eu vivo for,  
ou a mia mort', ou quando mi os daran?<sup>40</sup>

If poets were dependent on their masters for bed, board, clothing and money for such incidental expenses as women or gambling, it is not unreasonable to assume that they would produce the kind of poem most likely to win them approval and generous rewards. Holz knecht describes the medieval troubadours as 'disinterested peddlers of glory for those who would pay largely',<sup>41</sup> and it seems equally likely that a poet would use his weapons of satire and invective in his master's service, even against the Church:

Meu senhor arcebispo, and'eu escomungado,  
por que fiz lealdade: enganou-mi o pecado.  
soltade-m', ai, senhor,  
e jurarei, mandado, que seja traedor.<sup>42</sup>

Undoubtedly, some anticlerical satire and invective can be attributed to the long history of strife and discord between the Church and Monarchy in medieval Portugal.<sup>43</sup>

Secondly, there should be some questioning of the reliability of the satirical voice in general, with its innate tendency to exaggerate and distort. As Jill Mann points out:

It is, of course, generally recognised that satire practises both selection and distortion, and that its relationship with 'historical reality' is therefore impossible to define with exactness.<sup>44</sup>

The *cancioneiro* poems do us a double service: they show us the first literary stereotypes that were available to readers and writers in the Portuguese Middle Ages, and they offer a wealth of socio-historical detail, constituting, in the words of López-Aydllo, 'un valioso caudal informativo'.<sup>45</sup> There is nothing new or original in the idea of using poetry as an historical as well as a literary object of study, of analysing poems with a view to their social content rather than the complexity of their rhythms and rhymes. Scholars of medieval English society have long been aware of the usefulness of the Anglo-Norman political songs or the works of Chaucer, Langland and Gower as source material for investigations of political and economic questions.<sup>46</sup> The Provençal *sirventes* has provided valuable insights into modes of social organisation, political and religious issues and prevailing moral attitudes,<sup>47</sup> and, as we shall see in chapters four and five, it would be well-nigh impossible to embark on a discussion of gambling or superstition in medieval Portugal, without some reference to the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*. Nevertheless, it would be ill-advised to go so far in accepting the kind of absolute correlation between literature and reality that Suzanne Thiolier-Méjean posits for the Provençal satirical lyrics:

De ces reproches véhéments peut-on tirer quelque enseignement quant à la peinture de la réalité du temps? Par delà la création littéraire et l'exagération satirique, c'est sans doute une assez exacte vision du monde des clercs qui nous est offerte, et lorsque les troubadours reprennent à leur compte tel motif contre les prélats, ils n'obéissent pas seulement à une mode littéraire mais aussi à la réalité des faits.<sup>48</sup>

While this assessment may be quite correct, Mme Thiolier-Méjean does not offer a shred of evidence to support her view; unlike López-Aydllo, who sees the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer* as more of a 'dato concordante',<sup>49</sup> confirmation rather than intrinsic proof of a

state of affairs, she does not set the poems with which she is concerned against the ecclesiastical literature and legislation of the same period. There is no testing of the poems for that realism and topicality that Highet, among others, deems to be a central feature of satire:

the type of subject preferred by satire is always concrete, usually topical, often personal. It deals with actual cases, mentions real people by name or describes them unmistakably (and often unflatteringly), talks of this moment and this city.<sup>50</sup>

Like their profane counterparts the satirical *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* were written in Galician-Portuguese. Four manuscripts of these pietistic poems are extant, and because of Alfonso X's prestige as King, poet and literary patron, as well as their intrinsic audience appeal, their dissemination and popularity throughout the Peninsula can surely be taken for granted.<sup>51</sup> Traditionally, scholars have maintained that the *cantigas* should be classed as part of the Portuguese literary tradition, Evelyn Procter<sup>52</sup> and Joseph Snow among them:

Alfonso's poetry ought to be considered the common property of the literature of both Spain and Portugal. This becomes particularly clear if one considers the evolution of poetry and poetic forms in the two centuries 1250-1450.<sup>53</sup>

Rather, these *cantigas* should be considered as part of a Castilian literary tradition on which Galician and Portuguese poets were able to draw, or to which they might actively contribute. In any case, whether we insert these poems within the literary histories of Spain or Portugal or both, it is important to bear in mind their overwhelmingly international provenance. The Miracles of Our Lady derive from the religious and cultural traditions of all the Catholic kingdoms, a rich fund available to any medieval writer. As Menéndez Pelayo points out:

ninguno de los narradores de milagros en la Edad Media pretendía ser el autor original, sino compilador.<sup>54</sup>



However, more recent scholarship has tended to disprove the rest of his affirmation:

y siendo las fuentes latinas unas mismas, natural era que este origen común diese aspecto de parentesco a versiones enlazadas entre sí por ninguna derivación inmediata.<sup>55</sup>

A whole series of relationships between collections of miracles have been established, by scholars such as Evelyn Faye Wilson in her study of the *Stella Maris* of John of Garland,<sup>56</sup> or Richard Becker who in 1910 demonstrated that Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* are based on a Latin prose collection, a version of which he discovered in Ms. Thott 128, in the Royal Library of Copenhagen.<sup>57</sup> More recently, Aires Augusto Nascimento published a description of a markedly similar miracle collection in *Códice Alcobacense* 149, National Library, Lisbon,<sup>58</sup> and in a further article he expresses the opinion that:

Não será de menosprezar o factor de maior proximidade geográfica representada pelo nosso manuscrito de Alcobça, tanto mais que não são de assinalar distanciamentos cronológicos significativos entre os dois, muito embora não esteja resolvido o problema da origem de qualquer dos dois manuscritos.<sup>59</sup>

As for Alfonso's Marian legends, he is the first to admit that he pillaged other collections:

Dest'un miragre vos direi que aveo  
en Sieixons, ond'un livro á todo cheo  
de miragres ben d'l, ca d'allur non veo,  
que a Madre de Deus mostra noit' e dia.<sup>60</sup>

Alfonso also possessed a copy of the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, which was sent to him by St Louis of France, and he says he used one collection that contained some three hundred miracle tales:

desto vos quero contar  
un miragre que achar  
ouv' en un livr', e tirar-  
o fui ben d' ontre trezentos.<sup>61</sup>

Altogether, there were so many miracles to choose from:

Se purgameo foss' o ceo estrelado  
e o mar todo tinta, que grand é provado,  
e vivesse por sempr' un ame enssinado  
de scriver, ficar-ll-ia a mayor partida.<sup>62</sup>

Some critics have preferred to emphasize the Peninsular derivation of some of the

*Cantigas*:

some could not be located elsewhere than in Spain, such as the story of the members of the garrison of Jerez who offered to the Virgin a robe looted from the Moors and never afterwards lacked booty when they raided Moslem territory.<sup>63</sup>

John Esten Keller draws our attention to folklore as a possible source for miracle legends:

Many were the miracles everyone had heard in Latin or in Spanish, for example in the works of Gil de Zamora or Berceo; but many other miracles were not found in any collection, and some even came from remote areas of Spain and Portugal and even abroad or belonged entirely to folklore.<sup>64</sup>

For Mário Martins, the ultra-Pyrenean origins or setting of the Marian legends in no way detract from their ability to express Portuguese religiosity:

França, Espanha, Lisboa, pouco importa; certas lendas vagabundas poisam aladamente, aqui e além, e ao fim de algum tempo ganham foros de cidadania. A lenda errante lança raízes, modifica-se e ganha cor local, substancialmente a mesma e sempre nova.<sup>65</sup>

In Alfonso's compilation, more than a few *cantigas* refer to people, places or incidents in Portugal. Number fifty-five, for example, 'Como Santa Maria serviu pola monja que se fora do moesteyro e lli criou o fillo que fezera ala andando',<sup>66</sup> is located by the compiler in Lisbon, but is found in several other collections, among them Gautier de Coinci's *Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, under the heading of *De la nonnain que Nostre Dame delivra de grant blasme*

*et de grant poine.*<sup>67</sup> Number three hundred and thirty -eight, on the other hand, 'Como Santa Maria guareceu na cidade de Evora uu ome que era cego', seems to be an authentically Portuguese miracle, not merely because the action narrated takes place in a Portuguese town, but because of the reference within the poem to a lost Portuguese Marian collection which Mário Martins terms the *Livro de Milagres de Santa Maria de Evora*:<sup>68</sup>

foron, aa grand eigreja  
que é de Santa Maria,  
u gran vertude sobeja  
mostra de saar enfermos,  
ond' an feit' un gran volume.<sup>69</sup>

The fact is, whatever the original source of a miracle tale, once it begins to circulate in Galician-Portuguese and reach a Portuguese audience, to all intents and purposes it becomes part of Portuguese lore and legend, and will inevitably condition its Portuguese audience's perception of the clergy or of whoever is depicted in the tale. A poem may reinforce old stereotypes or create new ones of the members of the clergy who so frequently appear in the *cantigas*. Interestingly, we can distinguish several different kinds of treatment meted out to the clergy. A cleric (or a nun) may be rewarded for his devotion to the Virgin - for instance the Archdeacon in Paris who could not find a suitable rhyme for his verses dedicated to the Lady prays to Mary and is granted divine inspiration;<sup>70</sup> or the cleric may find himself on the receiving end of the Virgin's wrath, like the Toledo cleric who steals the church silver:

Ali un crerig' avia de missa, que devoçon  
mostrav' acá aa gente, mais non era assi, non;  
e bõa praval' avia, mas dentro no coraçon  
en com' era de mal cheo vos direi, se vos  
prouguer.<sup>71</sup>

The cleric not only strips the silver off the church cross - to give to his wife, but then lies about it to his congregation. The Virgin responds to his deceit not only by blinding him so severely

that not even a doctor from Montpellier could treat his illness, but treats him like an ecclesiastical Pinocchio:

que se lle fez atan grande o nariz,  
que lle deceu sobre la boca, e d'ambas partes tanto  
s'estendeu  
que chegou aas orelhas. <sup>72</sup>

In a third type of *cantiga* the Virgin intervenes to save a cleric or a nun from the infernal consequences of his or her foolish behaviour, nuns and abbesses who try to elope or who give birth to children, for instance.<sup>73</sup> The clergy are shown as being no better and no worse than any other member of society: some are essentially good (and keep their promises to the Virgin); others are frail and imperfect, prone to temptation, and in sore need of the Virgin to protect them.

While the satirical poets of the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer* and Alfonso X in his *Cantigas de Santa Maria* may be writing within different literary modes or conventions, apparently with only the Galician-Portuguese idiom in common, the end result may well be the same. The audience will be led to view the clergy in a more critical light. The nuns and abbesses of the Marian legends are perhaps not so very far removed from their sisters in Arouca and the other Portuguese convents.<sup>74</sup>

There are several reasons for including the Castilian *Libro de Buen Amor*<sup>75</sup> in this review of sources for stereotypes of the clergy in medieval Portuguese literature.. The first, and most obvious, is that the work exists in a late fourteenth-century Portuguese translation. This necessarily implies that someone read and then made a favourable critical judgment of the *Libro de Buen Amor*. If we remember the effort and expense involved in producing a medieval manuscript, and the additional chore of translating from one language into another, we realise that whoever translated the *Libro de Buen Amor*- or commissioned someone else to

perform the task - must have done so as the result of a series of choices and decisions, possibly considering other works and then rejecting them as unsuitable or irrelevant. Somebody, a king, a noble or a cleric, must have decided that the *Libro de Buen Amor* had something to say to the Portuguese reader, not just to Castilians. Secondly, this work is of significance because of the conclusive proof it offers that more than one satirical tradition was known within the Peninsula. In conjunction with other evidence, the *Libro de Buen Amor* confirms the supposition that goliardic texts and themes were familiar to at least some Peninsular authors. Finally, we should not discount the possibility that the *Libro de Buen Amor* was known and read by subsequent generations, and more specifically, by Gil Vicente. It would be both frustrating and restrictive to attempt to trace the ancestry of Gil Vicente's *tipos sociais* without making some allusion to Trotaconventos and the Archpriest, both when we examine his treatment of the clergy, and when we consider just how frequently the figure of the *alcoviteira* crops up in his plays: Brízida Vaz in the *Auto da Barca do Inferno*, Branca Gil in the *Auto do Velho da Horta*, Ana Dias in the *Farsa do Juíz da Beira*, Lianor Vaz in the *Farsa de Inês Pereira*, and Genebra Pereira in the *Auto das Fadas*. Although we cannot say with any certainty that he did read the *Libro de Buen Amor*, it does seem likely that he was familiar with the work and the tradition out of which it sprang.

The *Libro de Buen Amor* is important because it reveals a continuity of satire and social criticism. Even if the author is not himself Portuguese, his observations and the humour with which they are expressed are, nevertheless, meaningful within a Portuguese scheme of things.

However, we should be clear about the kind of message we believe the *Libro de Buen Amor* is transmitting. Considerably more ambiguous than the Galician-Portuguese lyrics discussed above, the *Libro*, if only because of its length and diversity of content, must lend itself to more than one reading. Whether or not a medieval audience accustomed to hearing

sermons and *exempla* would have experienced the same difficulties as a twentieth-century readership is, of course, debatable, but we should take some account of the different ways in which this text may be read. According to Alan D. Deyermond in his summary of *Libro de Buen Amor* criticism:

Whereas at one time advocates of the didactic view of the *LBA* denied any ambiguity or love of parody in the work, and those who saw it as a comic work regarded the serious passages as a mere smoke-screen, the debate is now between those who think of Juan Ruiz as a man of conflicting impulses (including a disrespectful sense of humour) who nevertheless wanted to deliver a didactic message, and those who see him as a comic poet whose main concerns were artistic, but who was a believing Christian and at times felt that moral issues were dominant.<sup>76</sup>

Perhaps the best way to deal with the *Libro de Buen Amor* is to accept the author's rather conventional representations of the clergy that are found in the verses on the power of money, *Enxiemplo de la propiedat qu'el dinero ha*, in the the parodic Easter procession which, in the words of Kemlin Laurence, 'gives him the opportunity to indulge in a biting piece of anti-clerical satire',<sup>77</sup> and in Trotaconventos' recommendations about the advantages of loving a nun, and the *Cántica de los Clérigos de Talavera*.<sup>78</sup> At the same time, we should discount the fictionalised autobiography and its narrator-protagonist on the grounds that this is a literary device and not to be taken too seriously. Rather, it supplies the somewhat novel framework within which Juan Ruiz, like many others, purports to foster a consciousness of good and evil, or more particularly, of the conflict between them, as represented by that commonplace of medieval literature the allegorical battle between the Vices and Virtues:

La preocupación por el pecado y sus consecuencias era, pués, universal. En aquel mundo de blanco y negro se castigaban los vicios y galardonaban las virtudes. De ahí un concepto como el de los siete pecados capitales tuviera un impacto importantísimo en la vida cotidiana del hombre.<sup>79</sup>

The *exempla* of the *Orto do Esposo*, a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century doctrinal treatise that survives in two Alcobaça manuscripts (nº198 and nº212, National Library, Lisbon) and which is listed in D. Duarte's and Constable D. Pedro's library

catalogues,<sup>80</sup> have been studied by Mário Martins for their didactic and satirical content,<sup>81</sup> examined by Frederick Williams with regard to their sources,<sup>82</sup> and discussed by Luciano Rossi in terms of their relationship with early prose narrative.<sup>83</sup> These moral tales derive from precisely the same didactic tradition as those *exempla* found in the *Libro de Buen Amor* and they also have much in common with the Miracles of Our Lady which could equally be used by a preacher to illustrate a point of moral doctrine. Like the Marian legends, *exempla* tend to be universal in character, appearing first in Latin then in the different vernacular languages, and they have the same quality of instant applicability: the preacher or narrator can alter place names and add touches of local colour in order to suit a particular audience or readership.<sup>84</sup> One of the *exempla* in the *Orto do Esposo*, the story of the young man outwitted by his unfaithful wife, appears in at least twenty-three other collections, including the *Disciplina Clericalis* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*. While it is true that some of the *exempla* in the *Orto do Esposo* have no immediately identifiable source, none of them refers explicitly to Portugal. The only clue to the Portuguese identity of this work comes in its compiler's comment on recent political events:

E aas vezes o aleuantamento do poboo destrue e desfaz os officiaes e os poderosos. Esto se faz cada dia, e poucos anos ha que uimos esto con nossos olhos e estes regnos de Portugal depois da morte delrrey dom Fernando, e esso meesmo ora e ennos regnos de Castella, eno destruymento delrrey dom Pedro.<sup>85</sup>

Very few of the *exempla* in the *Orto* attack the institution of the Church, or add to the stereotypes of individual clerical misconduct that we find in the literary works. Though we know that the compiler could only choose *exempla* from those manuscripts available, either in Alcobaça itself, or within easy borrowing distance, his selection does seem to have been conditioned by a preference for edification rather than satire or invective. Number fourteen describes an *escollar nigromante* in Montpellier who conjures demons 'per sua sciencia'<sup>86</sup>, but who completely lacks the humorous qualities we find in Gil Vicente's extraordinarily ineffectual *clérigo nigromante*, who, despite his boasts to the contrary:

E venho mui copioso  
 mágico e nigromante,  
 feiticeiro mui galante,  
 astrólogo bem avondoso:  
 tantas artes diabris  
 saber quis,  
 que o mais forte diabo  
 darei preso polo rabo  
 ao Ifante Dom Luís.

(...)

Sou mui grande encantador,  
 faço grandes maravilhas:  
 as diabólicas silhas  
 são todas em meu favor

is quite unable to control the unruly demons he has summoned.<sup>87</sup>

Number 241 contains the tale of the pregnant abbess who is saved by the Virgin from disgrace and damnation.<sup>88</sup> Number twenty seems to be the only *exemplum* to criticize the Church as an institution. Here, a monk receives a vision of a beautiful woman whom he first mistakes for the Virgin Mary. But when she turns round he sees that her back is putrid with decay, and she herself explains who she is:

som a egreya, que eno primeyro estado foy muy sancta enos apostolos e enos marteres e enos côfessores e uirgees, e porem soo[m] asy fremosa ena parte deanteyra e asy apostada. Mais agora, e este tempo derredeyro, soom ecuyada e fea e corrupta e chea de desonrra pellos maaos prelados, e porem pareço asy podre da parte de tras.<sup>89</sup>

This *exemplum*, also found in Étienne de Bourbon,<sup>90</sup> somehow foreshadows our next source, André Dias' *Cantar que diram os desenparados e em este mundo atribulados, e seram per Jhesu livrados*. It is as if the poet had read this *exemplum* and decided to expand it into a lengthy poem. This is highly speculative, particularly when we recall that the Portuguese lament is a reworking of an Italian *lauda*. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that verses four, five, six and eight begin, respectively, with the following lines:



E hu som os apostolos, preegadores da verdade ...  
 E hu som os martires plenos de fortaleza ...  
 E hu som os confesores ...  
 E hu som os virgeens de alma e de vontade. <sup>91</sup>

Leaving aside the question of possible influences, echoes and resonances, we should note that André Dias effectively attacks all levels of the Church hierarchy, contrasting the behaviour of the present-day clergy with that of their worthier predecessors:

de todo ora som muyto faleçentes. <sup>92</sup>

Those who have received the best clerical education, *os doutores*, offend by not prizing learning, something the highly literate André Dias must have found quite unforgivable:

e nom curam de sçiençia, nem de outra boa doctrina. <sup>93</sup>

seeking instead wealth, privilege and high status:

mays todos trabalham por averem ofiços, e honrras e beneficios e muyta pecunyay  
 pera ajuntarem em riqueza e muyto algo. <sup>94</sup>

The monastic orders are condemned because their misconduct brings the Church into disrepute:

E hu som os relegiosos e hyrmitaaes,  
 que vyvam em grande tenperamento.  
 Ja todos som lançados  
 em muy grande perdimento  
 priores e abades e monges  
 com todo seu convento,  
 todos de ssy dam maa exemplo,  
 e fazem a todos grande escandalo,  
 a todos muyto pubricado. <sup>95</sup>

André Dias does not merely translate the original Italian verses, he expands them into something more substantial. Jacopone da Todi's stanza on the monastic orders is, as we shall see, not only briefer, but less critical:

O religiosi en temperamento,  
grande de voi avea piacemento:  
or vado cercando omne convento,  
pochi me trovo en cui sia consolato.<sup>96</sup>

The Italian poem seems to be closer in tone and content to another thirteenth-century work, the Galician Aires Nunes' poem *Porque no mundo mengou a verdade* than it does to the fifteenth-century Portuguese version. On the other hand, André Dias' lament appears to echo Martín Pérez's chapter 'Como alguus pralados fazem scandalo na egreja de Deus', in the *Livro das Confissões*:

O pralado que trage caaes & aues & anda aa caça & por casa dos Reys que trage muytas conpanhas & muytas bestas, Se cata por as Riquezas hauer & nõ por preegar & ensinar. Se cata por o deleyto & plazer do seu corpo & nõ faz oraçõ reza ne mostra exemplo de deuoço aos poboos ou subditos que ha so sua cura.<sup>97</sup>

We might also compare André Dias' poetic treatment of the Church with the contents of Frei João Álvares' *Cartas Pastorais*.<sup>98</sup> Both were Portuguese clerics active in the fifteenth century; both held the office of commendatory abbot of a Benedictine monastery, André Dias in S. João da Alpendurada and Frei João Álvares in S. Salvador de Paço de Sousa, and they apparently hold similar views on monastic laxity. The second pastoral letter, sent by Frei João to his monastic community in 1467, only thirty-two years after André Dias composed his *Laudes e Cantigas Espirituais*, is to all intents and purposes a reminder of how greatly they require his spiritual guidance. When he first took charge of their monastery they did not know their Rule or possess a copy of it. Their finances were in complete disarray so he brought in a cleric to do the accounts. The monks dressed incorrectly, some had concubines,

and there was absolutely no observation of Benedictine abstinence or fasting. Among the many prohibitions he made is the following rule:

Item que nom fossees fora a nehua parte nem a dizer missa nem aas igrejas nem tenhaes nem criees no moesteyro bestas nem caaes nem aves, que tinhom alguus de vós sem averdes primeiro liçença.<sup>99</sup>

André Dias' poem is not simply the expression of one man's views on the state of the Church; in both tone and content it is very much in keeping with the kinds of criticism of the Church found in other literary works of the period.

Although the *Cancioneiro Geral* was published by Garcia de Resende in 1516, many of the poems in this anthology date from the second half of the fifteenth century, among them Fernão da Silveira's report on the *Cortes* held at Montemor-o-Novo on 21 January 1477, and his *Repartiçam dos Byspados que El Rey Dom João deu em Sintra*.<sup>100</sup> Since the compilation contains eight hundred and eighty assorted poems that span three reigns, general observations are not especially helpful. But it is useful to comment on the different types of satirical composition found in the *Cancioneiro*:

Começando pela poesia sátrica, notamos que ela se bifurca em dois ramos. O primeiro, de sátira pessoal, precisa, impiedosa e cruel; o segundo, de sátira aos costumes, mais geral, atenuada e de pura lamentação destrutiva.<sup>101</sup>

Interestingly, Andrée Crabbé Rocha's remarks on the verse-satire of the *Cancioneiro Geral* might equally well be applied to the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*, and Kenneth R. Scholberg also sees a link between the two schools:

en gran parte los temas y motivos parecen una continuación de los de los escarnios y maldecires gallego-portugueses.<sup>102</sup>

The other literary model to which the Portuguese Court poets looked for inspiration was the Castilian *poesía cancioneril* of the fifteenth century, represented by the *Cancionero*

de Baena, compiled between 1445 and 1454 but including poems written in the previous seventy or eighty years,<sup>103</sup> and closer in time to the Portuguese anthology, the *Cancionero General de Hernando de Castillo*, 1511. The bilateral relationship between the Portuguese and Castilian *cancioneros* has been explored in depth by two scholars, Jole Ruggieri and Aida Fernanda Dias.<sup>104</sup> It goes without saying that the Castilian poets, too, inherited some of the Galician-Portuguese themes and motifs.

Anticlerical satire is not a predominant element in the *Cancioneiro Geral*, but it is present in several poems. Duarte da Gama's *Trouas que fez Duarte da Gama aas Desordeens que aguora se constuma em Portugal* contains two fairly fierce stanzas on the clergy:

Frey Payó com sua renda,  
monteyros e caçadores,  
escudeyros, seruidores  
lh'acharam e na fazencia.  
Tinha ley de caualeyro  
na maneyra do vyuere  
quys antes isto ter  
qua dinheyro  
...  
Na cobiça dos prelados  
nom he ja pera falar,  
qu'em vender mays que rezar  
e em comprar sam acupados!  
Huu soo nam meto aquy,  
que se nam nomearaa,  
e cada huu tomaraa  
que he por sy.<sup>105</sup>

Rodrigues Lapa describes this work as:

um prelúdio e pode servir de comentário a certas peças vicentinas.<sup>106</sup>

Certainly, it is not difficult to identify Duarte da Gama's Frey Payó with Gil Vicente's Frey Narciso, who longs for a bishopric in order to satisfy his ambitions for a more elevated life-style:

Por isso peço eu bispado,  
 que possa ter dez rascões,  
 e um escravo ocupado,  
 que sempre tenha cuidado  
 dos cavalos e falcões.<sup>107</sup>

In the same sombre vein as Duarte da Gama's comments on his times is Álvaro de Brito Pestana's poem on the corruption that is rife in the city of Lisbon. As well as referring to 'frades com freyras louçãas' and 'estudantes pregadores' who preach burlesque sermons,<sup>108</sup> the poet singles out the clergy for some particularly harsh strictures:

Alguus ha na crelezia  
 que leuam errados rumos,  
 mau costume  
 de vestyr epocresya;  
 são deuotos mays dos fumos  
 que do lume,  
 Leuam pecados alheos,  
 muy grauemente defendem  
 e nam tardam  
 de fazer outros mays feos,  
 de que nunca se reprendem  
 nem se guardam.

Ca deuassam as igrejas,  
 ermydas e moesteyros,  
 os sagrados;  
 por molheres ham pelejas,  
 por molheres sam guerreyros,  
 namorados,  
 Suas oras engroladas  
 em torpe vyuemda çuja  
 desrregrados,  
 suas manhas costumadas  
 dentro no porto de Muja  
 costumados.<sup>109</sup>

These verses are extremely revealing, not only because of what they tell the reader about life in late fifteenth-century Portugal, but because they reiterate concerns and criticisms found in the very earliest expression of Portuguese literature, the Galician-Portuguese lyric:

Nos moesteiros dos frades regrados  
 a demandeí e disseron-m'a assi:  
 non busquedes vos a verdada'aqui,  
 ca muitos anos avemos passados,  
 que non morou nosco, per boa fé.<sup>110</sup>

and they also seem to foreshadow the satirical portrayal of Frei Capacete in Gil Vicente's *Auto da Barca do Inferno*. When the devil enquires:

Essa dama, ela é vossa?

The capering friar replies:

Eu não sei;  
 Por minha a trago eu cá

The devil pretends to approve of his good taste, but wonders how this was viewed back in the convent:

E não vos punham lá grossa  
 no vosso convento sagrado?

Frei Capacete scoffs at this:

Assim fui bem açoutado!<sup>111</sup>

Garcia de Resende also has something to say about the behaviour of friars, in his advice to Rui Figueiredo Potas, 'estando determynado pera se meter frade':

E ha mesa jejumhar,  
 que façays todos pasmar!  
 Mas tereys em vossa cela  
 mantimento sempre nela  
 com que possais jarrear.  
 Tereys nela putarram  
 que seja do vosso geyto;

se bater o goardyam  
 ha porta, dar-lhe de mam  
 para debaixo do leyto.  
 Se vos achar suarento  
 dizey que vosso elamento  
 he estar dessa maneyra:  
 esta regra he verdadeyra  
 e o al tudo he vento.<sup>112</sup>

This business of being seen to fast and grow thin is also satirized by Gil Vicente, when Frei Narciso reveals to the audience:

e vivo mui austinente,  
 marteirando a carne e ossos,  
 como cá meu corpo sente,  
 estudando, maginando,  
 trabalhando por privar,  
 sem vontade jejuando,  
 senão somente esperando  
 se posso mais arribar.

E por parecer miselo  
 e toda a Corte em mi creia,  
 defumo-me co'este zelo  
 e faço o rosto amarelo  
 cobm muita palha centeia.<sup>113</sup>

Nuno Pereira also has some comments to make on the clergy, more specifically on the greed that inspires some of them to take Holy Orders:

Porem se foy por repayro  
 d'averdes algu dinheyro,  
 he muy bom serdes vygayro  
 e prio e recoeyro;  
 samcristam apresentado,  
 pryoste, comendador  
 organysta, contratenor,  
 conueguo, lecenceado.<sup>114</sup>

The other major court poet to satirize members of the Church is Henrique da Mota, in a poem and a verse satire which present the clergy as self-indulgent, bibulous and, in the latter work, unchaste. The poem tells of the ordeal suffered by D. João de Noronha, his brother D. Sancho and their companion the *Vigário* of Óbidos when they set off, in high

summer, to make their confession to a Cistercian at S. Bernardim. The sacrament of confession is treated with flippancy and disrespect, dismissed as a tedious chore:

O frade muy deuagar  
 assentado a seu prazer,  
 a çegua regua a cantar  
 entam estar e suar  
 ysto he mais que morrer.<sup>115</sup>

Contrition and penitence, suggests the poet, cause more pain than they are worth:

Vejamos quem poderaa  
 comprir aguora pendença,  
 a qual he cousa tam maa  
 que se n'alma vida daa,  
 no corpo causa doença.<sup>116</sup>

After extolling the virtues of wine, the poet inserts in his verses some elements of religious parody:

E se disser o contrayro  
 esse frade por ventura,  
 dizey-lhe c'assy se cura  
 o padre do campanayro.  
 Porque tem um bibyayro  
 em que reza sem periguo  
 muyto mays que no rosayro,  
 nam diguays qu'ee o viguairo,  
 porqu'eu, senhor, na no diguo.<sup>117</sup>

Neil Miller believes these lines to be of goliardic inspiration, since:

aqueles poetas substituíam *oramus* por *bibamus*, e com frequência utilizavam o vinho como assunto das suas obras.<sup>118</sup>

After they have fulfilled their spiritual obligation to confess, the threesome look forward to dinner and wine at Os Geraldos. But disaster strikes - there is no wine to be had. This piece of bad luck is given a literary treatment completely out of keeping with the trivial nature of



their privation. The episode is described in a mixture of Latin and Portuguese in words that are more appropriate for the revelation of some grave portent, and derive from the liturgy, namely the *Dies Irae*.<sup>119</sup> In fact, there may even be a veiled suggestion that the *Vigário's* suffering is comparable to that of Christ on the cross. We should also note the rhetorical devices of bathos and pathetic fallacy used by the poet to achieve greater comic effect:

Libera me do Giraldo!  
*In die illa tremenda,*  
 quando for o ceo mouido,  
 e o vinho falecido,  
 que nam achem quem no vendan  
 em fiado nem aa tenda,  
 nem por força nem per roguo.  
*Domine michi defenda*  
 de tam aspera emmenda,  
 ante me julgue per foguo.<sup>120</sup>

Note the reference to Judgment Day in the last line of the quotation. There is added humour - and irony - in the fact that no confessor could possibly match this for an act of penance. The poem closes on a note of near blasphemy, with an improbable sort of comparison:

Vieron do oriente  
 tres Reys Magos que sabeys  
 e vós fostes todos tres  
 muyto gordos em ponente.<sup>121</sup>

Miller interprets this poem as an open attack on the Church:

Não temos qualquer dúvida no nosso espírito de que Henrique da Mota está criticando abertamente a corrupção no interior da Igreja.<sup>122</sup>

adducing as further corroboration of this view the poet's choice of a Bernardine monk as confessor. While Miller makes the observation that the adjective *bernardo* means 'stupid and gluttonous',<sup>123</sup> there is nothing else in the poem to suggest that the monk's behaviour is in any way incorrect, and indeed, there is a hint that *esse frade* might not accept the supposedly

restorative powers of wine. The *Vigário's* partiality for wine, and his use of ecclesiastical language in profane circumstances are being ridiculed, but the poem as a whole is more a 'side-swipe' at the clergy, in the shape of one fat vicar, than an outright condemnation. It is ludic rather than fulminatory, and if we are seeking its literary antecedents, we should look to a *cantiga de escárnio* by Joan de Gaia, *Eu convidei un prelado a jantar*, in which another named cleric is mocked for his excessive drinking, not to mention his very red nose:

Eu convidei un prelado a jantar,  
se ben me venha.  
Diz el en est': - E meus narizes  
de color de berengenha?<sup>124</sup>

Henrique da Mota's verse-dialogue is, in fact, a lament. Not on the passing of an important public figure or a much-loved friend or relation, not even on the state of society or the Church. The cleric who comes before the audience uttering cries of woe and anguish is lamenting the loss of his wine, though we might be forgiven for believing at first that he has lost his beloved:

- Ay, ay, ay, ay! Que farey?  
Ay que dores me çercaram!  
Ay que nouas me chegaram!  
Ay de mym! onde me yrey?  
Que farey triste, mezquinho,  
com payxam?<sup>125</sup>

Again we see Henrique da Mota's masterly use of bathos. These lines are followed by the declaration that:

Tudo leua maa cominho,  
poys que vay todo meu vynho  
pelo cham!<sup>126</sup>

After a heated argument with his African slave, who is also his mistress, the 'grieving' cleric complains that after losing his wine and having to pay *terças*, he will probably fall ill. He then paraphrases the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*:

Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?  
Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like  
unto my sorrow, which is done unto me.<sup>127</sup>

O vós outros que passays  
pelas vinhas,  
respondey, assy viuays,  
se vistes dores ygoays  
co as minhas!<sup>128</sup>

and draws inspiration from the *Book of Job*:

Have pity on me, have pity on me,  
O ye my friends.<sup>129</sup>

E poys tanta dor me fica,  
saltem vos, *amici mei*  
chorays como chorey!<sup>130</sup>

When the cleric turns to his friends for consolation, the first one to comfort him is - and surely it is no coincidence - a *guordo padre viguayro* who shares his love of wine and his predilection for hyperbole:

He hum tam grande mal este,  
que com doo que de ty ey  
pera sempre chorarey!<sup>131</sup>

Moral support is also forthcoming from Álvaro Lopez, the *almoxarife* and the *juiz dos ôrfãos*, in other words, Henrique da Mota himself. There are two references in the poem to the cleric's *payxam* or suffering, and the wine barrel is treated like a human being for whom they are holding a wake:

Pos que nam tem alma jaa.<sup>132</sup>

Finally, the *juiz dos ôrfãos* tries to cheer up the cleric by pointing out that he still has his black companion:

Esforçay, nam vos mateys,  
 perto he daquy a Agosto,  
 a negra fica comvosco  
 com que vos confortareys. <sup>133</sup>

Because the cleric expresses himself like a bereaved lover - 'meu bem de Caparica',<sup>134</sup> we might easily forget that he is a member of the clergy. As Neil Miller points out:

não é com certeza o melhor representante da igreja. <sup>135</sup>

But with all his faults and vices, he is still an extremely comic figure, and laughter may well outweigh outrage or moral condemnation in the reader's response to this dialogue.

The *Pranto do Clérigo*, along with Jorge Manrique's *Coplas a una beuda que tenía enpeñado un brial en la taverna*,<sup>136</sup> probably inspired another mock lament, Gil Vicente's *Pranto de Maria Parda* of 1522. More popular in tone and content than Resende's dialogue, Maria Parda's lament is the jeremiad of a crapulous old crone who cannot afford the price of a drink. Maria has pawned or sold most of her worldly goods:

ontem bebi a mantilha,  
 que me custou dous cruzados. <sup>137</sup>

and after doing the rounds of the taverns of Lisbon, discovers that her credit has finally run out:

Não dou en vinho fiado,  
 ide vós embora, amiga. <sup>138</sup>

All that remains is for her to make her will and die. The stipulations of her testament allow Gil Vicente an opportunity to poke fun at various named characters, among them, as we might expect, the local clergy:

Item dirão per dó meu  
 quatro ou cinco ou dez trintaíros,  
 cantados por tais vigairos  
 que não bebam menos que eu.  
 Sejam três d'Almada, e cinco daqui da Sé,  
 que são filhos de Noé,  
 a que são encomendada.<sup>139</sup>

It is no exaggeration to state that medieval Portuguese satire reaches its apogee in the works of Gil Vicente. Although his plays were written in the sixteenth century, they may be classed as medieval because of the nature of his ideas and criticisms, and the processional structures and allegorical frameworks he uses to express them. His moral values are the product of the preaching of his day, if not of a clerical education, and his work is strewn with intertextual references or reminiscences of other literary works from diverse medieval traditions. Although the *Pranto de Maria Parda* is by no means Gil Vicente's most serious or significant work, it does serve as a useful example of his complete integration into the medieval tradition. For instance, Maria's bequest to the German friar:

Item mando vestir logo  
 o frade alemão vermelho  
 daquele meu manto velho  
 que tem buracos de fogo.<sup>140</sup>

brings to mind two goliardic poems, Hugh Primas of Orleans' attack on a niggardly bishop for his gift of a cloak with no lining:

Pontifex spuma, fex cleri, sordida struma,  
 qui dedit in bruma michi mantelium sine pluma!<sup>141</sup>

and the Archpoet's begging poem to the Archbishop of Cologne, *Omnia tempus habent*, with its emphasis on the need for warm clothing.<sup>142</sup>

The burlesque testament is a genre exploited by several fifteenth-century Castilian *cancionero* poets, among them Alonso Enríquez, whose choice of executor, the Archbishop of Lisbon, has yet to be explained.<sup>143</sup> Nor should we overlook similarities between Maria Parda's testament and those of François Villon. Her allusions to Noah must remind us of the opening line of his *Ballade et Oraison* in the *Grand Testament*, a clever parody of the *Pater Noster*:

Père Noé, qui plantâtes la vigne.<sup>144</sup>

Villon, too, mentions the clergy in his *Petit Testament*:

Item, aux Quatre Mendians,  
Aux Filles Dieu et aux Béguines,  
Savoureux morceaux et friands,  
Chapons, pigeon, grasses gélines.<sup>145</sup>

and in his *Grand Testament*:

Item, aux Frères Mendians,  
Aux Dévotes et aux Béguines,  
Tant de Paris que d'Orléans,  
Tant Turpelins que Turpelines,  
De grasses soupes jacobines  
et flans, leur fais oblation,  
Et puis après, sous les courtines,  
Parler de contemplation.<sup>146</sup>

Edward A. Riggio turns our attention to Gil Vicente's parody on the *ubi sunt*:

Que foi de vosso bom vinho,  
e tanto ramo de pinho,  
laranja, papel e cana,  
onde bebemos Joanae  
e eu, cento e um cinquinho.<sup>147</sup>

and shows the parallels between Maria Parda, whom he characterises as the Lusitanian *dypsa*, and her Spanish literary ancestors Celestina and Claudina:<sup>148</sup>

Que jamás volvías in ocho o diez gostaduras, un azumbre en el jarro y otro en el cuerpo. Así le fiaban dos o tres arrobas en veces, como sobre una taza de plata. Su palabra era prenda de oro en cuantos bodegones había. Si íbamos por la calle, dondequiera que hobiésemos sed, entrábamos en la primera taberna, luego mandaba echar medio azumbre para mojar la boca.<sup>149</sup>

Gil Vicente writes very much within the framework of traditional European anticlerical satire. His *Clérigo da Beira* has much in common with Juan Ruiz's parody of the canonical hours,<sup>150</sup> the *Auto da Feira* uses the same themes, symbols and characters as a sermon of Johann Geiler von Kayserberg<sup>151</sup> and the *Barcas* trilogy, an outstanding example of estates satire, owes much to the Dance of Death.<sup>152</sup> Interestingly, his attitude towards the clergy does not alter in the thirty or so years that he writes. He does not rescind his criticisms or attempt a more favourable depiction of the clerics and friars, but continues to act as mouthpiece of King, Court and the population at large.

Anticlerical satire recurs throughout three hundred years of literary production and within three literary modes, poetry, prose and drama. The volume, intensity and eventual function of the satire will depend on the individual author's artistic and moral priorities, but even allowing for these variables, satire against the clergy emerges as a constant of medieval Portuguese literature. Our next concern is with the objects of that satire, the misdemeanours and transgressions that are expressed in anticlerical stereotypes by succeeding generations of (often) self-appointed moral spokesmen. However, while 'anticlerical satire' is a useful generic label, distinctions should be made between the three main forms that it may take.

First we may point out satire against the Church as a corporate organisation. This type of satire may be directed against a personification of the Church, *Roma*, who may in turn be depicted as a weak and silly woman, more misguided than malign, as in the *Auto da Feira*:

a troco das estações  
 não fareis algum partido,  
 que é tesouro concedido  
 pera quaisquer remissões?  
 Oh, vendei-me a paz dos céus,  
 pois tenho o poder na terra. <sup>153</sup>

Or there is what might be termed 'synecdochic satire', when by criticising a part, the author effectively satirizes the whole. This is the kind of process we see in Aires Nunes' *Por que no mundo mengou a verdade* and Fernão da Silveira's *Senhor Meu Luís Fogaça*; the satirical effect is cumulative. By questioning the honesty and decency of one or two branches of the Church, the institution as a whole is brought into disrepute.

Secondly, there is satire against the clergy as members of a hierarchy. Associated with each level are a set of duties and responsibilities, and the cleric who is negligent or delinquent does not just fail in his obligation to the faithful, but places the very structure of the Church in jeopardy. Professional sins are taken very seriously because of the 'knock on' effects they can have. This is seen most clearly in estates satire, such as the *Auto da Barca da Glória*, where a Bishop, Archbishop, Cardinal and Pope are all accused of individual misconduct that has led to a dereliction of duty. The Bishop has broken his vows of chastity, the Archbishop has aspired to higher office, and has been guilty of the worst kind of venality:

Los menguados,  
 pobres y desamparados,  
 cuyos dineros vos lograstes,  
 desseosos, hambreados,  
 y los dineros cerrados,  
 en abierto los dexastes. <sup>154</sup>

The Archbishop has failed in his role of Good Shepherd, and the Cardinal's sins are too heinous to be mentioned:

Y no quiero declarar  
 cosas más para dezir. <sup>155</sup>



Gil Vicente reserves his most savage criticism for the Pope, whose sins are of omission and commission:

Cuanto más de alto estado,  
tanto más es obligado  
dar a todos buen exemplo  
(...)  
Luxuria os desconsagró  
sobervia os hizo daño;  
y lo más que os condenó,  
simonía con engaño.<sup>156</sup>

The third kind of satire is directed against individual members of the clergy, either named or otherwise identifiable, at least by those people who lived during the period in which the work was written. Duarte da Gama's Frey Payó and Gil Vicente's Frey Paço and Frey Narciso may well have been based on real ecclesiastical figures. We have only to look at the number of supplications in which members of the royal family request benefices for their personal chaplains and confessors to see how many friars lived and worked at court. This personal satire is usually found in the *cancioneiros*, and may be of less interest to the modern reader. On the other hand, when such poems deal with recognisable historical personages, for instance, Pero Meéndez da Fonseca's cantiga on the *Comendador* of Uclés.<sup>157</sup> They may offer social and ecclesiastical historians valuable insights into the different ways that such dignitaries were judged by their contemporaries and peers. Of course, a *cantiga de escárnio* or *maldizer* might leave a member of the clergy with an undeservedly tarnished reputation, so this group of poems should be read with care. Their venom and malice might well have been a professional response to medieval clerical hostility to the minstrel class.

What, then, are the predominant literary stereotypes of the clergy in medieval Portugal? One of the most widely disseminated depictions of a clerical type is that of the nun, not the pious, devout nun, but the *monja pesarosa*,<sup>158</sup> an unhappy young woman who resents her cloistered existence and longs to experience love and other worldly pursuits. The Latin

literary ancestry of this figure is apparent when we read such poems as *Plangit nonna, fletibus*.<sup>159</sup> Although there is no female character in medieval Portuguese literature to equal Chaucer's madame Eglentyne, there are abundant examples of the worldly nun. Gil Vicente presents two such ladies in his *Romagem dos Agravados*. In the words of Frei Paço:

Uas freiras que cá vêm,  
são naturais de Sicília;  
Dorósia e Domicília  
são os nomes que têm.  
E de mal aconselhadas  
e tocadas da ignorância  
vão queixosas e agravadas,  
porque as fazem encerradas,  
e viver em observância.<sup>160</sup>

Then there is the *nonne séduite*,<sup>161</sup> the nun (or abbess) who falls in love and breaks her vow of chastity. André Dias laments the passing of the chaste nun, as if she were no more:

e hu sam as vyuvas e as freiras professas  
que manteem aquella castidade  
que per a sancta ley he estabelecido e mandado.<sup>162</sup>

Again, there are earlier, Latin versions of the *nonne séduite*. One German poem, *Suavissima nunna*, in the form of a dialogue, actually shows the process of seduction.<sup>163</sup>

Nuns take lovers, according to Trotaconventos, and receive them in their convents:

tienen a sús amigos viciosos, sin sossañas.<sup>164</sup>

Sometimes the nun may decide to elope, as happens in the Latin Marian tales and in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. In these poems, the Virgin frequently intervenes to prevent a nun leaving the convent,<sup>165</sup> or may even take her place so that no one will know she has gone.<sup>166</sup>

Gil Vicente's diabolic salesman in the *Auto da Feira* seems to confuse this stereotype with that of the medieval witch or sorceress:

E se ua doce freira  
vem à feira  
por comprar hum inguento,  
com que voe do convento:  
senhor, inda que eu não queira,  
lh'hei de dar aviamento.<sup>167</sup>

The next stage in this progress is pregnancy, and as mentioned earlier in this chapter, there are several examples of pregnant nuns or abbesses in medieval Galician-Portuguese and Portuguese literature.<sup>168</sup> This topic was a commonplace of medieval *exempla* and miracle tales, and is found in other genres:

In the Galeran poem (a narrative poem from the end of the twelfth century attributed to Renart) the heroine leaves a cradle in the nunnery to serve any of the nuns who may give birth.<sup>169</sup>

We might also recall the many letters of legitimation for the offspring of members of the clergy cited by Humberto Baquero Moreno in his study of medieval Portuguese morality:

Maria Peres, que tinha sido abadessa do mosteiro de Ferreira, requeria em 1289 ao rei D. Dinis a legitimação de Gonçalo Vasques, e em 1308 a de Álvaro Vasques Farinha, sendo ambos seus filhos.<sup>170</sup>

Finally, besides the doleful or disconsolate nun who dreams of what she has missed, and the foolish, gullible nun who allows herself to be seduced, there is another type of ecclesiastical lady, who dedicates herself to a life of promiscuity and debauchery, as described in the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*:

A vos, Dona abadessa,  
de min, Don Fernand' Esquio,  
estas doas vos envio,  
por que sei que sodes essa

dona que as merecedes;  
quatro caralhos franceses,  
e dous aa prioressa.<sup>171</sup>

The other stereotype to be explored is that of the friar. Jill Mann has drawn up a list of the aspects of the friar's stereotype that she has found in traditional satire:

the exercise of persuasive eloquence, which may be a means of deception; a sense of self-importance, usually based on learning; lechery; skill and practice in secular business; fine clothing; the Friar's musical skill; strong mercenary motives; venality in hearing confessions; the mendicant quarrel with the secular clergy; a preference for the company of the rich and powerful.<sup>172</sup>

Virtually all of these characteristics or activities are represented by friars in medieval Portuguese literature, particularly in the plays of Gil Vicente:

Fica-se surpreendido quando se encontra (...) um Frade evangélico, um só, na *Comédia do Viúvo*.<sup>173</sup>

Several Vicentine friars pride themselves on their eloquence, or so it would seem from their willingness to preach or proffer a discourse on one of their favourite topics, worldly love. A prime example of the eloquent friar is the *frade infernal* summoned by Genebra Pereira in the *Auto das Fadas*. Unfortunately, however, his oratorical skills are not greatly appreciated in the infernal regions:

Acá fui gran predicador,  
allá me hicieron tecelán.<sup>174</sup>

The friar's sense of self-importance is seen in the *Auto da Barca do Inferno*:

Corpo de Deus consagrado!  
Pola fé de Jesu Cristo,  
qu'eu não posso entender isto:  
eu hei-de ser condenado?<sup>175</sup>

while (unfounded) pride in his learning is satirized in the burlesque sermon that opens the *Auto da Mofina Mendes*:

Diz Francisco de Mairões,  
 Ricardo e Bonaventura,  
 não me lembra em que escritura,  
 nem sei em quais distinções,  
 nem a cópia das rezões,  
 mas o latim creio que dizia assim:  
*Nolite vanitatis debemus*  
*confidere de his, qui capital*  
*sua posuerunt in manibus*  
*ventorum etc.*<sup>176</sup>

This sermon, with its list of authorities and its macarronic Latin, is surely intended as a criticism of those preachers who use the pulpit as a means of airing their own knowledge instead of teaching the people what they should be taught, and offering them sound moral guidance.

The lecherous friar first makes an appearance in the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*:

A un frade dizen escaralhado.<sup>177</sup>

Then, a century later, the friar comes out to welcome Don Amor's triumphal procession after Lent, in the *Libro de Buen Amor*:

Alli van de Sant Pablo los sus pedricadores  
 non y va Sant Francisco mas van fraires menores,  
 alli van agostines; e dizen sus cantares  
*iexultemos, laetemur*, ministros e priores!<sup>178</sup>

Several Vicentine friars keep mistresses - the friar of the *Auto da Barca do Inferno* and Frei Rodrigo in the *Frágua de Amor*, for example, or have dedicated their lives, not to the love of God, but the pursuit of women, like the frade infernal of the *Auto das Fadas*. Fray Majadero in the *Nau d'Amores* has even gone mad through love.<sup>179</sup> Medieval Portuguese friars are not usually depicted as keen businessmen, but they do show a predilection for fine clothes. Note the stage direction for Frei Paço in the *Romagem dos Agravados*:

Entra logo Frei Paço com seu hábito e capelo,  
e gorra de veludo, e luvas, e espada dourada.<sup>180</sup>

In the *Auto da Barca do Inferno*, the friar comes on stage singing and dancing, while his colleague in the *Auto das Fadas* gives an impromptu performance on stage.<sup>181</sup>

Although none of the friars is accused outright of rapaciousness, it is reasonable to impute 'strong mercenary motives' to this class of clergy. How else could they afford their fine clothes, mistresses, gilded swords, hawks and hounds? Frei Narciso seeks preferment not out of a desire to serve God, but because he aspires to the life-style of a medieval lord.<sup>182</sup>

Rivalry between secular and regular clergy is not a major preoccupation among the Portuguese satirists. Juan Ruiz does have a digression on ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but this is not parodic or humorous. The only detail which may be of significance, and which Rita Hamilton emphasizes, is that Don Carnal, the incarnation of worldly love, receives absolution from a friar:

There is no mistaking the scorn which Juan Ruiz shows for the friars by making one of them exercise the doubtful privilege of giving Don Carnal absolution.<sup>183</sup>

Finally, according to Jill Mann, the friar seeks the company of the rich and powerful. The friar of the *Auto da Barca do Inferno* makes much of his status as *cortes*, but it is Frei Narciso who openly boasts:

E eu prego a generosos,  
Príncipes singularmente.<sup>184</sup>

Jill Mann's stereotype of the English friar holds just as true for the friars of Portugal. Regardless of his nationality, he is an arrant knave, far removed from the evangelical ideals that inspired the founding of his order.

We have noted that medieval satirical literature customarily depicts the clergy as dissolute, negligent and corrupt. It remains to be seen whether this portrayal derives from reaction to actual circumstance, or if it is simply the product of literary convention. After all, writers in medieval Portugal did not create their poetry or prose in an artistic vacuum. They were quite conscious of the literary models inherited from preceding generations, and fully aware of the trends and currents of their own day. This awareness is amply demonstrated by Alfonso X's admonition of Pero da Ponte:

Vos non trobades come proençal.<sup>185</sup>

and D. Dinis' famous lines:

Quer'eu en maneira de proençal  
fazer agora un cantar d'amor.<sup>186</sup>

Critics are largely agreed as to the extent of Provençal influence on Galician-Portuguese lyric poetry. Scholberg suggests that there was a two-way cultural traffic, with Provençal poets trekking their way along the pilgrim route to Santiago or visiting the courts of the Peninsular kingdoms, and Galician troubadours probably visiting the Provençal courts.<sup>187</sup> Jean Marie d'Heur has investigated the precise nature of these contacts, and shows that the degree of cross-fertilisation between the two cultural traditions may have been considerably greater than was previously suspected.<sup>188</sup>

Less easy to determine is the impact of goliardic Latin verse on the Galician-Portuguese troubadours. If Suzanne Thiolier-Méjean is correct in her surmise that Provençal poetry, too, may owe some of its inspiration to the goliard poets, then Portuguese literature received a double exposure to goliardic influence, both direct and indirect:

cette poésie goliardique, par les thèmes et la forme poétique des oeuvres qu'elle a livrées, offre des points de rencontre avec celle des troubadours satiriques et moralistes. Influence ou démarche parallèle, ceci reste à démontrer.<sup>189</sup>

On a purely intuitive level, we find remarkable coherence of vision and theme in poems by Walter of Châtillon, Peire Cardenal and Airas Nunes.<sup>190</sup> More objectively, we can follow Mário Martins' lead in assembling evidence to prove that goliardic verse was known, copied and possibly even composed in the Peninsula and in Portugal.<sup>191</sup>

The first work to be mentioned in this context should probably be the *Garcineida* of García de Toledo, a Latin prose satire on simony in Rome, composed around 1099. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel considers this text to be a worthy precursor of goliardic verse-satire:

Por todos estos rasgos - parodia, erudición, riqueza verbal - y por su tema, la *Garcineida* anuncia ya la actividad satírica de los goliardos, con quienes coincide en la aspiración a un elevado ideal eclesiástico.<sup>192</sup>

Then there are the Latin love poems of the late twelfth-century *Carmina Rivipullensia*. Attributed to an anonymous Catalan monk, they were discovered in a twelfth-century *Liber Glossorum* in the Benedictine monastery of Ripoll, Gerona, and are now preserved in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (Ms. Ripoll 74). According to José Luis Moralejo:

El Cancionero de Ripoll es, hoy por hoy, lo único que podemos llamar contribución hispana a la lírica goliárdica y - de aceptarse la cronología propuesta - es un fruto nada tardío: el XII es el gran siglo de la lírica mediolatina.<sup>193</sup>

Two of the Ripoll poems are glosses on verses by the frequently satirical Marbod of Rennes. Peter Dronke has observed that during the Middle Ages:

the most widely copied poems of all seem to have been those of Hildebert and Marbod.<sup>194</sup>



which is only to be expected in the light of Marbod's prestige as a curriculum author, 'set reading' for medieval scholars.<sup>195</sup> This may explain why a poem by Marbod was included in a fourteenth-century compilation in *códice alcobacense* 245.<sup>196</sup>

Alan Deyermond believes that the thirteenth-century Spanish debate-poem *Elena y María* has much in common with goliardic satire.<sup>197</sup> Also dating from the thirteenth century are goliardic verses contained in a Toledo Cathedral manuscript (plut. XVII, nº IV), edited by Amador de los Ríos.<sup>198</sup> Altogether there are three items: firstly, a drinking song, for which Mário Martins proposes a Peninsular origin because of the line:

Sorbendo brodia, gaudet Aragonia tota.<sup>199</sup>

Secondly, a satire against women 'Arbore sub quadam, dictavit clericus Adam', and finally, a variation on the *Nummus* theme. Portugal also has a copy of *In terra summus rex est hoc tempore nummus*, in *códice alcobacense* 34, folios 74v-75. According to Mário Martins, the hand is late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century, and the Alcobaça version differs slightly from that of the *Carmina Burana*; there are fewer verses, and those are sometimes in a different order.<sup>200</sup>

If the fourteenth century sees the composition of the *Libro de Buen Amor* with its abundant use of goliardic material,<sup>201</sup> it also confirms Jill Mann's affirmation that:

satire takes on a historic life of its own, perpetuating both specific ways of observing reality and conceptual frameworks within which it can be organised.<sup>202</sup>

The term 'goliard' has somehow become detached from the literary tradition to which it owes its existence, and is now used to label or describe the disreputable cleric.<sup>203</sup> In 1309

Arnaldo de Vilanova uses the term in his *Razonamiento* pronounced before the Pope and Cardinals of the Avignon curia:

La terça es oyr misses les quals oyen usurers, baratadores e altres fornicadors, goliarts, amicides, traydors et totes maneres de falsaris.<sup>204</sup>

A Portuguese legal document of 1339 pertaining to the function of judges also has a reference to goliards:

Como deuem fazer os homeens que nam am meter e amdam golyardos, e goulaes pela uila, e pera esto nom fazerem.<sup>205</sup>

Frei Álvaro Pais uses the term goliardis in the *Speculum Regum*, in the section on bad kings and princes, and the sins they commit:

Sexagésimo sétimo, dão abusivamente muitos panos preciosos e muitas outras coisas aos bufões, goliardos, actores, palhaços e músicos, por vanglória do mundo, e acalentamm neles o seu pecado, que é uma falta enorme, isto é, mortal (Distinção LXXXV, *Donare*).<sup>206</sup>

Although Afonso IV's *Carta Régia* of 1352 does not mention goliards by name, there is little doubt that it is this group he has in mind in his admonition to the clergy:

E outrosy deve de los amoestar que nam husem de mosteres torpes que non perteence a clerigos, convem a saber que nam sejam jograres, nem bofoens, nen tafues en praça.<sup>207</sup>

Within less than a century, laws promulgated by D. João I (December 1419) proclaim that clerics who have exercised unworthy professions should now come under secular jurisdiction, effectively losing their ecclesiastical immunity:

Na 31, declara que a competência para julgar os clérigos de Ordens menores, ocupados em ofícios impróprios da sua dignidade, como de goliardo, turageiro, gorjeador ou bufão, durante mais de um ano, pertence aos juizes seculares.<sup>208</sup>

Mário Martins mentions some goliardic verses in a fifteenth-century hand in the *Cancionero Catalán de la Universidad de Zaragoza*,<sup>209</sup> and one might also point to the survival of Hugh Primas' *Carmen de vita* or *Dolor vitae* in two Alcobaça manuscripts, numbers 85 and 195.<sup>210</sup>

Finally, Derek Lomax has drawn my attention to two unpublished manuscripts in Spanish archives. Ms. 43 of the Cathedral Library of Burgo de Osma, dated 1454, contains a number of medieval Latin works, among them *De arte amandi*, the *Pamphilus* and something intitled *Evitatio conjugii*, possibly an antifeminist treatise. Ms. 18 of the Cathedral Archive of Oviedo contains various works on crusading and other topics, including a Latin satirical poem on marriage (folios 242-243).

This accumulation of data can only lead us to conclude that the goliardic tradition was a significant factor in the satirical literary production of medieval Portugal, contributing themes and images either at first hand, where writers were themselves familiar with particular Latin poets and their verse, or at second hand, through the medium of the Provençal lyrics or works such as the *Libro de Buen Amor*.

Given the strength and persistence of these interrelated satirical traditions, one might be tempted to assume that the anticlerical sentiments voiced in some medieval Portuguese literary works are merely conventional, with no basis in the objective social, economic and political conditions of the period. But there is a third, and far more likely interpretation: that the indictments of the satirist spring from perfectly genuine feelings of outrage and indignation, which he prefers to express through accepted literary conventions. Consequently, and almost by definition, nuns are weak and promiscuous, friars are lascivious and venal, monks spend all their time hunting or eating, bishops seek higher office, archbishops practise simony and popes meddle in politics instead of leading crusades. The fact that the satirist

inveighs against clerical abuse in platitudes or commonplaces need not necessarily detract from the sincerity of his convictions. What we should question is the underlying motivation of those satirists who might have been writing in order to please a patron or express disgruntlement because their own ecclesiastical careers had been less than successful. As José Sánchez points out:

most of the anticlerical critics were clerics. The lower clergy envied the hierarchy's wealth, the diocesan clergy had no use for the religious orders, and even among the members of the orders there was endless bickering.<sup>211</sup>

This was certainly the case in the Portuguese towns of Santarém and Guimaraes, as we shall see in Chapter Three.

We should now enquire how the literary stereotypes correspond to social reality in medieval Portugal. Anticlerical satire, whether it uses humour, irony or invective usually focuses on the discrepancy between the proclaimed ideals of the Church and actual misconduct by the clergy. The satirist may exaggerate the flaws and failings he perceives, but in one form or another they are present. The clergy fall short of their own ideal, an ideal which requires very little elucidation; it is made explicit in the Bible, as in 1 Timothy 3: 2-4:

A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous.

and it is stated time and time again in the body of legislation (papal, conciliar and diocesan), doctrinal treatises, sermons and *exempla*, manuals for confessors and other writings of the medieval Church. Laymen also describe and promulgate the ecclesiastical ideal in a whole range of literary works. The recurring image is that of the Good Shepherd (John 10: 1-16), and the medieval prelate was expected to tend his flock.

Less easily clarified is the issue of clerical abuse. Misconduct by the clergy took many different forms and cannot be ascribed to any one single cause, especially when it was occurring over a period of centuries, each of which was marked by profound and often violent social and political change. It would be naive and simplistic to accept unreservedly the kind of blanket condemnation of the medieval Church that is proposed by historians such as Coulton and Flick.<sup>212</sup>

Rather, distinctions should be made between abuses that arise from the actual structures of the Church, which was, after all, an enormously unwieldy international institution, and those abuses that are the direct consequence of individual wrongdoing or personal inadequacy. Among the institutional defects of the Church must be numbered its financial and managerial policies; that is to say, the raising of funds through taxation or the sale of indulgences; the distribution of benefices; and the conferment of promotions. Carried out unwisely or by dishonest men, these policies could, and often did give rise to corruption, simony, absenteeism and pluralism.<sup>213</sup> The Church was also seriously damaged, both internationally and at local level, by the repercussions of the Black Death and the Great Schism. The former had grave implications for the recruitment of a literate and learned clergy,<sup>214</sup> and the latter engendered a crisis in faith, a loss of prestige for the Church as a whole, as well as bitter, frequently bloody divisions between different factions within countries, ecclesiastical provinces, dioceses and even cathedral chapters.<sup>215</sup>

Individual members of the clergy might bring the Church into disrepute in a number of ways. If the good bishop offered his flock the *triplex pabulum* of *verbum*, *factum* and *exemplum*, the bad bishop could well fail on all three counts by spending more time at court or the papal *curia* than in his own diocese. The parish priest might be ill-prepared to preach, teach or hear confession, and the monk, friar or priest might take a mistress and live in public concubinage, bringing up illegitimate sons and daughters who could themselves be destined for

an ecclesiastical career. Humberto Baquero Moreno has investigated the question of clerical concubinage in medieval Portugal, basing his conclusion on letters of legitimation for the period 1369 to 1438:

Se a situação moral do clero secular, como acabamos de observar, não apresenta uma boa perspectiva, nem por isso a do clero regular se nos mostra mais satisfatória.<sup>216</sup>

Similar judgments may be reached from an examination of supplications to the pope, episcopal constitutions or the records of the medieval *cortes*.<sup>217</sup>

Throughout our survey of the writings of the period, we have seen two contradictory views of the medieval Church: one involves right conduct by its representatives, who strive towards the ecclesiastical ideal, while the other reflects the wrong conduct or clerical delinquency that is depicted in the recurring literary stereotypes. If we set one against the other, we arrive at a clear series of oppositions, both in terms of activity and attitude (see appendix 1 for a tabulation of these oppositions). However, instead of simply accepting the ideal-reality dichotomy at face value, we prefer to introduce a further consideration, one which might be broadly described as the historically documented conduct of the medieval clergy, and which should enable us to reach slightly different, more accurate conclusions about the Portuguese clergy in the Middle Ages.

In Chapters Two and Three, therefore, we shall deal with the performance of the clergy in the spheres of self-regulation and moral teaching. Here we shall take as our point of departure the standards and norms established in the canons of IV Lateran and reiterated in subsequent ecclesiastical legislation. From there we shall move on to examine how the teachings and rulings of the Church could be put into effect; the means by which the Church imposed its rules and its discipline. As a result of this investigation, we will be in a better position to determine, firstly, how far there were genuine institutional attempts to regulate

behaviour, and secondly, whether there was a significant response to calls for moral and administrative reforms. To facilitate our analysis of ecclesiastical discipline in action, we shall examine two specific types of misconduct, both the forms they took and the people who indulged in them. Equally relevant is the official, institutional response to these activities. Two aspects of clerical misconduct that have received less attention from social and ecclesiastical historians involve superstition and gambling. Chapters Four and Five of this dissertation will therefore explore lay and clerical participation in superstitious practices and games of chance, and the corpus of legislation against these activities. As in our presentation of literary stereotypes earlier in this chapter, a comparative dimension will be introduced, and analogies will be drawn with other Western European societies.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Maria Adelaide Valle Cintra, *Bibliografia de Textos Medievais Portugueses*, Lisbon, 1960. Various scholars have commented on the lost literature of medieval Portugal. For example, António do Rosário in the preface to his article 'Letrados Dominicanos em Portugal nos séculos XII-XV', *Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España*, 7, Salamanca 1979, page 511: 'As causas comuns de destruição das velhas livrarias - crises culturais, como a subsequente à Peste Negra; intempéries, cheias, fogos, traças, incúrias, generalizada depreciação do manuscrito ante o aparecimento da imprensa ... -, em Portugal ajunta-se a calamidade do terramoto de 1755 e o incêndio que se lhe seguiu. Em S. Domingos de Lisboa, apontada por Ribeiro dos Santos como das melhores [bibliotecas], que existião antes do Terramoto, arderam, sô então, uns 5.000 manuscritos'. In the same letter, published in the *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 14 (1953), 454-455, Ribeiro dos Santos lists various lost libraries: the Bibliotheca Real (50.000 volumes, destroyed in 1755) and: '1.<sup>a</sup> do Duque de Lafões. 2.<sup>a</sup> A do Marquez do Lourical. 3.<sup>a</sup> A do Conde de Vimieiro. 4.<sup>a</sup> A Dominicana de Lisboa. 5.<sup>a</sup> E a Carmelitana da mesma cidade. 6.<sup>a</sup> A do Oratório. Que todos se queimarão. 7.<sup>a</sup> A dos Theatinos, ou Clerigos Regulares de S. Caetano de Lisboa'. Serafim da Silva Neto, in *Textos Medievais Portugueses e seus Problemas*, Rio de Janeiro 1956, has provided valuable information about literary and non-literary works known in medieval Portugal. Padre Avelino de Jesus da Costa's *Fragmentos Preciosos de Códices Medievais*, Braga 1949, is also useful. And in the words of Isaías da Rosa Pereira, 'Preciosidades Desconhecidas da Biblioteca Municipal de Sintra', *Escritos Vários (1938-1986)*, Lisbon 1986, page 81: 'existem em pequenos arquivos ignorados verdadeiras preciosidades e até documentos de alto valor histórico'.
2. See the article on 'demografia' in Joel Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal. Volume I*, Lisbon 1963, pages 795-796. Also, A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal. Volume I. Das Origens às Revoluções Liberais*, fourth edition, Lisbon, 1974.
3. See João Carlos Garcia, *O Espaço Medieval da Reconquista no Sudoeste da Península Ibérica*, Lisbon 1986.
4. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, 'La *Garcineida* de Garcíá de Toledo', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 7 (1953), pages 246-258.
5. G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, second edition, Oxford 1961, page 331.
6. R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, London, 1975, page 204. Note that Félix Lecoy includes Peter in his discussion of goliardic writers, in *Recherches sur le 'Libro de Buen Amor'*, edited by A. D. Deyermond, Westmead 1974.
7. *Códices Alcobacenses* 161, 35, 232. Listed in the *Inventário dos Códices Alcobacenses*, VI, Lisbon 1978, page 438 and page 495. See Mário Martins' comments in 'A biblioteca de Alcobaca e o seu fundo de livros espirituais', *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, Braga 1956, pages 257-262. Also H. Houwens Post in 'Obras de Gil Vicente como Elo de Transição', *Arquivo do Centro Cultural Português*, 9 (1975), page 102.
8. *Thomae de Chobham Summa Confessorum*, edited by F. Broomfield, in *Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia*, XXV, Louvain-Paris 1968. See also Helen F. Rubel, 'Chabham's Penitential and Its Influence in the Thirteenth Century', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 40 (1925), pages 225-239.



9. For a description of the Castilian and Portuguese MSS of this work, see Antonio García y García & Jesus M. Múgica, 'El Libro de las confesiones' de Martín Pérez, *Estudios sobre la canonística medieval portuguesa*, Madrid 1976, pages 201-217. The authors do not mention MS 713, Museo Lázaro Galdiano (see Charles Faulhaber, 'Some Private and Semi-private Spanish Libraries: Travel Notes', *La Corónica*, IV (1976), page 84) or the Escorial MS that I myself have identified as Martín Pérez's *Libro de las confesiones*, catalogued as MS. &. 11.11, Real Biblioteca de El Escorial. See also Derek W. Lomax, 'Notes sur un Métier: Les Jongleurs Castellans en 1316', *Les Espagnes médiévales. Aspects économiques et sociaux. Mélanges offerts à Jean Gautier Dalché. Extrait des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Nice*, 46 (1983), pages 229-236.
10. Mário Martins, 'O Livro das Confissões de Martim Pérez (Século XIV)', *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, pages 81-92. Idem, 'O Penitencial de Martim Pérez em Medievo-Português', Lisbon, 1957 (separata from *Lusitânia Sacra*, II 1957). See the *Livro dos Conselhos de El-Rei D. Duarte*, edited by A. H. de Oliveira Marques and João Alves Dias, Lisbon, 1982, page 208: 'Dous liuros de martym Peres' manual'. See António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'D. João Afonso de Azambuja, Cortesão, Bispo, Arcebispo, Cardeal e Fundador do Convento das Dominicanas do Salvador de Lisboa', in *Actas do III Encontro sobre História Dominicana. Tomo II. Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português*, IV/2 (1988), pages 88-89.
11. Mário Martins, *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, page 82.
12. Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, Oxford, 1968, page 103.
13. See Ruth Mohl, *The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, New York, 1962, page 123. The *Orto do Esposo* was edited by Bertil Maler, Rio de Janeiro, 1956, with two further volumes of commentary. The chapter containing the Twelve Abuses is in Volume I, pages 115-117. Mário Martins has an article on this chapter, 'Das Doze Abusões deste Mundo', in *Estudos de Cultura Medieval I*, Lisbon, 1969, pages 79-83.
14. Fragments of a fourteenth-century manuscript of a Portuguese translation of the *Libro de Buen Amor* have been found in the Biblioteca Municipal do Porto. There is also a work, *O açipreste, de fyta* listed among 'os liuros que tinha el rey dom duarte', in *Livro dos Conselhos del-Rei D. Duarte*, page 208. For discussion of the Portuguese version of *LBA*, see Antonio G. Solalinde, 'Fragmentos de una traducción portuguesa del *Libro del Buen Amor* de Juan Ruiz', *Revista de Filología Española*, 1 (1914), pages 162-172, and Lucius Gaston Moffat, 'An Evaluation of the Portuguese Fragments of the *Libro de Buen Amor*', *Symposium*, 10, (1956) pages 107-111.
15. See Mário Martins, 'Os Sete Tratados Cartusianos do Cód. CCLXXVI/199, de Alcobaça', *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, pages 162-167. Idem, 'O Castelo Perigoso na sua forma Original e numa Adaptação Francesa', *Brotéria*, 60 (1955), pages 56-65. Idem, 'O Castelo Perigoso em Português e no Original de Frei Roberto', *Brotéria*, 61 (1955) pages 291-296. Soeur Marie Brisson, 'Castelo Perigoso, Version Portugaise du *Chastel Périlleux*', *Romania*, 89, (1968), pages 256-266. The *Castelo Perigoso* was edited in Brazil by Augusto Magne in *Revista Filológica*, 4 (1942), pages 183-202; 5 (1942), pages 81-87; in *Verbum*, 2 (1945), pages 116-123, 233-238, 345-353, 458-469; 3 (1946) pages 78-89, 191-201, 298-307.
16. José Leite de Vasconcellos, 'Fabulário Português. Manuscrito do Século XV', *Revista Lusitana*, 8 (1903), pages 99-151, 311-312; 9 (1904), pages 5-109. See also George C. Keidel, 'Notes on Aesopic Fable Literature in Spain and Portugal during the Middle Ages', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 25 (1901), pages 721-730. Dorothy H. Claybourne and Chauncey E. Firth, 'The Fables of Aesop in the *Libro de Buen Amor* of Juan Ruiz', *Classical Journal*, 62 (1966-1967), pages 306-308.

17. See the following articles: John Matthews Manley, 'On the Question of the Portuguese Translation of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*', *Modern Philology*, 27 (1929-30), pages 467-472; P. E. Russell, 'Robert Payne and Juan de Cuenca, Translators of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*', *Medium Aevum*, 30 (1961), pages 26-32; R. Wayne Hamm, 'A Critical Evaluation of the *Confisyon del Amante*, the Castilian Translation of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*', *Medium Aevum*, 47 (1978), pages 91-106; Mário Martins, 'Dum Poema Inglês de John Gower e da Sua Tradução do Português para o Castelhana', *Didaskalia*, 9 (1979), pages 413-432.
18. John Manley Matthews, op. cit., page 472.
19. *Recherches sur le 'Libro de Buen Amor'*, page xxvi.
20. A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, second edition, Aldershot, 1988.
21. See Ruth Mohl, op. cit.; and also Jill Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire. The Literature of Social Classes and the 'General Prologue' to 'The Canterbury Tales'*, Cambridge, 1973, especially Appendix A, pages 203-206.
22. *De Contemptu Mundi. A Bitter Satirical Poem of 3000 Lines Upon the Morals of the XIIth Century by Bernard of Morval Monk of Cluny (fl.1150)*, edited by C. Hoskier, London, 1929. For discussion of this poem, see F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages II*, second edition, Oxford, 1957, pages 49-54.
23. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente. Volume I*, edited by Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, Lisbon 1983, pages 254-280.
24. *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters Von Chatillon*, edited by Karl Strecker, Heidelberg, 1929, page 101.
25. Mário Martins, *Laudes e Cantigas Espirituais de Mestre André Dias, escritas aos mil quatrocentos e trinta e cinco anos*, Lisbon, 1951, page 23.
26. *Ballade des dames du temps jadis in Oeuvres de François Villon*, edited by Jules de Marthold, Paris, 1921, pages 33-34. See also *Ballade des seigneurs du temps jadis*, pages 34-35 and *Ballade à ce propos*, en *Vieil François*, pages 35-36.
27. Mário Martins, *A Sátira na Literatura Medieval Portuguesa (Séculos XIII-XIV)*, Lisbon, 1977, page 121. Idem, 'A Alegoria do Pranto da Igreja por Frei Álvaro Pais,' in *Alegorias, Símbolos e Exemplos Morais da Literatura Medieval Portuguesa*, second edition, Lisbon, 1980, pages 153-158. Idem, *Laudes e Cantigas Espirituais de Mestre André Dias*, pages 21-26. Idem, 'Raízes Comuns entre o *Laudário* de Mestre André Dias e o *Laudário* de Pisa,' in *Estudos de Cultura Medieval, Volume III*, Lisbon, 1983, pages 259-287.
28. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Estudos sobre Álvaro Pais*, Lisbon, 1966, especially the chapter 'Lugar do Nascimento de Frei Álvaro Pais e Suas Relações com Portugal,' pages 41-51. Also João Morais Barbosa, *O 'De Statu et Planctu Ecclesiae'. Estudo Crítico*, Lisbon, 1982, 'As Referências a Portugal', pages 72-74; 'A Crítica Social', pages 79-94; 'As Referências à Península Ibérica', pages 95-96; 'Aperfeiçoamento do Texto', page 101; 'Conclusão', pages 101-103.
29. Eugenio López-Aydllo, 'Los cancioneros gallego-portugueses como fuentes históricas', *Revue Hispanique*, 57 (1923), particularly the chapter dealing with the concept of 'España' in the thirteenth century, pages 445-450. Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, *Das Origens da Poesia Lírica em Portugal na Idade Média*, Lisbon, 1929. Idem, *Lições de Literatura Portuguesa. Época*

*Medieval*, ninth edition, Coimbra, 1977. Frede Jensen, *The Earliest Portuguese Lyrics*, Odense, 1978, pages 185-199. See also Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares. Aspectos de la historia literaria y cultural de España*, seventh edition, Madrid, 1975, especially 'Carácter internacional de la juglaría: viajes de los juglares,' pages 64-77 and Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos I*, Santander, 1944, pages 213-256.

30. Jill Mann, op. cit., page 8.

31. See Alexander Clarence Flick, *The Decline of the Medieval Church. 2 Volumes*, London, 1930.

32. *Cantigas d'Escarnho e de Mal Dizer dos Cancioneiros Galego-Portugueses*, segunda edição acrescentada, edited by Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, Vigo, 1970. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. IV Volumes, edited by Walter Mettmann, Coimbra, 1959-1972.

33. *Libro de Buen Amor*, edited by Joan Corominas, Madrid, 1973.

34. *Orto do Esposo. Texto Inédito do Fim do Século XIV ou Começo do XV*. Volume I. Texto Crítico, edited by Bertil Maler, Rio de Janeiro, 1956.

35. See Mário Martins, *Laudes e Cantigas Espirituais de Mestre André Dias*, page 23.

36. Garcia de Resende, *Cancioneiro Geral. II volumes*, edited by Álvaro J. da Costa Pimpão and Aida Fernanda Dias, Coimbra, 1973.

37. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente. II Volumes*, edited by Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, Lisbon, 1983.

38. Rodrigues Lapa, *Lições de Literatura Portuguesa. Época Medieval*, pages 183-186.

39. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 33, pages 62-63. For detailed discussion of this topic, see Cayetano J. Socarras, *Alfonso X of Castile: A Study on Imperialistic Frustration*, Barcelona, 1976.

40. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 160, page 251. Compare with the examples cited by Karl Julius Holzknicht, 'Hints for Patronage and the Epistle Mendicant', *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages*, London, 1966 (reprint), pages 191-211.

41. Karl Julius Holzknicht, op. cit., page 31.

42. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 98, page 162. See Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, 'Em Volta de Sancho II', *Lusitânia*, 2 (1924), pages 7-25.

43. Relations between Church and State in medieval Portugal are mentioned in histories of Portugal, and in a series of articles published by ecclesiastical historians, but so far a definitive history of this topic has not been written. In this thesis, we shall be concerned with the relationship between Church and society as whole, and with perceptions of the rôle of the clergy rather than with actual conflicts between the Church and the Monarchy.

44. Jill Mann, op. cit., page 8. Gilbert Highet makes the same point in his *Anatomy of Satire*, Princeton, 1962, page 158: 'The central problem of satire is its relation to reality.'

45. Eugenio López-Aydillo, 'Los cancioneros gallego-portugueses', page 315.

46. J. Peter, *Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature*, Oxford, 1956. See also John A. Yunck, 'Medieval French Money Satire', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 21 (1960), pages 73-82. Idem, 'Economic Conservatism, Papal Finance, and the Medieval Satires on Rome', *Medieval Studies*, 23 (1961), pages 334-351. Idem, 'Dan Denarius: The Almighty Penny and the Fifteenth-Century Poets', *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, XX (1961), pages 207-222. Idem, *The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Medieval Venality Satire*. Publications in Medieval Studies, XVII, Notre Dame, 1963.
47. Suzanne Thiolier-Méjean, *Les Poésies satiriques et morales des troubadours du XIIIe siècle à la fin du XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1978.
48. Ibid., page 552. Indictments of the Church and clergy are found in the poems of Pierre Cardenal, *Ab Votz d'angel, Clergue si fan pastor, Qui volra sirventes auzir*, etc; Giraut Riquier, *Xpistias vey perilhar*; Guilhem de Cervera, *Lo vers de cels que fan perdre el mon*; Giraut de Bornelh, *De bels dichs menutz frais*; Guilhem de Montanhagol, *Del tot vey remaner valor, Pey lo mon fan li un dels autres rancura*, etc.
49. Eugenio López-Aydllo, 'Los cancioneros gallego-portugueses', page 315. For example in his chapter on 'La vida eclesiástica en el siglo XIII,' López-Aydllo writes: 'Todo cuanto en este punto nos refieren los cancioneros gallego-portugueses, viene confirmado por otras fuentes que robustecen las noticias que aquellos nos dan; así, en efecto, podemos hallar en el libro de Don Alvaro Paes, franciscano, Obispo de Silves, *De planctu ecclesiae*, un amplio cuadro de los vicios habituales en los clérigos y monjas de su tiempo, que como la circular de Alfonso IV de Portugal a los obispos y las quejas de las cortes de Santarém, en 1340, entre otros, ratifican plenamente la información de los cancioneros', page 467. Compare with Thiolier-Méjean's bald statement cited above.
50. Gilbert Highet, op. cit., page 16.
51. In point of fact, some of the miracles that Alfonso included in his compilation were already well known in the Peninsula. See for example Mettmann, *Cantigas II*, nº 191, page 228: '... e este miragre soubieron per tod' Espanna.'
52. Evelyn S. Procter, *Alfonso X of Castile: Patron of Literature and Learning*, Oxford, 1951, page 27. See also pages 28-46 for discussion of different miracles, when and where they took place.
53. Joseph Snow, *The Poetry of Alfonso X, el Sabio. A Critical Bibliography*, London, 1977, page 7.
54. M. Menéndez Pelayo, op. cit., page 181.
55. Loc. cit.
56. Evelyn Faye Wilson, *The 'Stella Maris' of John of Garland*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1946.
57. Richard Becker, *Gonzalo de Berceos 'Milagros' und Ihre Grundlagen*, Strasburg, 1910.
58. Aires Augusto Nascimento, article in *Didaskalia*, 9 (1980), pages 339-412.
59. Aires Augusto Nascimento, 'Testemunho Alcobacense de Fonte Latina de *Los Milagros de N.ª Señora de Gonzalo de Berceo*', *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, 1 (1981), pages 41-43.
60. Mettman, *Cantigas I*, nº 61, page 174.

61. Mettmann, *Cantigas I*, nº 33, page 97.
62. Mettmann, *Cantigas II*, nº 110, page 27. For a discussion of the parchment topos, see Irving Linn, 'If All the Sky were Parchment', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 53 (1938), pages 951-970.
63. Evelyn Procter, op. cit., page 28. Mettmann, *Cantigas III*, nº 374, pages 302-303.
64. John Esten Keller, *Pious Brief Narrative in Medieval Castilian and Galician Verse. From Berceo to Alfonso*, Lexington, 1978, page 83. Not seen: 'Folklore in the Cantigas of Alfonso el Sabio', *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, 23 (1959), pages 175-183.
65. Mário Martins, *Peregrinações e Livros de Milagres na Nossa Idade Média*, second edition, Lisbon, 1957, page 74.
66. Mettmann, *Cantigas I*, nº 55, pages 157-159.
67. *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame. Tome Deuxième*, edited by U. Frederic Koenig, Geneva/Paris, 1961, pages 246-254.
68. Mário Martins, *Peregrinações*, page 72.
69. Mettmann, *Cantigas III*, nº 338, page 218.
70. Mettmann, *Cantigas II*, nº 202, pages 259-260.
71. Mettmann, *Cantigas III*, nº 318, page 168.
72. Ibid., page 169.
73. Mettmann, *Cantigas I*, nº 7, pages 24-25; I, nº 55, pages 157-159; I, nº 258, pages 166-168; I, nº 59, pages 169-172; I, nº 94, pages 268-271; III, nº 285, pages 85-88.
74. See Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 37, page 39. Also H. da Gama Barros, *História da Administração Pública em Portugal nos Séculos XII a XV. Tomo II*, segunda edição dirigida por Torquato de Sousa Soares, Lisbon, 1945, pages 180-185.
75. *Libro de Buen Amor*, edited by Joan Corominas, Madrid, 1973.
76. *Recherches sur le Libro de Buen Amor*, page xxii.
77. Kemlin M. Laurence, 'The Battle between Don Carnal and Doña Cuaresma in the Light of Medieval Tradition,' *Libro de Buen Amor Studies*, edited by G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny, London, 1970, page 176.
78. *Libro de Buen Amor*. 'Enxiemplo de la propiedat qu'el dinero ha, stanzas 490-512', pages 225-231. 'De como los clérigos e legos e fraires e monjas e dueñas e joglares salieron a recebir a Don Amor', stanzas 1225-1265, pages 473-487. 'De cómo Trotaconventos consejó al arcipreste que amasse alguna monja, e de lo que le conteciò con ella', stanzas 1332-1507, pages 507-561.. 'Cántica de los clérigos de Talavera', stanzas 1690-1709, pages 625-631. Félix Lecoy's analysis of these passages has not been superseded: 'L'Inspiration Goliardique', *Recherches sur le Libro de Buen Amor*, pages 213-243.
79. Eliezer Oyola, *Los pecados capitales en la literatura medieval española*, Barcelona, 1979, page 13.

80. *Livro dos Conselhos de El-Rei D. Duarte*, page 208. Serafim da Silva Neto, *Textos Medievais Portugueses e Seus Problemas*, page 125.
81. Mário Martins, 'À Volta do Horto do Esposo', *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, pages 423-434. Ibid., 'A Filosofia do Homem e da Cultura', in *Horto do Esposo*, pages 435-446. 'Experiência Religiosa e Analogia Sensorial', in *Estudos de Cultura Medieval I*, pages 65-83. 'A Sátira no Horto do Esposo', in *A Sátira na Literatura Medieval Portuguesa*, pages 125-130. 'Do Horto do Esposo, da Bíblia e da Maneira de a ler e meditar', in *A Bíblia na Literatura Medieval Portuguesa*, Lisbon 1979, pages 51-59. 'As Alegorias e Exemplos do Horto do Esposo', in *Alegorias, Símbolos e Exemplos Morais*, pages 213-229.
82. Frederick K. Williams, 'Breve Estudo do Orto do Esposo com um Índice Analítico dos Exemplos', *Ocidente*, 74 (1968), pages 197-242.
83. Luciano Rossi, *A Literatura Novelística na Idade Média Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1979. Reviewed by P. A. Odber in *Medieval Sermon Studies Newsletter*, 7 (1980), pages 25-27.
84. R. F. Bennett, *The Early Dominicans. Studies in Thirteenth-Century Dominican History*, Cambridge, 1937, pages 88-89.
85. *Orto do Esposo I*, pages 251-252.
86. Ibid., pages 12-13. See Samuel Waxman, 'Chapters on Magic in Spanish Literature', *Revue Hispanique*, 38 (1916), pages 325-326. 'There were schools for the study of magic, where the great magicians were reputed to have learned their art, at Naples and Padua in Italy, at Orléans in France, but the most renowned of all were in Spain at Toledo, Seville, Cordova, and Salamanca'. On the same topic of Schools of Magic, see also Jaime Ferreiro Alemparte's scholarly article, 'La escuela de nigromancia de Toledo', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 13 (1983), pages 205-268. Ferreiro Alemparte discusses Latin and German sources for legends about the School of Toledo, and mentions, among other medieval figures, 'the Portuguese Faust', Frei Gil de Vouzela (d. 1265), (pages 220-221). Note his comment on page 209: 'España en la Edad Media tiene dos metas, una popular y otra elitista: Santiago y Toledo. Mientras la masa de peregrinos en abigarrada profusión se dirige a orar y solicitar la bendición ante la tumba del Apóstol en Compostela, las minorías ilustradas se encaminan a Toledo en busca de conocimiento'.
87. *Tragicomédia da Exhortação da Guerra*, in *Copilaçam de Todas as Obras de Gil Vicente II*, page 162.
88. *Orto do Esposo*, pages 321-322.
89. Ibid., page 18.
90. Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon*, edited by A. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1877, n° 256. Note that *De dono timoris*, part of Étienne's *Liber de septem donis Spiritus sancti*, is extant in *códice alcobacense* 35, National Library, Lisbon. The work is in a fifteenth-century hand, and is incomplete.
91. Mário Martins, *Laudes e Cantigas Espirituais de Mestre André Dias*, pages 22-24.
92. Ibid., page 23.
93. Loc. cit.

94. Loc. cit.
95. Ibid., page 24.
96. Loc. cit.
97. *Livro das Confissões* 377, folio 82r, col.2.
98. Frei João Álvares, *Obras. Volume II. Cartas e Traduções*, edited by Adelino de Almeida Calado, Coimbra, 1959.
99. Idem, *Carta scripta no Vila de bruseles e Livro de alguns Sermões de Sancto Agostinho enviado aos Frades Heremitas*, page 95.
100. *Cancioneiro Geral I*, nº 29, pages 69-70.
101. Andrée Crabbé Rocha, *Aspectos do Cancioneiro Geral*, Coimbra, 1949, page 46.
102. Kenneth R. Scholberg, *Sátira e invectiva en la España medieval*, Madrid, 1971, page 256. This view is shared by M. Rodrigues Lapa, *Lições de Literatura Portuguesa. Época Medieval*, pages 441-444.
103. See A. D. Deyermond, *A Literary History of Spain. The Middle Ages*, London, 1971, page 130.
104. Jole Ruggieri, *Il Canzoniere di Resende*, Geneva, 1931. Aida Fernanda Dias, *O 'Cancioneiro Geral' e a Poesia Peninsular de Quatrocentos (Contactos e Sobrevivência)*, Coimbra, 1978. See also Aida Fernanda Dias's earlier study, *O Cancioneiro Português do Museu Condé de Chantilly*, Coimbra, 1966.
105. *Cancioneiro Geral II*, nº 542, page 30.
106. Rodrigues Lapa, *Lições de Literatura Portuguesa. Época medieval*, page 450.
107. *Tragicomédia dos Agravados in Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente II*, page 307.
108. See the reference to Rodrigo Álvares, chapter three, page 194.
109. *Cancioneiro Geral I*, nº 57, page 90. Note Rodrigues Lapa's comment on this poem, in *Lições de Literatura Portuguesa. Época Medieval*, page 449: 'E a mais admirável poesia satírica do *Cancioneiro* é um dos grandes poemas sociais de toda a literatura portuguesa. Produção dum homem velho, fidalgo e pobre, não conformado com o novo teor da vida, tão diferente da antiga, sente-se nela o espanto escandalizado que provoca ao autor um sem-número de vícios, inexistentes no bom tempo passado'.
110. Airas Nunes, *clérigo*, in Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 69, page 115.
111. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente I*, page 214. Compare these lines with the restored version published by Luiz Francisco Rebello, *Os Autos das Barcas*, second edition, Lisbon, 1975, page 40:

Frade:	Por minha a tenho eu e sempre a tive de meu.
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Diabo:                      Fizestes bem, que é formosa!  
                                  E não vós punham lá grossa  
                                  no vosso convento sagrado?

Frade:                      E eles faziam outro tanto!

112. *Cancioneiro Geral* II, nº 878, page 323.

113. *Tragicomédia dos Agravados*, in *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente II*, pages 306-307. Compare this with one of the questions that the confessor is to put to the penitent, in *Livro das Confissões* 378, folio 64r., col.2: 'Confessese se pensou ou cubijçou aver en sy synaaes de santo assy como amarelo ou magro'. Also in Mário Martins, *O Penitencial de Martim Perez em Medievo-Português*, from *códice alcobacense* 213.

114. *Cancioneiro Geral* I, nº 93, page 124.

115. *Ibid.*, nº 801, page 264.

116. *Loc. cit.*

117. *Ibid.*, page 265.

118. Neil T. Miller, *Obras de Henrique da Mota (As Origens do Teatro Ibérico)*, Lisbon, 1982, page 180.

119. For discussion of the *Dies Irae*, possibly written by Thomas of Celano, O.F.M. (d. 1255), see F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry. From the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, second edition, Oxford, 1953, pages 443-452. This Latin poem on the Last Judgment is based on Zephaniah I: 14-16: 'The great day of the Lord is near, and hasteth greatly, even the voice of the day of the Lord: the mighty man shall cry there bitterly. That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of the trumpet and alarm against the fenced cities, and against the high towers'. Raby discusses attitudes to the Day of Judgment, 'for the Medieval Christian, the Day of Judgment was almost wholly a day of terror' (page 445), examines possible sources for the poem, considers its origins and its liturgical uses, and publishes the original text in full. See also J. C. Payen, 'Le *Dies Irae* dans la prédication de la mort et des fins dernières au moyen âge', *Romania*, 86 (1965), pages 48-76.

120. *Cancioneiro Geral* I, nº 801, page 265. Compare these lines with those of the *Responsorium* (Raby, *op.cit.*, page s 445-446):  
 'libera me, domine, de morte aeterna in die ille tremenda:  
 quando caeli movendi sunt et terra'.

121. *Cancioneiro Geral*, page 265.

122. Neil T. Miller, *op. cit.*, page 183.

123. *Ibid.*, pages 183-184.

124. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 199, page 304.

125. *Cancioneiro Geral* II, nº 797, page 253.

126. *Loc. cit.*



127. Lamentations: 12.
128. *Cancioneiro Geral II*, page 254.
129. Job 19: 21.
130. *Cancioneiro Geral II*, page 254.
131. Ibid., page 255.
132. Loc. cit.
133. Loc. cit. I am grateful to Monsieur Gérard Dahan for his suggestion that this passage is a parodic reminiscence of the Song of Songs: 'For thy love is better than wine, I am black but comely. He also points out that within Jewish tradition, wine stands for knowledge; therefore, if the cleric has lost his wine, this could imply that the Church has lost touch with God.
134. *Cancioneiro Geral II*, page 253.
135. Neil T. Miller, op. cit., page 237.
136. Jorge Manrique, *Cancionero*, Madrid, 1929, pages 185-187.
137. *Copilaçam de Todas as Obras de Gil Vicente II*, page 652. Compare with Jorge Manrique, op. cit.:  
         'y e sabido cómo beue  
         contino sobre un brial'.
138. *Copilaçam de Todas as Obras de Gil Vicente II*, page 656.
139. Ibid., page 661.
140. Loc. cit.
141. F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages. Volume II*, second edition, Oxford, 1957, page 176.
142. Ibid., pages 181-183.
143. Pierre Le Gentil, *La Poésie lyrique espagnole et portugaise à la fin du moyen âge. Première partie: les thèmes et les genres*, Rennes, 1949, pages 202 and 455.
144. François Villon, *Oeuvres*, edited by Jules Marthold, Paris, 1921, page 70. Compare this line with Maria Parda's 'A minha alma encomendo a Noé e a outrém não', page 660.
145. Ibid., page 13.
146. Ibid., page 67.
147. *Cancioneiro Geral II*, pages 653-654. Edward A. Riggio, 'The Originality of Gil Vicente's Maria Parda', *Journal of the American Portuguese Cultural Society*, 3 (1969), pages 48-49.
148. Edward A. Riggio, op. cit., pages 45-46.

149. Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, edited by Dorothy S. Severin, second edition, Madrid, 1971, page 82.
150. *Copilaçam de Todas as Obras de Gil Vicente II*, pages 517-546. See Anthony Zahareas, 'Parody of the Canonical Hours: Juan Ruiz's Art of Satire', *Modern Philology*, 62 (1964), pages 105-109. Also, Otis Green's earlier study, 'On Juan Ruiz's Parody of the Canonical Hours', *Hispanic Review*, 26 (1958), pages 12-34.
151. Stephen Reckert, *Espírito e letra de Gil Vicente*, Lisbon, 1983, pages 179-182.
152. See Mário Martins, *Introdução Histórica à Vidência do Tempo e da Morte. I. Da Destemporalização Medieval até ao 'Cancioneiro Geral' e a Gil Vicente*, Braga, 1969. See also Leonard P. Kurtz, *The Dance of Death and the Macabre Spirit in European Literature*, Geneva, 1975 (reprint from Columbia University, 1934). Not seen, Anna Krause, *Jorge Manrique and the Cult of Death in the Cuatrocientos*, Berkeley, 1937.
153. *Copilaçam de Todas as Obras de Gil Vicente I*, page 158.
154. *Ibid.*, page 271.
155. *Ibid.*, page 274.
156. *Ibid.*, pages 276-277.
157. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 402, page 592. See Elisa María Ferreira Priegue's article 'Chegou Paio de Maas Artes', *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, 31 (1978-1980), pages 361-369.
158. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, 'Nuevas notas para la interpretación del *Libro de Buen Amor*', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 13 (1959), pages 65 and following.
159. Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric. Volume II. Medieval Latin Love-Poetry*, second edition, Oxford, 1968, pages 357-360.
160. *Copilaçam de Todas as Obras de Gil Vicente II*, page 314.
161. Rameline E. Marsan, *Itinéraire espagnol du conte médiéval (VIIIe - XVe siècles)*, Paris, 1974, pages 259-270.
162. Mário Martins, *Laudes e Cantigas Espirituais de Mestre André Dias*, page 24.
163. Peter Dronke, op. cit., Volume I. *Problems and Interpretations*, pages 277-281; Volume II, pages 353-356.
164. *Libro de Buen Amor*, page 507.
165. Mettmann, *Cantigas I*, nº 58, pages 166-168.
166. *Ibid.*, nº 94, pages 268-271.
167. *Copilaçam de Todas as Obras de Gil Vicente I*, page 155.
168. See note 73 for a list of poems dealing with this topic. Also, Connie L. Scarborough, 'Verbalization and Visualization in MS. T.I.1. of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: The Theme of the Runaway Nun' in *Studies on the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria': Art, Music, Poetry*. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X, el

Sabio (1221-1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year - 1981 (New York, November 19-21), co-editors Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, Madison, 1987, pages 135-154. See also Armando Cotarelo y Villador, *Una cantiga célebre del Rey Sabio. Fuentes y desarrollo de la leyenda de Sor Beatriz, principalmente en la literatura española*, Madrid, 1904, and Robert Guiette, *La Légende de la Sacristine: Études de littérature comparée*, Paris, 1927.

169. Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate. A History of Women in the Middle Ages*, London, 1983, page 48. In the *Orto do Esposo*, pages 321-322, an abbess gives birth to a son but is saved from disgrace by the Virgin. The child later grows up to become a bishop.

170. Humberto Baquero Moreno, 'Subsídios para o Estudo da Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa: Moralidade e Costumes'. Unpublished dissertation, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa, 1961, page 158.

171. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 148, page 236.

172. Jill Mann, op. cit., page 225.

173. Paul Teyssier, *Gil Vicente - o Autor e a Obra*, Lisbon, 1982, page 124-125.

174. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente II*, page 412.

175. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente I*, page 214.

176. Ibid., page 102.

177. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 147, page 235.

178. *Libro de Buen Amor*, page 479.

179. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente II*, pages 112-138. The *Fragua* is on pages 138-161.

180. Ibid., page 289.

181. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente I*, page 213; II, page 409.

182. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente II*, page 307.

183. Rita Hamilton, 'The Digression on Confession in the *Libro de Buen Amor*,' in *Libro de Buen Amor Studies*, page 157.

184. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente Volume II*, page 306.

185. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 17, page 30. See Frank R. Holliday, 'The Relations between Alfonso X and Pero da Ponte', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa*, 3ª série, 4 (1960), pages 152-164.

186. *Cancioneiro Portuguez da Vaticana*, edited by Teófilo Braga, Lisbon, 1878, nº123, page 125.

187. Kenneth R. Scholberg, *Sátira e invectiva en la España medieval*, page 51.

188. Jean-Marie d'Heur, *Troubadours d'Oc et troubadours galiciens-portugais. Recherches sur quelques échanges dans la littérature de l'Europe au moyen âge*, Paris, 1973.
189. Suzanne Thiolier-Méjean, op. cit., page 545.
190. Walter of Châtillon, *Propter Sion non tacebo*, edited by Karl Strecker in *Moralisch-Sartirische Gedichte Walters Von Chatillon*, pages 18-30. Peire Cardenal, *Clergue si fan pastor*, edited by Rene Lavaud in *Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal (1180-1278)*, Toulouse, 1957, pages 170-175. Airas Nunes, clerigo, *Por que no mundo mengou a verdade*, in Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, pages 115-116.
191. Mário Martins, 'Poesias Goliardas em Espanha', in *Estudos de Cultura Medieval II*, Braga, 1972, pages 81-93. See also Luis Antonio Villena, 'El goliardismo en España', op. cit., pages 93-107.
192. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, 'La *Garcineida* de García de Toledo', page 257.
193. José Luis Moralejo, 'El cancionero erótico de Ripoll en el marco de la lírica mediolatina', *Prohemio*, 4, (1973), page 141.
194. Peter Dronke, op. cit., Volume I, page 247.
195. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, London, 1979, pages 48-51.
196. *Inventário dos Códices Alcobacenses VI*, Lisbon, 1978, page 476: 'Marbodus Redonensis, Passio Sancti Laurencii Martiris', *códice* 245.
197. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Textos medieval españoles. Ediciones críticas y estudios*, Madrid, 1976. A. D. Deyermond, *A Literary History of Spain*, page 114.
198. José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica de la literatura española. Tomo II*, Madrid, 1862, pages 353-354, 356-357.
199. Mário Martins, 'Poesias Goliardos em Espanha', page 90.
200. Mário Martins, 'O Fragmento Goliárdico do Cód. Alc. 34', in *Estudos de Cultura Medieval II*, pages 95-103.
201. See *Recherches sur le Libro de Buen Amor*, pages 213-243.
202. Jill Mann, op. cit., page 8.
203. Ricardo García-Villoslada, *La poesía rítmica de los goliardos medievales*, Madrid, 1975, page 8: 'No eran goliardos por su modo de vivir, sino por su modo de versificar, ya que, en mi opinión - que no sé cuántos compartirán -, la poesía goliárdica debe definirse, no tanto por el tema liviano de las canciones, o por la vida bohemia y libertina de sus autores, cuanto por la naturaleza de su verso: rítmico y acentual o silábico, propio de las lenguas vernáculas, en contraposición al verso clásico de pies cuantitativos.'
204. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos. Volume VI*, Santander, 1944, page 31.
205. Cited by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa. Aspectos da Vida Quotidiana*, third edition, Lisbon, 1974, page 244: 'Num doc. de 1339 sobre as funções y

dos corregedores, existente no A.N.T.T. (Forais Antigos, m.10, no.7, f.54), mencionam-se goliardos e foules que lhes estariam próximos: 'Como deuem fazer os homeens que nom am mester e amdam golyardos, e goules pela uila, e pera esto nom fazerem'.

206. Álvaro Pais, *Espelho dos Reis. Volume I*, edited by Miguel Pinto de Meneses, Lisbon, 1955, page 289.

207. *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso IV (1325-1357)*, edited by A. H. de Oliveira Marques *et al.*, Lisbon, 1982, page 152.

208. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'Leis Atentatórias das Liberdades Eclesiásticas e o Papa Martinho V contrário aos Concílios Gerais,' in *Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica, Festgabe für Prof. Luchesius G. Spatling O.F.M.*, Herausgegeben van Isaac Vazquez, Rome, 1977, page 529. The actual laws promulgated by D. João I in 1419 are recorded in the *Livro das Ordenações*, Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, document no.20.

209. Mário Martins, 'Poesias Goliardos em Espanha', pages 86-88.

210. *Inventário dos Códices Alcobacenses VI*, page 465.

211. José Sanchez, *Anticlericalism: A Brief History*, Notre Dame, 1972, page 37.

212. G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion. V Volumes*, Cambridge, 1923-50. Alexander Clarence Flick, *op. cit.*

213. See for example Leonard E. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400*, London, 1981.

214. See for example chapters five and eight of A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV* in *Nova História de Portugal. Volume IV*, edited by Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Lisbon, 1986.

215. Júlio César Baptista, 'Portugal e o Cisma do Ocidente', *Lusitânia Sacra*, 1 (1956), pages 65-203.

216. Humberto Baquero Moreno, *op. cit.*

217. H. da Gama Barros, *op. cit.*

## CHAPTER 2

### COUNCILS, SYNODS AND VISITATIONS

The main issue in this and the following chapter is whether the clergy in medieval Portugal were adequately performing those tasks considered proper to their estate and allotted to them by the canons of IV Lateran, or whether they were in fact neglecting their duties and failing to fulfil their responsibilities. To address these questions we must first clarify the nature of those obligations then examine the literature of the period in order to determine trends and norms in clerical conduct.

The medieval Church had many roles and responsibilities, all of them interrelated and interdependent. It is not easy to establish where one task ends and another begins. Strict definitions do not exist, only all-embracing categories. In any case, it is extremely doubtful whether any medieval prelate would have conceived or even accepted such distinctions in his work.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, for the purposes of this discussion, some dividing lines must be drawn.

Broadly speaking, two spheres of action can be singled out, the international and the national. We can further specify three main types of endeavour, undertaken in either or both of these: evangelization; administration and lawmaking; the *cura animarum*.

Evangelization, in the medieval context, might be an international or national undertaking. In the latter case, the astonishing rapidity with which the Friars Preacher and Friars Minor became implanted in the Iberian Peninsula points to a deeply felt need for the Christian message. On the international front, evangelization entails taking the Word of God to the peoples of other countries and continents, Africa, Asia, South America. The task of proselytization might be carried out by small, dedicated groups of friars willing to undergo

martyrdom,<sup>2</sup> or it might involve a full-scale crusade. The importance attributed to the crusading ideal is amply attested by the abundant:

crusade excitatoria which from the inception of the first crusade became common throughout Europe. Letters, sermons, chronicles and especially poetry.<sup>3</sup>

Evangelization and church legislation are inextricably linked. Virtually all of the ecumenical councils of the Middle Ages have, as one of their objectives, the recovery of Palestine and defeat of the Saracen, and the canons of these councils are periodically reinforced by bulls such as Innocent IV's *Terra Sancta* and *Cum zelo fidei*, 1245, and Nicholas IV's *Terre Sancte*, 1291. These serve to remind us that it was not always necessary to cross the Mediterranean to fight the Moor. The Crusade could be undertaken just as easily within the territorial confines of the Iberian Peninsula, either with massed armies, as at the Battle of Salado, 1340, or 'por buenas palabras et convenientes predicaciones'.<sup>4</sup>

Any appraisal of clerical behaviour - either good or delinquent - must necessarily include an assessment of the extent to which the Portuguese clergy participated in the legislative processes of their Church, formulating, promulgating and implementing laws. The decision-making process, the devising and systematization of canon law, as well as measures to promote reform, were realized through various procedures carried out at different levels with the collaboration of specific groups of churchmen. The most important of these procedures was the Ecumenical or General Council, international in character and presided over by the Pope or his representative. Next come the Particular Councils; the distinction between these is not always clear, but broadly speaking they comprise the Provincial, the National and the Diocesan Council. In the first of these, the Metropolitan presides over a council constituted by his suffragan bishops. The Provincial Council does not always respect national boundaries since ecclesiastical frontiers do not invariably coincide with political ones. Secondly, there are

of national interest. Finally, at the most local level, there is the Diocesan Council or Synod, where the clergy of one diocese is summoned by the bishop. No matter what the designation, however, there can be no disputing the essential purpose of any and all of these kinds of council:

Councils provide a meeting of minds for the solution of common needs and problems, such as the correction of abuses, the increase of the faith, and the safeguarding of morality.<sup>5</sup>

It was one of the stated duties of the bishops to be present at Church councils. Were a prelate unable to attend in person, he could depute a proctor to go in his place. Clearly there were practical reasons why a bishop should attend the great meetings of the Church. How else could he keep abreast of new developments and decisions, contribute to the resolution of international problems or protect his own local and national interests? If a diocese were unrepresented, its clergy might well remain in complete ignorance of resolutions and rulings that had important implications for their own organisation and practices. Conciliar activity was essential if the bishops were to give adequate guidance to those ranked below them in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>6</sup>

Portuguese conciliar activity has been described at some length by Fortunato de Almeida.<sup>7</sup> If we add to this information that which is available from other, more recently published works,<sup>8</sup> it is possible to establish which Portuguese prelates, jurists and noblemen participated in major Church assemblies, particularly Ecumenical Councils (see appendices 2, 3 and 4).

IV Lateran was attended by the Archbishop of Braga, D. Estêvão Soares de Silva. The diocese of Oporto was represented by its bishop D. Julião, and the canons Pedro Salvador and Melendo Gonçalves. Also in attendance were the Bishops of Coimbra, Lisbon and Guarda, D. Pedro Soeiro, D. Soeiro Viegas and D. Martinho Paes. Apparently unrepresented were the



dioceses of Lamego, Évora and Viseu, but the Bishops of Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, whose dioceses incorporated Portuguese parishes, were present. Such representation should have ensured that the canons of IV Lateran were widely known and put into effect in Portugal. However, the earliest recorded synod to take place in Portugal after 1215 was not convoked until around 1240. While this suggests a certain laxity in observing canon 6,<sup>9</sup> one scholar proffers the following explanation:

The factors of time, distance, local prejudices, and passive resistance, especially the latter, often reduced the efforts of the supreme external authority to very little account.<sup>10</sup>

Portuguese bishops were also present at I Lyons (1245) although their motives may not have entirely coincided with those of Innocent IV in convening in this council:

The council was convoked by Innocent IV to deal with what, in his opening sermon, he called the five wounds of the Church, viz., the bad lives of the clergy and faithful, the danger of the Saracens, the Greek Schism, the invasion of Hungary by the Tartars, and the rupture between the Church and the Emperor Frederick II.<sup>11</sup>

The Archbishop of Braga, D. João Egas, the Bishop of Oporto, D. Pedro Salvador, the Bishop Elect of Coimbra, D. Tibúrcio, D. Vicente, Bishop of Guarda, and the Bishop of Lisbon, D. Aires Vasques, who was resident in the *curia*, - all these prelates present at the Council, were, if Herculano's interpretation of events is to be accepted, part of a much wider conspiracy to enlist the support of the Pope, depose D. Sancho II and set D. Afonso, Count of Boulogne, on the throne of Portugal.<sup>12</sup>

II Lyons (1274) was also attended by a number of Portuguese prelates, among them D. Pedro Julião, Archbishop Elect of Braga, and soon to become Pope John XXI; D. Durando, Bishop of Évora, D. Frei Vasco of Guarda, in exile in Lyons;<sup>13</sup> D. Ordonho Álvares, Bishop of Salamanca, whose diocese included various Portuguese parishes and who in 1275 was elevated to the archbishopric of Braga; D. Estêvão Martins, Abbot of Alcobaça, and D. Álvaro Martins, Abbot of Santo Tirso.

Among those who participated in the Council of Vienne (1311-1312) were a number of high-ranking Portuguese clerics; the Archbishop of Braga, D. Martinho de Oliveira; D. Frei Estêvão, Bishop of Oporto;<sup>14</sup> the Bishop of Lamego, D. Rodrigo. Also present was D. Geraldo Domingues, Bishop of Palencia. Formerly Bishop of Oporto, he was later translated to the See of Évora. The Bishops of Tuy, D. João, and of Viseu, D. Egas,<sup>15</sup> were also present.

Members of the Portuguese clergy were also in evidence at Pisa (1409), a council convoked by cardinals of the two obediences in order to end the Great Schism: Archbishop D. João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja of Lisbon; D. Gonçalo Gonçalves of Lamego; Frei Fernando de Portugal, O.F.M.; Frei João de Xira, O.F.M.; Mestre Lourenço Afonso, Provincial of the Austin Friars; Mestre André Dias; Dr. Lançarote, secretary to D. João I; João Afonso de Brito; Álvaro Afonso de Nogueira; Dr. Diogo Martins. The numbers and status of the Portuguese representatives are a measure of the seriousness with which D. João I viewed this Council; even though its ecumenicity was disputed, he still sent his best men to represent Portuguese interests and intervene in the resolution of the Schism.

The next general council is that held at Constance (1414-1418):

The council was convoked in 1414 by Pope John XXVIII at the instigation of the Emperor Sigismund. Its purpose was to end the Great Schism and also to reform the Church and combat heresy.<sup>16</sup>

Portuguese attendance at this council, which culminated in the election of Martin V, was intermittent. In 1414, according to Fortunato de Almeida:

De Portugal consta que estavam dois representantes, um cavaleiro e um arcediago, cujos nomes se ignora.<sup>17</sup>

In 1416, D. João I's ambassadors to the Council were D. Fernando de Castro and D. Álvaro Gonçalves de Ataíde, Gil Peres, Canon of Coimbra and Viseu, and Vasco Martins. António Domingues de Sousa Costa offers a slightly different, and more reliable list of Portuguese participants: D. Fernando de Castro, Álvaro Fernandes de Ataíde, Dr. Gil Martins, Dr. Vasco Peres de Elvas, future Bishop of Oporto and Évora and the secretary António Martins.<sup>18</sup> This list seems to be based on the journal of the papal notary Jacob Cerretano, 1416:

On Monday, June 1, four solemn envoys from the King of Portugal and Algarve, two knights and two doctors, with about forty horse entered Constance (...). The names of the said envoys are as follows: Lord Ferdinand of Castro, Lord Alvaro Gonsalvez Datayde, Knights, Lord Egidio Martinez, doctor of law, Lord Valasco Perez, doctor of both laws (...). On Friday, the fifth of June, there was a general congregation in the usual place of session, when the solemn envoys of the most serene King of Portugal and Algarve ascended the pulpit and stated their mission, as given below. The learned doctor of law, Lord Egidio Martinez, one of the said ambassadors, was the speaker. Afterwards, Master Anthony Martinez, secretary of the same lord King, read their mandate in full.<sup>19</sup>

Also a 'figura de relevo no concílio', according to Sousa Costa, was Mestre André Dias:

pelas suas ideias de reforma e certo inconformismo nos sermões por ele aí pronunciados.<sup>20</sup>

Garcia Rodrigues de Magalhães, then Canon of Braga, was also present at this council.<sup>21</sup>

One aspect of Portuguese conciliar activity should not be overlooked, that of pre-empting territorial conflicts that might stem from the Discoveries, with all their promise of new lands, wealth and power.

Following the capture of Ceuta (1415), *Master Anthony Martinez* reported to the Council of Constance:

With this, by the will of the Most High, he (the King) has happily conquered the city called Ceuta, whose harbour he attacked. The name of the damned Mahomet has been erased and expunged, and Christ is this day worshipped there and adored.<sup>22</sup>

In making this announcement, the Portuguese delegates no doubt wished to share their good news with fellow Christians, and establish their worthiness to take part in and strongly influence the outcome of the Council. But they were also, in some sense, staking their claim to North African territory, as will be seen in the Council of Basle.<sup>23</sup>

Mention should be made of the Council of Pavia-Siena (1423-1424). Transferred from Pavia to Siena because of an outbreak of plague, this council is not generally considered ecumenical. Rather, historians tend to regard it as French since it was convoked at the insistence of the University of Paris. Though attendance was very poor, we know that the Dean of Lamego was present. The council failed in its purpose, which was to resolve the ongoing conflict between Pope and upper clergy. The whole question of papal authority continued unresolved, until the next Ecumenical Council of the Middle Ages.

The Council of Basle was convoked by Martin V and opened on 23 July 1431. The third of the so-called reforming councils, it was summoned:

para extirpação da heresia hussita, reforma da igreja e negociação com os Gregos.<sup>24</sup>

The council opened in Basle, but was then shifted to Ferrara in 1437 by Eugenius IV by the bull *Doctoris gentium*. It transferred to Florence in January 1439, and finally to Rome, in 1443. For the Portuguese, the sequence of events was as follows. D. João I was asked to send ambassadors and prelates to the Council to represent the Portuguese. In a letter dated 25 May 1433, he responded to the Fathers of the Council, and shortly afterwards, in attendance at the Council were D. Luís Gonçalves do Amaral, Bishop of Viseu, and Rui Dias, Dean of Braga and procurador of his archbishop, D. Fernando da Guerra. D. Luís's intervention in this council has been well-documented, doubtless due to the fact that by acting according to the dictates of his own conscience, he went against the other Portuguese

delegates, was excommunicated and deposed.<sup>25</sup> By 1436, Portuguese interests, or rather, those of D. Duarte, were now represented by a very substantial embassy, led by the Count of Ourém, and including D. Antão Martins de Chaves, Bishop of Oporto, Rui Dias, Dean of Braga and future Bishop of Silves; Mestre Frei Gil Lobo, O.F.M.; Frei João de S.Tomé, O.S.A.; Mestre Gonçalo Mendes, Provincial of the Dominicans; D. Frei Gomes de Florença, Benedictine abbot; Vasco Fernandes de Lucena and Diogo Afonso Mangancha, canon and civil lawyers.

A rapid glance at the numbers and status of those Portuguese clerics deputed to attend the late medieval General Councils would seem to indicate the very real need felt by the Avis monarchs to keep abreast of international affairs, and have some influence on the management of the Church. Whether they gave priority to the need for a healthy, united Church, or whether they more concerned with promoting Portuguese interests is debatable. Certainly, throughout this period, there is a constant flow of supplications to the papacy, requesting all manner of support in the new overseas undertakings.<sup>26</sup> This is not to suggest that the bargain was one-sided. Through the efforts of the Portuguese, the Church finally achieved its 'crusade' in North Africa and extended its spiritual domain to hitherto uncharted territories in Africa and Brazil.

Despite the unequivocal rulings of canon 16, IV Lateran,<sup>27</sup> Provincial Councils were not held every year in medieval Portugal; National Councils, too, were extremely infrequent. Fortunato de Almeida mentions two National Councils, Braga 1262 and Santarém 1333, and one Provincial Council, Braga 1426;<sup>28</sup> in 1941 Alberto Feio published details of what he believed to be an unknown Provincial Council celebrated in Braga in 1261.<sup>29</sup> In fact, Fidel Fita had pre-empted him by publishing the same details, taken from the same manuscript, in 1893.<sup>30</sup> Even if allowances are made for missing documents or lost manuscripts of *actas*, the list of Provincial and National Councils is remarkably short, and would seem to confirm Peter

Linehan's views about ecclesiastical negligence in the Iberian Peninsula after both IV Lateran and the legatine visit of Jean d'Abbeville.<sup>31</sup>

It is easy to criticize the Portuguese prelates for failing to convene councils, but more usefully, perhaps, we might look for reasons for this apparent dereliction of duty. Firstly, it should be remembered that until fairly late in the fourteenth century, not all of the Portuguese bishops were answerable to a Portuguese metropolitan. Up to 1393 Braga had as its suffragan dioceses Oporto, Viseu and Coimbra in Portugal, and Mondoñedo, Tuy, Lugo, Orense and Astorga in Castilian territory. The Bishops of Lisbon, Évora, Guarda and Lamego, on the other hand, were suffragans of Santiago de Compostela, and Silves owed its obedience to Seville. Adjustments were then made to bring ecclesiastical frontiers into line with national boundaries. In the bull *In eminentissimae dignitatis*, 10 November 1393, Boniface IX elevated the See of Lisbon to the dignity of Metropolis; Lamego, Guarda and Évora were now its suffragan dioceses. Mondoñedo, Tuy, Orense, Lugo and Astorga were transferred to the Compostela obedience in 1394. Historians attribute this change to the situation created by the wars between Portugal and Castile, and to the fact that during the Great Schism, Castile followed the Avignon Pope, while after some vacillation, Portugal adhered to the Rome obedience.<sup>32</sup> Questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and responsibility were further complicated by the geographical accident that certain Castilian bishoprics included Portuguese parishes:

O bispo de Badajoz exercia jurisdição em Olivença, Campo Maior, Ouguela e noutros lugares de Portugal. Ao prelado de Cidade Rodrigo estavam sujeitos o concelho de Castelo Rodrigo e as demais terras de Cima Côa...O bispo de Tui estendia sua jurisdição às terras de entre Minho e Lima, onde também possuía, com o seu cabido, igrejas e propriedades doadas em diferentes épocas por príncipes e pessoas particulares. Na segunda metade do século XIV tinha o bispo de Tui vigários que naquelas terras portuguesas o representavam no exercício da jurisdição.<sup>33</sup>

As a consequence of the Schism, an administrator took over the Portuguese parishes previously controlled by the Bishop of Badajoz. D. Rodrigo of Ciudad Rodrigo moved to

Portugal where he was an active supporter of D. João I while continuing to administer the Portuguese part of the diocese.<sup>34</sup> Those clerics in Tuy who opted to follow Rome moved to Portugal and set up a new chapter in Sup a new chapter in Santo Estêvão de Valença, first with D. Toríbio as their superior, then Don Juan Manrique. Once the Schism had ended, the Portuguese territories remained under Portuguese jurisdiction. Despite repeated protests from the Castilian clergy, they were not restored to Castile.<sup>35</sup>

Such circumstances did not favour the convocation of Provincial Councils. D. Lourenço of Braga, for instance, suffered all manner of indignities at the hands of Vasco Domingues and the Cathedral Chapter. Conspired against, removed from office, exiled from his diocese, D. Lourenço was in no position to summon councils whose principal function was to regulate the behaviour of the clergy, correct excesses and reformal morals.<sup>36</sup> But this particular argument only holds true for the period from 1378 until 1417. It does not account for the lapse of forty-six years between IV Lateran and D. Martinho Gerald's Provincial Council of 1261, convoked in order to discuss the pressing matter of the Tartar invasion:

*Nam et omnes abbates de prouintia Bracharensi tam exempti quam non exempti ibidem conuenerunt, ad uocem domini Archiepiscopi qui uocabit eos de mandato domini pape ad habendum consilium contra populos tartarorum qui Iherosolimis tunc erant dicentes et minantes apostolicam sedem et totam terram que citra mare est.*<sup>37</sup>

The ceremony was attended by the Bishops of Coimbra, Viseu, Oporto, Astorga, Tuy, Lugo and Mondoñedo, as well as by a number of abbots and priors.

In the following year, D. Martinho held a National Council with the specific aim of resolving the question of D. Afonso's bigamous marriage, and the legitimacy of the issue of that marriage. This council was attended by the Bishops of Coimbra, Évora, Guarda, Lamego, Oporto, Viseu, Tuy and and their chapters. D. Mateus, Bishop of Lisbon, was not present, but he was represented by the Lisbon Chapter.

According to J. Augusto Ferreira, a Provincial Council was convoked by the Braga Cathedral Chapter in April 1292, a month after the death of Archbishop D. Frei Telo, in response to Nicholas IV's bulls *Dirae amaritudinis* and *In cetera contempta* in August and September of the previous year. There is, however, no firm evidence that a council was held.<sup>38</sup>

One other reason for the infrequency with which Provincial and National Councils were held could be the precarious situation of the Portuguese clergy due to their troubled relationship with the monarchy. This is illustrated by one of the series of complaints made by the Portuguese clergy to Clement IV in 1268:

3º Que se, em virtude dos mandados apostólicos, os bispos pretendiam fazer conferências ou congregar os prelados monásticos e os párocos, não o consentia el-rei.<sup>39</sup>

If D. Afonso II was in conflict with the clergy of his kingdom, it seems entirely logical that he should wish to deprive them of the opportunity to meet and discuss ways of bringing him to heel. But again, this particular case only explains the dearth of councils during one reign.

Portuguese prelates may have been remiss in convoking councils, but those bishops who were subject to the Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela did travel to Castile in order to attend Provincial Councils convened there. We know, for instance, that the Council of Salamanca, 1310, held in order to allow the clergy to debate the issue of the Templars, was attended by the Bishops of Lisbon and Guarda, D. João and D. Vasco. The Council of Zamora, 1313, presided over by the Archbishop of Santiago on his return from the Council of Vienne, met to discuss statutes that discriminated against the Jews, and numbered among its participants the bishops of Ciudad Rodrigo and Évora. Cardinal Guillaume de Godin, Bishop of Sabina, O.P., the papal legate sent to Castile by John XXII, convened a National Council at



Valladolid in 1322. This Council was attended by the Bishops of Évora and Lisbon, and Sánchez Herrero has emphasized its importance:

Es este concilio uno de los más importantes de Castilla, que intentó una verdadera reforma de su iglesia, aplicando lo legislado en los concilios ecuménicos del siglo XIII. Todos los concilios provinciales y sínodos castellanos del siglo XIV y la la mayor parte de los del XV se apoyan en lo legislado en el vallisoletano de 1322.<sup>40</sup>

The Council of Salamanca, 1335, was a Provincial Council of the Santiago metropolis:

convocado por exhortaciones de Benedicto XII para corregir abusos, desmandas y escándalos que oprimían la religión en los reinos de León y Castilla.<sup>41</sup>

The Portuguese contingent included D. Bartolomeu of Guarda, D. Salvado Martins of Lamego, and the representatives of the Bishops of Lisbon and Évora. Even if Portuguese prelates did not convene many councils or, as as shall see below, diocesan synods, they did attend assemblies of their peers in which the subject of reform was discussed with all possible seriousness.

In 1382 the Portuguese clergy met in a National Council at Santarém. The purpose of this assembly was to deliberate on the Great Schism, and decide which Pope they would follow. Pedro de Luna made every effort to persuade the Portuguese to accept Clement VII, but was unsuccessful.<sup>42</sup>

The next Portuguese Provincial Council was that held in Braga on 22 December 1426 by D. Fernando da Guerra. This Council was attended by the Bishops of Coimbra, Oporto and Viseu, the administrator of the Bishop of Tuy in Portugal, and a Canon of Viseu. The clergy had assembled in order to formulate a collective response to D. João I's *Leis atentatórias*, and there were vociferous protests against the king's attempts to lessen the extent of clerical immunity.<sup>43</sup>

Finally, D. Luís Pires held a Provincial Council in Braga, on 8 February 1470:

para tratar de festividades a observar em toda a província.<sup>44</sup>

Various factors must be considered in an appraisal of Portuguese conciliar activity. As far as the Ecumenical Councils are concerned, Portuguese participation was the rule, not the exception. In this area of responsibility the Portuguese did perform their duty, though their motives for doing so may not have been entirely pure. The clergy may have feared for the health of an ailing Church, or Portuguese national interests may have transcended other, more spiritual preoccupations. Then again, those clergy who frequented the General Councils may have done so with a view to possible promotion by their spiritual leader, or rewards to be conferred by their temporal monarchs. Educated in one or both laws, they filled the rôle of senior civil servants.<sup>45</sup> National and Provincial Councils were quite another matter. These seem to follow a particular pattern, convened only when there were questions of great importance or urgency to be resolved, and then, usually when pressure to meet in debate was exerted from outside the ranks of the Portuguese clergy, by King or Pope. The correction of abuses and excesses was more frequently carried out through the medium of the diocesan synod, at local rather than national level, by those bishops who had a strong commitment to maintaining discipline and promoting reform. It was perhaps as a result of this generalized laxity in summoning the clergy to council and promulgating conciliar legislation, that Portuguese rulers felt justified in imposing their own restraints on clerical behaviour: D. Afonso IV in his *Carta Régia sobre o Castigo dos Clérigos*, D. Pedro I in his *cortes*, and D. João I in his controversial laws of 1419.<sup>46</sup> National and Provincial Councils are one field of activity where we observe a marked discrepancy between stated ideal and common practice. But the blame for this omission does not attach to the clergy as a whole. Rather, it should be attributed to individual bishops and archbishops, and here it should be stated that the papal policy of elevating Southern French curiales to Portuguese sees was not always in the best interests of Portuguese clergy or laity. Both Jean de Cardaillac and Guillaume de la Garde

were resented by the Chapter of Braga; this led to serious problems, and these in turn made it impossible for them to perform their duties with any real effectiveness. Appointees like Thibaud de Castillon are better known for their failure to live and work in Portugal than for the fervour with which they practised the *cura animarum*:

Muitos destes bispos nem sequer vinham residir nas dioceses ou limitavam-se nelas a uma breve estadia, quase turística. Permaneciam em Avignon ou onde quer que a corte papal ou os seus interesses estivessem localizados.<sup>47</sup>

There is one other possible explanation for the rarity of Portuguese National and Provincial Councils. The clergy may, conceivably have used<sup>6</sup> the *cortes* as an alternative arena in which to raise questions and resolve problems:

A reunião das cortes prestava também ensejo ao clero para apresentar propostas e agravos como o prestava sem diferença aos fidalgos e às ordens militares. Tinham ali representantes o clero secular nos metropolitas e bispos, o regular nos abbades e priores dos mosteiros, a nobreza nos ricos-homens e outros fidalgos, as ordens militares nos seus prelados.<sup>48</sup>

In the Lisbon *Cortes* of 1455, the clergy themselves raised the question of secular jurisdiction over those clerics who frequented brothels. Nevertheless, none of the reasons adduced to explain why it was that the clergy did not hold National or Provincial Councils on a more regular basis can justify what is a flagrant breach of canon law, and a betrayal of the ideals of the Church.

Closely related to the Church Councils, and equally useful as a measure of clerical performance is the Diocesan Synod, defined by Odette Pontal as:

une réunion périodique officielle et obligatoire du clergé diocésain autour de l'évêque ou de son représentant, ayant pour but d'informer et de contrôler ce clergé.<sup>49</sup>

The synod could, in fact, fulfil many different functions. Cheney has observed that:

One may classify the business of the synod as administrative or judicial or legislative, but in most, if not in all, of these activities the pastoral element is evident.<sup>50</sup>

There can be no doubt that the synod was an administrative necessity. It was the principle means by which the bishops were able to communicate to their clergy the decisions and rulings of the Ecumenical, National and Provincial Councils. Without such gatherings, certain members of the clergy, particularly those in remote, rural areas, might remain in complete ignorance of significant shifts or changes in Church policy. At the same time, the synod offered the bishop a valuable opportunity to enquire into the moral health of his diocese, to ascertain whether the laity and the clergy of his diocese were behaving in a fit and proper manner. If they were not, then the synod afforded him a suitable occasion to reassert the discipline of the Church by correcting abuses and excesses, and by castigating the wrongdoers. A third, and extremely important function of the synod, was to provide some rudimentary instruction for an often ignorant or illiterate clergy. As Odette Pontal has pointed out:

...les statuts synodaux suppléaient au manque d'enseignement oral. C'était donc au synode que se faisaient l'instruction d'un clerg'e que 'était souvent d'une grande médiocrit'e intellectuelle.<sup>51</sup>

This observation is confirmed by Constitution 9 of D. Diogo de Sousa's synodal statutes for Oporto, 1496:

Sabendo per muitos dinos de creer com quanta inorancia neste bispado os sacramentos da Igreja se ministram, estabellecemos e mandamos sob pena descomunham a todollos clerigos, especialmente aos de missa que tem cura dalmas, que daqui em diante aprendam a leer, cantar e rezar como a seu officio som obrigados, em maneira que nom mintam no que leerem.<sup>52</sup>

and D. Diogo felt it was worthwhile to include a catechism in his statutes.

An examination of synodal statutes can provide information on a wide range of topics; the financial management of the diocese; the day-to-day running of churches; canon law and

theology; morals; customs; forbidden activities, sins and how they should be punished; superstitions, and so forth. Two kinds of discipline are imparted in synodal statutes or episcopal constitutions, discipline of the clergy themselves, and discipline of the laity. It remains to be seen how widely this particular instrument of Church discipline was used in medieval Portugal.

Isaías da Rosa Pereira reports that:

Chegaram até nós poucas notícias das assembleias sinodais portuguesas dos séculos XIII-XV e sobretudo conhecem-se poucos textos com a legislação promulgada.<sup>53</sup>

In total, there are references, if not documentation, for seventy-three synods (see appendix 4). This is a disappointing statistic for a period of three centuries, and for nine dioceses or administrative units. Rosa Pereira does not appear to consider the possibility that synods were not actually held, but presents the problem in terms of lost manuscripts:

Os arquivos portugueses sofreram várias destruições e a ignorância de alguns arquivistas fez desaparecer muitos documentos preciosos, o que explica o reduzido número de manuscritos que possuímos, alguns dos quais em muito mau estado.<sup>54</sup>

In any case, these manuscripts had a kind of built-in obsolescence:

pela precariedade da legislação sinodal que é de sua natureza temporária e vai perdendo o interesse à medida que se sucedem os sínodos e se revogam os estatutos anteriores.<sup>55</sup>

This assertion is probably partially true. The visitation report for São Miguel de Sintra, 6 June 1494, would seem to support the notion that manuscripts were not always treated with respect or care:

Item mando ao feitor do dicto vigairo que mande fazer hua arca em que se metam os dictos livros e também os outros do coro, porquanto os roem os ratos como achei que já algumas vezes roeram.<sup>56</sup>

But equally possible is that synods were not held - for the same reasons that National and Councils were not convoked: bishops were absent from their dioceses, either at the papal *curia*, or the court, in exile, engaged in diplomatic missions on behalf of the Church or King, or else they were not overly concerned with reforming morals and correcting abuses. José Sánchez Herrero has produced a similar list of reasons why synods were not held:

el abandono de las preocupaciones religiosas por el Papa o los obispos: Cisma de Occidente, obispos ausentes de sus dióceses, carentes de preocupaciones eclesiásticas y religiosas, ocupados en cuestiones políticas.<sup>57</sup>

To these he adds the additional factors of political difficulties, among them troubled successions to the throne, royal minorities and civil wars, and socio-economic difficulties, which in turn gave rise to further political and religious difficulties. Although Sánchez Herrero's catalogue is formulated with reference to the history of the Castilian Church, the reasons he proposes hold equally true for Portugal.

There is very little evidence that synods were celebrated in Portugal in the years immediately after IV Lateran. The only recorded synod for the period is the one held in Coimbra in 1240 by D. Tibúrcio, who had to be coerced by the Pope into visiting his diocese.<sup>58</sup> One constitution, by D. Soeiro Viegas of Lisbon (1220-1232), has survived in a synod celebrated around 1240, but that is all.<sup>59</sup> None of this points to an especially active or dedicated episcopacy. Nevertheless, we should not dismiss the efforts of a series of Portuguese bishops, whose ecclesiastical careers are of interest if only because they often reflect the contradictions of the medieval Portuguese Church as a whole. Let us look briefly at the lives of two Portuguese bishops.

D. Gonçalo Pereira was brought up at the court of D. Dinis. Then he studied at the University of Salamanca from 1310 to 1321. In 1321 he was elected Bishop of Évora, but not confirmed in this post. In 1322 he was named Dean of Oporto, and then Bishop of Lisbon, in

which capacity he celebrated a synod on 1 September 1324. In 1323 D. Gonçalo was appointed *Bispo Coadjutor* of Braga because D. João Martins de Soalhães was too feeble to carry out his duties, and in 1326 D. Gonçalo was himself elevated to the See of Braga. Although D. Gonçalo represented Portuguese interests in the spheres of diplomacy and politics, he nevertheless found time to hold synods in his diocese of Braga, 1326, 1329, 1330, 1333 and 1342,<sup>60</sup> and to perform the task of pastoral visitation.<sup>61</sup>

D. Fernando Pires da Guerra, an illegitimate nephew of D. João I, entered the clergy and, despite his non-canonical age, received the prebend and canonry of Lisbon. In 1408 Gregory XII granted him the *mestre-escolado* of Lisbon, and in the same year we find him studying canon law at the University of Bologna, where he incurred enormous debt, a medieval version of the student loan.<sup>62</sup> In 1409, he was promoted to the See of Silves, and became an absentee bishop. On completing his studies at Bologna, D. Fernando did not return to Portugal, but proceeded to Padua, where he continued to study law. In 1414, he was translated from Silves to Oporto, and by 1415 he had returned to Portugal to receive a number of appointments to high office from D. João I, being 'seu sobrinho e do seu conselho e chancellor moor'.<sup>63</sup> Following the death of D. Martim Afonso Pires da Charneca on 25 March 1416, D. João I appointed his nephew 'guarda e custodia e defenson' of the church and archbishopric of Braga, on the grounds that:

a egreja de Bragaa primas vagou e a provisom della se poderia delongar per alguu tempo per mingua de nom aver pastor na Egreia de Deus.<sup>64</sup>

In July of the same year, the Braga Cathedral Chapter met and agreed to accept D. Fernando's administration, and in 1417 he was elevated to the See of Braga by Martin V.

Although in his earlier years D. Fernando seems to display some the characteristics of the bad bishop, absenteeism and consequent failure to convene synods, carry out pastoral visits or preach to the faithful, as Archbishop of Braga he celebrated synods in 1424 or 1425,

1430, 1435 and 1439. His episcopal constitutions contain numerous criticisms of the clergy and propose far-ranging reforms,<sup>65</sup> and as will be seen later, he did take the duty of visitation very seriously. Moreover, even if it is true that D. Fernando largely owed his meteoric rise within the ecclesiastical hierarchy to his royal uncle and patron, this did not impede him from fulfilling his primatal duty of convening the Provincial Council of December 1426, whose specific aim was to oppose D. João I's infringements of ecclesiastical liberties.<sup>66</sup>

Finally, there can be no denying that D. Fernando made serious efforts to improve the educational level of his clergy by founding a library. The books that he donated must have been read: in 1448 he petitioned Nicholas V to prohibit clergy from removing books from the library on pain of excommunication,<sup>67</sup> and in his will of 14 June 1467, D. Fernando bequeathed his own personal library to the See of Braga.<sup>68</sup>

Synods may not have been held as frequently as the Church dictated, but some members of the clergy did use them as a means to discipline unruly clerics and laity, improve educational levels and, generally speaking, perform their ecclesiastical duty. It was this same pastoral spirit that prompted archbishops and bishops to carry out the associated task of canonical visitations:<sup>69</sup>

Les visites pastorales et les synodes annuels sont les deux moyens dont dispose l'évêque pour gouverner effectivement son diocèse.<sup>70</sup>

Noël Coulet makes precisely the same point about the essential function of the pastoral visit, with the added comment that:

Les souverains prescrivent aux évêques de visiter régulièrement leurs diocèses.<sup>71</sup>

This intervention by a temporal authority can be seen in the Portuguese translation of Alfonso X's legal compilation, the *Primeyra Partida*.<sup>72</sup> Four Laws in Title X describe how visitors



should be appointed, how the visit should be conducted, and how the visitor should punish those monks, priors and abbots whom he deems to be at fault. The whole purpose of the visit is summed up in one short phrase:

per sa visita se hã d'endereço e de melhorar as cousas que elles acharem mal paradas.<sup>73</sup>

According to António de Sousa Araújo, the pastoral visit may be defined as:

um acto de jurisdição em que o Pastor ou um delegado seu, devidamente nomeado ou credenciado, passava em revista os diversos aspectos ligados à vida cristã dum paróquia ou duma comunidade cristã. Este acto designar-se-ia também *capítulo, visita pastoral, visita canónica*, ou simplesmente, *visita*.<sup>74</sup>

Obviously a bishop engaged in ambassadorial or conciliar business abroad, or one active in the *curia* or at court could not carry out visitations in person. He could, however, empower a suitable representative to visit the parish clergy, monasteries and collegiate churches within his jurisdiction on his behalf. The designated *procurador* or *vigário geral* would then make a written report of his findings, which might be no more than a simple statement of the fact that he visited a certain church on a particular occasion, or it might consist of a detailed description of repairs to be made, lost items to be replaced or unsatisfactory practices to be corrected. In this way, some degree of supervision and control of parish affairs was exercised.

The evidence seems to suggest that visitations were carried out on a fairly regular basis in Portugal. Although visitation documents have not survived in large quantities, viewed in conjunction with other types of evidence, it may be concluded that for some prelates at least, this was as important a task as convoking synods and preaching to the people.

One early thirteenth-century reference to visitations occurs in an agreement made at Lamego between D. Martinho Pires, Archbishop of Braga, and the Prior of the monastery of S. Martinho de Crasto on 25 June 1202. By the terms of this *composição*:

devia, comtudo, o Prior pagar a procuração annual, vir ao synodo, hospedar o Arcebispo na visita.<sup>75</sup>

Three years later, D. Martinho is involved in another dispute about jurisdiction and visitation rights, this time with the Cluniac priories of Rates and Vimieiro. Following his appeal to Innocent III, the latter sends the bull *Venerabili frater noster* (20 January 1205) to the Bishop, Dean and Archdeacon of Tuy, commanding them to investigate the matter and determine whether the monasteries should be placed under sentence of interdict and excommunication.<sup>76</sup> On 3 March 1206, Innocent sends the bull *Venerabilis frater* to the Dean of Zamora, asking him to resolve the disagreement between D. Martinho Pires and the rectors of several churches who have refused to pay the *procuraciones* owed for the visit.<sup>77</sup> In 1209 the Archbishop of Braga is still in dispute with the Abbot of Vimieiro and the Priors of Rates and Santa Marinha da Costa over visitation rights and *procuraciones*, as is attested by Innocent's bull to the Dean and Archdeacon of Zamora, *Venerabili fratri* (9 June 1209).<sup>78</sup> D. Estêvão Soares da Silva also has difficulty during his episcopacy in obtaining recognition of his right to visit and receive procurations from certain monasteries and communities, namely Santa Marinha da Costa, S. Torquato and the Collegiate Church of Guimarães.<sup>79</sup> However, as a result of Innocent III's *Cum non liceat*, 3 May 1213, an agreement is reached with Santa Marinha da Costa on 7 September 1213, and with S. Torquato on 14 November 1214. Resolution of the dispute with Guimarães takes longer, but on 23 October 1216 by the so-called *composição antiga* it is finally established that the Archbishop of Braga does have visitation rights.<sup>80</sup> This concordat is ratified by Honorius III in the bull *Sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia*, on 10 January 1218:

Preterea procuracionem canonicam, que ratione visitationis debetur semel in anno, exhibebit dicto archiepiscopo idem prior in obtione archiepiscopi permanente, utrum velit hospitari intus in claustro, vel in domo prioris, cum dictam procuracionem receperit.<sup>81</sup>

and it was also ratified by Gregory IX, 17 June 1229, in *Ex parte vestra*.<sup>82</sup>

But because the Priors chose to view themselves as ordinaries, subject to the Archbishop only as metropolitan, further conflicts arose. Consequently on 31 July 1240 Gregory IX wrote two letters to the Archdeacon of Toro and the Treasurer and Schoolmaster of Zamora. They were not only to enforce the old agreement but also to resolve the question of obedience and other rights. In 1227, according to José Mattoso, agreement is reached over the same question with the prior of Vimieiro.<sup>83</sup>

Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão quotes a document dating from 1230 in which the importance of the pastoral visit is made abundantly clear:

não recebam procuração nem procurações de partes, sob pena de suspensão os arcediagos visitem as igrejas, e não as visitando, não recebam procurações de partes, sob pena de suspensão.<sup>84</sup>

Gregory IX evidently views visitations as necessary to the well-being of the Church. On 18 February 1234 he charges the Bishop of Lamego with visiting the See of Oporto while its own bishop, D. Martinho Rodrigues is out of the kingdom because of conflicts with the king.<sup>85</sup> On 19 April of the same year:

Em letras dirigidas ao bispo, deão e chantre de Samora, Gregorio IX declara obrigados às procurações, devidas pela visita às igrejas, os prelados que as negavam ao bispo do Porto.<sup>86</sup>

Like his predecessors, D. João Egas was hindered in his pastoral duties, In his case, though, it was not a matter of priors or abbots refusing to accept his jurisdiction, but lay

patrons preventing him from carrying out his visits. In answer to his appeal for support, Innocent IV sends D. Afonso III the bull *Pertinet ad regiae* (27 December 1251), in which he exhorts the king of Portugal to put an end to this intolerable interference in ecclesiastical affairs.<sup>87</sup>

1254 sees Mestre Tomé, papal chaplain, treasurer of the See of Braga,<sup>88</sup> installed as rector of Vimieiro; he promises to pay two marks to Cluny every year as a token of his submission to the Mother-House.<sup>89</sup> On 4 May 1259, following the annual visit to the Province of *Hispania* the Cluny *diffinitores* record:

De prioratu de Rimeriis consulunt Diffinitores quod Dominus Abbas et conventus scribant Regi Portugallie quod cantor Bracarensis tenet prioratum de Rimeriis contra voluntatem ipsorum, nec vult respondere Visitatoribus, nec cultum divinum, ut debet, vult ibidem per monachos exerceri; unde supplicent ei, vel quod sibi faciat obedire, vel compellat eum quod sustineat ipse quod ponatur alius prior in prioratu predicto.<sup>90</sup>

The point of view has shifted, and now it is the Cluny *diffinitores* who feel aggrieved. Nor does their sense of outrage lessen. On 11 May 1264, under the heading of *Visitatio Hispanie*, they write:

Scribat dominus Abbas Regi Portugallie quod non permittat domum Vimeriis occupari vel occupatam retineri a decano Bracare.<sup>91</sup>

The Cluny visitation of 1292 reveals that the problem of ecclesiastical jurisdiction remains unsolved. Neither the Archbishop of Braga, D. Frei Telo, nor the Prior of Vimieiro is willing to give ground:

Apud Vimerios sunt duo monachi cum priore, et officium divinum competenter fit ibidem secundum modum terrae et numerum monachorum.<sup>92</sup>

The visitors are not unrealistic in their expectations, and make reasonable allowances for circumstance. However, they add:

Prior dicti loci habet magnam questionem cum archiepiscopo Bracarensi qui vult sibi domum dictam subducere et substrahere a jurisdictione Ordinis Cluniacensis.<sup>93</sup>

The 1292 visitation report tells us that the Prior of Rates refused to acknowledge the authority of the visitors, merely receiving them as he would any other guests:

Prior de Ratis, qui subest immedietate priori de Karitate noluit nos recipere ad visitationem; recepit tamen curialiter ad hospitalitatem.<sup>94</sup>

The next sequence of documents to be examined are of particular interest for the information they offer about clerical morals and discipline in the early fourteenth century. Isaías de Rosa Pereira has published a visitation document for the monastery of S. Pedro de Canedo in the diocese of Oporto.<sup>95</sup> Dated 1313, it is the *pública-forma* of an earlier certified copy, made in 1307. Two visitations were carried out, the first on 5 November 1300, the second on 9 May 1302, both by D. Geraldo Domingues, Bishop of Oporto. In the first visitation, D. Geraldo notes the liturgical books housed in the monastery, and the poor condition in which he finds them, ordering that they be bound. He also finds fault with the Abbot, both as an administrator, and as a man of God:

Item invenimus quod abbat peccat cum pluribus feminis. Item quod abbas per forciam occupat hominibus de casalibus vinum et cornarios et alia et nihil solvit pro eisdem.<sup>96</sup>

But this is also an example of how church discipline is applied, from within the Church itself:

Mandamus abbati sub pena excommunicationis quod dormiat in dormitorio cum fratribus.<sup>97</sup>

On his second visit to S. Pedro de Canedo, D. Geraldo does not find that matters have improved. On the contrary, the situation has deteriorated even further and the Abbot, D. Martinho Domingues, has become notorious for his immorality:

Item abbas tenet in Grangia concubinam publice Dominicam Gonsalvi. Item in monasterio consuevit tenere et tenet quasi qualibet die Marinam Iohannis qui moratur in Villa de Gaya. Item alias tenuit Petrus Stephani miles in concubinam cuius militis concubine nutritivit quemdam filium dictus abbas. Item tenet in Paaçoo de Sendim quamdam Mariam Lobel de qua dicitur habere quemdam filium et in ebdomada maiori tenuit eam in monasterio publice et ipsis diebus tenuit Mariam da Teyxeira. Item in Villa Cova Mariam Laurencii ad quam de nocte vadat, de qua est alcayotus suus Martinus Dominici de Saa qui moratur in Saa in monasterio de Villa Cova. Item in eodem monasterio consuevit aliam habere Mariam Suarii monialem. Item in Ryo Tinto Orracam Petri monialem et viderunt eam in monasterio die dominica preterita.<sup>98</sup>

For a medieval abbot to enjoy the favours of one mistress is not altogether unusual, but this catalogue of concubines is so lengthy as to seem highly improbable. Little wonder that D. Martinho has no time to say Mass or confess his sins:

Item invenimus quod nunquam celebravit nec confessus fuit postquam fuit abbas nec sibi invenimus confessorum.<sup>99</sup>

Sentence is passed, and discipline is apparently restored:

Item mandamus abbati quod transferat se ultra Dorium ad monasterium de Palaciolo ad penitenciam peragendam de commissis supra et infra scriptis et moretur in ipso monasterio de Palaciolo ut monachus claustralis et sub disciplina regulari vivat et usque ad annum non redeat ad dictum monasterium de Canedo nec veniat citra Dorium aliquo modo sine nostra licencia speciali alioquin ipso facto dicto monasterio sit privatus.<sup>100</sup>

But this is not the case. D. Martinho is unable to withstand the temptations of S. Pedro de Canedo and returns to his monastery within the year. D. Geraldo holds a tribunal in the church of Lobão on 26 January 1304, and this time the punishment is more than harsh. The Abbot is to spend the rest of his life within the walls of Paço de Sousa. He is not permitted to communicate with anyone outside the monastery, by spoken word or by letter, and he has no right of appeal against the sentence passed on him.

This is a striking example of clerical misconduct, the sort of behaviour that one might expect to find satirized in a *cantiga de escárnio*, but it is equally indicative of attitudes and

moral values within the Church itself. The purpose of the visitation is, after all, to correct abuses and reform morals, and that is precisely the use to which D. Geraldo Domingues puts his pastoral visits to S. Pedro de Canedo.

One question that we might ask is whether D. Martinho's behaviour is in any way representative of what is happening elsewhere in Portugal at this point in time. One way to answer this question is by examining other visitation articles for the same period. If we look at the Cluny visitation of 1303, all we find out is that the report that Vimieiro has too many prebendaries; this number should be reduced, and no new prebends allowed in the future.<sup>101</sup>

For details of clerical conduct in the diocese of Oporto, we could consider the episcopate of the Franciscan Frei Estêvão. This cleric is perhaps best remembered for his involvement in political matters during the reign of D. Dinis.<sup>102</sup> Less is known about the way in which he carried out his pastoral duties, and it would be easy to assume that he was negligent in this sphere. However, on 15 September 1310, Clement V grants his petition to be allowed to delegate the task of visiting the diocese of Oporto to other persons:

*Hinc est quod nos tuis supplicationibus inclinati, pro ecclesie tue oneribus facilius supportandis, auctoritate tibi presentium indulgemus ut usque ad triennium ecclesias, monasteria et alia loca ecclesiastica eorumque personas tue diocesis, in quibus per te foret visitationis officium impediendum, possis per te vel per alium seu alios, quem vel quos ad id deputaveris, visitare ac procuraciones ratione huiusmodi visitationis debitas, [recipere], qualibet constitutione contrare non obstante.*<sup>103</sup>

The importance of the visitation as mechanism of control and discipline may be seen yet again, in the Cluny report for 16 April 1312. Vimieiro is heavily burdened with debt, and the monk Stephen Hasniers is accused of incontinence and misappropriation of monastery property:

*diffiniunt diffinitores, ut Prior dictae domus dicta debita solvat modo quam poterit citius meliori; et quod dictus Stephanus, de praedictis excessibus per camerarium Hispanise puniatur et extra Villam francam sibi mansio assignetur.*<sup>104</sup>

In 1314 the Archbishop of Braga, D. João Martins de Soalhães, placed Rates under interdict, alleging that:

os monges praticavam crimes e excessos, pois não gastavam os bens para fins religiosos, como sustentar os pobres e praticar a hospitalidade, mas enviavam-nos para fora do reino; além disso, acusava-os de sustentarem concubinas.<sup>105</sup>

This is surprising, in the light of the Cluny report, 'Visitatio Yspanie facta per solum priorem Sancti Victoris Nivernensis' of the same year, which confines itself to the question of the Prior's indebtedness and his proposed solution to this problem:

et dixit quod si daretur sibi spacium de non veniendo ad Capitulum per duos annos, redderet dictum prioratum quitum ab omnibus debitis et immunem.<sup>106</sup>

Whatever the truth of the matter, the monks responded to the interdict with an appeal, March 1315. D. Dinis instigated an investigation to ascertain whether D. João was entitled to carry out visitations to Rates, 3 August 1315. It was found that Rates did come under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Braga, but nothing was said about the accusations made.<sup>107</sup>

Evidence not only of visitations but the crucial part they play in the whole system of Church discipline, providing the basis for much synodal legislation, is found in D. Gonçalo Pereira's episcopal constitutions, promulgated at the Synod of Braga, 6 September 1333:

Nós Gonçalo pela merçee de Deus e da sancta eigreja de Roma arcebispo de Bragaa, visitando os moesteiros e as eigrejas do nosso arcebispado, assi como somos teudos de nosso offizio.<sup>108</sup>

If visitations supply first-hand information about conditions and conduct in the diocese, they also offer a way to monitor the responses of the diocesan clergy to new or reiterated rulings. This can be seen in a late fourteenth-century synod in Coimbra:

Item stabelescemos que todos os priores que tiverem as curas das eigrejas gardem os tralados dos testamentos que estiverem e forem ordinados nas freegecias e endugam



os testamenteiros e ereos que os conpram como em esses testamentos forem conteudos e trabalhem de seer certos das terças dos passados em gisa que quando visitarmos em essas igrejas possamos veer e seer certos dos testamentos em como som conpridos.<sup>109</sup>

Conflicts between the Cluniac priories of Rates and Vimieiro and the Archdiocese of Braga continue into the episcopacy of D. Gonçalo Pereira, as may be deduced from the Cluny visitation documents for 1336.<sup>110</sup> At the same time, the monks of Rates refused to accept the jurisdiction of the Cluny visitors, claiming to be accountable only to the Prior of *Caritate*.<sup>111</sup> The *diffinitores* for 1340, 7 May, find that Vimieiro does not have its full complement of monks and therefore cannot say the Divine Office properly.<sup>112</sup>

D. Gonçalo Pereira has also to deal with the Collegiate Church of Guimarães. On 20 September 1335, prompted by the Prior and Chapter of Guimarães, the Dean and Archdeacon notify D. Gonçalo that he is not to visit the Collegiate church and town of Guimarães unless he first visits the town of Braga and its province. In March 1341 there are bitter complaints that the Prior D. Estêvão and his Chapter that the Archbishop has contravened the terms of the concordat of 1216, carrying out an unauthorised visitation. The Archbishop announced that he would visit the *Colegiada*, but when he arrived found the doors of the church locked and the Prior absent. Despite this, he conducted the visitation, and the Prior and Chapter complained to the Holy See, claiming that Guimarães had the status of a suffragan bishopric, and could therefore only be visited by the Archbishop in person, in his capacity of Metropolitan. On 3 June of the same year Benedict XII sent the bull *Orta Dudum* to the Archdeacon of Val de Miñor in Tuy, charging him with the task of carrying out the investigation. The problem is not resolved, with the result that later archbishops will have to contend with the same protests and appeals.<sup>113</sup>

The disciplinary purpose of the visitation is quite apparent in the unambiguous *diffinitiones* of May 3 1349:

Item ipse Prior in Villa de Carione una cum priore de Vimario de die quemdam hominem interfecit et eum percussit manu et cultello...Prior de Vimario una cum priore de Civitate Roderici, in villa de Quarrione quemdam hominem interfecit, et bonorum Prioratus dissipator et mali Regiminis tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus et est lusor taxillorum, nec fit ibi cultus divinus. Provideat Dominus Abbas, visa relatione visitatorum, pro ut videbitur expedire.<sup>114</sup>

Like the Abbot of S. Pedro de Canedo, D. Martinho Domingues, the Prior of Vimieiro is strongly reminiscent of the goliardic cleric, negligent in his duties, and, worse still, fond of brawling and dice.

There is further information about fourteenth-century visitations, which in turn offer us information about clerical behaviour and attitudes. Jean de Cardaillac is known to have held several synods, both as Bishop of Orense and as Archbishop of Braga. An *arenga* delivered on the occasion of a visitation to his suffragan diocese of Astorga has survived<sup>115</sup> and it is not unrealistic to assume that he made other pastoral visits prior to holding synods or in the course of his normal duties.

The *Diffinitio generalis contra gyrovagos*, of 30 April 1357 gives a clear expression of the official attitude to clerical delinquency:

sunt monachi quamplures in Ordine nostro cluniacensi mansionem aliquam non habentes, sed hinc inde vagantes et discurrentes, et sicut veraciter creditur officium penitus omittentes (...) Dimittunt tamen sua loca, sunt in tabernis cum meretricibus et ribaldis, pauperes homines opprimunt, sua bona rapiunt et frequenter cum verberibus et violentiis manifestis.<sup>116</sup>

The same spirit of criticism and reform underlies the later Cluny *diffinitiones* of 19 April 1377:

Prioratus Bodino, Sancti Petri de Ratis, Sanctae Mariae de Vimero et Sancte Isidori male gubernantur; nec sunt ibidem monachi morantes, Ordinant diffinitores quod committantur per Dominum Abbatem, aut duobus ipsorum, ut ad praedicta loca accedant et inquirant cum diligentia veritatem, Reforment et remedian pro ut discretioni ipsorum videbitur faciendum.<sup>117</sup>

Other Portuguese monastic communities receive visitors during the same period, which seems to suggest fairly widespread pastoral activity in certain dioceses at least. Among the *Memórias do Mosteiro de Pombeiro* is the record of a visitation of 6 March 1378:

Lourenço por merçee de deus e da sancta egreia de Roma bispo de Lamego e vaasco domingues Chantre de Braga visitadores...o papa no Regnos de Portugal e do algarve com o Bispo de Silves terceiro que se scuzou por embargo lydimos A quantos esta carta...uirem fazemos saber que nos visitando o moesteiro de sancta maria de pombeiro da ordem de sam bieito de arcebispado de bragaa do qual ora he abade dom martim giraldes.<sup>118</sup>

This visitation document is of interest for several reasons. Firstly, it shows that the visitors are less concerned with the upkeep of the fabric of the monastery than with regulating the conduct of its inhabitants:

...que ponha porteiro aa porta da Crasta que nom leixe entrar molheres nem outras pessoas en ella...Item lhis mandamos que sse manifestem cada mes e comunguem no primeiro domingo do mes.<sup>119</sup>

Secondly, it confirms that D. Frei Lourenço of Lamego did spend some time in Portugal performing his pastoral duties, something that M. Gonçalves da Costa is unable to corroborate:

Não obstante o seu longo episcopado de 30 anos, as referências documentais à sua presença em Lamego são bastante escassas.<sup>120</sup>

Finally, the visitation report is significant for what it does not contain - any mention of the Archbishop of Braga, D. Lourenço Vicente. It must be remembered that this prelate, like his predecessors Guillaume de la Garde and Jean de Cardaillac, met with strong opposition from the Cathedral Chapter and clergy of Braga, led by the precentor Vasco Domingues. In 1377 the struggle for control of diocesan affairs came to a head, and on 9 October, the visitors appointed by Gregory XI to resolve the matter, Vasco Domingues, D. Pedro Tenorio, Bishop of Coimbra and Archbishop Elect of Toledo, and D. Lourenço's old rival for the See of Braga, D. Martinho, Bishop of Silves, deposed D. Lourenço, confiscated his goods and ordered him to

leave the diocese. It is not until the election of Urban VI that D. Lourenço is absolved from this sentence and restored to his former office. The sentence of restitution was read at the Synod of Braga, 16 November 1381.<sup>121</sup> These events explain the absence of D. Lourenço's name in the visitation document, and the fact that neither D. Lourenço of Lamego nor Vasco Domingues is designated *procurador*, or *vigário geral*.

The same clergymen carry out a visitation to the Church of San Fins do Torno again in March 1378, described as 'Visitadores nas diocesis de portugal e do algarue auctoritate apostolica com o bispo de Silues terció', although this latter again has business elsewhere - 'se escusou por negocio que auia'. Regardless of their troubled dealings with D. Lourenço, the visitors demonstrate perfectly normal pastoral preoccupations, and an undeniable competence in the business of visitations. The report touches on the replacement of missing church ornaments and 'Livros dos Sacramentos e das peendenças e dos casos rreseruados ao papa ao bispo', the obligation to hear confessions and ensure that the sacraments are correctly administered. Moral concerns also occur, 'e o dito confirmado nom tenha barregã', and the perennial prescription 'que amoeste os sorteiros e os que vam aas adiuihas'.<sup>122</sup>

Once restored to the See, D. Lourenço found himself obliged to contend with the perennial problem of visitation rights to Guimarães. On 28 May 1390, by agreement between D. Lourenço and the Prior of Guimarães Gonçalo Vasques da Cunha, all the relevant documents were sent to the Holy See where, it was hoped, the matter would be decided for once and for all. Should no decision be forthcoming within the space of two years, the Archbishop would receive all the *direitos comuns*. At the suggestion of D. João I, the Prior and Chapter obtained from Boniface IX a document exempting the Church of Santa Maria de Guimarães from the Archbishop's authority and jurisdiction, virtually allowing it the status of a bishopric in its own right. This was unacceptable to D. Lourenço who argued against such a concession. The Pope was persuaded to revoke his earlier decision and annulled the

concession in his bull *Importuna petentium ambitio* of 18 January 1395, ordering the Prior and Chapter of Guimarães to obey the Church of Braga as would any other diocesan clergy.<sup>123</sup>

By way of a final comment on D. Lourenço, it is interesting to recall Fernão Lopes' description of him riding into the Battle of Aljubarrota, 'havendo ante si a Cruz de prata levantada, com que costumava visitar as Igrejas'.<sup>124</sup>

Martin Afonso Pires da Charneca, elevated to the See of Braga 12 June 1398 was also obliged to call on Boniface IX for support in his dispute with Guimarães over visitation rights. Boniface responded by sending *Ad Romanam Pontificis providentiam* (13 July 1399) revoking once again the exemption granted at D. João's request. Prior Diogo Álvares and the Chapter granted the Archbishop visitation rights, but persisted in trying to use the 1216 concordat to deny visitation in 1404 and 1405, at which D. Martin excommunicated them. Prior and Chapter appealed against this sentence, and the excommunication was lifted on condition that they no longer impede any visitation or attempts to correct and reform the Collegiate. Moreover, they were to pay procurations for all visits, past and future. Any future complaints were to be referred to D. João, Archbishop of Lisbon. The agreement was drawn up at the Monastery of São Domingos, Guimarães, in the presence of the Archbishop, and the Prior and Canons of the Collegiate Church on 5 December 1405.<sup>125</sup>

D. João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja emerges as fully cognisant of the responsibilities and duties inherent in the office of bishop.<sup>126</sup> The proof of this is in the thirty three constitutions promulgated in his Synod of Lisbon of 13 January 1403, and in his pastoral visit to Santa Maria de Marvila de Santarém, on 2 December 1402. It is more than probable that this was one of a number of visitations made to churches in the diocese in preparation for the New Year synod. D. João was on an ecclesiastical reconnaissance mission, finding out where faults lay, and which particular abuses should be corrected, in order to render his synodal

legislation more effective. Here the emphasis is more on the cure of souls and adequate preparation of the parish clergy for this task, than on administration of church property or the state of repair of the church building:

...e em fim da confissom geeral que acustumades de fazer aos domingos dizede lhes o Pater noster e Ave Maria em tal guisa que o ouçam e possam aprender. E por ssaberem os artigos da fê como ssom theudos dizede lhe outrossy o Credo in Deum per linguagem.<sup>127</sup>

Article three consists of a directive about preaching during Lent and Advent:

Outrossy vos mandamos que em nos domingos da Coreesma e Avento lhes digades e ensinedes depois da dita confissom os .X. preçeptos da ley que devem guardar e as .VII. obras de misericordia que am de cumprir e os sacramentos da Igreja que am de rreçebere .VII. pecados mortaaes pera sse delles poderem guardar e os confessar sse em elles cairom.<sup>128</sup>

D. João's desire to see a better instructed clergy is reiterated in Constitution two of his 1403 Synod:

Item, porquanto a todollos clerigos e spicialmente aos dordees sacras e rectores e beneficiados perteece muito de seerem emsinados e sabedores em aquellas cousas que lhe perteeceem e somm theudos de gardar em si e ensinar aos outros, porém stabelleceemos e ordenamos que todollos que ora som ordenados de ordees sacras ou ham beneficios curados ou outros sinplezes e forem habilles e aptos e despostos pera ello se trabalhem daaqui em deante de aprenderem gramatica pera por ella entenderem o que rezam e leerem, ou canto pera officiarem e fazarem e ajudarem a fazer os officios da Egreja por que lhe foram dados os beneficios; e de aprenderem a dicta gramatica ou canto mandamos que se trabalhem todos Aos sobredictos de aprender em tal gissa que, em a primeira visitaçom que se fezer depois do segundo synado, achemos que se trabalharam os que pera ello foram despostos de aprender as dictas sciencias ou cada hua dellas sô pena de seerem privados dos beneficios que ouverem.<sup>129</sup>

In Constitution thirty-two, there is a further reference to visitations:

Item, ordenamos que o prior da capella ou outro qualquer que por el tiver a cura...que tenha e aguarde o que nós nas visitações mandamos aos priores da dita cidade e arcebispado que gardem.<sup>130</sup>

D. João's visitation articles and constitutions confirm the truth of Noël Coulet's affirmation that:

visite et synode s'articulent dans une organisation de contrôle, de justice et de direction que l'on a pu appeler le système synodal. Ces deux moyens d'action de l'évêque conjugués, concourent à contrôler et à éduquer les clercs, à reformer les mœurs et à extirper les traditions païennes.<sup>131</sup>

This last point about traditions païennes is more difficult to prove. Although there are abundant references to superstition and pagan practices in medieval ecclesiastical legislation and literature, the frequency with which they recur, and the detail in which they are described, suggests that these traditions could not be rooted out so easily. The question of superstition will be treated more fully in chapter four.

On 17 April 1420, D. Fernando da Guerra, Archbishop of Braga obtains from Martin V permission to visit the city and province of Braga in person and through suitable representatives, and to receive the following procuration.<sup>132</sup> D. Fernando is known to have visited the monastery of Rendufe on more than one occasion,<sup>133</sup> and he too had to contend with the Collegiate Church of Guimarães. On 25 September 1431 his Vicars General, deputed to perform the duty on D. Fernando's behalf since he was to be at the monastery of Costa on that same day, found the door of the Collegiate Church locked and armed men barring their way. The Prior, Rui da Cunha, informed them that he would only allow the visit to take place under the terms of the 1216 concordat. As a result, the visitors pronounced sentence of excommunication. Later that day the Chapter adjourned to Costa, where the Archbishop himself conducted the visit, but the Prior appealed both to the Pope and to D. Duarte. On 28 September 1433, the King confirmed D. Fernando's right to visit Guimarães and receive the procuration, and this sentence was read in Guimarães on 20 March 1434. D. Fernando and the Guimarães Chapter produced an agreement about visitation rights on 26 January 1440,

which was then signed on the following day in the palace of the Conde de Barcelos. This, it was hoped, would end the dispute for once and for all.<sup>134</sup>

One of D. Fernando's reasons for calling the Synod of 1435 was to raise funds:

porquanto as rendas do seu arcebispado nom eram tantas per que se el em ello podesse asi onradamente soportar como convinha a seu stado e aa onra deles.<sup>135</sup>

Among those subsidies that he has in the past received from his diocesan clergy is the procuration:

elle ouvesse delles en cada huum anno en toda sua vida outro tanto quanto lhe as egrejas e moesteiros do seu arcebispado eram thiudos a pagar de procuraçam quando os o dicto senhor arcebispo visitase em propria persoa, segundo hé contheudo em publica scriptura sobre ello fecta. O qual subsidio lhe senpre pagarom ataa ora, nom leixando por ende de o manteer e procurar, segundo forma de dereito per seus beens e mantiimentos, allém do dicto subsidio, quando se aconticia que os elle visitava.<sup>136</sup>

This reminder of their past 'generosity' suggests that visitations have been a routine part of his pastoral duties, carried out on a regular basis. The report continues:

Primeiramente, que, posto que elle visitase e visite ao diante seu arcebispado e beneficiados delle e a el e a suas gentes forem aministrados os mantiimentos vituaes per os dictos beneficiados, que elle lhos pagará logo ou lhos mandará descontar do dicto subsidio que lhe asi hé prometido, segundo valer comunalmente per a terra em o tempo das dictas visitações.<sup>137</sup>

It is evident from this clause that D. Fernando has made a habit of visiting his diocese in the past, and fully intends to continue the practice in the future. Furthermore, another article of the same synodal statutes demonstrates that he does not perceive pastoral visits merely as a means of obtaining financial backing from his clergy; they have another purpose, to enable him to govern his diocese more effectively. Certain beneficed clergy have failed to carry out their responsibility to 'reparar as vinhas e searas de seus beneficios e a lavrar'. As the Archbishop points out, this is a serious failing:



as dictas egrejas nom se poderom manteer no spritual e temporal, porque o principal soportamento dos beneficios em este arcebispado e specialmente Antre Doiro e Minho asi he.<sup>138</sup>

For this reason the Archbishop or his appointed 'visitadores ou dignidades que os dictos beneficios ajom de visitar' must take note of the work needed, then ensure that it has been carried out.<sup>139</sup> Were it not for the pastoral visit, such negligence might never come to light and the archbishop would be unable to put matters right. But D. Fernando is abreast of affairs within his diocese, and therefore able to legislate against certain abuses or misdemeanours.

This is not to say that everyone always welcomed D. Fernando's visitations. The Bishops of Coimbra and Viseu both protested when D. Fernando obtained permission from the Pope to visit his suffragan dioceses. They argued that the Pope had approved the visit:

sem... estar suficientemente informado sobre a verdadeira situação das dioceses sufragâneas e que era contrário ao bem espiritual e económico das mesmas.<sup>140</sup>

It is as if they were questioning D. Fernando's motives in carrying out the visitations, seeing venal rather than spiritual reasons for them. The case was argued back and forth, from October 1420 through to December 1423, involving several *ouvidores apostólicos* and ending with the intervention of D. Duarte, who:

determinou de nosso consentimento e seu delles que nos rrenunçiasemos todo derecho e aucçom que a nos perteencia per quallquer guisa que fosse quanto he pollas dictas leteras e sentenças contra os sobredictos bispos e suas dioceses e cabidoos e crelizias ganhadas e que daquy em deante nom guanhassemos nem inpetrassemos outras leteras nem mandasemos inpetrar em quallquer forma que seja pera os visitar em nossa vida nem em vidas dos sobredictos, scilicet dom Fernando, bispo de Coimbra, e dom Joham, bispo de Viseu, nem depois suas mortes.<sup>141</sup>

Notwithstanding this agreement, D. Fernando Martins Coutinho was still in conflict with the archbishop in 1426, refusing to attend the Provincial Council for precisely that reason.<sup>142</sup>

José Marques, in his article on the Collegiate Church of Guimarães, mentions *capítulos de visita*, and refers to visits carried out by D. Fernando da Guerra early in July 1459 and in late April of 1460.<sup>143</sup>

On 26 March 1425, D. Antão Martins, Bishop of Oporto, petitioned the Pope for permission to delegate the task of visiting the diocese to other, suitable persons for seven years while continuing to receive the procurations. Why he should have made this request is not immediately apparent. He was active in Portugal in 1426, attending the Provincial Council at Braga in December of that year, he held a synod in Oporto in November 1430, and did not set off for the Council of Basle until 1436. Either D. Antão foresaw that other duties would require his presence elsewhere, or he was ensuring that an onerous task would be performed adequately, and with due regularity; he did say, in his supplication:

visitandi suas civitatem et diocesim, quotiens visitationis officium ingueret, etiam duas, tres et quatuor ecclesias aut monasteria in una die.<sup>144</sup>

In August or September of the same year D. Gonçalo Vasques da Cunha, Bishop of Guarda, sent a similar supplication to the Pope, asking to be exempted from making visits in person, but this time on the grounds of old age and ill health - 'senio confractus [ac] corporalibus infirmitatibus gravatus existat.'<sup>145</sup> This request comes as no surprise, since he had been Bishop of Guarda since 1400.

Regardless of the vicissitudes of international relations, ecclesiastical communities in Portugal could not be left unvisited, and hence unsupervised, for long periods of time. The moral risks were too great. Hence Frei Fernando de Mafra's supplication to Martin V, dated 7 August 1425. Summarised by António Domingues da Costa, it furnishes the following information:

D. Frei Fernando de Mafra, abade de Alcobaça, com o direito de visita em todos os mosteiros da Ordem, no reino de Portugal, inclusive dos directamente sujeitos ao abade de Claraval, porque D. João, rei de Portugal, em guerra com a França, não permitia ao abade de Alcobaça usar desses direitos ou concessões do abade de Claraval, a não ser com a aprovação da Sante Sé, pede ao papa faculdade de visitar os mosteiros, visto que o abade de Claraval ou outro em seu nome não podiam entrar no reino de Portugal.<sup>146</sup>

Frei Fernando emphasizes the need for visitations and reform:

monasteria predicta a quadraginta annis et ultra visitata et correcta non fuerint, quapropter abbates abbatissimeque atque eorundem quampluribus et excessibus ut creditur se immiscunt.<sup>147</sup>

On 4 January 1427, D. Garcia Rodrigues de Magalhães, Bishop of Viseu, petitioned Martin V for permission to appoint suitable *visitadores* for his diocese, giving as his reason the fact that he had to undertake certain duties on behalf of D. João and D. Duarte.<sup>148</sup> Already, as Bishop of Lamego, he had sent a similar supplication on 6 March 1422, on the grounds that he was serving D. Duarte:

Garsias, episcopus Lamecensis, per illustrissimum principem dominum Eduardum, primogenitum serenissimi principis domini Johannis, regis Portugalie, et ipsius regni gubernacula gerentem, ad relationem et deliberationes peragendorum et expediendorum in dicto regno ipsius primogeniti vices aliquando in relatione et officio ac deliberationibus eidem episcopo delegando expresse vocatus et retentus extiterit.<sup>149</sup>

Little is known of this prelate's pastoral works, either in Lamego or Viseu, and it has been assumed that his activities on behalf of the crown occupied most of his time:

Aparentemente, teve carácter apenas episódico a passagem de D. Garcia por Lamego.<sup>150</sup>

There is further information available concerning episcopal activities in Lamego: in January 1446, D. Gonçalo, the Bishop Elect, is granted permission to visit his diocese through a *procurador*.<sup>151</sup>

On 25 May 1434, Santiago de Óbidos in the diocese of Lisbon received a visitation from 'Vasco Dominquez prior d Aveiras e Joham Paez conigo dEvora offiçiaees de dom Pedro arçebispo de Lixboa.' The second article of their report makes specific mention of a previous visitation, the prescriptions of which have not been fulfilled.<sup>152</sup>

If Fortunato de Almeida is to be believed, D. Pedro de Noronha was more concerned with the political intrigues of his era than with the *cura animarum*, a judgment based almost entirely on Rui de Pina's narration of events in the *Crónica de D. Afonso V*.<sup>153</sup> His support of his cousin the Aragonese D. Lianor did not endear him to the people, who effectively had him deposed and sent into exile at the *Cortes* of 1439. The people's spokesman, Pero da Serpa, said that 'pareceu que não fallecia serviço de Deus, honestidade e muita justiça'.<sup>154</sup> But this verdict is not borne out by the documentary evidence of his two episcopacies. When exercising the munus of Bishop of Évora (1420-23), D. Pedro held at least one synod,<sup>155</sup> and revised the statutes of the Cathedral Chapter, 19 July 1421.<sup>156</sup> After his elevation to Lisbon, a series of visits were made to Santiago de Óbidos, from which it can be assumed that other churches in the diocese received duly authorised visitors as well. For example, we know that on 13 June 1436, Vasco Domingues and João Pais made another visitation to Santiago de Óbidos, but found nothing untoward.<sup>157</sup>

The same task of monitoring and regulating clerical conduct was being carried out in other parts of the country. On 27 January 1438, the Vicar of the Bishop of Oporto visited the Benedictine community of Santo Tirso.<sup>158</sup>

Throughout this period, visitations are carried out on a regular basis in at least some Lisbon parishes. In 1439, 14 January, João Álvares, 'visitador deputado pera çertas egrejas per dom Pedro arçebispo da cidade' made the supposedly annual visit to Santiago de Óbidos. Most of the visitation articles touch on the upkeep of the church and have little bearing on the

behaviour of the clergy.<sup>159</sup> On 26 June 1446, D. Pedro de Noronha makes a personal visit to the churches of his diocese. Describing the visitation document, Isaías da Rosa Pereira comments:

É importantíssima e a ela se referem frequentemente os visitadores. A.C. Borges de Figueiredo encontrou a visita do arcebispo feita à igreja de S. João do Macharro...Os capítulos de visita eram iguais para toda a diocese.<sup>160</sup>

There are thirty six articles in all; the text offers extensive criticism of clerical behaviour and attempts to correct certain types of practices and misconduct. The visitation has the legislative status of a set of synodal statutes, something particularly important when there is no record of D. Pedro having held a synod at Lisbon, though in the light of his exile in Castile, it is hardly surprising that he should have held no synods in his diocese. The *capítulos* contain various points of interest. In numbers nine, ten and eleven, D. Pedro refers to a visitation carried out by Vasco Domingues and João Garcia, which is not contained in the manuscript. Number fifteen concerns absentee *beneficiados*, who disappear on Sundays and feast days, saying mass in other churches and leaving their own flock unattended. Such behaviour brings the clergy into disrepute, and must cease forthwith. Article nineteen demonstrates the continuity of discipline made possible by visitations:

Item porquanto achamos nas visitas passadas feitas per nossos visitadores que os creigos de hordees sagras que ham de celebrar offiço devino devem de seer ao menos em cada huu mes confessados e nom despoem a que pessoas se ha de confessar, porem querendo nós declarar e interpretar as dictas visitasões que o direito diga que cada huu se deve de confessar a sseu propio saçerdote.<sup>161</sup>

D. Pedro stresses that he has first-hand knowledge of the situation of his parish clergy. In number twenty-four, he informs his reader:

Item achamos por çerta enfformaçom e ainda esperiencia o demostra que algumas visitasões foram feitas per nossos visitadores e mandado a alguns beneficiados do nosso arçebispado que aaquelle tenpo eram que fezesem algumas cousas necessarias em as dictas suas igrejas asy açerqua do spiritual como do tenporall por honrra delles e bem de suas almas e porque muitas vezes se aqueçiam que aaquelles a que fora

mandado leixavam suas igrejas asy per morte como per renunciaçom ou outro modo em tall guisa que as aviam por derelictas sem fazendo nem conprindo o que lhes assy fora mandado e aquelles que os dictos benefiçios soçediam nom curavam dello alegando por sua escusaçom que lhe nom fora mandado...e querendo nós esto rremediar com direito mandamos aos sobre dictos benefiçados que os dictos benefiços ouverem como forem confirmados logo se trabalhem de veerem as dictas visitações e as conpram em todo e nom alegem ignorança. <sup>162</sup>

Article thirty-one goes some way towards explaining why so many visitation documents should have been lost:

segundo a enformaçom que ouvemos per aazo dalguus priores e vigairos e benefiçados que filhavam as visitações e as levavam pera suas casas e pera honde lhes aprazia em tal guisa que nunca mais pareciam nas igrejas. <sup>163</sup>

Unfortunately D. Pedro does not say what the clergy did with the purloined visitation documents, although it is not difficult to imagine a Vicentine *clérigo* using one of these parchments to light his kitchen fire. In order to prevent these *malícias*, D. Pedro orders that visitation articles be placed in a book in the church choir so that everyone can read them. If anyone should take them away and keep them for longer than three days, he will be excommunicated. <sup>164</sup>

On 24 November 1450 Santiago de Óbidos is visited by:

dom Antom bispo de Ronda e mestre em theolisia e Joham Alvarez prior de Santa Maria da Villa de Torres Vedras visitadores pollo muito honrrado Padre e Senhor dom Pedro. <sup>165</sup>

On 25 August of the following year, the visitation is carried out by João Martins and João Álvares. <sup>166</sup>

On 6 March 1454 the duty falls to Luís Eanes:

cobicolario do Santo Padre e vigairo geeral no spiritual e tenporal por o Reverendissimo em Christo Padre e Senhor dom James per merçee de Deus e da

sancta Egreja de Roma enlecto confirmado e aministrador da egreja e arcebispado de Lixboa.

The visitor found the synodal constitutions of D. João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja, and the visitation articles of D. Pedro. His *capítulos* deal with matters of routine administration, and also with the upkeep of the Church of Santa Maria de Figueiros. Article twenty-four prohibits the clergy from receiving *ychacorvos* (see Chapter Three), while the remainder contain miscellaneous rulings about the sacraments and Divine Office, and the preservation of previous visitation documents and synodal statutes.<sup>167</sup>

Luís Eanes visited Santiago de Óbidos once again, on 21 January 1455. The disciplinary purpose of the visitation procedure may be seen in article ten:

Item porquanto achou que em alguus egrejas avia alguus benefiçados que em o choro e fora em algus saymentos estorvavam o officio divino fazendo esgares e rregallos e outros jeytos deshonestos de que aos outros benefiçados e aos freegueses das dictas egrejas se seguem grandes escandallos, mandou o dicto vigairo que elles cessem de fazerem semelhantes auctos e seendo certo per hua ou duas testemunhas que o contrayro fazem sejam çertos que os mandará ao aljube ataa aver com elles piedade.<sup>168</sup>

4 June 1456 the Santiago visit was made by Gonçalo Martins, *ouvidor jeeral*, at the behest of Luís Eanes, who himself carried out subsequent visits on 21 May 1457, 14 June 1458 and 19 November 1458.<sup>169</sup>

Returning briefly to the Cluniac priories of Spain and Portugal, it is worth noting that in the wake of a report from the Prior of San Vicente de Salamanca describing 'la triste situation des monastères clunisiens espagnols', Jean de Bourbon appointed three vicars general for the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Aragon, Navarrè and Portugal (9 October 1458) in an attempt to remedy matters.<sup>170</sup>

The Benedictines, too, were in need of moral guidance, if Frei João Álvares' *Cartas Pastorais* are any indication of their situation, and on 27 June 1461, D. Luís Pires, Bishop of Oporto, appointed a visitor to the Benedictine monasteries.<sup>171</sup>

Although no synodal statutes promulgated by D. Afonso Nogueira during his episcopacy in Coimbra, 1453-1459, or during his period as Archbishop of Lisbon, 1459-1464, have survived, in his visitation to Santiago de Óbidos on 9 June 1462, he legislates for that particular church and also for the whole city and diocese of Lisbon in the 'Titollo dos capitollos jeeraes em a dicta çidade e arçebispado'. There are thirty-six articles, and number twenty-two is of particular interest, threatening with excommunication:

os ydolatras e feitiçeiros e feitiçeras e adivinhadeiros e lançadores de ssortes em chunbo e çera e doutras quaaesquer cousas que fezerem contra os mandados da santa Igreja.<sup>172</sup>

Article twenty-six refers to *clérigos concubinários* and the punishment to be meted out for their offences:

esto poemas ora assy em a nossa visitaçam ataa que a nossa constituçam que ssobrelo teemos fecta seja enviada aa dicta igreja.<sup>173</sup>

In other words, the visitation document has the same force in canon law as D. Afonso's proposed episcopal constitutions:

Todallas outras cousas que aquy leixamos de mandar screpver seram com a graça do Spiritu Santo mais conpridamente e decraradamente postas nas constituções per nós e per nosso cabidoo e clerezia hordenadas e outorgadas, as quaaes seram publicadas acabado de visitar e limitar todo este arçebispado e por tanto se algua cousa aquy parecer de deffeto aos que esto nom perfetamente acabado leerem nom murmurem dello porquanto se nom leixou de fazer per myngoa de entender ssoomente por se poerem nas constituções signodaaes em as quaaes convem mais de se poer que nas visitações particulares como dicto he.<sup>174</sup>



Disregarding the authorial disclaimer, probably based on past experience of clergy 'murmuring against him', this section is immensely valuable as it amplifies D. Afonso's statement in article twenty-six that he has been preparing detailed constitutions to be promulgated in a synod as soon as his round of visitations has been completed. Were it not for this document, D. Afonso Nogueira might easily be relegated to the category of 'negligent' bishop. Of course, these statements of intent offer no firm guarantee that a synod was ever held, but they do demonstrate a consciousness of pastoral duty, and Isaiás de Rosa Pereira for one believes that a synod probably did take place. Nevertheless, he feels obliged to point out that:

nas visitasões posteriores não se fazem referências a tais constituições, citando, aliás muitas vezes as de 1403.<sup>175</sup>

In 1464, another visitation was made to Santiago de Óbidos, by 'Pedro Affonso bacharel em degradedos ouvidor jerall pollo Reverendysymo em Christo Padre e Senhor dom Affonso Nogueira'. There are only five articles, and these deal with administration of the church.<sup>176</sup>

The process of reconstructing the history of the pastoral visit in Portugal becomes a little easier after the year 1466. There are now two sets of documents available for the Lisbon diocese, those for Santiago de Óbidos, and the visitation articles for São Miguel de Sintra and Santo André de Mafra.<sup>177</sup> Consequently one can discern a pattern of visitations, frequently carried out by the same visitors, and it is more feasible to speculate about series of missing visitation articles for other churches in the same diocese.

On 2 June 1466, Lourenço Vaz, 'desembargador da Rolaçom do Reverendissimo em Cristo padre e Senhor dom Jorge', visited São Miguel de Sintra and made certain recommendations about the running of the church, among them:

Item mando ao dicto prior e raçoeiros que cumpram e guardem todas as constituições e visitasões do Cardeal e do Arcebispo dom Pedro e dos outros Prelados, segundo em elas é conteudo.<sup>178</sup>

Just over a week later, the same Lourenço Vaz reached Santiago de Óbidos, and again ordered:

Item mandey ao dito prior e rraçoeiros que compam e guardem as constituições sinodaaes e visitasões geeraaes e outras quaesquer que fforam fectas per os prellados que atee qui forom segundo se em ellas contem sob as penas em ellas postas e por esta os rreleua das penas que lhes fforom postas em as outras visitasões pasadas ataa qui.<sup>179</sup>

Some of the rulings for the two churches are virtually identical in wording, such as the order to pay the procuration to the Archbishop's receiver in Lisbon before 1 August, and Lourenço Vaz's precautionary measure:

Item mandey que esta visitaçom seja posta com as outras já passadas em huu caderno no coro da dita igreja por ao diante os benefiçados dela nom alegarem ignorância do que lhes em ela foi mandado.<sup>180</sup>

This suggests that there are two distinct kinds of visitation article: standard, formulaic instructions that are issued to all parish clergy as a matter of course, and articles 'of circumstance' that depend on the particular church, its clergy and their situation.

On 14 January 1467, Álvaro Gil, royal chaplain, Prior of São Miguel de Torres Vedras and D. Jorge's *ouvidor*, visited São Miguel de Sintra. He found the church 'mui bem corregida assi no espiritual como no temporal', and issued the same instructions as Lourenço Vaz concerning payment of the procuration and preservation of the visitation articles.<sup>181</sup>

14 February of the same year, the visitation to Santiago de Óbidos, as for S. João do Mocharro<sup>182</sup> was conducted by D. Jorge himself. This visitation is comparable in scope and detail to that of D. Pedro de Noronha, and seen in conjunction with the pastoral visits and

synod held in his name, tends to undermine the common perception of D. Jorge as the most extreme example of a cleric enjoying many different honours and offices without carrying out his episcopal duties.<sup>183</sup> The emphasis is on the cure of souls, administration of the sacraments, correct observance of all the rites and rituals of the Church, the importance of preaching and prayer and knowing the vices and virtues. D. Jorge criticizes clerical ignorance and negligence, lax behaviour and loose morals. He shows that he is familiar with the pastoral traditions of his diocese:

mandamos a vós que façaaes guardar a constituiçam do Cardeall que se começa *Cum satis*.<sup>184</sup>

and he also issues a general decree:

que ponham em cada huua igreja as constituições sinodaaes escriptas pollo arçebispo dom Joham da boa memoria nosso predeçesor atee que outra vez a dita igreja seja visitada sob penna de II<sup>o</sup> rreaes.<sup>185</sup>

The visitation document for S. João do Mocharro includes chapters on behaviour at pilgrimages and vigils, witches and soothsayers:

Item por quanto achamos que os feytiçeyros e diuinheiros escantadores beenzedeyros egoyreyros e sorteyros sam escumungados pella constituiçam sinodall mandamosuos sob pena de excumunhom que denunçies e prouiquees por escomungados aquelles e aquellas que notoriamente em vossa freguisia de taaes artes husarem per tantas vezes atee que conheçam seu pecado.<sup>186</sup>

The *constituiçam sinodall* is most probably constitution number twenty- three of D. João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja's Synod of Lisbon, 1403. This constitution was taken from the constitutions of his predecessor, D. João Anes.<sup>187</sup>

On 10 February 1468, Martinho Alho, Archdeacon of Lisbon, successfully petitioned Paul II for permission to delegate the task of visiting his archdeanery:

in septuagesimo vel circa sue etatis anno constitutus et licentiatu in theologia, qui propter etatem commodè per se ipsum visitare non potest.<sup>188</sup>

6 May, 1468, Afonso Anes, Prior of Santa Maria de Óbidos, visited various churches in the town, including Santiago de Óbidos. The visitation was a straightforward event.<sup>189</sup>

D. Jorge visited São Miguel de Sintra in person on 28 May 1468; the visitation document is brief, and contains the following statement:

Fazemos saber que visitando nós pessoalmente todas as igrejas do nosso Arcebispado...achámos que era mui bem ornamentada, corrigida e reparada de todas as cousas que lhe eram necessárias.<sup>190</sup>

Santiago de Óbidos was next visited on 6 February 1469 by Afonso Anes, who made a number of criticisms about the state of Santa Maria de Figueiros, São Lourenço do Peral and the church of Vilar.<sup>191</sup>

On 10 February 1469, São Miguel de Sintra was inspected by 'Rodriganes, scolar em direito canónico e beneficiado na igreja de Santa Maria de Sintra'. The document is short, and makes no new recommendations.<sup>192</sup>

On 16 November of the same year, Pedro Afonso visited 'todas as igrejas deste arcebispado per especial mandado'. On reaching Santiago de Óbidos, he found matters less than satisfactory and imposed a penalty:

Item achey que a dicta igreja era muy mal servida, mando ao apontador que execute a visitaçom do dicto senhor que he acerca do consatis soba pena em elia contheuda.<sup>193</sup>

On the 26 he reached São Miguel de Sintra, but found nothing to complain about there. Nor was it necessary for him to make any stipulations regarding payment of the procuration, since 'logo pagou a dicta visitaçom.'<sup>194</sup>

On 28 October, 1470, the visitor for São Miguel de Sintra was Álvaro Gil. He found nothing to criticize, received the procuration<sup>195</sup> and proceeded to Santiago de Óbidos, which he visited on 15 November. One new instruction issued there concerns clerical hairstyles:

Item mando que qualquer crelgo ou beneficiado que trazer o cabelo em tall maneira que lhe nom parreça a orrelha e todo rredondo mando que nom diga misa e os que nom forrem de misa nom lhes façam destribucom de seu beneficio.<sup>196</sup>

27 June 1471 Álvaro Gil again visited São Miguel de Sintra, and was satisfied with his findings.<sup>197</sup> On 8 July, he reached Santiago de Óbidos, and noticed a leaking roof. For the rest, he had no major criticisms to register.<sup>198</sup>

On 22 May 1473, Álvaro Gil was called upon to resolve a disagreement between the Prior and beneficed clergy of Santiago de Óbidos, and this he did with a veiled threat:

prior amigo esto proveede vós que o arcebispo meu Senhor nom averá esto por bem fecto.<sup>199</sup>

Again, the disciplinary function of the visitation comes to the fore.

1 June 1473, D. João Martins, Bishop of Safi,<sup>200</sup> carried out a visitation to Santiago de Óbidos on behalf of his Metropolitan, D. Jorge da Costa. This Bispo Coadjutor keeps very closely to the text and tenor of the 1467 visitations, of which he must have had a copy, but there are still original touches, both in the ordering of the chapters, and, to some extent, in the contents. There are fifty visitation articles, and these include those which form part of the S. João do Mocharro visitation, concerning inappropriate revelry at pilgrimages and vigils, and witches and soothsayers.<sup>201</sup> On the following day, Fr. João Martins visited S. João do Mocharro. The text of this visitation diverges from that of the previous day when the bishop lists the books owned by S. João, which include *ho ofiço de vitoorya xpyanorum*,<sup>202</sup> and those

repairs needed to the church building and ornaments. There is also a reference to the previous year's visitation.<sup>203</sup>

17 February 1475 João Esteves visited São Miguel de Sintra and was quite content with what he found.<sup>204</sup> 22 February he visited Santiago de Óbidos and made a brief report.<sup>205</sup> 2 April of the next year he made out a slightly fuller visitation document on Santiago de Óbidos, but again there were no serious problems.<sup>206</sup>

16 May 1476, Álvaro Gil visited Santiago de Óbidos, and after carefully checking previous visitation articles, ascertained that a number of orders had not been obeyed. Worse still, he was informed that the clergy had been behaving in a disgraceful, if not sacrilegious manner:

diziam alguus trintayros ençarrados mantendose nos ditos trintayros quatro e cinco e seis entrando huus e saydos outros cantando cantiguas e juguando ho malhom e asy outros jogos ee tangendo estromentos nas quaes cousas eram e se amostravam ser pouca onestidade aos que em tall auto jaziam e ainda vituperio à clerizia e pouca devaçam ao poboo.<sup>207</sup>

The visitor was angered by these reports, and set out to restore discipline in Óbidos with a long and detailed ruling against such misconduct, using the threat of excommunication to prevent any further displays of irreverence.<sup>208</sup>

25 March 1477 the Santiago visitation was conducted by Martim Vaz, who complained that the chapels of Figueiros and Peral still needed repairs.<sup>209</sup>

It was on 6 October 1477 that D. Luís Pires, Archbishop of Braga and an illustrious reformer, entered into a concordat with the clergy of his diocese, in order to resolve the perpetual disputes about visitations, procurations and other *direitos episcopais*. It was given papal approval on 10 February 1478 by Sixtus IV, in the bull *Ea que*.<sup>210</sup>

13 December 1477 Afonso Anes visited Santiago de Óbidos. There are four articles, none of any special interest.<sup>211</sup>

25 December 1479, Santiago was visited again, this time by Fernão Carvalho, chaplain to D. Jorge, who made a number of rulings. For instance:

Item por canto algúus beneficiados das dictas egrejas aos domingos e festas e dias de guardar vãa andar hà caça ha que he contra dereyto e pouquo serviço de Deus e mor enchempro aos leygos, poreu mando jeralmente a todos hos beneficiados das dictas egrejas e hasy a quaesquer creligos dordes sacras que aos dictos dias nom amdem hà caça, e fazendo ho contrayro ponho em elles semtença descumunham.<sup>212</sup>

Interestingly, the visitor does not seem to be opposed to hunting as an activity, only when it interferes with clerical duties. There is no suggestion that the *beneficiados* should give up hunting altogether, only refrain from such excursions on Sundays and feast days. The point about offering a bad example to the faithful is perfectly valid, and the reader cannot help but recall Gil Vicente's *Clérigo da Beira*, in which the unruly parish priest and his son set off to hunt rabbits before mass.<sup>213</sup>

On 20 January 1480 Rodrigo Anes, vicar of Sintra, visited São Miguel de Sintra. The beneficed clergy complained about infringements of burial rights. As a result, the visitor and his scribe went to the church of São Martinho and questioned its incumbants. Their response, according to the visitor, was that he 'nam tinha tal poder pera os ouvir que os citassem perante os vigairos do Senhor Cardeal'. Rodrigo Anes, however, ruled in favour of São Miguel, threatening the clergy of São Martinho with excommunication should they disobey.<sup>214</sup>

On 10 March 1481, 'Fernandane arcediogo da Villa de Sanctarem, cooniguo em a See de Lixboa, prioll da igreja de sam pedro da Villa d Alanquer', visited Santiago de Óbidos, finding it 'bem servida no espirituall e que estava bem corregida.' The chapel of Vilar still needed repairs, however, and these were to be carried out before the feast of St. John.<sup>215</sup>

There is a reference to visitations for 9 May 1481, in the *Memórias de Paço de Sousa*:

Foi confirmado pelo vizitador do Mosteiro Fernão Martins, meio conego do Porto, e Abade de Marécós.<sup>216</sup>

On 21 March 1482, *Fernandeannes* carried out the annual visit to Santiago de Óbidos and leaves a list of repairs and refurbishments to be dealt with before the next visitation.<sup>217</sup>

On 18 January of the following year, João Esteves finds that the previous visitor's instructions have been obeyed, he clarifies a few administrative details and ends with the usual reference to the procuration.<sup>218</sup> The visitor for São Miguel de Sintra on 27 April 1484 is João Álvares.

He is not particularly impressed with his findings:

acho que a igreja e mal servida e os levem huus aos outros só pena de escomunham.<sup>219</sup>

Santiago de Óbidos was next visited on 22 March 1485, by Álvaro Esteves. There seems to have been some neglect of the chapel and church: the church bell has not rung for a long time because it has no clapper, and the prioste is ordered to put up some shelves on which to store the consecrated host.<sup>220</sup> Álvaro Esteves seems to have an eye for 'home improvements'. At São Miguel de Sintra on 22 April he orders the *vigário* or *prior* to mend the roof before August, because it is letting in rain. However, besides showing a concern for the upkeep of the fabric of the church, he notes that the beneficed clerks have been leaving the church unattended on Sundays and feast-days: 'ficava a missa por oficiar'. Therefore he suggests that they leave someone suitable behind to fulfil their duties, if they do go out.<sup>221</sup>

The visitor for 1487 is Frei João Aranha, Bishop of Safi,<sup>222</sup> accompanied by *o doutor Álvaro Garcia da ..... The visitation of Santiago de Óbidos took place on 28 February, and because he found that none of the repairs ordered by Álvaro Esteves had been carried out, that the church bell still had no clapper, he imposed a heavy fine on the prior and*



*beneficiados*.<sup>223</sup> São Miguel de Sintra, on the other hand, visited on the same day, 'era bem servida and bem corregida'. Even so, they still had to repair their roof and one of the bells.<sup>224</sup> The next listing for São Miguel de Sintra is 24 April 1480. Again, there is much attention to details of maintenance and repair.<sup>225</sup> Santiago de Óbidos receives a visitation on 30 April 1488, from João Gil, doctor of both laws, Archdeacon of Viseu, Canon of Lisbon and Vicar-general of D. Jorge. While most of his comments touch on the usual matters, there is one remark of particular interest:

Item mando ao dicto vigairo jerall que faça viir os clerigos do termo da dicta Villa à prosiçom do Corpo de Deus como sempre foy acostumado, porquanto se me aqueixaram os moradores da dicta Villa que se nom fazia ora como devia.<sup>226</sup>

What we have here are protests from the local population that things are not done properly any more, protests that they feel well within their rights to express, and to which the visitor pays serious attention. This question of pastoral visits and lay testimony is discussed by Christian Guillère for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Catalonia:

Les réponses sont parfois vives entre clerics et laïcs. En 1321, à Cadaques, les paroissiens estiment que le prêtre Arnau Ferrer n'est pas un bon predicateur, car il dit *multa in predicacione, que non sunt dicenda*.<sup>227</sup>

The visitation report for Santiago de Óbidos, 18 May 1489, reveals that Church administration did not always proceed smoothly:

Item achey que o priostes das dictas egrejas se me agravaram que quando mandam fazer alguas obras nas dictas egrejas e quando vem ao pagar do dinheiro a cada huu o que lhe amontavaa lhes rrequer por muitas vezes e lhes nom querem pagar e asy o que lhes pentençe da visitaçom o que parece mall.<sup>228</sup>

Beside inspecting buildings and interiors, the visitor has a clearly defined role as ecclesiastical 'troubleshooter', brought in to resolve internal conflicts between management and workforce.

23 March 1490, Santiago de Óbidos is visited by Dr. João Gil, who accuses the parish clergy of neglecting their parishioners and the prior of not fulfilling his duties.<sup>229</sup> 30 May 1490 Afonso Gil is appointed by Dr. João Gil to visit São Miguel de Sintra. The visitation report is fairly detailed; Afonso Gil had done his homework and read previous articles, in order to ascertain whether instructions had been carried out.<sup>230</sup> Isaías da Rosa Pereira has also published visitation articles for Santo André de Mafra. The first of these is dated 1489, and deals mainly with administrative details and minor cases of neglect:

Item achei per enformaçam certa que avia dous annos que nom cantavam aniversairos...lhe fosse mandado que os cantassem. E o prior que hé que as visitaçes deu di...nom sam achados e as fazem perdições por se nom saber o que lhes mandam o que...sem percam.<sup>231</sup>

A further visitation, conducted in 1490, takes up the same questions; apparently the clergy of the parish have mended their ways:

achei que fezerom e que se cantavam os dictos aniversairos.<sup>232</sup>

12 April 1491, Santo André de Mafra is visited by Afonso Gil, who expresses some dubiety about the *prioste's* administrative abilities. They are unwilling to list church properties and possessions in their books:

e assi a igreja perderá o seu per negligencia dos seus ministros.<sup>233</sup>

Nor do they take proper care of their books:

mando ao prioste que ora he que os faça iluminar e encadenar.<sup>234</sup>

Within a month, Santiago de Óbidos is visited by Pedro Dias, on 3 May 1491. This visitor is called upon to resolve several problems, namely the conflict that has arisen between rival groups of clergy who are now ompeting for alms, burial rights, and so on, and the complaints of

parishioners who are demanding that the clergy not only place in their chapel 'hu livro pera bautizar e encomendamento dos finados', but also paint the crucifix and the church doors.

The visitor displays a practical understanding of the clergy's predicament:

avendo enformaçam certa que todo era necessario mando ao prioste e beneficiados da dita igreja de Santiago que mandem correger as ditas portas daquello que lhe necessario for e outrosy o dito livro e quanto he ao cruceiro fique pera a outra visitaçam porquanto os ditos beneficiados tem muitas despesas e as penções sam poucas.<sup>235</sup>

There are three visitations for 1492. On 28 April, the visitation for Santo André de Mafra has a curious reference to Jews who try to sell their wares in the church doorway on Sundays and feast days.<sup>236</sup> On 2 May, Santiago de Óbidos, the crucifix has yet to be painted.<sup>237</sup> The annual visitation is carried out in São Miguel de Sintra on 16 June 1492, and the clergy are strongly criticised for not duly respecting previous visitation articles:

Item vista a negligencia do cura e beneficiados e icónomos deste ano presente, os quaes nom tiveram cuidado de trazerem a visitaçam pasada a nem coserem com as outras pera se saber o que havia de visitar e fazer segundo é custume em cada huu ano fazer, portanto os he por condenados todos juntamente em V reaes per a chancelaria do Senhor Cardeal.<sup>238</sup>

Diego Lopez, the visitor, sounds thoroughly exasperated, hence the fine imposed on the whole lot of them. Joham Gill doutor conducted at least three pastoral visits that we know of in 1493. On 21 March he visited Santo André de Mafra,<sup>239</sup> on 23 March São Miguel de Sintra,<sup>240</sup> and on 28 March Santiago de Óbidos.<sup>241</sup> Again, the emphasis is on upkeep of church property, and administration.

The Cluny visitation documents of 1 April 1494 suggest a generalised decadence throughout the Order:

Quia in plerisque locis Ordinis, non sine gravi scandalo et magno abusu, fratres, de residuis suarum prebendarum, fraudata eleemosyna, pro sue voluntatis libito disponunt armariola habentes et arcas in quibus quod eis superest recondunt, et

propterea se ingurgitant, inebriant et galiardizant; et inde sequuntur rixe, dissentiones, murmurationes in suos administratores, rebelliones, sed pro dolor, incontinentie, lubricitates et lascivie innumerabiles

The declaration continues, with references to absenteeism, women and gaming.<sup>242</sup>

In the same year, Santiago de Óbidos was visited on 15 May,<sup>243</sup> Santo André de Mafra on 1 June<sup>244</sup> and São Miguel de Sintra on 6 June.<sup>245</sup> There are no visitation articles for Santiago de Óbidos in 1495, but Santo André de Mafra<sup>246</sup> and São Miguel de Sintra<sup>247</sup> did receive visits in that year, on 15 and 13 March respectively.

On 6 April 1496, João Lopez visited Santiago de Óbidos,<sup>248</sup> while Diego Lopez visited Santo André de Mafra in the same year.<sup>249</sup> If pastoral visits appear to proceed quite smoothly in the Lisbon diocese, D. Diogo de Sousa's synodal statutes of 1496 would suggest otherwise for Oporto:

Item, porque nos hé feita gram querella per nossos visitadores, nom sem rezam, que quando per nosos mandado vam visitar, como o direito manda, devem seer recebidos e agasalhados, homrrados e bem trautados por honde quer que andarem visitando, e muitos dos abades, rectores, capelâaes e rendeiros que estam nas ditas igrejas, quando sentem ou sabem que os visitadores ham de hir aa igreja honde elles estam, se absentam della por nom seerem achados e nam darem rezam de sua negligencia acerqua da cura de seus freigueses e por nam teerem rezam de lhes fazarem gasalhado nem bem os trautarem como tem jurado em suas confirmações e o direito os obriga.<sup>250</sup>

Both Santiago de Óbidos and Santo André de Mafra received canonical visitations in 1497,<sup>251</sup> 1498,<sup>252</sup> 1499<sup>253</sup> and 1500.<sup>254</sup> The 1499 and 1500 visitations were conducted by the same cleric, Pero Gonçalves *doutor em degredos*, and a comparison of the four articles demonstrates that he carried out his pastoral duties quite conscientiously, referring back to the earlier reports to ascertain whether previous instructions had been obeyed, noting his findings and issuing new rulings. Although the document is framed in certain formulaic expressions, it is clear that he deals with each case according to its own merits and particular

circumstances. Santo André de Mafra, 25 May 1500, contains two picturesque details. Firstly, that the prior and beneficed clergy were unable to obtain an Easter candle 'por causa da prisam do cireiro',<sup>255</sup> and secondly:

que dona Issabel de Baiaam que estava en hua sua quintaa na freguezia da dicta egreja que avia muitos anos qu nunca vinha à egreja nem recebia os sacramentos.<sup>256</sup>

This may not be especially significant, but then again, we might speculate as to why she did not attend church or partake of the sacraments. Could it be that D. Isabel was the local sorceress?

To conclude this chapter, we suggest that the evidence adduced so far does not permit a convincing rebuttal of the accusations levelled at the clergy by the moralists and satirists. After an examination of the performance of the clergy in the spheres of councils and visitation, certain doubts must be raised as to their commitment and competence. Ecumenical, National and Provincial Councils are manifestly essential if the Church is to function successfully as an international and national organisation. Major decisions must be taken unilaterally and applied to all nations to ensure the greatest possible uniformity and coherence in Church ideals and practices. National and Provincial Councils, as we have seen, operate in more restricted spheres and realise somewhat different tasks, usually in the light of national circumstances and political factors. For the Portuguese clergy to contribute in any meaningful way to the organisation and running of the Church, to be aware of changes in policy, shifting viewpoints, problems and solutions, they had to be present at such assemblies. We have seen that there was rarely a full complement of Portuguese clerics in attendance at the General Councils. As was pointed out above, reasons can be found to explain the absence of certain prelates though, arguably, proctors might have been sent in their place. Nevertheless, whatever the mitigating circumstances, the clergy were remiss in this duty. It is even more difficult to justify the infrequency with which National and Provincial Councils were convened

by the Portuguese: three of each over a period of three hundred years. In fact, according to the records, no Provincial Council at all was convoked in fourteenth-century Portugal, and this in flagrant contravention of canon 6 of IV Lateran, which called for councils to be held *in singulis annis*. This abandonment of an essential practice cannot be justified. Three Provincial Councils were convoked by the Archbishop of Santiago during the same period, and certain Portuguese bishops did attend. But the needs of the Portuguese ecclesiastical province of Braga were not being met: the clergy of Braga, Coimbra, Oporto and Viseu were not brought together to deliberate on the issues of the day. They were given no opportunity to meet and share concerns, seek solutions to common problems, or even keep up to date on Church matters. Despite the political turmoil of the 1380s, despite the Great Schism, the Church had to function regardless of who was at its head, or who was the temporal monarch of the land.

Synodal statutes, episcopal constitutions and visitation articles go some way towards improving our knowledge of the situation. Portuguese bishops did hold synods and arrange visitations, even if they did so less frequently than they should. It is the 'grass-roots' endeavours of those clerics who constitute the local hierarchies, that truly nurture and sustain the Church as an organism. The edicts may be handed down by popes and prelates, but it is incumbent on the men at the base of the pyramid to put their rulings into effect. Without this structured pattern of responsibility and obedience, the whole edifice would come tumbling down. Arguably, then, in the light of this analysis, it is the synodal statutes and the visitation articles, more than any other documentary source, which permit us to quantify and evaluate the achievements of the medieval clergy.<sup>257</sup> Synods and visitations must offer some indication of the degree of commitment and responsibility of the bishops whose obligation it was to convoke or conduct them. In the medieval Portuguese context, it was significant if they were held at all. Through the texts themselves, we note the various preoccupations of different bishops and their diocesan clergy, whether these concerns were administrative, judicial,

legislative, pastoral, theological, or pedagogic. At the same time, an examination of synodal statutes and visitation reports reveals much of the day-to-day running of the Church, the work and the problems, which in turn enables us to form balanced judgments as to whether the clergy were adequately performing any or all of their vast range of duties. Visitation articles are also a means of gauging the seriousness with which some clerics would undertake the often tedious chore of upbraiding recalcitrant priors and beneficed clerics who has, in one way or another, brought the Church into disrepute. Tedious, because persuading a rural parish priest to repair a leaky roof may not be so exciting as preaching a fiery sermon that leads men to God and saves souls, but a dry congregation will surely be more responsive to the homily that a group of damp, disgruntled parishioners, and in any case, it had to be done.

On the basis of this non-literary evidence, we would maintain that many Portuguese clerics match the literary stereotypes in neglecting their duties and acting to the detriment of the Church and laity. Nevertheless, this judgment must be balanced against the indications that there was a parallel tradition of continuity of discipline exercised from within the Church. This control was applied by means of such councils, synods and visitations which were held, with the express intention of correcting abuses and misdemeanours, irrespective of whether committed by laymen or members of the clergy. It remains to be seen whether this tradition has its parallel in the pastoral and disciplinary activity of preaching.

## FOOTNOTES

1. When a bishop does his duty in one area, it seems to follow that he does so in others. A bishop who attends councils and convokes synods also tends to produce episcopal constitutions, carry out visitations in his diocese and preach sermons. See for instance D. Gonalo Pereira and D. Fernando da Guerra.
2. See the fifteenth-century Portuguese translation of the *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum*, edited by J.J. Nunes, *Cr nica da Ordem dos Frades Menores. Volume I*, page 30, for a description of how five Franciscans died for the faith in Morocco: 'E emtam el-rey emendido com sanha tomou huum coitello e, apartados o santos huus dos outros, lhes partio as cabeas por mero da fronte com aquelle cuitello com sya m o, com grande sanha.'
3. Palmer Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda*, Philadelphia. 1975, page 5 (reprint of first edition, Amsterdam, 1940).
4. Alfonso X, Partida 7<sup>a</sup>, XXV, 3, Madrid, 1807, page 376.
5. *New Catholic Encyclopedia Volume IV*, Washington, 1967, pages 372, col.1.
6. Odette Pontal, *Les Statuts synodaux franais du XIIIe si cle pr c d s de l'histoire du synode dioc sain depuis ses origines. Tome I. Les Statuts de Paris et le synodal de l'Ouest (XIIIe si cle)*, Paris, 1971, lx-lxi.
7. Fortunato de Almeida, *Hist ria da Igreja em Portugal. Volume I*. Nova edi o, Porto, 1967.
8. Juan Francisco Rivera, 'Personajes hispanos asistentes en 1215 al IV Concilio de Letr n', *Hispania Sacra*, 4 (1951), pages 335-355. Antonio Garc a y Garc a, 'Los concilios particulares en la edad media', in *El concilio de Braga y la funci n de la legislaci n particular en la Iglesia*, Salamanca, 1975, pages 135-167. Jos  S nchez Herrero, *Concilios provinciales y s nodos toledanos de los siglos XIV y XV. La religiosidad cristiana del clero y del pueblo*, La Laguna, 1976. Gonzalo Mart nez D ez, 'Concilios espa oles anteriores a Trento', *Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesi sticas en Espa a*, V, Salamanca, 1976, pages 299-350. *Diccionario de historia eclesi stica de Espa a. Volume I*. Madrid, 1972. Ant nio Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana I*, Rome & Oporto, 1968; *II* and *IV*, Braga, 1970; *III*, pre-print.
9. 'Sicut olim a sanctis patribus noscitur institutum, metropolitani singulis annis cum sui suffraganeis provincialia non omittant concilia celebrare', in *Histoire des conciles d'apr s les documents originaux. Tome V. Deuxi me partie*, edited by Charles-Joseph Hefele & Dom H. Leclercq, Paris, 1913, Page 1334.
10. *The Register of Eudes of Rouen*, edited by Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, New York and London, 1964, pages xx-xxi.
11. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, page 851.
12. Alexandre Herculano, *Hist ria de Portugal. Tomo II, Livro V*, Lisbon, 1980. See also Edward M. Peters, 'Rex Inutilis: Sancho II of Portugal and Thirteenth-Century Deposition Theory', *Studia Gratiana*, XIV (1967), pages 255-305.
13. Atanasio L pez, 'Fr. Velasco, nuncio apost lico en los reinos de Espa a y Portugal y obispo de Idanha o Guarda', *Biblos*, 18 (1942), pages 249-258.



14. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Das Actividades Políticas e Religiosas de D. Fr. Estêvão, Bispo que foi do Porto e de Lisboa', *Lusitânia Sacra*, 6 (1962-63), pages 24-90.
15. D. Egas, Bishop of Viseu, wrote a *Summa de Libertate Ecclesiastica*, edited by Antonio García y García in *Estudios sobre la canonística portuguesa medieval*, Madrid, 1976, pages 219-281.
16. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, page 336, col.2.
17. Fortunato de Almeida, op.cit., page 467.
18. Fortunato de Almeida, op.cit., page 468. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *O Infante D. Henrique na Expansão Portuguesa*, Braga, 1963, pages 130-131.
19. John Hine Mundy & Kennerly M. Woody (eds.), *The Council of Constance. The Unification of the Church*, New York & London, 1961, pages 518-519.
20. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'Concílio', in *Dicionário de História de Portugal. Volume I*, edited by Joel Serrão, Lisbon, 1963, page 656.
21. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Bispos de Lamego e de Viseu no Século XV (Revisão Crítica dos Autores) I (1394-1463)*, Braga, 1986, pages 81-137.
22. John Hine Mundy & Kennedy M. Woody (eds.), op.cit., page 520.
23. See Charles-Martial de Witte, 'Les Bulles pontificales et l'expansion portugaise au XV siècle'. *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Louvain, 1953-1958. Also, *Monumenta Henricina. XV Volumes*, Coimbra, 1960-1974. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'A Expansão Portuguesa segundo o Pensamento do Infante D. Henrique', *Brotéria*, 71 (1960), pages 409-421.
24. Fortunato de Almeida, op.cit., page 468. For detailed discussion of the organisation, preoccupations and movements of this council, see Denys Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, London, 1970.
25. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Bispos de Lamego e de Viseu*, pages 139-183.
26. See Charles-Martial de Witte, art. cit.
27. 'Sicut olim a sanctis patribus noscitur institutum, metropolitani singulis annis cum sui suffraganeis provincialia non omittant concilia celebrare', *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux. Tome V. Deuxième partie*, edited by Charles-Joseph Hefele & Dom H. Leclercq, Paris, 1913, Page 1334.
28. Fortunato de Almeida, op.cit., pages 248 and pages 465-466.
29. Alberto Feio, 'Um Ignorado Concílio Provincial Bracaraense (1261)', *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 1 (1941), pages 141-143.
30. Fidel Fita, 'Concilios españoles inéditos: provincial de Braga en 1261 y nacional de Sevilla en 1478', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 22 (1893), pages 209-212 (pages 209-257).
31. Peter Lineham, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1971. Idem, 'Councils and Synods in the Thirteenth-Century. Castile and Aragon',

in *Councils and Assemblies*. Papers read at the Eighth Summer Meeting and Ninth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society. Edited by G. J. Cuming & Derek Baker, Cambridge, 1971, pages 101-111.

32. Demetrio Mansilla, 'Disputas diocesanas entre Toledo, Braga y Compostela en los siglos XII al XV', *Anthologica Annua*, 3 (1955), 39-143. Also, Júlio César Baptista, 'Portugal e o Cisma do Ocidente', *Lusitânia Sacra*, 1 (1956), 65-203.

33. Fortunato de Almeida, op.cit., page 285.

34. Derek W. Lomax & R. J. Oakley, *Fernão Lopes. The English in Portugal 1367-87*, Warminster, 1988, page 353.

35. See also Jose Sánchez Herrero, *Las diócesis del reino de León. Siglos XIV y XV*, León, 1978, pages 47-49.

36. See J. Augusto Ferreira, *Fastos Episcopais da Igreja Primacial de Braga (Séc. III-Séc. XX). Volume II*, Famalicão, 1930, pages 190-192. Also, Sérgio da Silva Pinto, *Vasco Domingues o Primeiro Negociador da Aliança Anglo-Lusa*, Braga, 1956.

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38. J. Augusto Ferreira, *Fastos Episcopais II*, page 93.

39. Fortunato de Almeida, op.cit., page 190.

40. José Sánchez Herrero, *Concilios provinciales y sínodos toledanos*, page 36.

41. Gonzalo Martínez Díez, 'Concilios españoles anteriores a Trento,' page 329.

42. See Júlio César Baptista 'Portugal e o Cisma do Ocidente'.. Also Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, Porto 1986.

43. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'Leis Atentatórias', pages 505-592.

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49. Odette Pontal, op. cit., page lxi.
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54. Isaiás da Rosa Pereira, 'Sínodos medievais portugueses', page 457.
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61. *Fastos Episcopales II*, pages 145-147. A. Franquelim S. Neiva Soares, 'Conflitos Jurisdicionais entre a Colegiada e o Arcebispo de Braga (Século XIII a 1831)', in *Congresso Histórico de Guimarães e Sua Colegiada, 850º Aniversário da Batalha de S. Mamede (1128-1978). Actas. Volume II. Comunicações*, Guimarães. 1981, page 16.
62. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'Estudantes Portugueses na Reitoria do Colégio de S. Clemente de Bolonha na Primeira Metade do Século XV', *Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa*, III, 1 (1969), page 21.
63. Ibid., page 26.
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66. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'Leis Atentatórias'.
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101. Avelino de Jesus da Costa, 'A Ordem de Cluny', page 218.
102. Fernando Félix Lopes, op. cit.
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117. Avelino de Jesus da Costa, 'A Ordem de Cluny', page 219.
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142. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'Leis Atentatórias', page 553.
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174. Ibid., page 162.
175. Ibid., page 162.
176. Ibid., page 163-164.
177. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', pages 135-257.
178. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', page 147.
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184. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1438-1481)', page 174.
185. Ibid., page 181.



186. 'Visitação a S. João de Mocharro d'Óbidos', page 139.
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188. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis VI*, pages 433-434.
189. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1438-1481)', page 183.
190. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', page 149.
191. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1438-1481)', pages 184-187.
192. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', pages 150-151.
193. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1438-1481)', page 188.
194. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', pages 151-152.
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209. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1438-1481)', pages 214-215.
210. Published by Avelino de Jesus da Costa, 'O Bispo D Pedro e a Organização da Diocese de Braga', *Biblos*, 34 (1958) pages 485-494. See also *Fastos Episcopales II*, pages 315-316.

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213. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente II*, pages 517-547.
214. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', page 156.
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217. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1482-1500)', pages 83-84.
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219. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', page 156.
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221. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', page 157.
222. See António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'João Martins e João Aranha.'
223. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1482-1500)', pages 87-88.
224. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra', pages 157-159.
225. Ibid., pages 159-161.
226. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1482-1500)', page 89.
227. Christian Guillère, op.cit., page 144.
228. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1482-1500)', page 92.
229. Ibid., pages 93-95.
230. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', pages 161-163.
231. Ibid., page 173.
232. Ibid., page 175.
233. Ibid., page 177.
234. Ibid., page 178.
235. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1482-1500)', page 97.
236. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', page 180.
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238. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', page 164.
239. Ibid., pages 181-183.
240. Ibid., pages 166-167.
241. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1482-1500)', pages 99-101.
242. *Statuts, chapitres généraux et visites de l'ordre de Cluny V*, pages 515-516.
243. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1482-1500)', pages 101-102.
244. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', pages 183-186.
245. Ibid., pages 167-169.
246. Ibid., pages 186-188.
247. Ibid., pages 169-170.
248. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1482-1500)', pages 107-109.
249. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', pages 189-190.
250. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, pages 366-367. Note the use of such introductory phrases as: 'Item, porquando somos ora emformado, per os visitadores' (page 377) and 'Item, nós somos certificado per nossos visitadores' (page 382). For discussion of these statutes, see Arthur Anselmo, *Origens da Imprensa em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1981, pages 279-288.
251. 15 February 1497, Santiago de Óbidos, 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1482-1500)', pages 109-111.
252. 21 April 1498, Santiago de Óbidos, 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1482-1500)', pages 111-113. 23 May 1498, Santo André de Mafra, 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', pages 192-195.
253. 14 May 1499, Santiago de Óbidos, 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1482-1500)', pages 113-115. 5 June 1499, Santo André de Mafra, 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', pages 195-197.
254. 19 May 1500, Santiago de Óbidos, 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1482-1500)', pages 115-116. 25 May 1500, Santo André de Mafra 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', pages 197-198.
255. 'Visitações de São Miguel de Sintra e de Santo André de Mafra (1466-1523)', page 197.
256. Ibid., page 198.
257. 'As constituições sinodais, com as visitas paroquiais que completam muitos aspectos da vida paroquial, são espelho da vida de clérigos e fiéis no quadro concreto da sua existência no mundo dos homens'. Isaías da Rosa Pereira, 'A Vida do Clero e o Ensino da Doutrina Cristã através dos Sínodos Medievais Portugueses (Séculos XIII-XV)', *Lusitânia Sacra*, 10 (1978), pages 103-141.

## CHAPTER 3

## PREACHERS AND SERMONS

'Inter cetera quae ad salutem spectant populi christiani, pabulum verbi Dei permaxime noscitur sibi esse necessarium, quia sicut corpus materiali, sin anima spirituali cibo nutritur, eo quod non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei'.<sup>1</sup>

In an age of mass illiteracy, the people received their ideas and information from two primary sources, the pulpit and the itinerant minstrel. A secondary secular source was the travelling craftsman, who might also transmit news of events in other villages, towns or countries. But where religious matters were at issue, there is no doubt that the preacher-confessor was the chief mediating influence through which Christian doctrine permeated the thought and expression of his community. He was the channel through which the moral values and dicta of the highest authorities within the Church were communicated to its most lowly parishioner. Clearly there were other channels of communication, the national and provincial councils, diocesan synods, decretals and papal bulls, but these were by their very nature of limited effectiveness and influence. As far as the wider population was concerned it was the spoken word of the sermon which had the most immediate and widespread impact. Since no one, regardless of rank or status, was exempt from the obligation of hearing sermons (or confessing), preaching was necessarily the Church's main instrument for moralizing, didacticizing and conveying notions of appropriate behaviour - to laity and clergy alike.<sup>2</sup>

For a clerical audience, the preacher could deliver a learned, scholastic sermon; the *divisio intra* had the specific aim of discussing points of doctrine and of training preachers how to preach.<sup>3</sup> If preaching to a lay congregation, he would choose the *divisio extra*, a vernacular sermon studded with anecdotes, local colour and *exempla*, attempting, perhaps to restrain or

control their behaviour, and deter them from such insalubrious activities as gambling, blaspheming or drinking to excess.

Since the publication of Owst's studies,<sup>4</sup> scholars have taken an increasing interest in the sermon production of various countries, among them England, France, Germany and Spain,<sup>5</sup> but far less has been done on preaching in medieval Portugal; that is to say, Christian, not Muslim or Jewish sermons. Scholarship on this topic has been patchy, understandably so in view of the paucity of complete, authentic texts in Latin or Portuguese.<sup>6</sup> While it is generally assumed that sermons were preached on a regular basis, following the prescription of Canon 10, there has been no study of frequency of preaching in medieval Portugal comparable to that by D. W. Robertson for thirteenth-century England,<sup>7</sup> which would prove or disprove the assumption, nor any systematic attempt since Fortunato de Almeida's to list known medieval Portuguese sermons.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, it should be possible to reconstruct at least a partial picture of preaching in the Portuguese Middle Ages, by compiling an inventory of references to preachers of note (or notoriety),<sup>9</sup> sermons preached on special occasions, sermon notebooks, extant and lost, and any relevant information that can be obtained from histories of the Church and the religious orders, chronicles, medieval library catalogues, royal decrees, royal correspondence, synodal statutes, episcopal visitations and supplications to the Pope. The existence of such aids to preachers as *artes praedicandi* and collections of *exempla* should also be noted. In this way, it can be established whether clergy were doing their duty.

While references will be dealt with in approximately chronological order, there are various criteria according to which sermons can be classed, and some sort of typology must be established. Preaching in the Middle Ages was a protean activity, in theory and in practice. Therefore it is neither useful nor relevant to seek a blanket definition. We might begin with the traditional bipartite division of preaching into learned and popular sermons. The delivery

of popular sermons was guaranteed by the rapid implantation and spread of the Mendicant Orders, and is widely documented in literature and arbitrations drawn up to settle disputes about ecclesiastical jurisdiction. On the other hand, we can infer the existence of learned sermons from the numbers of Portuguese scholars who travelled abroad to the Universities of England, France, Italy and Spain, or who took a degree in theology in the Portuguese University.<sup>10</sup>

Jean Longère proposes four different ways of classifying sermons, 'par périodes', 'selon la tradition manuscrite', 'selon la condition de l'auteur' and 'selon l'auditoire'.<sup>11</sup> Of these, the last category seems most apposite. Audience is viewed as a prime conditioning factor in sermon composition by more than one medieval writer. St. Gregory, for instance, stresses:

Necessarium tamen est ut discretionem habet in loquendo, secundum diversitatem auditorum.<sup>12</sup>

while Jacques de Vitry states that:

The greatest prudence and the greatest discernment are necessary in preaching. The same specific does not suit everybody. The physician who would cure all eyes with the same salve is a fool; and that which the eye needs the foot does not.<sup>13</sup>

Frei Paio of Coimbra certainly takes this view, stating in Peter and Paul 9, folios 100-101v, that one should preach:

iuxta capacitatem auditorum per quod implere poteris mysterium prredicationis.<sup>14</sup>

Alfonso X, whose laws on preachers and preaching virtually constitute a lay *ars praedicandi* in their own right,<sup>15</sup> includes in his compilation a section 'como os prelados deue catar que homes ssom aquelles <a> que preegã e a maneyra das parauoas que dizem':

Pará deuem metes os prelados que querem preegar se ssom sabedores ou outros que nõ entendã tanto ou se ssom bõos e entendudos ou se pode preegar das mayores cousas e mays fortes da ffe e das ac<ript>uras. E sse fore outros que nõ ouuere tanto entendimeto ligeiramente e de que sse possam aprofeytar.<sup>16</sup>

Not only should the preacher be aware of the type of congregation he is addressing, he should choose his sermon matter according:

Outrossy o que preegador nõ deue fazer entender a gramatica ao poboo como e maneyra de lla<s> amostrar ne outrossy nõ deue contar quãdo sermõare ne hua das falhas que ha no liuros da gramatica que fezerõ as gentes e en outras cousas semelhantes destas ca no he guisado que nos ssermoens que fezere <atã> be sa creença ne das outras gentes cõ ha de Nostro Senhor Jhesu Cristo. E estas cousas uedou a Jgreia por que alguus tempos <forõ> en quaes faziã e uinha ende muyto dano.<sup>17</sup>

This appears to be a gibe at the scholastic sermon which, when preached to an unlearned audience, undermines rather than reinforces Christian beliefs. The purpose of a sermon is to edify, not to demonstrate the preacher's own knowledge.

José Sánchez Herrero, in his study of the dioceses of Leon, proposes four categories of sermon, of which he is able to find examples: cathedral sermons; sermons on the Passion and Resurrection; sermons on the Saints and popular missions. However, because he is studying the life and workings of dioceses in general, preaching is just one of many duties or activities under consideration, and his classification is, for the purposes of this discussion, too narrow.<sup>18</sup>

Anscar Zawart suggests a general division of sermons into missionary sermons, addressed to unbelievers, and liturgical sermons, addressed to a congregation of the faithful, as part of the divine service.<sup>19</sup> These latter would include *sermones dominicales*, *sermones de sanctis*, *sermones de tempore* and *sermones communes vel quotidiani*. But neither of these broad categories is adequate for a discussion of three hundred years of preaching in the Portuguese Middle Ages, failing as they do to take account of such important factors as time,

place and circumstance, elements which, as much as audience, determined the form and content of the sermon. Looking again to the the *Primeyra Partida*, we find this affirmation:

Pregação ha mester pera seer be feita o que a faz esta <s> quatro cousas: tepo, logar, <a> que e como.<sup>20</sup>

Sermons might be preached on Sundays or saints' days, but they were also delivered at councils, synods and during visitations; in churches, monasteries, markets or fairs, at funerals, coronations, weddings, on battlefields, to quell popular riots - or to incite them; to speed sailors and explorers on their way to discover new lands for the Portuguese Crown, or encourage people to contribute to the costs of the Crusade, or Just War. In fact, Zawart extends his first general division to a much wider ranging list of different types of Franciscan sermon that he has identified, coinciding to some extent with Portuguese literary historians Correa de Oliveira and Saavedra Machado in their summary of Portuguese preaching during the Middle Ages:

A conquista das almas mediante a propagação da Fé, a edificação evangélica entre as diversas camadas sociais, o proselitismo religioso anti-muçulmano, anti-hebraico, anti-pagão e anti-herético, a pregação da cruzada peninsular, nacional e ultramarina, as exigências da política interna e externa, a administração da justiça.<sup>21</sup>

Zawart's categories may be summed up as follows. Portuguese examples of these types of sermons will be mentioned briefly in this section, and discussed at greater length in the chronology of the Portuguese sermon.

**Army sermons**, which are frequently related to crusade preaching. There are two excellent examples of preaching to soldiers in *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*.



**Crusading sermons.** Judging by the regularity with which crusading bulls were issued throughout the Middle Ages, many of these must have been preached in Portugal. Frei João Xira at Lagos, July 1415.

**Emblematic sermons.** No known examples in Portugal.

**Homilies.** A number of these are listed in medieval library inventories.

**Liturgical sermons.** *Sermonário* of Frei Paio de Coimbra.

**Missionary sermons.** Sometimes related to the crusade sermon. Frei Estêvão de Loulé worked as a missionary in the Canary Isles in the 1450s. Frei Henrique de Coimbra travelled to India in order to evangelize, in 1500.

**Mystery sermons.** Closely connected with early theatre. No examples known.

**Mystical sermons.** No examples known.

**Passion sermons.** No examples known.

**Periscope.** Examples mentioned in library inventories.

**Pest sermons.** An instance of these are the sermons preached in Lisbon in 1423 by Mestre André Dias.

**Preaching to heretics.** Under this heading may be listed Frei António de Santarém in the early thirteenth century, and the Dominican who caused rioting and mass murder by his

preaching in Lisbon in 1506. Note also the *Primeyra Partida, Titolo VIII, Ley XLVIa* 'como os prelados nõ deue preegar as parauas da fe aos hereges [ne] aos homees desentendudos'.<sup>22</sup>

**Preaching indulgences.** Again, related to the crusade sermon in many instances. 3 April 1456 Calixtus III granted indulgences to those who were present when Frei Afonso Velho preached the crusade.

**Preaching to Jews,** exemplified in Portugal by the sermons of Mestre Paulo in Braga, 1481. This category could be extended to include preaching against Jews.

**Preaching before the Pope.** This practice is illustrated by Martinho de Viana, whose pronouncements were edited in 1494 and 1496.

**Quadragesimale,** or sermon for Lent.

**Scholastic sermons.** None extant.

*Sermo casualis.*<sup>23</sup> Abundant instances of this genre. Sermons preached in councils, synods and chapters may be considered to constitute a sub-genre, and again there are examples: Frei André do Prado at the Council of Basle, D. Fernando da Guerra at the Synod of Braga 1435.

*Sermo vulgaris,* or **popular sermon.** The essence of Mendicant preaching. Unfortunately, the only popular sermons referred to in Portuguese sources tend to be mentioned because of the particular circumstances in which they were preached. Most popular sermons were narrative in character, and intended to lead the listeners to penitence.

*Sermones per Adventum*. Frei André do Prado, before the Council of Basle. This will be discussed below.

**Verse sermons.** Related to the **burlesque sermon**, this type of preaching has more in common with dramatic representations than religious ceremony.

A further source of information on sermon composition is furnished by the *artes praedicandi*, although the numbers of these and the fact that they were written over three centuries may only confuse matters further. Each *auctoritas* seems to have his own ideas, rules and priorities. For Alain de Lille (d. 1202):

Praedicatio est, manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei, informationi hominum deserviens, ex rationum semita, et auctoritatum fonte proveniens.<sup>24</sup>

According to Thomas Waleys, (d. 1340):

predicatio est, invocato Dei auxilio, propositi thematis dividendo et concordando, congrue data et devota expositio, ad intellectus catholicam illustrationem et affectus caritativam inflammationem.<sup>25</sup>

Frei Paio of Coimbra has a clear vision of what the (Dominican) preacher should be doing:

Primo, ad predicandum fidei unitatem et destruendam hereticam pravitatem;  
 Secundo, ad docendam bonorum operum honestatem et utilitatem;  
 Tertio, ad arguendam seculi vanitatem;  
 Quarto, ad intimandam mortis propinquitatem;  
 Item v. ad exprimendam iudicis severitatem;  
 Item vi. ad comminandam inferni acerbitem.<sup>26</sup>

In his second sermon scheme for the feast of Andrew, Paio discusses three different kinds of preacher;

Primi bene vivunt et bene docent, ut veri apostoli et eorum sequaces (...)  
 Secundi male vivunt et bene docent, ut mercennarii (...)

Tertii male vivunt et male docent, ut heretici.<sup>27</sup>

If Frei Paio represents the thirteenth-century Portuguese conception of what preaching should entail, the fourteenth-century *Livro das Confissões* offers this definition:

A uerdade de doctrina he a pregaçon de ihu xpo que he doctrina das almas que as ensine como se deuem guardar de todos los peccados & uestirse de todas las uirtudes & conhescer deus [...] Onde estas tres cousas deue pregar o pregador aas almas. As cousas celestiaaes pera aas amar & desejar & gaanhar. Os peccados pera aos leixar. As uirtudes & as boodades pera as tomar & guardar & uestirse delas.<sup>28</sup>

In the fifteenth century, Frei Afonso de Alprão writes in his *Ars Predicandi ad eruditionem simplicium*:

Thema sermonis seu collationis est oratio, vel aequivalens, sumpta de Sacra Scriptura, fundamentaliter ad eruditionem populi sive laudem Dei, et virtutem vitiorumque reprehensionem applicabilis, vel ad laudem alicuius personae, sive actus, sive scientiae.<sup>29</sup>

From the sources cited, it can be seen that there are no serious divergences of opinion as to the fundamental purpose of the sermon. At best, it should be instructive, hortative and, should the occasion warrant it, monitory. Certainly, a good number of the sermons described in medieval sources answer this prescription, those of Álvaro Pais and Jean de Cardaillac, for instance. Other sermons fall far short of the ideal, such as that preached by Frei Vasco de Alagoa in 1439.

One factor to be considered pertains to entitlement to preach. Who preached in the medieval period, and were they authorised to do so? Various groups are involved. Firstly, lecturers and students in Faculties of Theology: preaching was an essential part of the teaching - learning process:

Durant tout le moyen âge, la prédication universitaire fait partie intégrante de l'enseignement de la Faculté de théologie.<sup>30</sup>

Secondly, archbishops, bishops and those appointed by them to preach in their archdioceses and dioceses. This duty was made explicit in the early Middle Ages and reiterated in the canons of IV Lateran. Ecclesiastical legislation was not unrealistic, hence the clause enabling bishops to appoint worthy men, archdeacons and deacons, to carry out their duties for them in cases of illness or *occupationes multiplices*.<sup>31</sup>

Thirdly, *clérigos*, frequently graduates in theology or law, who sent supplications to the Pope in the hope of receiving a benefice with cure of souls.

Fourthly, regular clergy living in monasteries and priories. Part of their duty involved preaching to their communities. Special permission, however, was required if they were to preach outside. Frei João Álvares, Commendatory Abbot of Paço de Sousa emphasises the importance of preaching in his letter from Bruges, dated 20 September 1468. having sent the monks the practical gift of a manuscript of sermons spuriously attributed to St. Augustine:

E encomendo vos a liçom delles, a qual vos seja amoestamento e preegaçom em meu logar et por mim, em quanto convosco nom estiver.<sup>32</sup>

Fifthly, the Mendicant Orders. The Dominicans are, by definition, the Friars Preacher. Honorius III proclaimed their mission of preaching in 1217; in 1218 the Franciscans were delegated to perform the same task, and the swiftness with which their orders became established - and flourished - in Portugal suggests that there was a real need for their services. In 1230 Gregory IX asked bishops to license the friars to preach in their parishes. In fact, Bishop Pedro of Coimbra authorised the Friars Preacher to operate within his diocese as early as 1218:

Petrus Collimbriensis Ecclesiae Minister humilis, licet indignus; vniversis Christi fidelibus per Collimbriensem Episcopatum commorantibus ad quoscunque istae literae peruenerint, et illis qui et eas legere audierint salutem et benedictionem. Vniuersitati notificetur, quod nos concessimus, et concedimus Domno Suerio de ordine Praedicatorum Priori, et omnibus suis Fratribus licentiam praedicandi per totum Collimbriensem Episcopatum. Et adhuc concedimus et licentiam et potestatem compellendi et corrigendi omnes excessus, quatenus Dei gratia vos omnes per eorum praedicationem melius et facilius ad fidem Catholicam vos valeant perducere. Et etiam addimus, quod ipsi vobis concedant absolutionem peccatorum vestrorum quadraginta dierum; de illis dicimus, qui ad praedicationem eorum venerint, et eos benigne audierint, et eorum predicationem exaudierint.<sup>33</sup>

The rapid spread and growth in popularity of the Dominicans and Franciscans led, in some instances, to serious conflicts, either with local parish clergy because of burial privileges,<sup>34</sup> established monastic communities (who felt that their moral authority, and income, were being usurped), or even between the two orders themselves.<sup>35</sup> This was the case at Santarém in 1261, when an official *Sentença-arbitragem* passed by the highest authorities was required to put the feuding to an end. Various measures are prescribed, and detailed instructions are given as to how preaching will be conducted in Santarém, in which church, on what occasion, and by whom.<sup>36</sup>

A superficial reading of the *Sentença* might cause it to be classed as one more illustration of clerical misconduct in the Middle Ages. The picture of squabbling friars competing for a congregation is not particularly cheering. But the document also offers some positive insights:

ficámos a conhecer o nome das igrejas existentes na, então, vila de Santarém e onde havia pregação viva.<sup>37</sup>

The *Sentença* goes some way towards revealing the extentw and frequency of preaching in one small Portuguese town in the late thirteenth century, the penetration of the Mendicant orders into the community, and the strength of the people's response to these preaching friars.

Considerably later than the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Carmelites become active in Portugal (see pages 164-165 and page 175 for discussion of Frei Afonso Abelho and a description of Carmelite priorities in preaching in the fifteenth century).

Other 'small' orders include the *Lóios* or *Cónegos Seculares de S. João Evangelista de Xabregas*, led by Martim Lourenço, D. João Vicente and D. Afonso Nogueira. Traditional scholarship on this order, as represented by Fortunato de Almeida, relies almost exclusively on the uncritical, hagiographical chronicle of Francisco de S. Maria, *Ceo Aberto na Terra*, Lisbon, 1647:

cujo valor histórico pode ter sofrido com o entusiasmo e preocupação de exaltar as figuras principais dos fundadores dos cónegos azuis.<sup>38</sup>

Eduardo Nunes has also written about the foundation of the congregation and the episcopal activities of D. João Vicente. Less attention, regrettably, has been focused on the evangelical or pastoral work of the *Lóios*.<sup>39</sup>

Mention should also be made of the Trinitarians, because of their preaching to raise ransoms for crusaders, and because of the activities of Fray Miguel Contreras, discussed below on page 198.

The penultimate group to be noted are the Augustinian Canons, singled out for special attention by two scholars, Francisco José da Gama Caeiro and José Mattoso. Unlike monks, the Austin Canons have the *cura animarum*, and therefore maintain churches, say Mass and the Divine Office, and preach. Mattoso points out that their preaching was aimed specifically at the urban population, and ventures the opinion that their oratory must have been quite remarkable, since they provided the educational foundation for St. Anthony's sermons. Since no sermons or sermon manual produced by the Austin Canons in Portugal have survived,

however, this comment cannot be considered anything more than speculation.<sup>40</sup> Gama Caeiro, for his part, informs us that Augustinian preaching was of the safe, no-risk variety:

Era uma pregação de alcance territorial e pessoal limitado, cómoda, sem riscos de qualquer natureza; o cura de almas era um pastor de rebanho certo, mais pároco que apóstolo.<sup>41</sup>

This assertion is more easily accepted than Mattoso's claims for the elevated quality of Augustinian preaching:

E assim, se os cônegos não compuseram eles mesmos qualquer sermonário conhecido, as pregações que sem dúvida fizeram devem ter suscitado duas das mais importantes colecções homiléticas da Cristandade no princípio do século XIII.<sup>42</sup>

referring to the sermons of St Anthony and of Frei Paio de Coimbra.

Some further information on the Augustinian canons is contained in the *Livro da Ordem dos Cônegos Regrantes e Crasteiros*. Mário Martins has examined this costumeiro, found in Ms. 874 of the Biblioteca Municipal do Porto, and gives a detailed breakdown of the canons' duties and responsibilities. There are only two allusions to sermons in Martins' transcription and commentary. The first, in the prologue, reads as follows:

E per guisa os livros e as estorias ham dentrar na ygreya e em que tempo. E semelhavelmente quaees livros e omelias e sermões se ham de leer aa mesa.<sup>43</sup>

The second, equally brief:

Aos domingos, havia frequentemente sermão (fl. 54r) e faziam-se as vénias.<sup>44</sup>

Neither of these suggests a great preoccupation with preaching, which tends to support Gama Caeiro's theory of safe, limited preaching.



The final group of preachers to be considered are the *ichacorvos* or *demandadores*, laymen, often married, who carried out unauthorised preaching in order to extort alms from the faithful.<sup>45</sup>

Regular and secular clergy alike preached in medieval Portugal. It remains to be seen what kind of sermons they delivered, though, on the whole, the references tend to suggest a preponderance of sermons of circumstance.

Discounting such late Antique sources as Martin of Braga's *De Correctione Rusticorum*, the earliest known Portuguese sermons pre-date IV Lateran, occurring in the twelfth-century account of the Conquest of Lisbon, *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*. The first of these consists of a description of how Peter, Bishop of Oporto preaches an impassioned crusading sermon to a fleet-load of English, Dutch and other crusaders who had landed in Portugal on their way to the Holy Land in 1147, with interpreters on hand to render his words in the various vernaculars of the combatants:

Indicto ab omnibus silentio, episcopus sermonem coram omnibus lingua Latina habuit, ut per interpretes cuiusque lingue sermo eius omnibus manifestaretur.<sup>46</sup>

The second reference is to a sermon preached by a certain priest during the siege of Lisbon itself:

Igitur post orationem et aspersionem aque benedictae, sacerdos quidam, sacrosanctam ligni dominici tenens in manibus particulam, sermonem huiusmodi habuit.<sup>47</sup>

In both cases, the sermons are transcribed in full, though it is impossible to assess the accuracy of the transcriptions or the extent to which they have been embellished by the chronicler. While they may not in themselves be remarkable, it is worth pointing out that the

army-crusading sermon is a genre which persists in Portugal right up to the end of the fifteenth century. These two sermons are the precursors of a long and serious tradition.

The next references are to be found in accounts of early Dominican activities within the Iberian Peninsula, namely Frei Luís de Sousa's *História de S. Domingos*.<sup>48</sup> However, given the somewhat anecdotal quality of his writing, sources such as António do Rosário's 'Letrados dominicanos em Portugal', documented and cross-referenced, are more reliable.<sup>49</sup>

Among the most notable early Portuguese, Castilian and Galician Dominicans are Frei Sueiro Gomes:

Em 1218, a pregação autorizada pelo Bispo de Coimbra fizeram tais progressos que atraiu a atenção do Rei.<sup>50</sup>

Nor should we overlook St Pedro Gonçalves Telmo, whose *Legenda* has been published in *España Sagrada*, volume 23 and whose preaching apparently gave rise to a series of miracles, in Castile and in Portugal:

Numa das pregações, sobreveio tempestade de mui forte trovoada, a impedir o sermão. Porque Fr. Pero pediu serenidade e obteve o fim da tempestade, começou a ser invocado pelos mareantes.<sup>51</sup>

Equally important are St Gonçalo de Amarante, and Frei Paio de Coimbra. Unlike his contemporaries Frei Paio left behind tangible evidence of his activities, a set of sermon schemes which have been studied by Mário Martins, John G. Tuthill and others.<sup>52</sup>

During the same period, Franciscans, too, were busy in Portugal; many of them have been listed and discussed by Fernando Félix Lopes.<sup>53</sup> Leaving aside St. Anthony, whose preaching took place in Italy, the most famous thirteenth-century Portuguese Franciscan is Frei António of Santarém. His life and works are recorded, in the *Chronica XXIV Generalium*

*Ordinis Minorum*. A version of this was published by Fr. Atanasio López, in *La Provincia de España*. There is also a fifteenth-century Portuguese translation of the same, *Crónica da Ordem dos Frades Menores (1209-1285)* in two volumes, and this account was the basis for Frei Manuel da Esperança's 'Relação do Grande Servo de Deos Frei António de Santarém' in the *História Seráfica*.<sup>54</sup>

There are two references to preaching which date from the 1240s, and both of which are in some way connected with Lisbon. The first of these occurs in a synodal statute, number twenty-three:

Vt ecclesia beati Vincentii semel in anno peregre uisitetur.<sup>55</sup>

By this ruling, priests are to remind their parishioners tam in confessionibus suis quam in predicationibus sive to travel at least once a year on pilgrimage to the church of Lisbon in honour of the Blessed Martyr St. Vincent. This is a clear instance of sermons 'to drum up business'. The French original, Statute 101 of Eudes de Sully's *Statuts de Paris*, does not specify which saint should be venerated, only that:

visitent matricem ecclesiam suam.<sup>56</sup>

Secondly, in his analysis of João de Deus' *Liber Poenitentiarius*, António Domingues de Sousa Costa cites one of the few sins that Franciscans and Dominicans may be liable to commit, along with auxiliary bishops and priests:

... quantum est quia cum sint coadiutores episcoporum et presbyterorum, nolunt tamen de decimis et primicijs predicare, quare quantum offendunt nemo sapiens ignorat qui divine legis et iuris canonici notitiam apprehendit.<sup>57</sup>

Anscar Zawart mentions a Franciscan friar, Zachary of Rome (d. 1250):

He was received into the Order by St. Francis, who sent him to Spain and Portugal, where through his edifying life and powerful sermons he accomplished much toward the suppression of the Albigensian heresy. Many miracles occurred after his death.<sup>58</sup>

Frei Zacarias lived in the convent at Alenquer, and is mentioned in the *Crónica da Ordem dos Frades Menores I*, which describes two miracles arising from his prayers and preaching at the Convent of Alenquer.<sup>59</sup>

Also present in Portugal during the first half of the thirteenth century was the French theologian Jean d'Abbeville, Cardinal Bishop of Sabina, and legate of Gregory IX. His activities in the Iberian Peninsula have been charted and discussed at length by Peter Linehan,<sup>60</sup> but one area remains unclear. Did the legate preach any sermons in Portugal? It is very probable that he did, given that he had studied and lectured in theology at the University of Paris, and that he left, among other works, two collections of sermons: *Magistri Joannis de Abbevilla Summa sermonum* and *Ejusdem sermones per annum*, as yet unedited.<sup>61</sup> Jean de Cardaillac's Portuguese sermons have been preserved in manuscript in French libraries. Perhaps the same holds true for Jean d'Abbeville, who may well have preached at the *Cortes* of Coimbra in 1229, or elsewhere in Portugal.

On Friday 1 July 1261, D. Martinho Geraldês, Archbishop of Braga, preached the crusade to the Provincial Council he had summoned:

Verba dei predicando, mandatum domine pape explanandum, dapes omnibus ministrando.<sup>62</sup>

On 2 September 1267, Clement IV issued the crusading bull *Redemptor noster*, wherein he urges Frei Paio, Minister of the Franciscan Province of Santiago, to preach the Crusade *Christi fidelibus regni Portugalie*:

podia pregar, onde quer, a todo o clero e povo, fazer solene procissão, dar de guarda os dias de pregação e cem dias de indulgência aos que assistissem, dar o hábito da Cruz

com indulgência plenária aos soldados que se alistassem para a Cruzada, indulgência plenária aos que a sua custa enviassem soldados em sua vez, e a quem contribuísse para a Cruzada com o subsídio de guerra.<sup>63</sup>

Seven years later, Gregory X followed suit with the encyclical letter *Si mentes fidelium*, whereby anybody who listened to a crusade sermon and confessed his sins would automatically receive indulgences of one hundred days. It should not be forgotten that earlier popes issued crusading bulls to the Christian population of Portugal, with the usual indulgences. See, for instance, *Cupientes christicolos*, 21 October, 1234 and *Cum carissimus in Christo*, 18 February 1241, published in *Monumenta Henricina I*.<sup>64</sup> Manuel Castro draws attention to Innocent V's bull *Exurgat Deus*, 9 April 1276:

dirigida a Fr. Raimundo Losana, OP, arzobispo de Sevilla, en virtud de la cual designa a los religiosos de la provincia de Santiago para predicar una cruzada contra los sarracenos en el reino de Castilla.<sup>65</sup>

The mechanics of crusade sermons are discussed in detail by Palmer Throop, who demonstrates that there was in effect a sliding scale of indulgences and spiritual benefits, begun by Innocent III who offered an unspecified number of days, and increasing to four hundred and fifty days under Gregory X.<sup>66</sup> Throop also examines the failure of Church crusading ambitions in the face of more pressing national preoccupations, concluding that:

Only when the crusade served national interests, as it did in Spain and northern Europe, did the cross triumph. Then there was no conflict between self-interest and the ideals of the Church.<sup>67</sup>

This conclusion is borne out by the symbiotic relationship between Church and certain crusade-oriented Portuguese monarchs.

Among the admonitiones prescribed at the Dominican Provincial Chapter of the Province of Spain, Leon 1275, we find the following reference to some of the potentially negative consequences of preaching:

Item quod caveant fratres summo opere ne aliquo <modo ver> bis vel predicationibus scandalizent Reges, Principes seu barones nec verba que sonant in partem seu scissionem inter seculares proferant ullo modo, et si aliquis contrarium fecerit per Uiva <rios vel> prelatos suos acrius puniantur.<sup>68</sup>

Dominican preaching in medieval Portugal was not a haphazard affair. Territories were divided up, boundaries were set.<sup>69</sup> António do Rosário cites a document of 1279, a 'partilha das terras onde pregar, entre Porto e Guimarães', allotted to three Friars Preacher for their evangelical work: Frei João Martins, prelate of the Convent of Guimarães 1275, Frei Lourenço Mendes and Frei Vicente Egas.<sup>70</sup>

One other distinguished thirteenth-century Portuguese cleric who should not go unmentioned is D. Pedro Julião, better known as *Petrus Hispanus*, philosopher, theologian and doctor, or as Pope John XXI (d. 1277). While there are many *lacunae* in our knowledge of the life and works of this scholar, due mainly to the proliferation of *Petri Hispani* in the Universities of Bologna and Padua, this attribution of the *Sermones praedicabiles* has not been questioned. The manuscript is mentioned by Queirós Veloso, in *Bibliografia Geral Portuguesa II* as being by *Pedro Hispano*, and located in the Convent of Calced Augustinians of Cremona.<sup>71</sup> According to J. M. da Cruz Pontes, who has in fact seen the manuscript, it is now housed in the Governmental Library of the same city, and he makes the following comments:

L'attribution à Pierre d'Espagne est notée sur une ancienne étiquette en parchemin, en écriture gothique italienne, évidemment presque contemporaine de l'écriture du texte, étiquette aujourd'hui collée sur le dos de la couverture en bois. On peut y lire: *Sermones praedicabiles et quaedam alia/Magister petri hispani.*<sup>72</sup>

Although Cruz Pontes does not take issue with the attribution, he does comment on the quality of the sermons:

Toutefois, l'examen, encore que superficiel, que nous avons fait du contenu de ces sermons, dont une partie n'est qu'une suite de schémas, montre qu'ils sont dépourvus d'un réel intérêt.<sup>73</sup>

The opening lines of the first sermon in the manuscript are as follows:

De sancto Andrea. Simili pena servus cum domino afflicto est et popularis homo regi similia passus. Sapientia 18. In quibus verbis secundum misterium quatuor considerare possumus de beato Andrea. JPrima condicionis sue preconium quia est servus domini. Secundo prelacionis officium quia apostolus, id est, homo. Tertio paupertatis statum quem habuit quia popularis. Quarto passionis martirium quod sustinuit, qui simili pena cum domino afflicto est et regi similia passus est.<sup>74</sup>

Interestingly, in the same article Cruz Pontes draws our attention to another collection of sermons, in a manuscript of the same period that belonged to the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella:

Incipiunt sermones dominicales fratris petri yspani de ordine predicatorum. Dominica prima in adventu.<sup>75</sup>

However, he does not believe that these were the work of John XXI, since the *Petrus Hispanus* here is designated *frater*, not *Magister*. That is not to say that these sermons were not composed - and preached - by a Portuguese Dominican. The first sermon begins thus:

Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini. Mt. XXXI. Evangelium hodiernum bis in anno cantatur, scilicet in die ramorum et in prima dominica adventus domini. Illo itaque die in rei tunc geste celebrem memoriam cui tota ystoria utpote illius diei propria congruit. In hac autem ad excitatem caritatis fragrantiam et spiritus letitiam.<sup>76</sup>

The 'ad excitatem caritatis fragrantiam et spiritus letitiam' is surely reminiscent of Thomas Waley's definition of preaching.

On 1 August 1291, Nicholas IV sent the bull *Terra Sancte* to Frei João Gil, Vicar of the Franciscan Province of St James. In this bull, he commanded that Frei João and eight of his brothers in Christ preach the Crusade, offering the usual 'incentives' and indulgences. This crusade should have begun on the feast of St. John, 1293, but never took place because of

the death of Nicholas on 24 April 1292.<sup>77</sup> Frei João Gil's life and works have been the subject of various studies, and it is known that he composed a series of sermons at the request of his friend D. Martin, Bishop of Leon (1254-1289), the *Sermones dominicales et festivi communes*:

actualmente o cód. 414 da Bibl. Comunal de Assis, proveniente da Bibl. do Sacro Convento de S. Francisco, onde já estava quando em 1381 se fez o Inventário dos códices da sua biblioteca.<sup>78</sup>

The next item in this sequence are documents published in the *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis (1288-1537) Volume I*. In the first of these, the Bishop of Lisbon, D. Domingos Jardo, grants permission in a *privilégio* dated 29 October 1293, to the scholars at the Hospital of St. Paul, parish of St. Bartholomew, to preach, hear confession and toll the bells:

et concedimus licentiam cum consensu Capituli nostri et priuilegium speciale quod verbum domini in dicto hospitali Ciuitate termino ipsius siuitatis et tota diocese vlixbonensi valeant predicare et confessiones libere audire nec non damus eis potestatem et speciale priuilegium quod possint pulsare ad Matutinum et omnes alias horas diei.<sup>79</sup>

The second is a bull issued by Boniface VIII approving and confirming the foundation of the Hospital of Saints Paul, Eloy and Clement, with the condition that there be six poor students who would preach and hear confessions. In fact, Boniface is 'rubber-stamping' D. Domingos Jardo's earlier charter:

Ordinavit quoque idem Episcopus auctoritate ordinaria sui capituli ad id accedente consensu ut in dicto hospitali una uel plures campane ualerent erigi et ad matutinum omnesque horas diei pulsari essentque in hospitali ipso Scholares alij inde iure presbiteris ad uerbum dominicum apliandum et hereditas funiculum augmentandum simili modo concessit hospitali ac ciuitate et diocesi vlixbonensi fidelibus predicare possent et libere confessiones audire.<sup>80</sup>

This bears out M. M. Davey's comment on scholars (in Paris) who could not preach as and when they wished:



Séculiers et réguliers devaient obtenir le droit de prêcher devant les laïques.<sup>81</sup>

At the close of the thirteenth century, we find a reference to a sermon preached in Lisbon Cathedral by D. Pedro, Bishop of Évora:

No dia da Purificação da Senhora, de 1295, o achamos pregando na Sé de Lisboa dando a Deus as graças por ter o Papa Celestino V separado a Ordem de Santiago, em Portugal, da de Castela. Agenciou este negócio D. Pedro Estaço Eborense, que ficou por Mestre primeiro da Ordem em Portugal.<sup>82</sup>

Regrettably, Padre Manuel Fialho does not give any source for this piece of information. However, looking at the sequence of papal bulls concerning the separation of the Castilian and Portuguese 'branches' of the Order, it seems likely that the thanksgiving sermon was preached in response to Celestine's *Diligentes iustitiam*, of 22 November 1294.<sup>83</sup>

In the fourteenth century there are references to a number of preachers. Among these figures the Franciscan D. Frei Salvado Martins, Confessor to Queen Isabel, later Bishop of Lamego. According to one source, she went specially to hear him preach in a Lisbon convent, *oblectata sermone illius*.<sup>84</sup>

Whatever D. Dinis' quarrels with the clergy,<sup>85</sup> his wife, D. Isabel relied on and supported them to the fullest extent imaginable. It is not unrealistic to assume that court sermons must have taken on a fresh significance and weight, given the extent of her devotion. According to the *Vida e Milagres de D. Isabel, Rainha de Portugal*:

ouvia sas oras e preegar a paixom, teendo grande tresteza e door, nembrando-se da morte de nosso Senhor.<sup>86</sup>

After the death of D. Dinis, the Queen spent most of her time praying or listening to sermons:

se festa fosse, antes que rezasse, ouvia pregaçom.<sup>87</sup>

D. Gonçalves Pereira includes in his synodal statutes, Braga, 17 August 1326, a ruling against *ichacorvos* and *demandadores*, forbidding them to preach or beg within his diocese, and warning his clergy against cooperating with such individuals:

Questorum abusiones et malicias refrenare uolentes, statuendo mandamus quod abbates, priores et rectores et uicarii perpetui monasteriorum et ecclesiarum nostre ciuitatis, diocesis et procuratores <...> porcionarii et alii beneficiati in ecclesiis monasteriorum et locis sacris <...> questorem aliquem non audiant nec admittant <...> et notas detulerint nichil aliud dicere uel preponere <...> indulgentias seu remissiones nisi apostolicis uel nostris litteris certis et notis, <...> missas et alia diuina <...> celebrantes non impediat, sed elemosinas caritantes subsidia una die dominica uel festiua semel in anno, qua fideles ad ecclesiam conueniunt, tantummodo postulent, a predicatione qualibet abstinendo. Caueant igitur quilibet clerici ne occasionem lucri participandi uel ipsis questoribus contra canones et hanc nostram constitutionem fauere presumant in suarum pericula animarum; qui contra fecerint ipso facto sententiam excommunicationis incurrant.<sup>88</sup>

While it is known that Frei Francisco, Provincial of Santiago, celebrated mass on 30 October 1340, at the outset of the Battle of Salado, there is no firm evidence to support the hypothesis that he also delivered a crusading sermon. But after the Castilian and Portuguese victory, there was some kind of thanksgiving service which may have included a sermon: Agradecidos à protecção da Vera Cruz que assistira a vitória, os portugueses de várias das suas dioceses instituíram com aprovação da Igreja em acção de graças à Santa Cruz a festa da Vitória. E é da rúbrica 'de sermonibus et actibus quos Rex Portugalie proposuit et patrauit'.<sup>89</sup>

In fact, Solange Corbin has published the text of the office *In festo Victoriae Christianorum*, found in a mid-fourteenth century psalter that belonged to Coimbra Cathedral.<sup>90</sup>

Although it has now been established that Frei Álvaro Pais was Galician, not Portuguese,<sup>91</sup> he was Bishop of Silves from 1333-1339, and much of what he wrote applies to Portugal as well as Castile.<sup>92</sup> Queirós Veloso lists two items related to preaching by Frei Álvaro, the *Quinquagesilogium*, which contains various sermons by him, and begins:

Electo germa mea ad Pratum Domini nostri [sic]

This manuscript, according to Queirós Veloso, is in the Bodleian Library, Can. mis. n° 529, bought in 1817 from M. L. Canonici.<sup>93</sup> The second is the *Sermo de visione beatifica*, now lost. João Morais Barbosa, however, completely disregards the first of these, and questions the validity of the attribution of the second.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, this should not deter us from including Frei Álvaro in our list of 'preachers of note'. He himself makes a number of allusions to sermons and preaching in his works. In the *Espelho dos Reis*, volume I, he makes clear his views on kings who usurp the office of the clergy. In the section intitled 'De malis regibus et principibus, et in quibus peccant', he writes:

Trigésimo nono, porque alguns usurpam os officios do sacerdócio, como incensar e pregar. Donde são feridos de lepra, como o rei Ozias (2º livro dos Paralipómenos, XXVI; Causa II, questão VII, Item cum Balaam, onde diz Sicut ergo). Podem, todavia, simplesmente exortar o povo para o bem, não pelo modo da pregação, porque pregar é interdito aos leigos (Decretais, Tit. De haereticis, cap. Cum ex iniuncto, 1, e no mesmo Título do Livro Sexto, cap. Quicumque), mas pelo modo da advertência e da exortação, tal como a priora ou prelada pode exortar e ensinar, nos claustros ou no capítulo, as suas monjas, embora de outro modo seja interdito às mulheres pregar, conforme se lê na Distinção XXVI, cap. Mulier: Sobre este assunto, também Hugo e Lourenço fazem anotações.<sup>95</sup>

In volume II of the *Speculum*, Álvaro Pais talks about reactions to preaching:

Optimum uerbum contra religiosos nostri temporis qui predicant uitia aliorum: et nullum in genere uerbum contra se audire volunt in predicationibus ac si sint impeccabiles: et tamen christus publice plus contra phariseos et scribas contra populum in suis predicationibus inuehebatur. ut patet Mat. XXIII. in. VIII. ue. que in isto expono quia plus in hypocrisi offendebant et in aliis peccatis spiritualibus. sicut et hodie in religiosis et clericis contingit. XXIII. quest. ult. transferunt. Testis est mihi conscientia et christus: et aliqua pars mundi, quantas tribulationes pasus sum in religione: et postquam sui episcopus a religiosis et clericis frequentissime tangens eos generaliter predicationibus meis. Hypocrisis enim superbissima nullo corrigat incorrecta sed ue talibus.<sup>96</sup>

In fact, in a document quoted by Sousa Costa, we read that:

Queixavam-se os do Concelho de Tavira dos defamamentos que dizião que o bispo per si e per suas Cartas e em Preegações publicas fazia e dizia dos do seu Bispado,

dizendo que erão maaos, perseguidores e inimigos da Egreja e seus, e outrosy que o quiserom matar.<sup>97</sup>

Frei Álvaro's response to these accusations is that:

el nunca esto disse, nem os deffamou, mas que quando preega, que diz os peccados que entende que alguns fazem e nom declara quem som aqueles que o fazem e repreende aqueles que fazem taes peccados geralmente e nom em especial.<sup>98</sup>

The Bishop of Silves is not always complimentary about other people's sermons, having harsh words to say about certain Parisian preachers:

Qui ergo studet compositum proferre sermonem, contra sermones datilicos et politos et subtiles Parisienses se non alios predicantes, xliii di., fi., magis quam salutari sensu repletum ... calix eiux foris mundatus est, intus autem sordibus vanitatis repletus.<sup>99</sup>

Another preacher who comes in for criticism from Álvaro Pais is Afonso Geraldês, Bachelor of Theology, who apparently preached in Coimbra that Jesus Christ existed before the Virgin Mary:

Conticescat ergo Geraldus Portugalensis, qui se bacalarium in theologia nominat, qui de me Colimbrie murmuravit pro eo quod ibi predicaveram Christum ante Mariam fuisse et semper, sicut plenissime superius probatum est, cui et dixi quod si asserendo negebat, in Paulianorum heresum incidebat.<sup>100</sup>

Just as it is possible to reconstruct the history of the sermon in medieval Portugal, we can also trace the parallel tradition of unsanctioned preaching that existed alongside the licit practice. Thirty five years after D. Gonçalo Pereira banned pardoners from his diocese of Braga, D. Pedro I in his *Cortes* at Elvas, 1361, issued a similar prohibition:

Jtem. Ao que diziam no xlvijº Artigo que nos e os prelados da nossa terra damos cartas Aos demandadores pera demandarem per as terras e elles fazem hy mujtas burlas ca chegam a alhuas egreias e fazem Juntar os moradores de outras freeguesias e per apremamento dessas cartas. E depojs que fazem sas demandas e lhjs prometem alghuus do que se atraaem se lhjs prometem pouco deostam nos e dizem que por tam pouco nom lhjs deram os perdoes que cmo huu mays der que Assj lhjs outorgaram os perdoes de meos e de mays e se lhjs mays nom querem dar ou lhjs nom querem

prometer nada dam A entender que ham poder de scomungar e scomungam nos e fazem as Companhas depos ssj hirem çitando os d hua terra em outra e elles por nom dampnarem o que ham e perderem seus seruiços per que se ham de manteer per força lhjs ham ante de pejtar A seu talem. E que fosse nossa merçee de mandarmos aas nossas Justiças que se lhis esto achassem fazer que lhis dessem pea de scarmento por ello.

A este Artigo Respondemos e Mandamos ãas nossas Justiças que lhis nom guardem cartas nossas se as mostrarem em esta Razom E se acharem esses demandadores fazendo o que nom deuem stranhem lho as Justiças com directo cmo no fecto couber.<sup>101</sup>

The French prelate Jean de Cardaillac, author of the *Liber Regali*, is known to have preached various sermons in Galicia and Portugal during the 1350s and 1360s. Extracts from these sermons suggest that he had the same kinds of preoccupation as Jean d'Abbeville and Álvaro Pais, a profound desire to see a thoroughgoing reform of morals, clerical and lay. Historians are agreed as to this reforming zeal, basing their assessment on his written works and the record of his activities that remains, sermons preached and synods held in three countries.

Cardaillac held the office of Bishop of Orense from 1351 until 1361. He is mentioned in the text of a synodal constitution of Don Francisco Afonso, 22 March 1363:

Et esta mercee lles fazia e outorgava segundo que lla mays conpridamente fezera et outorgara dom Joham seu antecesor bispo que foy dOurense.<sup>102</sup>

and Guillaume Mollat states quite categorically that:

Cardaillac tint un synode et y exhala sa profonde amertume a l'égard des fidèles de son diocèse.<sup>103</sup>

basing this assumption on the manuscript description:

Sermo in quadam alia synodo sua in predicta ecclesia Auriensi in Ispanias per eumdem factus quarta fera post dominicam de Passione.<sup>104</sup>

He also preached a sermon at Santiago de Compostela, in the presence of the Papal Legate Cardinal Guillaume de la Jugie, 2 June 1356.<sup>105</sup>

Again, as Bishop of Orense, Cardaillac delivered a sermon at some point between 1351 and 1360:

Sermo in festo beati Martini, patroni ecclesie Auriensis in Yspanias, per eundem honorabilem dominum factus.<sup>106</sup>

Cardaillac gave a number of sermons for which there are no definite dates, but which it is believed were preached within the Iberian Peninsula. For instance:

Sermo in quadam alia synodo per eundem dominum factus.<sup>107</sup>

which Mollat suggests, without offering any reason:

aurait été prononcé quand Cardaillac était archevêque de Braga.<sup>108</sup>

On the occasion of an episcopal visitation to the suffragan diocese of Astorga, Cardaillac delivered an *arenga*, for which Mollat proposes the date of between 8 September 1361 and 8 September 1366.<sup>109</sup>

At some time after his translation to Braga, he pronounced another harangue:

Arenga quam predictus dominus archiepiscopus fecit quando recepit juramentum fidelitatis a quodam suffraganeo suo episcopo.<sup>110</sup>

As Archbishop of Braga, Jean de Cardaillac must have preached numerous sermons. Four of these are listed in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris:

Sermo in eodemmet festo Penthecosten, coram rege Portugalie et proceribus cunctis regni sui per eundem dominum factus.<sup>111</sup>

Of the contents of this sermon, Mollat writes:

En présence de Pedro et des grands du royaume il apostropha sans ménagement les clercs espagnols qui achètent ouvertement (signanter) des bénéfices à prix d'argent moyennant des présents et des redevances proscrites.<sup>112</sup>

Unfortunately, this information is not supplemented by the *Crónica de D. Pedro I*,<sup>113</sup> and while it is known that the Archbishop of Braga was present at the Cortes held in Elvas in May of 1361:

nos ffazemos cortes, no dicto lloguo nas quaes fforam Juntos os Jmffantes nossos ffilhos, e o arçebispo de braagua.<sup>114</sup>

Cardaillac's elevation to the See of Braga only took place on 18 June 1361, after his predecessor Guillaume de la Garde had been translated to Arles on 16 June 1361.

A second Portuguese sermon by Cardaillac has been the object of much attention because of its relevance to the story of Inês de Castro, and consequently has been published in full.<sup>115</sup> This sermon was preached, possibly on 2 April 1362, 'lors du transfert des restes d'Inês de Castro à Alcobaça':

Sermon per eundem factus in sepultura regine Portugalie facta per regem.<sup>116</sup>

Again, the *Crónica* does not make any mention of a sermon, emphasising the ceremonious aspect without subscribing to the legitimisation of the relationship:

E foi esta a mais homrrada trelladaçom, que ataa aquele tempo em Portugal fora vista.<sup>117</sup>

Obviously, it would not be in the interests of the Avis dynasty to suggest that the children of D. Pedro and D. Inês were in fact the legitimate heirs to the throne.

The third Portuguese sermon would have been preached on 29 January 1364 when Jean de Cardaillac held a synod at the Monastery of Pombeiro:<sup>118</sup>

*Sermo per eundem dominum factus in prima synodo quam archiepiscopus Bracarensis factus celebravit die tunc post dominicam LX am anno Domini 1364 in monasterio de Palumbario, diocesis Bracarensis.*<sup>119</sup>

Mollat translates some of the text of this sermon, a clear example of the prelate's reforming intent:

*Vous, ministres du Seigneur et ses serviteurs, au lieu de vous occuper seulement de bonnes oeuvres, de vous consacrer à l'étude, à la lecture et à la prière, vous vous abandonnez, comme des pourceaux, à la ripaille, à l'ivrognerie, aux delices mondaines, à l'oisiveté.*<sup>120</sup>

This catalogue of vices may have been exaggerated for the audience before him, but the accusations do not differ ostensibly from those hurled by Álvaro Pais some twenty years previously.

Finally, the fourth sermon, provisionally dated 1366:<sup>121</sup>

*Sermo in synodo secunda quam predictus dominus fecit in archiepiscopatu suo Bracarensi in crastinum dominice in albis, in loco de Chambus, anno millesimo CCCLIII.*<sup>122</sup>

If Jean de Cardaillac's criticisms are harsh, it is no less true that he did have ample justification for rancour concerning his treatment by the Portuguese clergy. Vasco Domingues and the Cathedral Chapter were old hands at 'seeing off' foreign archbishops.



Listed in the inventory of S. Clemente carried out by Frei Rodrigo de Arruda in 1369, under the 'Titulo dos ljuros':

Item huum sermonairo em latym e ljuuaiem.<sup>123</sup>

In the inventory carried out by Frei Gil de Guimarães, 9 December 1457:

Item huum sermonayro de papel em lingoagem e em latim.<sup>124</sup>

Among those works found by Frei João da Póvoa, 21 October 1474 were:

Item huum sermonarjo em papel que começa adam/ubi es bem uelho com tauoas de papel.(...)

Item huum tractado magistri alanj de arte predicandj/ começasse vidit iacob escallam com tauoas/de papel sem coyro.<sup>125</sup>

At the same time as Jean de Cardillac was carrying out the *cura animarum* in dioceses in Galicia, Portugal and France, another international figure, Tomás de Portugal, was busy studying, teaching and preaching in Universities in England, France and Spain. A bull issued by Gregory XI on 28 September 1371 serves as a brief curriculum vitae for this distinguished Franciscan:

de Religionis zelo, litterarum scientia, vite ac morum honestate et alijs prolitatis et virtutum merita multipliciter commendatum.

His career as preacher is also recorded in the same document:

in predicta vniuersitate Parisiensi sermones et disputationes plures fecerit.<sup>126</sup>

but regrettably, none of his sermons has survived, or been identified and attributed to him.

Contemporary with Frei Tomás was the Carmelite theologian and preacher Frei Afonso Abelho. Little is known of Carmelite activities in Portugal in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They entered Portugal in the second half of the thirteenth century and founded their first convent at Moura. However, as an order, the Carmelites were slow to become established, and did not achieve real prestige until Nun' Álvares Pereira founded the second Carmelite convent in Lisbon in 1423. According to the *Diccionario de História de Portugal*, Frei Afonso:

Foi pregador insigne, o que se infere de ter sido chamado para pregar na Sé de Évora a 24.5.1372, quando Bispo D. Martinho Gil de Brito convocou o clero e o povo para pedirem a Deus aplacasse o rigor da Sua justiça, suspendendo a inundaçáo de água causada pelas chuvas. Na 2a lição do II Nocturno do Ofício do Milagre da Cera (sucedido nesse dia) e que se rezava na diocese, lia-se que fora tão elegante e devoto o sermão que provocou o povo a penitência, e, antes do fim do mesmo, cessou de chover. Em memória deste verão, na festividade do Milagre da Cera, pregava sempre, na Sé, um religioso Carmelita.<sup>127</sup>

This miracle is also recounted in *Évora Ilustrada*, where it is stated that it 'passou às páginas do *Breviário Eborense*'.<sup>128</sup>

This type of sermon of circumstance seems to have been a fairly commonplace occurrence during the Middle Ages, similar to the votive Mass. According to Michael Mullett:

the development of votive Masses - Masses for special intentions - allowed congregations to pray for the means of their survival. There were Masses 'in time of earthquake', 'for rain', 'for fair weather', 'in time of cattle plague.', 'to avert storms' and 'for the fruits of the earth'. The Mass, together with these special Masses, provided ways of regulating the unpredictabilities of nature.<sup>129</sup>

Frei Afonso's sermon seems to have served much the same purpose, ensuring the survival of the people of Évora.

The same Bishop Martinho who summoned Frei Afonso Abelho to Évora (presumably from his convent in Moura), now Bishop of Lisbon, was responsible for another sermon of

circumstance preached in Évora Cathedral eight years later, early in 1380. The occasion was D. Fernando's acknowledgment of Clement VII, not Urban VI, as legitimate Pope. This act of adherence to the Avignon obedience is mentioned by Fernão Lopes in the *Crónica de D. Fernando*,<sup>130</sup> and in a speech made by D. Martinho himself to the French court on 14 July 1380:

Declaravit ergo se in civitate Elborensi, cum sollempni mis(s)a, quam ego indignus celebravi, et cum sollempni sermone ex informacionibus supradictis.<sup>131</sup>

Despite D. Martinho's efforts to persuade D. Fernando to accept the Avignon Pope, political considerations won the day, and the Portuguese decided to acknowledge Urban VI instead. D. Martinho died on 6 December 1383 at the hands of a furious Lisbon mob.

With the foundation of the Avis dynasty emerge a number of eminent Dominican and Franciscan preachers who fulfil diverse roles as royal preachers, confessors, chaplains and counsellors. Their deeds are recorded in supplications to the Pope, papal bulls, and in the near-contemporary chronicles of Fernão Lopes and Rui de Pina.

Frei Rodrigo de Sintra, OFM, preached a sermon of thanksgiving in Lisbon in 1384 when the Castilian siege was lifted:

começou de preegar huu grande e notavell preegador mui leterado em theolosia, chamado per nom meestre Rodrigo de Sintra da Hordem de sam Françisco; o quall fez hua sollemne e comprida preegaçom, mui bastamente tecida de textos das Samtas Escrituras, que a sseu proposito mui sabedormente trouve.<sup>132</sup>

The description continues for several pages, but there is no way of knowing whether the chronicler had access to authentic sermon notes, or was giving free rein to his own imagination.

In Part II of the same chronicle, Fernão Lopes recounts events following the Portuguese victory at Aljubarrota:

e hordenaraõ ese dia hua geral procissão em que foraõ todos descalços, homes e molheres e creliguos e frades, e levarãõ em ela a image de São Jorge, ho mais hrradamente que se fazer pode, e asy chegaraõ a Samta Maria da Escada homde diseraõ misa e preguação.<sup>133</sup>

In Chapter XLVII Fernão Lopes relates how a thanksgiving sermon is preached in Lisbon Cathedral by Frei Pedro:

de hordem de Saõ Françisco, grande leterado em Theolesia e muy afamado de grande preguador, e tomou por teema em seu sermaõ: Domino factus est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris.<sup>134</sup>

The transcription of this sermon runs to many pages.

On the day after Frei Pedro's thanksgiving sermon, it is decided by 'leterados e outras religiosas pessoas dos mosteiros', in the council chamber, to establish a series of ceremonies to commemorate the Portuguese victory:

Emta ordenaraõ que asy como ho Senhor Deus e aa sua preciosa Madre prouguera de dar a el Rey taõ grande e estremada vitoria, em bespora de sua mais solene festa, a ora em que se per todo Reino os seus louvores cantavaõ que asy des emtãõ pera todo sempre, naquela somana dAsunção da bemta Virgem, fose jumta toda çidade pera fazerem tres procissões, a hua depos outra. E a primeira fose ao Mosteiro da Trimdade, a saber: todos descalços e depois da preguação dizerem tres misas cantadas a homrra da Sancta Trimdade. E que a segunda fose ao altar do Salvador do mosteiro de São Francisco, ysso mesmo descalços, e acabado ho serma diseraõ çimco misas em louvor das çimco chaguas de Noso Senhor Jesus Christo. Na terçeira procissão se juntase todos e fosem calçados a Samta Maria da Graça do mosteiro de Samcto Aguostinho com aquela solenidade e festa que tinhaõ em custume de fazer por dia do Corpo de Deus; e depois do sermaõ dizere sete misas cantadas a homrra dos sete guovos da Virgem Maria.<sup>135</sup>

It is also recorded that a sermon was preached on the occasion of João de Avis' marriage to Philippa of Lancaster, by 'dom Rodrigo, bispo da çidade.' Derek Lomax translates this title as

'Dom Rodrigo, Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo', on the grounds that the Bishop of Oporto at that time was D. João III, while the western part of the diocese of Ciudad Rodrigo was in Portugal, accepted Urban VI as pope and had Fray Rodrigo as its bishop.<sup>136</sup>

On 9 July 1391, Frei Rodrigo de Sintra preached in Lisbon Cathedral and published the papal bull whereby D. João was given dispensation from his vows of chastity in order to marry Philippa:

ffoi por elle feito huu sermão assaaz de soblene.<sup>137</sup>

Although some historians have given the date as 9 July 1390, António Domingues de Sousa Costa has examined and published the relevant papal bulls *Divina disponente clementia* of 27 January 1391 and *Qua ratione congruit* of 28 January 1391, which prove the veracity of Fernão Lopes' assertions about the validity of the marriage:

Nesse dia 9 de Julho, fazia solene pregação no púlpito da catedral de Lisboa sobre o assunto o franciscano Frei Rodrigo de Sintra, mestre in sacra pagina, que é dizer de Teologia. Assistiam os bispos de Lisboa e do Porto, respectivamente D. João Anes e D. João Afonso de Azambuja, o bispo de Cidade Rodrigo D. Frei Rodrigo.<sup>138</sup>

António do Rosário lists a Frei Rodrigo do Porto, of whom little is known:

De biografia muito desconhecida ou obscura, não sendo certo tratar-se do mesmo ou de homónimos, foi Doutor, Professor Universitário e pregador. Dirigiu a trasladação dos restos mortais de Fr. Vicente de Lisboa para o Convento de Benfica. Regista-se: Sermões.<sup>139</sup>

The references that A. do Rosário gives for this Dominican are a document mentioning his presence at the Synod of Braga, 1381:

e ler fez por frei Rodrigo doutor no mosteiro de São Domingos do Porto que presente lia na prezença da dita clerezia esta letra destoutra parte escrita.<sup>140</sup>

and a sermon preached on 9 July 1391 in Lisbon cathedral:

como Doutor Universitário, in sacra pagina Magistro.<sup>141</sup>

One important preacher who should not be overlooked in a history of Portuguese preaching is the Dominican Frei Vicente de Lisboa, preacher and confessor to D. João I. This Dominican, who studied at Oxford and founded the priory at Benfica, was named royal ambassador to Rome and appointed Inquisitor for the whole Peninsula. Frei Vicente, who died around 1408, wrote a book of vernacular sermons, probably the *Livro de pregações de frey Vicente per linguague* in the Infante Santo's library.<sup>142</sup> D. Duarte also had a collection of vernacular sermons, perhaps the same ones, *Liuro de pregações*.<sup>143</sup> Other inventories may fill out the picture.

The inventory of books in the monastery of Seica, dated 25 February 1408, contains the following item:

huu liuro pequeno de homjlias non titolladas

Among the *Livros do mosteiro do Bouro*, catalogued on 1 February 1408:

Item omelias sobre os Euangelhos  
 Item omellias sobre os Euangelhos  
 Item as uidas de todos os sanctos e sermões  
 Item huu liuro de sermões  
 Item huuas omelias sobre os euangelhos

A later inventory for Bouro, 5 December 1437, mentions:

Item huu liuro de sermões  
 Item huu liuro grande de sermões sobre e Encarnaçam  
 Item outro liuro pequeno de sermões

Item noue liuros pequenos velhos que fallam de sermões. <sup>144</sup>

Another royal counsellor and confessor who left a record of his ideas on preaching was Frei Afonso de Alprão.<sup>145</sup> After studying in Bologna he returned to Portugal and carried out various duties. Pope John XXIII named him Inquisitor in Portugal in the bull *Licet ubilibet* of 1 June 1412:

quam litterarum scientia et fidei sinceritate, ac maturitate morum, multarumque aliarum virtutum, donis ejus largitor Dominus insignivit. <sup>146</sup>

and in a document of 1417, D. João I describes him as:

mestre de Teologia, Ministro da Ordem de S. Francisco no meu senhorio de Portugal e nosso confessor. <sup>147</sup>

Frei Afonso is best known for his *Ars predicandi ad eruditionem simplicium*, edited and studied by Albert G. Hauf in 1979. The treatise is of value for the ideas on preaching which it conveys, as a point of comparison with the other Peninsular artes, namely by Franciscus Eiximenis and by Martín of Córdoba, and not least because it demonstrates a consciousness in the Portuguese clergy that preaching is an important and responsible task that requires some kind of theoretical underpinning if it is to be realised with any degree of success.

We have already seen how conflicts could develop between secular and regular clergy and between Franciscans and Dominicans, either because of entitlement to burial fees and legacies, or for other reasons. Just as in late thirteenth-century Santarém, a formal arbitration was required to put an end to the feuding that arose between the principal Mendicant Orders, provisions had to be made in fifteenth-century Guimarães in order to 'draw demarcation lines' between Franciscans, Dominicans and the Collegiate Church. José Marques has argued that the task of preaching must have been carried out extremely

intensely in Guimarães precisely because of the presence of the Mendicant Orders and the Collegiate Chapter:

A Colegiada apoiava-se, havia muito, nos referidos Mendicantes, para satisfazer a obrigação de pregar e nos princípios do século XV transferiu quase em exclusivo, para eles a responsabilidade da pregação na Colegiada, e, praticamente, em todas as igrejas e capelas da vila de Guimarães, como revela um importante e longo documento de 1 de Abril de 1409.<sup>148</sup>

This document is an *amigável composição* between the three groups, whereby they divide up the duty of preaching throughout the liturgical year in the town of Guimarães. Professional rivalry between the different parties could manifest itself in various guises. In October 1445, one of the Guimarães canons took serious offence at the contents of a sermon preached by Frei João of Vila Franca and had him brought to court by January 1446, on charges of heresy.<sup>149</sup>

Despite the *amigável composição* there were further disputes between the Collegiate Church and the Mendicant Orders, as can be deduced from a document dated 6 May 1558, in which the Collegiate Canons complain that the Dominicans and Franciscans failed to appear in the procession to S. João da Ponte, and did not deliver the usual sermons.<sup>150</sup> In 1450 the Dominicans are accused of neglecting their preaching,<sup>151</sup> and in 1453 the Dominicans accuse the Collegiate Church of failing to respect the terms of the 1409 agreement.<sup>152</sup> The documents reveal both positive and negative aspects of medieval ecclesiastical behaviour. On the one hand we see members of the Church who do not fulfil their duty, on the other, there are genuine attempts to meet the spiritual needs of the laity and clergy of Guimarães by ensuring that the task of preaching is carried out.

The range and extent of clerical activity makes it difficult to establish a precise chronology of preachers and sermons in the fifteenth century. Clerical participation and expertise was crucial at all levels of a society whose monarch looked to the Church to sanctify



his accession to the throne, validate his marriage, thus legitimising his heirs, and give its blessing to the Portuguese overseas expansion. Whether their motives derived from genuine piety or political expediency, there is no doubt about the degree to which D. João I and his successors relied on the Church for support in virtually all their endeavours.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to imagine that D. João was completely uncritical of the clergy. See, for example, his comments comparing those sins inherent in hunting with those related to preaching, in Chapter V of the *Livro da Montaria*:

ca se he no pregar a palaura de Deus, que he tam boa cousa, e nella pode encorrer o pregador em tantas uaydades, como o que anda ao monte, que quando algum frade prega, e leixa de pregar de Deus, e prega de si, entom elle pode tomar tanta uaydade, e muyta mais que hum que ande ao monte: pero se ella prega por reprehender pecados, ou por louuar as uirtudes, entom prega de Deus: mais quando o que prega nas grandes e sotis opinioões, por se mostrar que he sabedor, entom prega de si, e em isto pode tomar tanta uaydade quanta pode tomar em qualquer auto que uaydade seia.<sup>153</sup>

There is more than a hint of ambivalence in D. João's dealings with the clergy. Although the first estate had a vital role to play in the efficient management of the King's business, temporal and spiritual, his relations with the prelates of his kingdom were not always untroubled, marred by disputes over taxation, legal jurisdiction and the enforcement of disciplinary measures against the clergy. António Domingues de Sousa Costa discusses this aspect of D. João's reign in his article 'Leis Atentatórias das Liberdades Eclesiásticas e o Papa Martinho V contrário aos Concílios Gerais'. After tracing D. João's intervention in ecclesiastical affairs to the days of the Great Schism; when 'he cumpria o dever de velar pelo bem dos bispados durante a vacância dos mesmos', he explains why D. João should decide to promulgate a set of laws that encroach on ecclesiastical freedom:

Ao findarem as guerras com Castela, D. João I deve ter querido voltar-se mais para a organização interna e governo do reino. Inspirado e coadjuvado por célebres juristas, publicou legislação a propósito, mas a colidir com os interesses e direitos ou simples privilégios do clero.<sup>154</sup>

Forty laws in all were published, specifying in which cases the secular authorities may intervene to discipline the clergy. There is no critical edition of these laws, and Sousa Costa refers to various manuscripts in his description of their contents. The Portuguese clergy protested against this legislation and appealed to the Pope. After lengthy enquiries and representations, a Council was held in Braga, 15-22 December 1426, and in the following year, at Santarém, D. João signed with the clergy a concordat consisting of 94 articles.<sup>155</sup> It is significant that while the clergy were vociferous in their objections to D. João's arrogation of ecclesiastical powers, these articles demonstrate no major differences between the moral concerns expressed by either prelates or monarchs. For example, in Constitution seven of D. João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja's Lisbon Synod, held 13 January 1403, we find the following ruling against *demandadores* and *ichacorvos*:

Item, porquanto os demandadores e ichacorvos dos quaaes alguus emganando dizem-se seer outros que nom sam em suas pregaações propõem e dizem muitas abusões por tal que emganem os sinplezes e tirem e levem delles per sotil emganoso engano, ouro, prata, dinheiros, pam e vinho e azeite e lã e linho e qualquer outra cousa que podem tirar e taaes como estes buscam e demandam as suas cousas e nom Deus por Deus mais por os gaanhos temporaes e por as ditas cousas, abusões que asi propõem a censura ecclesiastica hé fecta vil quanto aa opiniom dos homees e autoridade das chaves da Egreja hé lançado em desprezamento em perigoo das almas e escandallo de muitos, porém querendo nós as ditas abusões e malicias referiar, stabellecemos e mandamos que os priores, rectores, vigairos perpetuus das egrejas da dicta cidade e arcebispado e os procuradores delles c os raçoeiros e os outros beneficiados nom recebam nem ouçam alguu demandador ou ichacorvo nas egrejas e logares seus, salvo se levarem letras apostolicas ou nossas cartas e conhecidas em as quaaes faça mençom que nós vimos as ditas letras apostolicas e as examinamos, nem lhe leixem e nem consentam dizer ou propoer alguma outra cousa salvo as indulgencias e perdoanças ou remissões conteudas nas ditas letras apostolicas ou nossas conhecidas e sejam ainda percibidos e avisados quaaesquer clérigos que nom sejam favoravis nem presumam seer aos ditos demandadores e ichacorvos contra as constituições canonicas e esta nossa em perigoo de suas almas por tal que os ditos demandadores e ichacorvos lhes dem parte do gaanho que asi guanharom, e os que contra esto fezerem mandamos que pagem huu marco de prata pera a obra da see.<sup>156</sup>

The Archbishop's statute is an expanded version of that promulgated by D. Gonçalo Pereira in 1326; the only difference is that members of the clergy who collaborate with pardoners are no longer to be excommunicated. Instead they will be fined one silver mark.

Article LV of D. João's Santarém concordat also outlaws unauthorised preachers:

Item. Aos que dizem aos cincoenta e cinco artigos, em que dizem, que nom quer, que os Ichacorvos andem demandando sem suas Cartas, posto que as tenham dos Prelados, e que a elles praz de lhes dar lugar tam sollamente que peçam em casos honestos, e que nom preeguem, nem chamem por costringimento os freigueises.

A este artigo responde El-Rey, que os Reyx sempre o assy costumará antigamente, e elle ataa ora; e he artigo antre ElRey, e a Igreja, ca fea cousa he a elle consentir em sua terra taaes obras, como se sobre esto fezerom; porque alguus Prelados da Cartas por certa prata, e dinheiros, que lhes por ellas da, por fazerem estes petitorios, e levarem os dinheiros, que assy pedem; e teem maneira de fazerem vinr os povooos per costringimento d'escômunhom, que venhaõ ouvir suas pregações, sendo elles pessoas leigas, e casados; e nom os fazem vinr a estas pregações, senom por elles, querendo escusar este costringimento, peitarem do seu, assy destruuem a terra; o que nenhuus bos Prelados nom outorgam, nem querem que os aja em seus Bispados, mais fazem-nos alguus com cobiça de dinheiros sem outro dezejo boõ de serviço de DEOS, e daõ os casos Pontificaaes, pelos quaaes absolvem assy de incesto, como d'adulterio, e outros casos por dinheiros. Porem se elles quizerem mandar pedir per algua cousa, que seja honesta, e per tal pessoa, e nom chamar freigueses per tal costringimento, nem fazer pregações, senom pedir simplesmente, como devem, he bem que o possam fazer sem suas Cartas; e se d'outra guisa ho fezerem, nom o consentirá, e mandará que os prendam.<sup>157</sup>

There are manifold objections to these unauthorised preachers, on both spiritual and material grounds. They have no licence from the Pope to go out and preach - as D. João points out, they are laymen, and married - therefore they are usurping an ecclesiastical prerogative; their indulgences are worthless, so that those who hear their sermons then make a contribution, in money or in kind, have been defrauded. They extort money from the sinplezes, and this diversion of alms from legitimate appeals can only be to the detriment of other, genuinely worthy causes. Where D. João I does differ from the Church authorities is in the emphasis he places on clerical collusion in this offence, the simony of which some prelates are guilty in selling the *ichacorvos* licences to preach in their dioceses, and the neglect of their parishioners, who are effectively blackmailed into parting with their money and goods.

One specific example of Avis religiosity may be found in D. Duarte's instructions for the *Offícios da Capela*:

[...] O officio da noite do natal com matinas auangelho e mjsa e sermon em que aJa hua ora.

[...] O officio de ramos com terça cantada e bençom dos ramos com epistola e euangelho e dar os ramos preçisom misa com paixom e pregaçom çinquo oras.

[...] Nas segundas pouco menos e duem se as primeiras começar de noite sayr de noite, e as segundas começar de dia e acabar de noite, e as terçeias começar de dia e aCabar de dia.

A quinta feira in cena dominj, com prima .3.<sup>a</sup> sexta noa rezadas misa e mudamento do sacramento ao altar pequeno e vesperas cantadas tres oras.

[...] A sesta feira d endoenças afora a pregaçom que se no pode osmar em prima, 3<sup>a</sup> 6<sup>a</sup> 9<sup>a</sup> rezadas e duas prophecias com dous Cantos e paixom e orações solemnes e adoraçom da cruz mudamento do sacramento do altar pequeno ao altar principal e o ofiço do altar e mudamento do sacramento do altar ao moymento e vesperas rezadas. tres oras e mea.

[...] vespera de penthecoste que se dizem seis propheçias cantadas com tres trautos e ladainha cantada e misa .ij. oras. (\*) ao dia . matinas e j.a ij oras. e 3<sup>a</sup> misa de bispo. e pregaçom .ijj. oras.<sup>158</sup>

These instructions are also found in the *Leal Conselheiro*.<sup>159</sup>

In late July 1415, Frei João Xira, royal counsellor, confessor and ambassador, preached the crusade at Lagos:

Como o meestre frey Joham Xira preegou ante a uista de todo o pouoo, e das rrezes que disse.<sup>160</sup>

Following the Portuguese victory at Ceuta, Frei João, at the behest of D. João I, preached a sermon in the main mosque, during its consecration as a church, on Sunday 25 August:

Ho meestre preegou alli huua preegaçam com mujtas autoridades da santa espritura.<sup>161</sup>

Joaquim de Carvalho has raised some useful questions as to the originality of these sermons. After examining Zurara's text and comparing it with extracts from the *Tratado da Virtuosa Benfeitoria*, he concludes that the chronicler plagiarised this source, and:

sobre a base de apontamentos, fornecidos pelo próprio orador, por um dos infantes que foram armados cavaleiros ou por qualquer outro circunstante, Zurara compôs o sermão.<sup>162</sup>

Just before the Portuguese disembarked at Ceuta, Martim Pais, *capellam moor* of D. Henrique, pronounced what might have been a kind of army sermon. Zurara relates how the chaplain:

tomou o corpo do Senhor em suas mãos, e pousou-se diante de todos e começou de os esforçar em aquesta guisa.<sup>163</sup>

Carmelite preaching in Portugal is not well documented. The Lisbon statutes do, however, offer some idea of Carmelite priorities:

The statutes for the convent of Lisbon, drawn up by the provincial and definitory in 1424, ordain meditation in common twice a day, the first instance of this practice in the Order. Masses were to be offered every hour until noon, and confessors were to be available day and night. The major feasts of the Blessed Virgin were to feature a sermon, and she was to be introduced even into sermons on other topics.<sup>164</sup>

One preacher whose efforts did not bring him recognition or rewards was Pedro Gonçalves, Rector of Santa Maria de Óbidos. In a supplication to Martin V dated 23 September 1430, this parish priest seeks reassurance that the seemingly slanderous content of his sermons, directed against negligent clergymen, will not hinder his career by rendering him ineligible for benefices:

verbum Dei ad populum in eadem ecclesia predicandi, inter cetera sacerdotes, peccata populi non redarguentes, ut canes non latrantes fore.<sup>165</sup>

Scarcely two months later, 22 November 1430 at the Synod of Oporto, Bishop D. Antão Martinho de Chaves, points out another use for sermons - to denounce crimes and those who perpetrate them.<sup>166</sup>

The next preachers to be considered are Mestre André Dias de Escobar, and Frei André do Prado. Mestre André has been the subject of several articles and books. A prolific writer, he composed devotional poems, the *Laudes e Cantigas Espirituais*,<sup>167</sup> learned treatises such as *De Graecis Errantibus and Gubernaculum Concilium*, confessional manuals, for instance the *Lumen Confessorum*, and sermons.<sup>168</sup> Some of these he preached before the most exalted members of the Church, answering Zawart's definition of Council Preacher:<sup>169</sup>

- 6 April, 1415, Council of Constance
- 9 August, 1416, Council of Constance. Mestre André preached against avarice and simony.
- 17 January, 1418, Council of Constance. Thema: 'Sicut sol refulsit in domo Dei'.
- Sermon preached in the Metropolitan Church of Saragossa and cited by André Dias in his

*Sermo ad clerum*:

... ymo in concilio generali Constantien per universalem ecclesiam fuit ipsa reformatio emissa anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo decimo sexto, fuit et promissa et iuramento firmata et per litteras Concilii sigillatus cum sigillo plumbeo per total ecclesiam Dei publicata, quas ego Andreas hyspamus, tunc Civitateñ episcopus, publicavi, legi et declaravi in solempni sermone coram viii.<sup>9</sup> quasi milibus personis in Civitate Cesaragustana in sanctu Salvatoris maiori ecclesia metropolitana.<sup>170</sup>

- 27 December 1423, *Sermo ad clerum* preached to Martin V and the College of Cardinals at the Council of Pavia-Siena. This sermon is extant, in Oxford, All Souls College, MS 47, folios 172-190v and will be published *in toto* by António Domingues de Sousa Costa.

- 1 June 1430 Mestre André was present at the Synod of Braga convoked by D. Fernando da Guerra. It would be surprising if he did not proffer at least one sermon on this occasion.<sup>171</sup>

- 20 November 1432, André Dias preached a plague sermon in Lisbon:

Ca en no ano do boo Jhesu de myl e.iiii.o e triinta e dous anos, avendo muy grande pestelença na dicta çidade, dom meestre Andre Diaz de Lixboa ... preegando no moesteiro de sam Domyngo, por se tirar a dicta pestelença como de fecto se tirou, e ho muy sancto nome do boo Jhesu em cada huum dya preegava e dizia aos poboos que se quyriam seer de aquella pestelença livres, que o chamassem per suas bocas e o trouxessem escripto nos seus peytos aa parte do coraçom, e que o posessem pintado ou escripto aas suas portas.<sup>172</sup>

In addition, André Dias left notes in the manuscript of *Distinctiones exemplorum Novi et Veteris Testamenti*, by the Franciscan Bindi de Sena, in Vatican Latin MS 1026, folios 75v-76v:

1435, scribo Florentie secundum ordinationem istius libri qualiter predicabilis facilliter ad populum per totum annum per Bibliam, sed indiges habere tecum istum librum et Bibliam, ego in theologia magister Andreas Ulixboneñ, episcopus pauper Megareñ.<sup>173</sup>

Also noted in the margin of Vatican Latin MS 1026, folio 75r:

Liber doctrinalis ad predicandum et allegandum facilliter materias quascunque tam novi quam veteris testamenti per alphabetum secundum distinctiones copiose recollectus; est Andree pauperis episcopi Megareñ hispani, 1439; orate pro eo unum pater noster. Amen.<sup>174</sup>

Finally, André Dias' *Gubernaculum Conciliorum* offers many comments on preaching and its rôle, containing material which he apparently used in various sermons, as does *De Civitate ecclesiastica*, written in 1436.<sup>175</sup>

While there can be no doubt about André Dias' commitment to the task of preaching and spreading Christian doctrine, it is not easy to consider him first and foremost a Portuguese clergyman. His preoccupation is with the Church as an organic whole; in questions of conciliarism, his is the broad, international view; significantly, he is not present at the Councils of Constance or Pavia-Siena as a member of the Portuguese delegation, but as a member of the *curia*.

Frei André do Prado, author of the *Horologium Fidei*, was born at Évora in the last quarter of the fourteenth century and studied in Paris and Bologna.<sup>176</sup> Frei André is known to have preached a sermon at the Council of Basle, and a copy of this sermon is located in Balliol College, Oxford, MS 165A, pages 497-513, listed by R. A. B. Mynors:

Sermo magistri ANDREE DE PRATO ordinis Minorum provincie Portugalie, dominica secunda Adventus Eꝯco ego mitto angelum. meum. Math. XI. situatur presens verbum attollenmi patres et domini, cum propria mens sursum ageretur.<sup>177</sup>

According to António Domingues de Sousa Costa, who intends to publish this sermon along with André Dias de Escobar's *Sermo ad clerum*, it is extremely learned in content:

una disquisizione teologica sui misteri della Trinità e dell'Incarnazione del Verbo, arricchita di vari passi biblici e numerose citazioni dei Santi: Ilario, Ambrogio, Agostino, Gerolamo, ed altri illustri Padri e Dottore della Chiesa.<sup>178</sup>

and underlined by a strong reforming intention, preached in order to:

promuovere la riforma delle diocesi con la scelta di prelati capaci e degni, indicandone le qualità necessarie per governare paggiamente il popolo di Dio loro affidato.<sup>179</sup>

Frei André do Prado may have been responsible for another sermon, one preached in Santarém on 10 February 1450. This sermon is mentioned in Frei André's report to the Vicar-General, Fra Angelo di Perugia, in which he relates how the Chapter elected Frei Luís de Beja, Provincial of the Portuguese Franciscans:

... die ssupradicta, missa de Sancto Spiritu prius celebrata et ejusdem Sancti Spiritus invocata gratia necnon et sermone facto fratribus in communi.<sup>180</sup>

During the 1430s, under the Avis kings, funeral oratory acquires a new status. As has already been shown, D. Duarte was greatly concerned with religious practices, and this preoccupation extended to the sermons preached on the deaths of Nuno Álvares Pereira and D. João I.



Among the jottings and drafts in the *Livro dos Conselhos de El-Rei* are D. Duarte's instructions to his preachers regarding the kinds of sermon they are to deliver. The first summary is directed to Mestre Francisco, and dates from 1432-1433. The theme is 'Gloria et honore coronasti eum domine', and there are three divisions:

Primeiramente como noso senhor o coroou de gloria Temporalmente e em no seu regno segundo noso Juizo.

A 2ª como o coroou d honrra em esta vida e na outra segundo entender,

A 3ª como todos bons estados d el filhem exemplo pera percalçarem gloria e honrra em esta vida e na outra.<sup>181</sup>

D. Duarte is very clear on the emphasis he wishes Mestre Francisco to give to the sermon. Nuno Álvares is to be lauded 'pola muyta abundança de uirtudes que deus lhe outorgou': his nobility of character, and of ancestry, his prowess at arms, chivalrous conduct, loyalty to the crown, chastity and devoutness:

por sempre Viuer em muy grande honestidade nam tam somente em feytos de molheres <sup>mes</sup> em todas suas obras e traços e ditos e muy santas e honestas çerimonias.<sup>182</sup>

D. Duarte's summary shows familiarity with sermon structure, but he does not go so far as to usurp clerical prerogative by suggesting which Scriptural passages or *auctoritates* to insert. It is left to Mestre Francisco to take the outline and flesh it out, making an elegant and stirring funeral sermon.

There is a further mention of Mestre Francisco in D. Duarte's writings, chapter thirty-four of the *Leal Conselheiro*:

E sobre os proveitos que se recresceram de havermos segundo pela santa Igreja nos é mandado, ouvi ao mestre Francisco, meu confessor, em uma pregação, como em disputando um cristão com um herege.<sup>183</sup>

The second sermon-scheme was given to Frei Fernando, 'pera pregar no saymento del rey dom Joam seu pay'. A. D. Dias Dinis has studied this summary and concludes that the date given, 29 August 1435, is a copyist's error.<sup>184</sup> Again there are no scriptural references, and the emphasis is on D. João's life and works, particularly his attempts to correct public morals:

Primeira por el rey dom Yohão etc os encaminhar. A uyuerem uirtuosamente, asy que de renegar tafular, e desordenado beber, refiarias de freyras de mouras e de Judias, e d outras royndades que em esta terra se vsau per a graça de noso senhor e seu bom exemplo e ujrtude.<sup>185</sup>

D. Duarte is equally positive about what he does not want to hear:

Por a Raynha e outros de castela que podem ser presentes os feitos da guerra contra eles se non fale de claro nem per figura. Como fez frey gyl.<sup>186</sup>

The Frei Fernando to whom the summary is addressed is Frei Fernando de Arroiteia, OP. In the *Crónica de D. Duarte*, Rui de Pina writes:

Disse o Sermom mui conveniente e mui auctorisado Frey Fernando d'Arrotea, da Ordem de Sam Domingos, Preegador d'ElRey Dom Duarte.<sup>187</sup>

Dias Dinis offers a brief biography of this Dominican, based on documents in the National Archive, and makes much of his prestige as a preacher, which led D. Duarte to choose him to preach at Batalha in 1433, and also to award him a generous pension:

Eu outorgo a uos, Frey Fernando, meu preegador, aquell mantijmento e ceuada que avees de mym quando estaes em uosso moesteiro. Que assy o ajaaes em todollos dias de uossa vida, por o serviço que avees fecto a Deus e a mym, em uossas boas preegações, ajnda que, per velhiçe e enfermidade ou alguua neçesidade, me nom possaes serujr.<sup>188</sup>

Frei Rodrigo, D. Henrique's Dominican confessor, preached a particularly moving sermon on 24 October 1433:

As portas da see eram todas fechadas, e sobre huã das janellas da Capella de Santo António estava o Meestre Frei Rodrigo da ordem de São Domingos, Confessor do Ifante Dom Anrrique, que fez hum Sermam per modo de perguntas e ho provoo, dicto com tanta inveençam de tristeza com que movêo todos per muytas lagrimas, e espantoso pranto com que entraram no See, e se alojaram na Ordenança em que cada hum avya d'estar.<sup>189</sup>

A. J. Dinis concludes that he must have been an 'orador de merecimento, atenta a escolha que dele fizeram para sermâr de tanta circunstância e responsabilidade'.<sup>190</sup> D. Fernando da Guerra, Archbishop of Braga, then officiated at Mass, 'com grande solepnidade'.

On the following day, 25 October, more sermons are preached. Following mass, said by D. Fernando:

Frey Gil Lobo, grande Letrado, fêz ho sermom com têma ao auto conforme.<sup>191</sup>

It was perhaps on this occasion that Frei Gil committed the gaffe referred to by D. Duarte in his instructions to Frei Fernando.<sup>192</sup> The obsequies continued, with two sermons preached along the route taken by the funeral procession:

Na rua nova se fez hum pulpito, em que hum Mestre em Teologia, em chegando a elle a Carreta, fêz hum Sermam pera ho caso muyto louado: acabado ho qual seguio a procissam atee junto com Sam Domingos, honde em hum cadafalço, que se pera ysso ordenou, ho Doutor Diego Affonso Mangaancha, que era Lettrado e bem eloquente, tanto que ha Carreta chegou, fêz outro Sermam cuja thema foi = *Et nos moriamur cum eo* = Com que trouxe pera o caso cousas mui notavees e asáz bem dictas.<sup>193</sup>

D. Duarte and his brothers may be said to have created a precedent. From now on, elaborate funeral ceremonies, with impassioned and eloquent sermons, become standard practice.

In a supplication dated 30 August 1435, the Infante D. João asks Eugene IV to grant any benefice incompatible with the Church of Santa Maria de Povos to Vasco Gil, 'bacharel em decretos, seu confessor e pregador exímio'.<sup>194</sup> Vasco Gil was elevated to the See of Évora on 23 February 1442, where he preached many sermons.<sup>195</sup>

Four months later, on 12 December D. Fernando da Guerra preached a synodal sermon before the assembled clergy of his diocese: Although the text may never have been written down, the tenor of this sermon may be deduced from the eyewitness account of Pero Lourenço:

foi fecta collaçom seu recontamento per o dicto senhor aos sobredictos beneficiados e recontando como deviom de viver em serviço de Deus e emmendar suas vidas e reger seus freegueses e subdictos em sanctos e virtuosos auctos de que a Deus podessem dar boõ conto em ho extremo juiz. E depois de longo sermo e collaçom sobre esto fectos, com muito saudáveis amoestações e douctrina a elles dada, como prellado deve fazer e com reprehenses virtuosas e catholicas.<sup>196</sup>

1437 sees a recurrence of the crusade sermon, the direct consequence of the Avis' 'espírito de missãoção' and rivalry with Castilian expansionism that had prompted the Portuguese to send supplications to the Pope and make representations at the Council of Basle. The sequence of events - and papal bulls - leading up to the Portuguese expedition to Tangier has been documented and discussed with extreme thoroughness,<sup>197</sup> and a record of crusade sermons and their preachers has been preserved.

In his letter of 17 July to the Bishop of Viseu, D. Luís do Amaral, D. Duarte writes:

Porquanto somos çerto que uos prazera saberdes a maneira que tenemos em o publicar da cruzada, uos çerteficamos que, sexta feira, XI dias deste mes, nos e a rrainha minha molher e os ifantes meus yrmaaos tomos a Santa Maria do Carmo e hi ouujmos huuma preegaçom de frey Martinho, em a qual foy probricada a letera da cruzada com as indulgençias em ella comthudas, decrarandose em ella que pera o domingo sê fezesem prestes os que a ouuessem de filhar (...) Dally nos partimos com a proçisom e fomos aa see; tanto que chegamos, o bispo de Çepta que hi era reuestido em pontefical na proçisom sobio ao pulpedo e fez huum breve sermom de guisa que todos aujam dauer as indulgençias da cruzada e como se pera ello aujam de correger e ally beenzeo todos mostrando hi a bulla per cuja autoridade o fazia.<sup>198</sup>

The Frei Martinho mentioned above is perhaps the same friar mentioned in a *Carta de mercê* issued by D. Afonso V, 30 January 1449,<sup>199</sup> and a further royal letter, dated 22 August 1449

'autorizando o Doutor Frei Martinho a andar em besta muar de sela e freio'.<sup>200</sup> The Bishop of Ceuta at this time was D. Fr. Aimaro, who had been confessor to Philippa of Lancaster.

The *Crónica de D. Afonso V* offers an interesting description of a sermon that completely failed in its intent. When the people of Lisbon were close to rioting against the Queen Regent D. Lianor, the Count of Arraiolos in desperation called upon the Dominican Frei Vasco del Alagoa, 'por ser padre d'auctoridade e de letras, e ter boa audacia para dizer',<sup>201</sup> to calm the situation. Frei Vasco's mandate could not have been more explicit:

o domingo seguinte prégasse no seu mosteiro, avisando-o primeiro que todo seu fundamento fosse commover o povo a paz e assesego.<sup>202</sup>

Frei Vasco succeeded neither in placating the mob nor allaying their anxieties about the state of the kingdom. Instead, he inflamed them yet further, berating them for their ingratitude and treachery, reminding them of the treatment meted out to the citizens of Bruges when they betrayed Duke Philippe. There then follows a passage strongly reminiscent of one of the crowd-scenes at which Fernão Lopes excelled, where the voice of the 'povo miúdo' is heard loud and clear. A barber speaks up angrily, challenging the friar:

E como igual é o nosso caso dos framengos, que quizeram matar seu principe e Senhor? - Nós não somos tredores mas mui leaes, e não havemos de matar nosso Rei e Senhor; mas porque o amamos havemos todos de morrer por elle, quando lhe cumprir: mas certo este frade alguma cousa tem sentida; porque nos pe esta raiva.<sup>203</sup>

Popular wrath grows, and Frei Vasco is forced to leave the pulpit and take shelter inside the monastery. The Count, angry at the friar's failure to carry out instructions, abandons the task of restoring calm and order, and leaves Lisbon. And the people, 'depois de comer', go to the prior and demand that he throw Frei Vasco out, otherwise they will break down the doors and set fire to the monastery.

E o priol aconselhado da necessidade do tempo assi o fez; e & prégador se salvou secretamente.<sup>204</sup>

Mentioned during the same period are several royal preachers, including Frei Afonso do Paraíso, Provincial of the Franciscans in 1438,<sup>205</sup> and Frei Gonçalo Mendes, Dominican, 'bacheller nosso preegador' and recipient of a royal pension granted 31 March 1450.<sup>206</sup>

Also active in the first half of the fifteenth century was Frei Rodrigo do Porto. This Franciscan is named in various documents, a supplication to Martin V, dated 21 August 1425, asking to be permitted to receive his doctorate in theology at the University of Lisbon, and to be exempted from the usual expenses,<sup>207</sup> and in a bull from Eugene IV granting him an ecclesiastical benefice, either secular or regular:

Religionis zelus, litterarum scientia, vite ac morum honestas aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita (...) tu qui, ut asseris, per quadraginta annos verbum Dei et evangelicam doctrinam laudabiliter predicasti.<sup>208</sup>

Another instance of Avis religiosity is seen in D. Henrique's letter of 25 March 1448, establishing a pension in perpetuity of ten silver marks to maintain a Chair of Theology at the University of Lisbon. Incumbent on the respective professor are specific obligations:

E dira a festa de sancta maria de março missa E preegaçam em santa maria da graça aa quaal missa ham de ir todos los leentes E escolares encomendar minha Alma a sancta maria asy em minha vida como depois de minha morte pollas Cassas do estudo que lhe dey Outrosy dira mais a missa E pregaçam que dizem na confrarea do saluador E fara o principio cada anno que sse ha de fazer no conpeço do Estudo E neestas preegações.<sup>209</sup>

Should the Professor be unwilling to carry out these duties, he is to hand over six ounces of silver for whoever will do so. If no one is prepared to preach for this fee - 'E quando ho nom acharem per este preço', the Rectors are to select a suitable person and oblige him to fulfil these duties, paying him the six ounces. D. Henrique does not believe in leaving anything to chance, and makes the following stipulation:

E sse nom diser quada huu das dictas duas misas E preegações pagara por quada misa  
E preegaçom çinquo onças per sse Catar por elle outro que as diga.<sup>210</sup>

In his last will and testament, 13 and 28 October 1460, D. Henrique displays further generosity to the professor of Theology at Lisbon University, though retaining the earlier provisions:

Item ordeno e mando que o Leente da thiolisia da cadeira da prima aja en cadhuu anno pera sempre doze marcos de prata por a primeira Renda dos dizimos que a ordem de christos ha na Jlha da madeira pollo quall faram o princípio no estudo e diram certas missas e preeguações segundo faz decraaçom na carta mjnha que lhe dello leixo.<sup>211</sup>

António do Rosário lists Frei Fernando de Chelas, O.P., who lectured in Cologne and Oxford, and who, in his own words, in a supplication to Nicholas V, dated 2 May 1450, states:

per quadriginta annos vel circa Ulixbonensi, Colimbriensi et Bracharensi ecclesiis in predicationibus ac alias in seminando verbum Domini servitiis inoteterit et in Universitate Ulixbonensi in philosophia et theologia legendo et disputando insteterit.<sup>212</sup>

In October 1451 there were festivities and ceremonies in Lisbon to speed the Infanta D. Lianor on her way to meet her new husband, Emperor Frederick III. Rui de Pina describes events in the *Cronica de D. Afonso V*, the sumptuous banquets and rich costumes, jousting and play-acting.<sup>213</sup> There is also an eye-witness account, written by Father Nicholas Langmann von Falkenstein, one of Frederick's chaplains and, on this occasion, one of the two ambassadors sent to Portugal to officiate at the proxy wedding on the fourteenth of this month. He describes various theatrical performances, and a sermon. In this transcription by Mário Martins:

Junto da Sé, do lado ocidental, juntaram-se milhares de pessoas. Um notável doutor pregou à multidão, e, também ali, vemos um pouco de teatro. De facto, figuravam lá todos os reis de Portugal, desde D. Afonso Henriques até àquela data, vestidos a

rigor, armados e de coroa na cabeça (...) Ao mesmo tempo, outro famoso doutor tecia o elógio das suas gestas gloriosas, na defesa da cristandade.<sup>214</sup>

Mário Martins does not consider that this latter was in any way a burlesque sermon, given the seriousness of the topic.

Before the Empress sets sail, 'uma segunda feira XXV dias d'outubro', writes Rui de Pina, the royal family and courtiers go to hear Mass in the Cathedral:

Foi a principal misa dita em Pontifical e mui solemne, e com pregação à partida e auto consoante, acabada a qual, e dada a benção pelo Bispo de Ceuta com muita solemnidade e devoção.<sup>215</sup>

The Bishop of Ceuta was, according to Eubel, *Joannes O. Carm.*, Bishop of Ceuta, and later translated to Guarda 9 July 1459, dying in 1476. Presumably the sermon was preached by the Archbishop of Lisbon, D. Pedro de Noronha.

In a *súplica* dated 28 February 1452, João Gonçalves, Canon of Silves and Bachelor of Theology asks Nicholas V to grant him permission to receive income from his benefices without obligation of residence:

... qui a pluribus annis verbum Christi Salvatoris nostri fidelibus eiusdem etiam coram regibus aliisque principibus in illis partibus predicare et ewangelizare non cessavit nec cessat de presenti.<sup>216</sup>

A supplication of 11 March 1452 to Nicholas V provides the information that the Franciscan Frei Estêvão de Guimarães, in addition to serving D. Constança, Duchess of Bragança, also preached in and around Barcelos:

etiam verbum Dei in populo seminando, necnon confessiones audiendo pertulit.<sup>217</sup>



A rather different kind of preacher is under consideration in Luís Eanes' visitation report on Santiago de Óbidos, 6 March 1454:

item mandou que nom rrecebam ychacorvos em as dictas egrejas nem demandadores sem licença do prellado nem crerigos de fora do arcebispado mais de tres dias sob penna de pagarem cem rreaes pera o meirinho por cada vez que o contrairo fezerem.<sup>218</sup>

This item is obviously a reiteration of canon of D. João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja's synodal statutes, Lisbon, 13 January 1403, in which, as we have seen, the reasons for this prohibition are explained in detail.

On 17 March 1456, Frei Afonso Velho, O.P., confessor of D. Henrique, royal ambassador to the Pope and trusted counsellor, is designated 'preacher of the crusade',<sup>219</sup> while in an additional bull of 3 April Calixtus III offers the incentive of one hundred days indulgences to those who go and hear Frei Afonso preach.<sup>220</sup> A late example of the crusade sermon.

Likewise protected by D. Henrique, the Franciscan Frei Estêvão de Loulé, the prince's chaplain, receives recognition and rewards from Calixtus III. In the *súplica* dated 28 April 1456, D. Henrique refers to the three years that Frei Estêvão has spent preaching in the Canary Isles:

et inibi per trienium continue, non sine magnis laboribus, seminando verbum Dei et alias oportune et importune predicando populum in dictis insulis habitantem.<sup>221</sup>

Calixtus, in the bull *Virtutibus clarens* of the same date writes:

...continue, non sine magnis laboribus, verbum Dei cum solitudine predicando et seminando.<sup>222</sup>

In Chapter 138 of the *Crónica de D. Afonso V*, Volume II, Rui de Pina describes the results of the seeds sown in the crusade preaching carried out in Portugal, talking about 'o fervor d'esta Cruzada'.<sup>223</sup> It would be unthinkable for a Portuguese fleet to set sail without due ceremony, and support from the Church. Consequently, the King and his entourage only board his vessel, the Santo António:

depois d'El-Rei ouvir sua missa solemne e pregação  
mui devota.<sup>224</sup>

on Saturday 30 September 1457.

In order to raise money for the crusade, Pius 11 sent the bull *Cum nos hodie*, 21 May 1461, to D. João Galvão, Bishop of Coimbra, appointing him apostolic collector of the ecclesiastical *dízima*:

com poderes para urgir o seu pagamento, castigar os que se recusem a pagá-la e nomear pregadores que exortem o povo a concorrer para as despesas da sobredita cruzada.<sup>225</sup>

Using a mass media analogy, the crusade sermon - like the modern telethon - is perceived as the most effective way of persuading people to part with their money in a good cause. The fifteenth century granted indulgences, the twentieth accepts credit cards.

Among D. Afonso V's preachers was the Dominican Frei Afonso de Lorvão, whose name appears in a supplication to Pius II, 18 March 1462:

Supplicat humiliter S.V. devotissimus et fidelissimus eiusdem Alfonsus, Portugalie et Algrabii rex, quatenus sibi in personam dilecti predicatoris sui Alfonsi de Lorva[o] ordinis. Predicatorum professoris in theologia doctoris, specialem gratiam facientes.<sup>226</sup>

On 27 April of the same year, the Infanta Dona Filipa petitioned the Pope on behalf of Vasco Tenreiro, Rector of the parish church of S. Pedro de Torres Novas in the diocese of Lisbon, *mestre* of the King's children and:

qui in decretis baccalarius est et pluribus annis theologicis studiis operam dedit ac officium predicationis verbi Dei per plures annos exercuit.<sup>227</sup>

4 September 1462, the Dominican Frei Aires applied to the Pope for a benefice, describing himself as 'magister in theologia, de provincie Portugalie, qui per longa tempora verbum Dei populo christiano evangelizavit'.<sup>228</sup>

Diogo Gonçalves sent a supplication to Pius II, 14 August 1464, asking to be allowed to hold two benefices, after a lifetime's lecturing in the Universities of Salamanca and Lisbon, hearing confession and preaching:

per tempus et tempora christiano populo evangelium et sacram scripturam predicavit et declaravit.<sup>229</sup>

On 19 August 1466 the religious João Saraiva, master of theology and member of Vasco Fernandes de Sampaio's household, petitioned for a benefice:

de licentia sui superioris existat et nullum beneficium in dicto ordine habeat ac verbum Dei in regno Portugalie predicaverit et predicat.<sup>230</sup>

These supplications all follow the same pattern, formulated in such a way as to suggest that the petitioner is effectively applying for a retirement pension: after years of devoted and faithful service to the Church and to his community, preaching and hearing confession, now deserves the reward of a benefice which will enable him to live out his remaining years without hardship or privation.

Visitation articles frequently emphasise that preaching should be didactic in content, teaching the listener the meaning of the sacraments. For example, article nine of the visitation to Santiago de Óbidos, dated 14 February 1467, reads:

vós seede bem dilligente aho dar seendo vos rrequerido dando lhe a entender em vossos sermões e pregações ha virtude do dito sacramento e quanta graça Deus ffaz aquelles que o rreçebem e assy os animarees ao averem de rreçeber.<sup>231</sup>

The crusade sermon, or sermon to soldiers, makes a reappearance in August 1471. According to Damião de Góis, in the *Crónica do Príncipe D. João*, the Portuguese fleet sailed from Lisbon to Lagos, then proceeded to Africa:

sem mais esperar, partio aho outro dia depois de ouuir Missa, e pregaçam, na fim da qual dixе publicamente que ho lugar sobre que ha era Arzilla, onde chegou com toda ha armada, ahos vinte dias do mesmo mes d'Agosto, ja de noite.<sup>232</sup>

Unfortunately the chronicler does not state who the preacher was, nor does he go as far as Gomes Eanes de Zurara in his rendering of Frei João Xira's sermons at Lagos and Ceuta in 1415. However, it would seem probable that the sermon was preached by D. Frei Nuno Álvares de Aguiar who was elevated to the See of Morocco by Paul II in 1469 and who accompanied D. Afonso in August 1471. Following the conquest of Arzila, it was Frei Nuno who purified the mosque and dedicated it to the Holy Spirit:

Foi se logo á Mesquita que já era feita igreja, onde deu muitas graças e louvores a Deos, e envestio de Bispo da cidade o prior de S. Vicente de Fóra de Lisboa, que sendo da regra e ordem de Santo Agostinho, por promoção e auctoridade apostolica era já d'antes intitulado Bispo d'ella.<sup>233</sup>

While one group were engaged in the business of conquering Africa, other less bellicose men remained at home making provision for the sick and injured. A supplication for 25 June 1472 from the inhabitants of Tavira refers to the appointment of a chaplain for the Hospital do Espírito Santo, founded to receive Christians returning from Africa, 'vulneribus et

infirmatibus afflictos'.<sup>234</sup> On 18 September a further petition was made, asking the Pope to appoint Frei Martinho de Tavira hospital chaplain. Preaching is as necessary for the patients as medical attention, and they would like the job to go to this Franciscan, 'in illis partibus predicatoris famosi, et qui in illo hospitali magnum fructum consequeretur'.<sup>235</sup>

Frei Afonso de Évora, Prior of S. Domingos de Lisboa, preacher and royal confessor, is mentioned by several chroniclers on account of the sermon he preached when the Infante Santo's mortal remains were brought back from Fez. In the *Crónica de D. Afonso V*, Rui de Pina writes that:

alli pelo priol de S. Domingos Mestre Affonso se fez um sermão para o caso mui conveniente e devoto, em que houve palavras de tanta piedade e compaixão, que commoveram gentes a muitas lagrimas como se foram Endoença.<sup>236</sup>

The same funeral sermon is described by Damião de Góis, in the *Crónica do Príncipe D. João*:

no anno de mil, e quatro centos e setenta e dous,, onde foi recibida com solemne proçissam e preaçam muim deuota que sobre ho captiuerio, e Virtuosa vida do Infante fez mestre afonso, prior do mosteiro de sam Domingos, no mosteiro do Salvador, onde ha ossada steue atte que ha elRei mandou levar aho mosteiro de Batalha.<sup>237</sup>

But most telling of all is Frei João Álvares' eye-witness account:

Gråde alegria spiritual recebi recebido en meus braços aquella santa ossada, que tirei de sobre o mar, e sobre meus hombros a trouxe, e puse na Igreja de santa Maria de Bele.<sup>238</sup>

As the martyred prince's confessor and companion in the most profoundly adverse circumstances, Frei João experienced sense of relief at the rightness of this ceremony; D. Fernando could at last be laid to rest on Christian territory, with the dignity and honours befitting his royal rank:

E a prégação se começou com tal concerto de palauras que não ouue algue que deixasse de derramar muitas lagrimas, amorosas & condoidas, louuando altamete a

grande virtude & sanctidade do sancto Iffante dom Fernão. E o prégador tomou por thema hum verso de Dávid no Psalmo 117. que diz: 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini'. E começou de louvar suas excellências, de sorte que toda a gente corria & se chegava pera o ataude carregando sobrele.<sup>239</sup>

The episcopal constitutions of D. Luís Pires, promulgated at the Synod of Braga, 11 December 1477, two months after his concordat with the clergy, contain two prescriptions relative to preaching. Number forty-one prohibits preaching by *ychacorvos* and *pedidores* who have not been licensed to do so by the Archbishop:

Cousa certa hé que muitos ychacorvos e emganadores andam per este arcebispado pedindo esmollas, mostrando leteras falsas e preegando indulgências e perdoanças mentirosas que nunca foram ou, se alguas som, acrecentam nellas muitas falsidades e mentiras e assy enganom os sinplezes e lhes levam e roubam o seu como nom devem sem lhes ficar proveicto alguum pera suas almas.<sup>240</sup>

It can be seen from this constitution that Lisbon was not the only diocese to be plagued with these predators. D. Luís' legislation is very similar to that contained in D. João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja's synodal statutes of 1403 and in subsequent visitation documents. Constitution fifty-four of the same synod reveals a certain pragmatism in D. Luís's desire to see his parishioners keep the Sabbath. In order to eliminate competition between preacher and innkeepers, the Archbishop rules:

Que nom vendam nem conprem nem abram tavernas nem buticas atee que sayam da pregação ou atee que alevantem Deus, onde nom ouver pregação nos domingos e festas.<sup>241</sup>

The Constitution is worded very precisely, leaving no loop-holes. D. Luís is determined that no one should miss church services, and even states which staple items may be sold after 'o sinno acostumado em fim da pregação da nossa see', bread, meat, fish, wine, 'verças', fruit and mustard. If the sermon is preached after Mass or there is no sermon at all, then trading may only begin after the bell has tolled three times.<sup>242</sup>

Two documents conserved in the Arquivo Distrital de Braga offer valuable information about an entirely different kind of preaching in late medieval Portugal. The first, a letter from D. Afonso V to the Dean and Cathedral Chapter, dated 26 January 1481, was written in response to complaints from the Jews of Braga that they were being compelled by Mestre Paulo to attend his sermons, the contents of which were fiercely anti-semitic. The same preacher had also threatened to excommunicate any Christian who spoke to Jews who had not attended his preaching, and was responsible for 'outras muytas opresões que lhes per esta causa eram feitas'. D. Afonso's ruling on the matter favours the Jews, and demonstrates a certain protectionism:

Nos vos roguamos e encomendamos que mandees aleuamtar quaaesquer escomunhaees ou penas que por esta causa contra os dictos judeus sejam postas. E daquy em diante nom comsemtaees ao dicto mestre Paulo que em suas pregações digua contra os dictos judeus cousa de que sse sigua antre elles e o poboo hodio nem escamdelo.<sup>243</sup>

D. Afonso does not wish to see open hostility or an outburst of anti-semitic violence. The second document is another royal letter, again dated 26 January 1481, in which the king admonishes Mestre Paulo for his inflammatory preaching:

nos he certificado que com vosas pregações daees causa ao pouo leuamtos e onyooes contra os judeus desa comarqua et que per força os fazees hir a vosas pregações. E porque esto he coussa contra serviço de Deus e nosso e bem de nosso poboo e cousa muy estreitamente defessa pellos santos padres.<sup>244</sup>

Mestre Paulo is summoned to appear before the king and explain his conduct. Should he disobey this command, he will be arrested and imprisoned.

Humberto Baquero Moreno questions the motives for Mestre Paulo's 'conduta de intransigência e de fanatismo', concluding that it is because Mestre Paulo was himself a Jew, who had converted to Christianity:

Item Mestre Paulo nouo christão na fey foy hordenado aos XXV dias de Mayo da dicta era.<sup>245</sup>

and comparing the Portuguese cleric, unfavourably, with the Castilian converso Pablo de Santa María.<sup>246</sup>

We might ask what other kinds of preaching were taking place in Portugal during the 1480s. While Maestre Paulo was inveighing against the Jews of Braga, there is evidence that the Dominicans continued their mission in different regions of Portugal. For instance, on 19 February 1481 D. Afonso V and D. João petitioned the Pope on behalf of Frei Diogo de Coimbra, O.P.:

supplicant humiliter S.V. Alfonsus rex et Johannes princeps Portugalie predicti quatenus cum eodem Didaco qui coram Alfonso rege et principe predictus duodecim annis iam elapsis verbum Dei proposuit.<sup>247</sup>

Also at this time, we discover evidence of a less reputable kind of preaching. On 23 April 1482, D. João II issued a letter of pardon to one Rodrigo Álvares, who had been arrested for preaching burlesque, goliardic sermons.<sup>248</sup> Rodrigo Álvares was not the only student to preach mock-sermons in late fifteenth-century Portugal. In Álvaro de Brito Pestana's complaint on the times, published in the *Cancioneiro Geral* (1516), we find the following verse:

Estudantes preguadores  
metem sanctas escreturasem sermões,  
diruados em amores  
fazem de falssas feguas  
tentações.<sup>249</sup>

Nor should we overlook the burlesque sermons of Gil Vicente, in his *Auto da Mofina Mendes* and *Auto das Fadas* and the *Sermão de Abrantes*, of 1506.<sup>250</sup>



António do Rosário has noted references to sermons preached by the Dominicans Frei Álvaro Correia, Frei Álvaro da Torre, and Frei Pedro Dias, preachers to D. João II during the 1480s.<sup>251</sup>

Still within the same period, the distinguished Carmelite Frei João Sobrinho was teaching theology and canon law in Portugal. Preacher and confessor to D. Afonso V, Frei João wrote several treatises, among them *De Iustitia Commutativa*, *Arte Campsoria ac Alearum Ludo*.<sup>252</sup> His fame as a preacher reached such proportions that when he preached at the Carmo, the pulpit had to be placed beside the door to enable the enormous congregation to hear him speak. The chronicler of his order, Frei Simão Coelho writes:

Escreueo muitos tratados em Logica, e Theologia, & muitos Sermões, do qual alguma cousa anda ainda na Livraria do Carmo de Lixboa.<sup>253</sup>

but unfortunately none of these sermons has survived. Frei João apparently preached against the Jews, and after his death in 1486, there were rumours that he had been poisoned.

2 August 1486, Frei Gonçalo do Porto, O.P., Bachelor of theology, seeks confirmation of the permission granted him by the Cardinal of Naples, to go anywhere in the world and preach:

ad quascunque mundi partes se transferendi et verbum Dei christe fidelium populo publice et in quibusvis ecclesiis predicandi.<sup>254</sup>

All of these references suggest that there is not only continuity of preaching, but that the activity takes many different forms, is carried out in a wide variety of locations and serves all manner of purposes.

The Franciscan Frei João da Póvoa was, according to A. de Magalhães Basto, 'uma notável personalidade da sociedade portuguesa no século XV', well known because of his role of confessor to D. João II whose will he wrote out in Viana do Alentejo in 1495.<sup>255</sup> We have already mentioned his library inventories, but it should also be remembered that along with Mestre João Mendes of the *Lóios* and the Franciscan Frei Diogo, he was entrusted with the task of preaching the crusade, by the authority of bull *Orthodoxe fidei*, 18 February 1486.<sup>256</sup>

On 8 November 1487 D. João II sent a letter of privilege to *Bacharel* Vicente, preacher in the city of Lisbon:

nos damos e outorgamos ao bacharel vicente pregador em a nosa cidade de lixboa.<sup>257</sup>

Because of his 'boas letras et pregação', we are told, Frei Diogo Velho was named, with his fellow Dominican, Frei João Dias, Visitor of the Province of Spain.<sup>258</sup>

The *Tratado de Confissom* of 1489<sup>259</sup> contains several references to preaching and sermons. This comes as no surprise, since the confessors for whom the manual was composed were to use it to regulate the entire spectrum of conduct of laity and clergy alike. When dealing with the sin of sloth, the confessor is to enquire of the penitent:

Se leixou de hir a eigreja aos tempos que devera. Se nom quis ouvir as missas e as pregações ao tempo convinhavel. Se se affrigio com nojo pola solenidade da missa ou pollo sermõem seer grãde. Se quando esta a missa ou a pregaçom tem o coraçom nas do mudo.<sup>260</sup>

The clergyman who compiled this manual was clearly familiar with human behaviour. These questions are based on his lived experience of his parishioners, their failings and flaws. If he is confessing a member of the clergy, he is to ask:

Se despreçou de pregar e de ensinar de Jhesu Christo.<sup>261</sup>

Preaching is also mentioned in connection with keeping the Sabbath and feast days,<sup>262</sup> and with simony, which is in blatant contravention of the Seventh Commandment:

toda cousa que he spritual e se da por teporal, ora seja e beneficios, ora e missas, ora e preegações he somonia.<sup>263</sup>

A major funeral sermon was preached on the death of D. Afonso, son of D. João II, in 1491. It was pronounced at Batalha on 25 August by:

hum grande letrado e singular prégador, que se chamaua mestre Ioam o sarto, da ordem de São Francisco.<sup>264</sup>

The sermon was apparently so moving that it caused what amounted to an outbreak of mass hysteria among the mourners, who banged their heads against the bier and tore out their hair and beards:

alegou tantas, e taes razes pera choro, e tristeza, que muytos homens de muyta autoridade, muyto saber, muyto siso, aquella ora parecia que & não tinham.<sup>265</sup>

Rui de Pina does not identify the preacher, but describes the reactions provoked by the sermon in similar terms:

hu Sermão com lembranças, e rasões tam exortativas pera choro, e pranto; que muitas cabeças que eram cheas de siso pareciam naquella ora delle vazias.<sup>266</sup>

If one were to speculate as to the identity of the Franciscan preacher, one likely candidate is Frei João da Póvoa, renowned for his erudition, D. João's personal confessor.

Martino de Viana, Master of Arts, Doctor of Theology and Chaplain to the Cardinal D. Jorge da Costa, spent much of his life in Italy. Little is known about his work, but four

*orationes* by Martinho were printed between 1494 and 1496. Not having seen these works, I am unable to state whethery they are indeed sermons, but the titles, and occasions on which they were delivered do seem to suggest as much. The first, *Oratio de Christi ad celos ascensione*, given at the curia of Alexander VI, was printed in 1494. The second, the *Oratio de trinitate*, was also delivered at the curia in 1494. The third, *Oratio habita Romae in festo S. Thomae de Aquino*, before the College of Cardinals, 1496, exists in manuscript and incunabulum. Finally, Queirós Veloso lists the *Oratio in die cinerum*, pronounced in the presence of Alexander VI, 1496.<sup>267</sup>

After a period of decadence and inactivity during which the Crown assumed responsibility for ransoming captives from North Africa, the Trinitarians obtained from Alexander VI in 1498, the right to resume their former mission.<sup>268</sup> Best known among the *trinos* was the Valencian Miguel Contreras, who preached in Lisbon from around 1481 onwards. The Trinitarians also had a convent in Évora, established 7 August 1499. According to Padre Manuel Fialho:

solenizou sua erecção a Irmande com músicas, missa solene e pregação.<sup>269</sup>

Next in this chronology of sermons is that delivered by D. Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas, Bishop of Tangier, on 27 October 1499, when the mortal remains of D. João II were taken to Batalha. Before the *Grandes* of the kingdom, both secular and ecclesiastical, 27 October 1499, the Bishop preached:

e contou as grandes virtudes do Catholico Rey, e as grandezas, e esmolos, e merces que fizera sendo viuo, e quantas ajudas dera pera casmentos de suas filhas a muytos fidalgos, e cauelteiros, escudeyros, e donas, viuuas, e orfãas, e grandes esmolos a muytas Igrejas, e mosteiros, ate a casa Santa de Ierusamel, e dera grandes ajudas e dadiuas a Reys Christãos, e a brandes de seus Reynos, e que fora Rey muy penitente, e que nunca se arrependera das grandes dadiuas, e mercês que fizera. E disse mais como era santo, em caso que por ha Igreja ho não ter canonizado o nam podesse dizer, e porem que bem podiamos dizer santo, pois fora Rey tam Catholico, e penitente, e que estaua inteyro seu santo corpo com cabellos na cabeça, e barba, e peitos, dizendo

mais como lhe deitaram no ataude muyta cal, que comera o ataude, e lençol, e alcatifa que estaua debaiyo, sem tocar no santo corpo.<sup>270</sup>

According to the chronicler, many miracles were worked through the intervention of this holy king.

There can be no doubt about the prestige enjoyed by D. Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas. Not only did he preach the funeral sermon for D. João II, he also delivered the exploration sermon at Belém on 8 March 1500:

Prestes esta armada, estando já em Restello elRei se foi ahó mosteiro de Bethele, ôde mādou dizer Missa em pontifical, tedo consigo dentro na cortina Pedraluerez cabral, no qual houue pregação que fez ho Bispo de Cepta dom Diogo Hortiz, que depois foi de Viseu, castelhano de nação animando todos ahos trabalhos que iham tomar, por serviço de Deos, & de seu rei, appõtado ahos capitães, & ahos outros fidalgos que iham na armada, muitos lououres de seus antepassados, cõ que não tam sõmente fez enueja ahos que ficauam no regno, mas antes hos inçitou a querere muitos delles fazer esta viagem se ho tempo lhes então dera pera isso lugar.<sup>271</sup>

It is clear from this account that D. Diogo was a skilled orator, persuasive, able to inspire brave deeds, and clever enough to do his homework on the intricate genealogies of the Portuguese nobility. Doubtless it was for these qualities that he was chosen to preach the sermon and invoke God's blessing on those about to sail for India.<sup>272</sup> On board also were Frei Henrique de Coimbra, and seven other Franciscans. Their mission was to tend to the spiritual needs of the crew and passengers, and set up a convent on arriving in India, possibly in Calcutta. As is well known, the fleet was blown off course. As a result, the Portuguese discovered - and laid claim to - Brazil. Their first impressions are recorded in Pero Vaz de Caminha's letter to D. Manuel, as are descriptions of the two sermons that Frei Henrique preached on Brazilian soil.<sup>273</sup> The first of these was delivered on Easter Sunday, 26 April 1500:

Ao domingo de Pascoela pela manhã, determinou o Capitão ir ouvir missa e sermão naquele ilhéu. E mandou a todos os capitães que se arranjassem nos batéis e fôssem com êle. E assim foi feito. Mandou armar um pavilhão naquele ilhéu, e dentro

levantar um altar mui bem arranjado. E ali com todos nós outros fêz dizer missa, a qual disse o padre frei Henrique, em voz entoada, e oficiada com aquela mesma voz pelos outros padres e sacerdotes que todos assistiram, a qual missa, segundo meu parecer, foi ouvida por todos com muito prazer e devoção. Ali estava com o Capitão a bandeira de Cristo, com que saíra de Belém, a qual estêve sempre bem alta, da parte do Evangelho.

Acabada a missa, desvestiu-se o padre e subiu a uma cadeira alta; e nós todos lançados por essa areia. E pregou uma solene e proveitosa pregação, da história evangélica; e no fim tratou da nossa vinda, e do achamento desta terra, referindo-se à Cruz, sob cuja obediência viemos, que veio muito a propósito, e fêz muita devoção.<sup>274</sup>

The sermon seems to have combined thanksgiving and missionary elements. After all, Frei Henrique's congregation was partially composed of native Americans who, although they could not understand the language used, did sit quietly on the sand and observe the ceremony. Only when the friar had ended his sermon did the Indians begin to sing and dance.

On Friday 1 May, the Portuguese walked in a procession along the beach, set up a cross and altar, then heard another sermon, with some fifty or sixty Indians kneeling, raising their hands as if to pray, and generally imitating the Portuguese. As Pero Vaz de Caminha writes:

Parece-me gente de tal inocência que, se nós entendessemos a sua fala e eles a nossa, seriam logo cristãos, visto que não têm nem entendem crença alguma, segundo as aparências.<sup>275</sup>

Acabada a missa, tirou o padre a vestimenta de cima, e ficou na alva; e assim se subiu, junto ao altar, em uma cadeira; e ali nos pregou o Evangelho e dos Apóstolos cujo é o dia, tratando no fim da pregação dêsse vosso prosseguimento tão santo e virtuoso, (de sorte) que nos causou mais devoção.<sup>276</sup>

Pero Vaz de Caminha's words reveal his own belief in the importance of maintaining religious practices, particularly in an unknown continent. Without Masses and sermons and God's approval, he and the other members of the expedition would feel far less secure; there would be a sense of fear and trepidation. But with Frei Henrique and his brothers in Christ, there is an element of protection, a greater willingness to savour these new experiences.

If Frei Henrique was committed to the ideal of *missioneação*, other members of the Portuguese clergy were continuing the task of trying to reform morals and correct abuses.

On 12 May 1500 D. Pedro Vaz Gavião held a synod in the diocese of Guarda at which he promulgated ninety-four statutes, printed on 12 September in Salamanca. Of these, two impinge on the question of preaching in medieval Portugal and number fifty-eight has been quoted repeatedly by literary historians as evidence of liturgical theatre in Portugal as a forerunner of Gil Vicente:

Achamos um abominável costume em alguns lugares deste nosso bispado que os fregueses e moradores deles em algumas festas do ano, assim como em dia de Santo Estêvão, que vem nos oitavas de Natal, como em outras festas, ordenam e fazem imperadores e reis e rainhas e vão-se com eles ás igrejas levando consigo jograis, os quais mandamã poer e pem no púlpito da igreja, donde dizem muitas deshonestidades e abominações, sem embargo de se então celebrar missa e se fazerem os officios divinos, por cuja razão se seguem muitos arruídos e outros inconvenientes.<sup>277</sup>

Most germane to this discussion is D. Pedro's reference to burlesque sermons. We have already encountered one instance of the mock sermon, in the letter of pardon of 1423, and this episcopal constitution confirms the suspicion that the practice must have been fairly widespread. And we should recall the striking examples of the genre in the works of Gil Vicente.

Constitution fifty-eight prohibits *ichacorvos* from preaching and begging in the diocese, for the same reasons as given in earlier Portuguese synods, with one additional detail:

e outrossim outras pessoas, homens e mulheres, assim do nosso bispado como de fora dele por sotileza reprovada e mentirosa se entremetem pedir ora para algum avergonçado ora para orago de algum Santo apropriando para si as ditas esmolás.<sup>278</sup>

It is not clear what should be understood by the statement 'pedir ora para algum avergonçado'; possibly the Bishop is suggesting that these unlicensed preachers and beggars

ask for alms in the name of unworthy clerics, apostates, false pilgrims and other such scoundrels. In any case the reiteration of a ruling made one hundred or so years before in Lisbon and Braga indicates that the practice continues to flourish, providing a livelihood for those unscrupulous enough to exploit the more credulous among the faithful. The pardoner would seem to be a recognizable figure in medieval Portugal. In 1503 we find one of Gil Vicente's shepherds addressing an excessively verbose hermit in the following terms:

Buldas debeis de traer  
a vender  
que os estais chacorveando.<sup>279</sup>

These lines, with the unusual verb *chacorvear*, suggest that both the social type and his professional activities would be sufficiently familiar to the audience for Gil Vicente's lines to raise a laugh.

The Franciscans were not the only Order to carry out missionary work in India. Three years after Frei Henrique and his colleagues set out from Belém, a Dominican, Pedro de Abreu, with five others of his order, travelled with Afonso de Albuquerque to Goa. Pedro de Abreu studied in Paris and Salamanca, was Prior of the convent at Aveiro, and was dedicated to the task of preaching.<sup>280</sup>

In 1505 there is a further example of the Church giving its approval to the entire process of descobrimento and conquest. When Duarte Pacheco returned in triumph from India, D. Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas was entrusted by D. Manuel with the job of preaching the thanksgiving sermon:

A quinta feira depois da armada de Lopo Soarez surgir no porto de Lisboa, mandou fazer hua procissam solemne, do modo que se fazem has do corpo de Deus, em que foi da sé atte ho mosteiro de sam Domingos, leuando Duarte pachequo à sua ilharga, junto consigo, onde ho Bispo de viseu d diogo ortiz fez hua pregação, em que relatou tudo ho que lhe aconçegara na India, & ho mesmo mandou fazer per todo ho Regno.<sup>281</sup>



Duarte Pacheco was publicly honoured - by both the temporal monarch of Portugal, and by one of the most respected prelates of the Portuguese Church.

Despite the fact that very few manuscripts of medieval Portuguese sermons have survived or been identified as the work of Portuguese clerics, an examination of other kinds of source demonstrates that there is sufficient material to construct an outline history of preaching in medieval Portugal. In other words, the lack of extant sermons should not lead us to assume that the clergy were negligent in their duty of preaching. There is abundant evidence to the contrary, and we may conclude that throughout the period in question, 1215 to 1500, different sections of the Portuguese clergy were actively engaged in preaching the Word of God. Moreover, our survey has indicated the broad scope and variety of preaching undertaken by the clergy in medieval Portugal, who, as we have seen, were willing and able to deliver sermons for all occasions and circumstances. That is not to suggest that all medieval Portuguese preaching was good or beneficial. Beside the unlicensed pardoners, there were also licit preachers who erred on the side of fervour, delivering sermons that proved far from beneficial, anti-semitic or rabble-rousing sermons that were socially disastrous. Nevertheless, the overall picture is far less gloomy than might have been expected. As with the duty of visitation, we see that individual clerics responded to both the institutional directives of the Church and the spiritual needs of the laity. We could of course argue that the clergy were merely responding to pressure from the Crown, whose purposes many sermons frequently fulfilled, or else that they were preaching in order to raise funds. Elements of these must have been present in medieval preaching, but only account for a very small proportion of the sermons that we can surmise were preached. The number of allusions to sermons, and the way they were received, show that preaching was an integral part of medieval life and general culture, taken for granted but nonetheless extremely important to the population at large.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Canon 10, IV Lateran. Hefele-Leclercq, op. cit., page 1340.
2. One medieval preacher, 'Basevorn, defines preaching as the persuasion of many to meritorious conduct', D. Catherine Brown, in *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson*, Cambridge, 1987, page 19.
3. See M. M. Davy, *Les Sermons universitaires parisiens de 1220-1231. Contribution à l'histoire de la prédication médiévale*, Paris, 1931, page 23.
4. G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, Cambridge 1926; *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, second edition, Oxford, 1961.
5. See for example, Siegfried Wenzel, 'Chaucer and the Language of Contemporary Preaching', *Studies in Philology*, 73 (1976), 138-161; James F. Burke, 'The *Libro del Cavallero Zifar* and the Medieval University Sermon', *Viator*, 1 (1970), 207-223; Francisco Rico, *Predicación y literatura en la España medieval*, Cádiz, 1977; A. D. Deyermond, 'The Sermon and its Uses in Medieval Castilian Literature', *La Corónica*, VIII, no.2 (1980), 127-145. Also, *Medieval Sermon Studies Newsletter*, 1 (1977) and ff.
6. 'Infelizmente pouco se sabe da sermonária em Portugal durante a Idade Média da qual, até há pouco, só se conheciam os sermões de Santo António', Geraldo J. Amadeu Coelho Dias, 'Os Sermões de Fr. Paio de Coimbra e o Antigo Testamento', in *Actas do II Encontro sobre História Dominicana. Tomo I. Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português*, III/1 (1984), page 383.
7. D. W. Robertson, 'Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth Century England', in *Essays in Medieval Culture*, Princeton, N.J., 1980, pages 114-128.
8. Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal. Volume I*. Nova edição, Porto, 1967.
9. This survey will include Portuguese preachers abroad, and foreign preachers active in Portugal.
10. 'Les relations intellectuelles entre le Portugal et les Écoles françaises remontent au milieu du XIIe siècle, c'est à-dire à la naissance même du Portugal en tant que nation. Au cours du XIIIe siècle et dans la première moitié du suivant, la France a continué à attirer les étudiants lusitaniens: c'étaient presque toujours des moines, franciscains ou augustins, que ne rebutaient pas les difficultés du long voyage, tant étaient grandes leur soif de savoir et la réputation des Maîtres. Les écoles monacales de Coimbra et d'Alcobaca n'offraient aux clercs d'alors qu'un enseignement élémentaire. Force était donc à ceux qui voulaient poursuivre leurs études de chercher ailleurs un cours de Théologie et, au début du XVIIIe siècle, ils allaient presque tous à Paris', Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Les Portugais à l'Université de Toulouse (XIII-XVII siècles)*, Paris, 1970, page 25.
11. Jean Longère, *La Prédication médiévale*, Paris, 1983, pages 140-148.
12. St. Gregory, *Liber Regulae Pastoralis III*. Prologue and c. 36, *Patrologia Latina*, 77, pages 40-51.
13. Cited by Edwin Charles Dargan, *A History of Preaching. Volume I. From the Apostolic Fathers to the Great Reformers. A.D. 70-1572*, New York, 1968 (reprinted from the 1905 edition), page 236.
14. John G. Tuthill, *The Sermons of Brother Paio: Thirteenth-Century Dominican Preacher*, University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, 1984, page 107.
15. For a detailed discussion of Alfonso's ecclesiastical sources, see José Giménez y Martínez de Carvajal, 'San Raimundo de Peñafort y las *Partidas* de Alfonso X el Sabio', *Anthologica*

*Annua*, III (1955), 201-338. Note particularly his comment: 'La "Summa" de San Raimundo es, sin duda, la obra canónica que más influye en las leyes de la primera partida y la más utilizada por sus redactores', page 215. This is especially interesting if we remember, that one of the named sources for Martín Pérez's *Livro das Confissões* (see footnote 28 and *passim*) is Raymond of Peñafort.

16. José de Azevedo Ferreira, *op. cit.*, pages 234-235.

17. *Ibid.*, page 235.

18. José Sánchez Herrero, 'La predicación de la palabra de Dios', in *Las diócesis del reino de León. Siglos XIV y XV*, Leon, 1978, pages 253-256.

19. Anscar Zawart, 'The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers (1209-1227). A Bio-Bibliographical Study', *Franciscan Studies*, 7, 1928, page 242.

20. José de Azevedo Ferreira, *op. cit.*, page 233.

21. Correa de Oliveira & Saavedra Machado, *Textos Medievais Portugueses*. Segunda edição, Coimbra, 1961, page 666.

22. José de Azevedo Ferreira, *op. cit.*, page 237.

23. 'This sermon, unlike other types, is in no connection with the ecclesiastical year. Any political event in the Middle Ages, both in war and peace, gave rise to preach [sic] a *sermo casualis*. The installation of a bishop, the king's taking possession of the throne, the funeral of a spiritual or temporal sovereign, the dedication of a semi-religious or profane building, such as a chapel, a bridge, a court-house, were cause for a sermon. Even the national games and dramatic performances were introduced by the sacred oration of some famous preacher.' Anscar Zawart, *op. cit.*, page 246.

24. Cited by M. M. Davy, *op. cit.*, page 31. For a list of *artes praedicandi* preserved in Portuguese libraries or listed in library catalogues, see Joaquim de Carvalho, *Os Sermões de Gil Vicente e a Arte de Pregar*, Lisbon, 1948, pages 15-16.

25. M. M. Davey, *op. cit.*, page 31.

26. John G. Tutthill, *op. cit.*, *Dominic 9a*, page 331.

27. *Ibid.*, *Andrew 2*, pages 169-170.

28. Martín Pérez, *Livro das Confissões*, cód. alc. 377, folio 85r. col. 2.

29. Albert G. Hauf (ed.), 'El *Ars Praedicandi* de Fr. Alfonso d'Alprão, O.F.M. Aportación al estudio de la teoría de la predicación en la Península Ibérica', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 72 (1979), page 265. Note Hauf's introductory comment: 'Fr. Afonso escribió, con seriedad y rigor escolásticos, un opúsculo técnico en el que no hay cabida para las consideraciones morales sobre el hecho mismo de la predicación y la conducta del predicador, los anatemas o las reminiscencias personales', page 261.

30. M. M. Davy, *op. cit.*, page 23.

31. Canon 10, IV Lateran, Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, page 1340.

32. Frei João Álvares, 'Carta Scripta em Bruges e Trautado "De Imitatione Christi"', in *Cartas e Traduções. Obras. Volume II*, edited by Adelino de Almeida Calado, Coimbra, 1959, page 161.

33. Francisco José da Gama Caeiro, 'Os Primórdios dos Frades Pregadores em Portugal. Enquadramento Histórico-Cultural', in *Actas do II Encontro sobre História Dominicana. Tomo I. Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português*, III/1 (1984), page 166.

34. 'Este género de questiúnculas, por vezes morosas e subindo até Roma, por causa de direitos à morte de paroquianos, que escolhiam sepultura nas igrejas de Frades Mendicantes, já se produzira com os monges e virá a repetir-se com as novas fundações do século XVI, como acontecerá, por exemplo, com os Jesuitas em Braga'. António do Rosário, 'Convento de S. Domingos e a Colegiada, Guimarães', in *Congresso Histórico de Guimarães e Sua Colegiada. 850ª Aniversário da Batalha de S. Mamede (1128-1978). Actas. Volume II. Comunicações*, Guimarães 1981, page 72. Later in the same article, the author transcribes the papal bull, *Super Cathedram*, of Boniface VIII, 1300: 'Praedicatoribus nocumentum intlit, statuendo quartam partem omnium obventionum tam de funeralibus quam quarumcumque donatorum. Quae Praedicatoribus contingent paroecialibus sacerdotibus et ecclesiarum rectoribus seu curatis integraliter largiendum esse', page 88. See also Yves M.-J. Congar, 'Aspects ecclésiologiques de la querelle entre mendiants et séculiers dans la seconde moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le début du XIV<sup>e</sup>', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 36, 1961, pages 35-151, and Kemlin M. Laurence, 'The Medieval Controversy concerning Burial Privileges: An Aspect of Anticlerical Satire in the *Libro de Buen Amor*', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 49, (1972), pages 1-6.

35. See Innocent IV's bull of 17 September, 1245, Lyons, cited by Augusto Quintana Prieto, *La documentación pontificia de Inocencio IV (1243-1254) I*, Rome, 1987, pages 242-244. 'Pide y manda a los arzobispos y obispos de toda España que protejan a los Frailes Predicadores de las vejaciones de que son objeto por parte de los eclesiásticos.'

36. *Sentença-arbitragem entre Dominicanos-Franciscanos com intervenção do Mestre Geral, OP, e arbitrada por Frades Menores*, published with commentary and footnotes by António do Rosário in 'De Santarém, pelo Tempo de Santo António', in *Colóquio Antoniano. Na Comemoração do 750º Aniversário da Morte de Santo António de Lisboa*, Lisbon 1982, pages 86-87. See also the documents dealing with the same question published by António do Rosário in 'Pergaminhos dos Conventos Dominicanos. 1ª série: Elementos de Interesse para o Estudo Geral Português. 1. Convento de S. Domingos de Santarém (Sécs. XIII-XIV)', *Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa*, IV, nº1, Lisbon, 1972, pages 17-20. Also discussed by José Mattoso, 'Estratégias da Pregação no Século XIII', in *Fragmentos de uma Composição Medieval*, Lisbon, 1987, pages 191-202.

37. António do Rosário, *Sentença-arbitragem*, page 81.

38. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Bispos de Lamego e de Viseu*, page 186: 'D. João Vicente, fundador da congregação dos Lóios, de Vilar de Frades de S. João Evangelista de Xabregas, nomeado bispo de Lamego a 7 de Maio de 1431'. Fortunato de Almeida, op. cit., page 431: 'Um dos mais notáveis pregadores portugueses do século XV foi o Padre Martim Lourenço, da congregação dos cônegos seculares de S. João Evangelista. A sua reputação era tal, que de diferentes pontos o chamavam para pregar; e mereceu que, por antonomásia, lhe chamassem o Boca de ouro ou Língua de ouro'.

39. Eduardo Nunes, *Dom Frey Gomez, Abade de Florença 1420-1440. Volume I*, Braga, 1963, pages 354-361.

40. José Mattoso, 'Cluny, Cruzios e Cistercienses na Formação de Portugal', *Portugal Medieval. Novas Interpretações*, Lisbon, 1985, page 112-113. In fact, Mattoso makes the same point elsewhere, but offers more evidence to back up his remarks. See *Identificação de um País. Volume I*, Lisbon, 1985, page 408: 'De facto, a actividade de certos Regrantes como pregadores é atestado, por exemplo, no códice intitulado *Gemma corone claustralium et speculum prelatorum ordinis Sancti Agostini* para o princípio do século XIII'.

41. Francisco José da Gama Caeiro, *Santo António de Lisboa. Volume I. Introdução ao Estudo da Obra Antoniana*, Lisbon, 1967, page 103.

42. José Mattoso, 'Cluny, Cruzios e Cistercienses na Formação de Portugal', page 113.

43. Mário Martins, 'O Livro da Ordem dos Cônegos Regrantes e Crasteiros', *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, page 226.

44. Ibid., page 231.

45. For an excellent discussion of the medieval pardoner and his abuses, see Alfred L. Kellogg and Louis A. Haselmayer, 'Chaucer's Satire of the Pardoner', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 66 (1951), pages 251-277. See Humberto Baquero Moreno's article 'A Vagabundagem nos Fins da Idade Média Portuguesa', in *Marginalidade e Conflitos Sociais em Portugal nos Séculos XIV e XV. Estudos de História*, Lisbon, 1985, pages 24-60. Baquero Moreno cites Frei Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo's definition of 'icha-corvos' as 'imposor, enganador, ocioso, comilão', (*Elucidário*, edited by Mário Fiuza, volume II. Oporto and Lisbon, n/d, page 319), and publishes a series of documents which contain legislation against vagrants and beggars who masquerade as members of the clergy and obtain alms under false pretences.

46. *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi. The Conquest of Lisbon*, edited and translated by Charles Wendell David, New York 1976 (reprinted from Columbia University Press, 1936), page 68. For discussion of this sermon, see E. D. Hehl, *Kirche und Krieg im 12ten Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1980. (I am indebted to Peter Linehan for this reference). See also Harold Livermore, 'The Conquest of Lisbon and its Author', *Portuguese Studies*, 6 (1990), pages 1-16.

47. *De Expugnatione Lyxbonseni*, page 146.

48. Frei Luís de Sousa, *História de S. Domingos particular do Reino e Conquista de Portugal. VI Volumes*, 3rd edition, Lisbon, 1866.

49. António do Rosário, 'Letrados Dominicanos', pages 509-598.

50. *Ibid.*, pages 594-595. See also note 33.

51. *Ibid.*, pages 591-592.

52. See Mário Martins, 'O Sermonário de Frei Paio de Coimbra do Cód. Alc. 5/CXXX', *Didaskalia*, 3 (1973), pages 337-362. This article is summarised by P. A. Odber in *Medieval Sermon Studies Newsletter*, 5, (1979), page 16. Francisco José da Gama Caeiro has edited two of Frei Paio's Sermons in 'Fontes Portuguesas da Formação Cultural do Santo', *Itinerarium*, 27, nos. 110-111, (1981), pages 136-164. See also John G. Tuthill, *op. cit.*, and two articles, 'Frei Paio's Sermons on the Virgin Mary', in *Congresso Histórico de Guimarães e Sua Colegiada. 850º Aniversário da Batalha de S. Mamede (1128-1978). Actas. Volume II. Comunicações*, Guimarães, 1981, pages 193-203; *idem*, 'Frei Paio and his 406 Sermons', in *Actas do II Encontro sobre História Dominicana. Tomo I. Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português*, III/1 (1984), pages 347-363. Note also in the same *Actas* the articles by Klaus Reinhardt, in German and Spanish, 'Die Sermones von Fray Paio de Coimbra OP (ca. 1250) im Lichte der Biblischen Exegese seiner Zeit', pages 365-380, and Geraldo J. Amadeu Coelho Dias, *op. cit.*, pages 381-389.

53. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Franciscanos Portugueses Pretridentinos. Escritores, Mestres e Leitores', *Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España. Siglos III-XVI*, 7, Salamanca, 1979, pages 509-598. *Idem*, 'Franciscanos de Portugal antes de formarem Província Independente. Ministros Provinciais a que obedeciam', *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 45, nos. 179-180, (1985), pages 349-450.

54. *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum* in *Analecta Franciscana*, III, Quaracchi, 1897, pages 336-342. See also *La Provincia de España*, Santiago de Compostela 1915, pages 354-359, where Fr. Atanasio López published a version. J. J. Nunes edited the fifteenth-century Portuguese translation, *Crónica da Ordem dos Frades Menores (1209-1285)* in two volumes, Coimbra, 1918. This was the basis for the account by Frei Manuel da Esperança, *Historia Seraphica da Ordem dos Frades Menores na Província de Portugal I*, Lisbon 1655, pages 454-460. Note A. H. de Oliveira Marques' comments on the value of such chronicles: 'Praticamente, cada ordem religiosa ou religiosa-militar teve o seu cronista, quase sempre recrutado entre os respectivos regulares. Escritas com sentido apologético e totalmente destituídas de método histórico e de preocupações críticas, essas crónicas são de escasso valor, embora possam fornecer achegas documentais', in *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa*, second edition, Lisbon, 1979, page 85.

55. *Synodicon Hispanum II. Portugal*. Editor, Antonio García y García. Madrid, 1982, page 293.
56. Odette Pontal, *Les Statuts synodaux français I*, page 89.
57. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Doutrina Penitencial do Canonista João de Deus*, Braga, 1956, page 114 and footnote 8.
58. Anscar Zawart, op. cit., page 264.
59. *Crónica da Ordem dos Frades Menores I*, Coimbra, 1918, pages 17-19.
60. See Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1971, pages 20-53.
61. See 'Jean Halgrin d'Abbeville, Doyen de l'Église d'Amiens, puis Archevêque de Besançon, et depuis Cardinal-Évêque de Sabine', *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 18, 1895, page 165.
62. Fidel Fita, 'Concilios españoles inéditos: provincial de Braga en 1261; y nacional de Sevilla en 1478', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XXII, 1893, page 210. Also, Alberto Feio 'Um ignorado concílio provincial Bracharense (1261)', *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 1, 1941, page 4. Feio has 'uerba domine predicando'.
63. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Franciscanos de Portugal', pages 391-392.
64. *Monumenta Henricina I*, Coimbra 1960, pages 60-61, document 35, page 77, document 50.
65. Manuel de Castro, *La provincia franciscana de Santiago. Ocho siglos de historia*, Santiago de Compostela, 1984, page 285.
66. Palmer A. Throop, op. cit.
67. Palmer A. Throop, op. cit., page 286.
68. Ramón Hernández (ed.), 'Pergaminhos de Actas de los Capítulos Provinciales del Siglo XIII de la Provincia Dominicana de España', in *Actas do II Encontro sobre História Dominicana. Tomo I. Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português*, III/1, 1984, page 267.
69. 'Besides the preachers-general, the only other Dominicans who were supposed to address lay people regularly were the preachers-in-common, who were appointed by the conventual priors with the advice of their chapters. These men were licensed to preach only within the boundaries set for their friary'. John G. Tuthill, *The Sermons of Brother Paio: Thirteenth Century Preacher*, page 40.
70. António do Rosário, 'Letrados Dominicanos', pages 578, 584 and 598.
71. José Maria Queirós Veloso, *Bibliografia Geral Portuguesa. Volume II. Século XV*, Lisbon, 1942-1944, page 372.
72. J. M. da Cruz Pontes, 'A propos d'un centenaire. Une nouvelle monographie sur Petrus Hispanus Portugalensis, le pape Jean XXI (1277) est-elle nécessaire?', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, 44, (1977), page 227.
73. Loc. cit.
74. Loc. cit.
75. Loc. cit.
76. Loc. cit.
77. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Franciscanos de Portugal', page 404.

78. Ibid., pages 410-411.

79. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis (1288-1537). Volume I (1288-1377)*, Lisbon, 1966, page 26, document 13.

80. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis I*, page 28, document 14.

81. M. M. Davy, op. cit. page 28.

82. Padre António Franco, *Évora Ilustrada*. Extraída da obra do mesmo nome do Padre Manuel Fialho. Publicação, prefácio e índices de Armando de Gusmão, Évora, 1945, pages 57-58. Note Armando de Gusmão's comment on Padre Fialho's reliability as an ecclesiastical historian: 'O Padre Fialho, levado por êsses mesmos sentimentos não se importou grandemente com a verdade ou autenticidade das fontes e documentos ao seu alcance, sobretudo na primeira parte da sua obra, dando crédito a tôdas as fábulas e invenções, desde que servissem os seus fins de exaltado amor patriótico' (page XV).

83. See António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana I*, page lxi. Also, D. W. Lomax, 'El Rey Don Diniz de Portugal y la Orden de Santiago', *Hidalguía*, 30 (1982), page 482.

84. Tomás da Encarnação, *Historia Ecclesiastica IV*, page 341, cited by M. Gonçalves da Costa, *História do Bispado e Cidade de Lamego. Volume I. Idade Média: A Mitra e o Município*, Lamego, page 168.

85. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'A Propósito do Conflito entre a Igreja e Portugal no Tempo de D. Dinis', in *Estudos Teológicos. Para Uma Igreja Total. Actas da III Semana Portuguesa de Teologia*, Lisbon, 1964, pages 5-16. Also, António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'As Concordatas Portuguesas', *Itinerarium*, 12 (1966), pages 24-46.

86. *Vida e Milagres de Dona Isabel, Rainha de Portugal*. Texto do século XIV, restituído à sua Presumível Forma Primitiva e acompanhado de Notas Explicativas, edited by J. J. Nunes, Coimbra, 1921, page 43.

87. Ibid., page 60.

88. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 41.

89. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Franciscanos Portugueses', page 415.

90. Solange Corbin, 'Fêtes Portugaises. Commémoration de la victoire chrétienne de 1340 (Rio-Salado)', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 49 (1947), pages 205-218.

91. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Estudos sobre Álvaro Pais*, Lisbon, 1966, pages 3-6.

92. Ibid., pages 41-62. João Morais Barbosa, *O "De Statu et Planctu Ecclesiae". Estudo Crítico*, Lisbon, 1982, pages 72-75; 95-96.

93. *Bibliografia Geral Portuguesa II*, page 433. In fact, the incipit of this manuscript is not 'Electo germa mea ad Pratum Domini nostri' but 'Flecto genua mea ad Patrem nostri'.

94. João Morais Barbosa, op. cit., page 32.

95. Álvaro Pais, *Espelho dos Reis. Volume 1*, edited by Miguel Pinto de Meneses, Lisbon, 1955, page 261.

96. João Morais Barbosa, op. cit., page 74.

97. *Estudos sobre Álvaro Pais*, page 97.

98. Loc. cit.

99. Ibid., page 19.

100. Álvaro Pais, *Colírio da Fé contra as Heresias. Volume 1*, edited by Miguel de Pinto Meneses, Lisbon, 1954, page 274. Cited in *Estudos sobre Álvaro Pais*, page 71.

101. *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Pedro I (1357-1367)*, page 55.

102. *Synodicon Hispanum. Volume I. Galicia*, Madrid, 1981.

103. Guillaume Mollat, 'Jean de Cardaillac, un prélat réformateur du clergé', page 84.

104. Ibid., page 118, n° 86.

105. Ibid., page 110, n° 4.

106. Ibid., page 113, n° 113.

107. Ibid., page 114, n° 48.

108. Ibid., page 114, n° 48.

109. Ibid., page 110, n° 6.

110. Ibid., page 112, n° 22.

111. Ibid., page 111, n° 13.

112. Ibid., page 87.

113. Fernão Lopes, *Cronica de D. Pedro*, Oporto, 1986.

114. *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Pedro I (1357-1367)*, page 13.

115. Salvador Dias Arnaut, 'A Crise Nacional dos Fins do Século XIV', *Biblos*, 35 (1959), pages 9-597. Reprinted in *A Crise Nacional dos Fins do Século XIV*, Coimbra, 1960, pages 471-474.

116. Guillaume Mollat, op. cit., page 116, n° 68.

117. *Crónica de D. Pedro*, page 201.

118. J. Augusto Ferreira, *Fastos Episcopales da Igreja Primacial de Braga (sec.III-sec.XX). Tomo II. Famalicão*, 1931, page 172.

119. Guillaume Mollat, op. cit., page 117, n° 76.

120. Idem, 'Jean de Cardaillac, prélat, orateur et diplomate', *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 40 (1974), page 192.

121. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 53.

122. Guillaume Mollat, 'Jean de Cardaillac, un prélat réformateur du clergé', page 115, n° 56.

123. *Memórias Soltas e Inventários do Oratório de S. Clemente das Penhas e do Mosteiro de N.S.ª da Conceição de Matozinhos dos Séculos XIV e XV por Fr. João da Póvoa e Outros*, edited by A. de Magalhães Basto, Oporto, 1940, page 57.

124. Ibid., page 63.

125. Ibid., pages 71 and 72.



126. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis* I, page 299, document no.278. See also Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Franciscanos Portugueses', pages 468-469, and Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Les Portugais à l'Université de Toulouse*, pages 30-31.

127. A. A. Banha de Andrade (ed.), *Dicionário de História da Igreja em Portugal. Tomo I*, Lisbon, 1981, page 4.

128. *Évora Ilustrada*, pages 68-69.

129. Michael Mullett, *Popular Culture and Popular Protest in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, London-New York-Sidney, 1987, page 49.

130. Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, Oporto, 1986, pages 434-435.

131. N. Valois, 'Discours prononcé le 14 Juillet 1380 en présence de Charles V par Martin, évêque de Lisbonne, ambassadeur du Roi e Portugal', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 52, (1891), page 511-512. See also J. C. Baptista, 'Portugal e o Cisma do Ocidente', *Lusitania Sacra*, 1, (1956), pages 65-203.

132. Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I, Volume I*, Barcelos, 1983, page 316.

133. Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I. Volume II*, Barcelos, 1986, page 122.

134. *Crónica de D. João I. Volume II*, page 123.

135. *Crónica de D. João I. Volume II*, page 130. Compare this description with the document published by Eduardo Freire de Oliveira in *Elementos para a História do Município de Lisboa, 1ª Parte*, pages 278-279. If, as I suspect, the document was Fernão Lopes' original source, his faithfulness to the original material may well be the same for the sermons.

136. *Crónica de D. João I. Volume I*, page 223. Derek W. Lomax and R. J. Oakley (eds), Fernão Lopes. *The English in Portugal 1367-87*, Warminster, 1988, pages 233 and 353.

137. *Crónica de D. João I. Volume II*, page 274.

138. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana II*, page cxi.

139. António do Rosário, 'Letrados Dominicanos', page 594.

140. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 58.

141. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis II*, page 183.

142. Serafim da Silva Neto, *Textos Medievais Portugueses e Seus Problemas*, page 119. See the Infante Santo's biography by Frei João Álvares, 'Trautado da vida e Feitos do muito virtuoso S.or Ifante D. Fernando', edited by Adelino de Almeida Calado in *Obras. Volume I*. Coimbra 1960, chapter 8: 'De como o Iffante nunca jaa foy achado ocioso, & da maneira que ouuia o diuino officio', pages 139-140: 'E o prégador todos os dias de prégação. E em todas as sextas ouuia sermão, & nos domingos do Adueto dous sermões, & em dia de natal. E tinha sermão nos dias dos quatro Doctores principaes da igreja. ite em dia da Cinza, & em dia da lea depois de comer. E os Domingos da quaresma duas vezes: hua antes de comer & outra depois'.

143. *Livro dos Conselhos de El-Rei D. Duarte*, page 207.

144. José Mattoso, 'Leituras Cistercienses do Século XV', *Religião e Cultura na Idade Média Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1982, pages 511-552. See also Isaías da Rosa, 'Dois Evangeliários dos Séculos XII e XIII existentes na Biblioteca Nacional', *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, 1 (1981), pages 26-40.

145. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Franciscanos portugueses', page 471; Idem, 'Franciscanos de Portugal', pages 441-442.

146. Albert G. Hauf, op. cit., page 237.
147. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Franciscanos portugueses', page 471.
148. José Marques, 'A Colegiada de Guimarães no Priorado de D. Afonso Gomes de Lemos (1449-1487)', page 265. The document is transcribed in full, pages 293-295. António do Rosario covers some of the same ground in 'Convento de S. Domingos e a Colegiada, Guimarães', same volume, pages 57-98.
149. José Marques, 'A Colegiada', pages 267-268.
150. Ibid., pages 295-296.
151. 'Requerimento da Colegiada e resposta dos Frades de S. Domingos sobre a pregação na Igreja de Santa Maria', in Antonio do Rosário, 'Convento de S. Domingos', pages 96-97. On pages 97-98, he includes a further document, dated 30 January 1488, 'Adição ao contrato de pregação na Colegiada por parte dos Mendicantes'.
152. José Marques, 'A Colegiada', pages 296-299. Note also the 'Requerimento e protesto dos frades de S. Francisco contra a Colegiada por causa das violências por esta exercidas sobre eles', pages 305-6.
153. D. João I, *Livro da Montaria*, edited by M. Lopes de Almeida, Oporto, 1981, page 24.
154. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'Leis Atentatórias', pages 521-522.
155. *Ordenações Afonsinas. Livro II*, Lisbon, 1984, pages 95-156 (reprinted from the 1792 Coimbra edition).
156. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 326.
157. *Ordenações Afonsinas II*, pages 128-129.
158. *Livro dos Conselhos de El-Rei D. Duarte*, pages 216-217.
159. D. Duarte, *Leal Conselheiro*, edited by João Morais Barbosa, Lisbon, 1982, pages 413-414.
160. *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*, edited by F. M. Esteves Pereira, Lisbon, 1916, pages 156-164.
161. Ibid., page 254 (251-257).
162. Joaquim de Carvalho, 'Sobre a Autenticidade dos Sermões de Fr. João Xira', *Estudos sobre a Cultura Portuguesa do Século XV. I*, Coimbra, 1949, page 249.
163. *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*, page 199.
164. Joaquim Smet, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel I. c.a. 1200 A.D. Until the Council of Trent*, Rome, 1975, page 143.
165. *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana IV*, pages 573-574, document nº 1609.
166. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 352.
167. See chapter one for discussion of his literary works.
168. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Mestre André Dias de Escobar, Figura Ecuménica do Século XV*, Rome & Oporto, 1967. Idem, 'Due sermones sui Concili Ecumenici dei teologi portoghesei del secolo XV: Fra Andrea Dias e Fra Andrea do Prado', in *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Cambridge 1984*. Edited by Peter Linehan, Città del Vaticano 1988, pages 385-403. André Dias, *Tractatus polemico-theologicus De Graecis errantibus (Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et Scriptores, IV-1)*, edited by

Emmanuel Candal, Madrid-Rome, 1952. Mário Martins, 'O Tratado "De Graecis Errantibus" por Mestre André Dias', *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, pages 327-348.

169. Anscar Zawart, op. cit., pages 254-255.

170. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Mestre André Dias de Escobar*, page 191.

171. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 66.

172. Mário Martins, *Laudes e Cantigas Espirituais de Mestre André Dias*, page 284.

173. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *Mestre André Dias de Escobar*, page 198.

174. Loc. cit.

175. Ibid., pages 1991-197.

176. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'À Volta de Fr. André do Prado (Século XV)', *Colectânea de Estudos*, 1 (1951), pages 128-132. António Domingues de Sousa Cousta, 'Mestre Fr. André do Prado Desconhecido Escotista Português do Século XV', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, 23, (1967) pages 293-337. Mário Martins, 'O Diálogo do Infante D. Henrique com Frei André do Prado, no "Horologium Fidei"', *Estudos de Cultura medieval I*, pages 135-163.

177. R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford*, Oxford, 1963, page 162.

178. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'Due sermones', page 386.

179. Loc. cit.

180. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'Mestre Fr. André do Prado', pages 330-331. See also Mário Martins, 'O Diálogo do Infante D. Henrique', page 136. Also, *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis V*, Lisbon, 1972, pages 137-138. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Franciscanos portugueses', pages 475-476.

181. *Livro dos Conselhos de El-Rei D. Duarte*, page 225.

182. Ibid., page 228.

183. *Leal Conselheiro*, page 173.

184. A. J. Dias Dinis, *Esquema de Sermão de El-Rei D. Duarte para as Exéquias de D. João I, Seu Pai*, Braga, 1954, pages 16-17.

185. *Livro dos Conselhos de El-Rei D. Duarte*, page 238.

186. Ibid., page 239.

187. Rui de Pina, *Chronica d'El Rei D. Duarte*, Oporto 1914, page 95. See also António do Rosário, 'Letrados Dominicanos', pages 561-563.

188. A. J. Dias Dinis, op. cit., page 34.

189. *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Duarte*, pages 89-90.

190. A. D. Dias Dinis, op. cit., page 10. See also António do Rosário, 'Letrados Dominicanos', page 593, and *Monumenta Henricina IV*, pages 274, 276; IX, p.167.

191. *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Duarte*, page 91.

192. Rather more is known about Frei Gil Lobo, or Frei Gil de Tavira. He was the first Provincial of the Portuguese Province of the Franciscans, in 1421. As well as representing the

Portuguese at the Council of Basle in 1436, he collaborated in various literary works with D. Duarte (see *Leal Conselheiro*), was preacher, confessor and adviser to D. João I and D. Duarte, and Mestre to D. Afonso V. He later became Abbot of Alpendurada. See Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Franciscanos Portugueses', pages 473-474. Also discussed by António Domingues de Sousa Costa in *Mestre André Dias de Escobar*.

193. *Chronica d'El-rei D. Duarte*, page 92.

194. *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana I*, page lxxx. Also in *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis IV*, Lisbon 1970, page 93, document nº 1021.

195. *Évora Ilustrada*, page 96.

196. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 70.

197. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, *O Infante D. Henrique na Expansão Portuguesa*, Braga, 1963. Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *D. Duarte e as Responsabilidades de Tânger*, second edition, Lisbon, 1960.

198. Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, op. cit., page 55.

199. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis V*, Lisbon, 1972, pages 116-117.

200. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis V*, page 125.

201. Rui de Pina, *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Affonso V. Volume I*, Lisbon, 1901, page 53.

202. *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Affonso V. Volume I*, page 53.

203. Loc. cit.

204. Ibid., page 54.

205. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Franciscanos portugueses', page 477.

206. António do Rosário, 'Letrados Dominicanos', page 572.

207. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Franciscanos Portugueses', page 483. *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana IV*, Braga 1970, page 60, document nº 904.

208. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis. Volume V*, Lisbon, 1972, pages 31-32.

209. Ibid., page 60, document nº 1421.

210. Loc. cit.

211. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis. Volume VI*, Lisbon, 1974, page 182, document nº 1948.

212. António do Rosário, 'Letrados Dominicanos', pages 563-564. *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana IV*, Braga, 1970, document nº 304.

213. *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Affonso V. Volume II*, Lisbon 1902, pages 102-123.

214. Mário Martins, 'Representações Teatrais em Lisboa no Ano de 1451', *Estudos de Cultura Medieval I*, page 42.

215. *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Affonso V. Volume II*, page 124.

216. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis. Volume V*, page 258.

217. Loc. cit. See *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis. Volume IV*, Lisbon, 1970, page 385, for an earlier supplication, from D. Constança herself: 'inter seculares verbum Dei predicando, confessiones audiendo et plurimos discordantes bonis verbis et auctoritabus sacre scripture ad concordiam perfectare deducendo'.
218. Isaiás da Rosa Pereira, 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1434-1481)', *Lusitania Sacra*, 8 (1970), page 38.
219. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis. Volume VI*, page 24, document nº 1802.
220. Ibid., page 31, document nº 1808.
221. Ibid., page 32.
222. *Monumenta Henricina XII*, nº 151.
223. *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Affonso V. Volume II*, page 141.
224. Ibid., page 145.
225. *Monumenta Henricina XIV*, nº 52.
226. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis. Volume VI*, page 228.
227. Ibid., page 233.
228. Ibid., page 244.
229. Ibid., page 342.
230. Ibid., page 384.
231. Isaiás da Rosa Pereira, 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1434-1481)', *Lusitania Sacra*, 8 (1970), page 172.
232. Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Príncipe D. João*, edited by Graça Almeida Rodrigues, Lisbon, 1977, page 172.
233. *Chronica d'el-Rei D. Affonso V. Volume III*, Lisbon 1902, page 67. See also *Crónica do Príncipe D. João*, page 73.
234. *A Pobreza e a Assistência aos Pobres na Península Ibérica durante a Idade Média. Volume I*, Lisbon, 1973, page 298.
235. Ibid., page 299.
236. *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Affonso V. Volume III*, page 71.
237. *Crónica do Príncipe D. João*, page 81.
238. Frei João Álvares, 'Carta ao Cabido da Igreja de Guimarães', in *Obras. Volume II. Cartas e Traduções*, edited by Adelino de Almeida Calado, Coimbra, 1959, page 220.
239. Frei João Álvares, 'Trautado da Vida e Feitos do muito Vertuoso S.or Ifante D. Fernando', in *Obras. Volume I*, edited by Adelino de Almeida Calado, Coimbra, 1960, page 265.
240. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 113.
241. Ibid., page 127.
242. Ibid., p.128.

243. Humberto Baquero Moreno, 'As Pregações de Mestre Paulo contra os Judeus Bracarenses nos Finais do Século XV', *Bracara Augusta*, 30 (1976), page 61.
244. *Ibid.*, page 62.
245. Humberto Baquero Moreno, 'Novos Elementos relativos a Mestre Paulo, Pregador do Século XV, contra os Judeus Bracarenses', *Bracara Augusta*, 32 (1978), page 123.
246. *Ibid.*, pages 119-120.
247. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis. Volume VII*, Lisbon, 1978, page 539, document nº 2864.
248. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis. Volume VIII*, page 23, document nº 2916.
249. Garcia de Resende, *Cancioneiro Geral I*, nº 57, page 90.
250. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente I*, pages 102-105; *II*, pages 412-414 and 613-626. I have already broached this topic in my undergraduate thesis 'Anticlericalism in the Plays of Gil Vicente', Glasgow 1978. For discussion of these burlesque sermons, see Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Notas Vicentinas. Preliminares duma Edição Crítica das Obras de Gil Vicente. Notas I a V*, Lisbon, 1949, and Joaquim de Carvalho, *Os Sermões de Gil Vicente e a Arte de Pregar*, Lisbon, 1948.
251. António do Rosário, 'Letrados Dominicanos', pages 541, 542-543, 590.
252. Moses Bensabat Amzalak (ed.), *Frei João Sobrinho e as Doutrinas Económicas da Idade-Media*, Lisbon, 1945.
253. Fr. Simão Coelho, *Compendio das Chronicas da Ordem de Nossa Senhora do Carmo*, Lisbon, 1572, page 91.
254. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis. Volume VIII*, page 176, document nº 3113.
255. *Memórias Soltas e Inventários*, page 5. Fernando Félix Lopes, 'Franciscanos Portugueses', pages 488-489. Garcia de Rosende, *Crónica de D. João II e Miscelânea*, Lisbon, 1973, page 275. 'E mandou chamor logo Frey Ioam da Pouoa, frade observante da ordem de sam Francisco, homem muyto virtuoso, e de santa vida, que era seu confessor'.
256. Ch.-M. de Witte, 'Les Bulles pontificales et l'expansion portugaise au XV siècle', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Louvain, 1953-1958.
257. *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis. Volume VIII*, page 269, document nº 3218.
258. António do Rosário, 'Letrados Dominicanos', page 558.
259. *Tratado de Confissom (Chaves, 8 de Agosto de 1489)*, edited by José V. de Pina Martins, Lisbon, 1973. See J. T. Montalvão Machado, 'Como e Porquê se imprimiu em Chaves o Primeiro Livro de Língua Portuguesa', *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, II Série, Vol. 24, Tomo I, pages 41-99. See also Artur Anselmo, 'Dúvidas e Acertos sobre o Impressor Gherlinc e o "Tratado de Confissom"', *separata de Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, 13 (1978).
260. *Tratado de Confissom*, page 182, column 1.
261. *Ibid.*, page 182, columns 1 and 2.
262. *Ibid.*, page 184, column 1, page 216, column 2.
263. *Ibid.*, page 227, column 2.
264. *Crónica de Dom João II e Miscelânea*, page 203.

265. Loc. cit.

266. Rui de Pina, *Crónica de El-rei Dom João II*, edited by Manuel Lopes de Almeida, Porto 1977.

267. *Bibliografia Geral Portuguesa II*, pages 666-672.

268. Joel Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal. Volume IV*, page 214. See also Fortunato de Almeida, op. cit., pages 336-337.

269. *Évora Ilustrada*, page 370.

270. *Crónica de Dom João II e Miscelânea*, pages 294-295.

271. Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel. Volume I*, Coimbra, 1949, pages 127-128.

272. See Mário Martins, 'O "Pai-Nosso" na Idade Média Portuguesa, até Gil Vicente', *Estudos de Cultura Medieval III*, pages 310-312.

273. Pero Vaz de Caminha, *Carta a El-Rei D. Manuel*, edited by Leonardo Arroyo, São Paulo, 1963.

274. Ibid., pages 41-42.

275. Ibid., page 60.

276. Ibid., page 65.

277. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 254.

278. Ibid., page 256.

279. *Auto Pastoril Castelhana*, in *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente I*, page 40.

280. António do Rosario, 'Letrados Dominicanos', page 589.

281. Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel I*, page 245.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SUPERSTITION, OR THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SNEEZE

In Chapters Two and Three we examined the principal mechanisms of discipline available to the Church as an institution, and saw the frequency and degree of seriousness with which they were employed. In this and the following chapter we shall deal with some of the vices and sins most commonly practised by the clergy and the other estates of medieval society, the objects of that ecclesiastical discipline. The first area of misconduct to be discussed concerns acceptance of certain superstitious beliefs, and participation in practices that may range from the relatively inoffensive to those involving witchcraft. Superstition,<sup>1</sup> as we shall see, is condemned because it leads men to break God's - and Man's laws, placing themselves and their accomplices in great spiritual danger.

The earliest ecclesiastical source of information on superstitious beliefs and activities in Portugal is Martin of Braga's sixth-century *De Correctione Rusticorum*, in which he denounces and chastises the rural population for abandoning Christian beliefs for faith in other, more sinister powers:

Dimisistis signum crucis, quod in baptismum accepistis, et alia diaboli signa per avicellos et sternutos et per alia multa adtenditis.<sup>2</sup>

Belief in such omens and auguries is usually explained in one of two ways, either in terms of pre-Roman paganism primitive tribal myths, or Celtic mysticism as propounded by Eugenio López-Aydllo among others,<sup>3</sup> or as a consequence of Roman paganism, the consequence of romanization of the Iberian Peninsula:

The Spanish at this time, in spite of the intermixtures of other races, were essentially a Roman people and this was one of the characteristics of the old Roman civilization that had not been materially changed by time or religion.<sup>4</sup>



The truth of the matter probably lies half way between the two arguments. In any case, it should come as no surprise that the Portuguese should read significance into the flight or cawing of birds, their legacy from the Romans who had seventy-four different ways of interpreting a crow's cawing.<sup>5</sup>

Raymond of Peñafort, the profoundly influential Peninsular canonist, included various rulings on superstition in the *Summa de Casibus Poenitentiae*, written in 1222, then revised after 1234. Among these are his prohibitions of attempts to foretell the future, *De sortilegis et divinis*. Raymond follows earlier canonists such as Gratian, Burchard of Worms, and near contemporaries such as John of Salisbury and Thomas of Chobham, in condemning pyromancy, aerimancy, hydromancy, geomancy and necromancy.<sup>6</sup> Equally illicit is using any of the following to predict what will happen:

Item sit divinatio sternutationibus, somnijs & sortibus, quas falso sortes dicunt Apostoloru, & varia inspectione psalterij, euangeliorum & aliarum scripturarum.<sup>7</sup>

Other customs, however, are not viewed as evil or harmful:

Item non condemnatur hic rustici, qui seruant tempora ad seminandum, vel arbores incidendas, vel similia, quae certam & naturalem habent rationem, quare ita debeant fieri. Item de Physicis circa medicinas dandas, & similia, de quibus certa, & manifesta ratio reddi potest secundum physicam.<sup>8</sup>

Constitution nine of the 1240 Synod of Lisbon refers to sortilegia at weddings:

Semper in nuptiis prohibeantur per excommunicationem sortilegia fieri, malefici quoque.<sup>9</sup>

This ruling is taken from Constitution forty-two of Odo of Sully's statutes for Paris<sup>10</sup> and is not therefore specific to Portugal. Nevertheless, one does wonder what kinds of guessing

games were played on such occasions - possibly predictions about the gender of the first-born, while the *malefici* may refer to love potions, charms to ensure fertility or vigour.

During the same period, Frei Paio of Coimbra shows some concern about astrologers and soothsayers. Two of the sermons in his handbook deal with this topic. Relying on St. Ambrose's *Hexameron*, he preaches that:

The stars do not reveal man's fate and neither should the various methods of judgment by ordeal, the 'iuditio ferri candentis, aque frigide vel ferventis, vel panis et cascii vel duelli vel cuiuslibet popularis inventionis', which are all absolutely forbidden by canon law.<sup>11</sup>

The earliest Peninsular literary allusions to superstition and witchcraft are found in the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*. About a dozen of these poems take as their subject matter superstition, omens or astrology. Some literary historians incline to the view that the *cancioneiro* poets treat these topics in an essentially jocular manner:

Asunto de media docena de cantigas es la creencia en agüeros, superstición bastante difundida en la Baja Edad Media, como es sabido, aunque es evidente que no todos le dieron crédito. Fueron los portugueses especialmente quienes se burlaron de tales creencias.<sup>12</sup>

But even if a select handful of sophisticated court poets choose to adopt an attitude of scepticism and scorn to such beliefs, the importance of their verse as a source of information on the topic should not be underestimated, particularly when examined in the light of civil and ecclesiastical legislation of the same period. While we should heed Frede Jensen's reservations about reading the *cantigas* too literally:

voices of warning are heard against blindly accepting the satirical poetry as objective evidence of true occurrences or conditions.<sup>13</sup>

Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão seems to have found the right emphasis, when he describes the satirical *cantigas* as:

o melhor espelho social para se captarem formas de mentalidade.<sup>14</sup>

While the *jograís* may poke fun at superstitions and those who lend credence to them, the Church views this issue in an altogether different light. Why else should canonists, compilers of confession manuals and a long series of bishops in their synodal statutes feel impelled to comment, often at considerable length, on the evils of reading meanings into such natural phenomena as storms and sneezes?<sup>15</sup>

Why otherwise should Dante condemn the soothsayers to Hell, with their faces turned back?<sup>16</sup> Pedr'Amigo de Sevilha may decry the sneeze as a sign of good or bad things to come, but others take such omens and their interpretation more seriously.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, they do not usually talk about 'superstition' but prefer the term *maleficia*, the performance of evil deeds. Lay and ecclesiastical writers do not generally describe quaint rural customs but offer complex disquisitions on the different forms that *maleficia* may take, and all of this in the specialized vocabulary of that perennial medieval preoccupation, witchcraft: hydromancy, geomancy, pyromancy, aerimancy (the four elements), necromancy, oneiromancy, cheiromancy, or ornithomancy or augury, haruspicy, incubation and horoscopy. The reader is left with the no doubt misleading impression of a thriving subculture of competing professional groups of diviners, soothsayers and astrologers - *arioli*, *aurispices*, *augures*, *genethliaci*, *horoscopi*, *pythones*, *salisatores* and *mathematici*.<sup>18</sup> For many of the *auctoritates*, superstitious belief or observance is not to be distinguished from active invocation of malign agencies: both are disreputable and to be condemned out of hand.

It remains to be seen, which superstitions are depicted in the *cantigas*, and what kind of treatment is meted out to those who put their faith in omens.

The first text to be considered was written by Pedr'Amigo de Sevilha. Although he is not known to have made any contribution at the Portuguese court, his verse should not be discounted as a source of information about popular beliefs and superstitions, and attitudes to these, within the Peninsula. Pedr'Amigo uses the medium of his verse to poke fun at Maria Balteira, who has come to consult him about the 'longa carreira' she plans to undertake, and ascertain whether the signs are favourable:

Poren vos mand'eu catar  
que vejades nos agúiros que ei  
como poss'ir.<sup>19</sup>

For some reason, the time has come for her to move on, obliged to leave her son and her *escolar*.<sup>20</sup> It may even be that the Church authorities are prosecuting this *soldadeira* for an illicit relationship with an unbeneficed clerk. The poet proceeds to catechize her about the number of times she sneezes in bed:

Cada que vos deitades,  
que esturnodos  
soedes d'aver.<sup>21</sup>

Her reply leaves the reader in no doubt as to the kind of relationship that she and Pedr'Amigo have enjoyed:

E diss'ela: - Dous ei, ben-no sabiades, e uu ei,  
quando quero mover.<sup>22</sup>

Rodrigues Lapa interprets this as a obscene play on words where sneezes are effectively, *ventosidades anais*. this reading is not accepted by Giovanna Maroni,<sup>23</sup> and indeed, given Maria Balteira's literary reputation and the scurrilous way she is portrayed by *cancioneiro* poets,<sup>24</sup> the sneeze is less likely to represent a bout of flatulence than a sexual act culminating in orgasm:

Del mismo modo que el bostezo era considerado mortal durante el parto, estornudar después del coito anunciaba el aborto.<sup>25</sup>

The poet continues by enquiring which birds she observes, to which she responds:

Esso vos quer'eu dizer:  
ei ferivelha sempr'ao sair.<sup>26</sup>

Rodrigues Lapa understands *ferivelha* to be some kind of bird. Marroni, on the other hand, cites Du Cange's *Glossarium* and concludes that it signifies not only a bird, but equally a man waiting outside Maria's door.<sup>27</sup> The man in question might be a customer, a lover, or some figure of authority who seeks to put an end to her immoral activities. This last reading would certainly account for the threat implicit in the last lines of the poem:

Ben podedes vós ir  
con ferivelha, mais nunca tornades.<sup>28</sup>

Whatever the meaning of these verses, there is little doubt that the poet is well-versed in the conventions of augury, whether or not he personally subscribes to them.

Another *trovador* to make allusions to superstition, possibly witchcraft, is Fernan Garcia Esgaravunha in the poem 'Esta ama cuj'é Joan Coelho'. This is one of a series of *cantigas* composed in response to Joan Soárez Coelho's 'A tal ueieu a qui ama chamada' in which he praises a wet-nurse.<sup>29</sup>

The literary community were outraged that one of their number should flout convention and lower himself by paying court to a simple servant. Their reaction was to produce compositions of their own on the subject.<sup>30</sup> In this one, the author pretends to extol the virtues of a 'lady', married, as courtly tradition required, and praises her skill in weaving cloth and making clothes, baking bread, making cheese and other dairy products. Her

husband is equally capable, especially when it comes to castrating pigs, while she makes excellent *morcela* and *souriço*. More relevant to this discussion, however, are her other talents, more suited to the village witch than a hard-working farmer's wife:

e cata ben argueiro  
e escanta ben per olh'e per calheiro  
e sabe muito ba escantaçon.<sup>31</sup>

The reader is not told how she applied this particular expertise, but there is a suggestion of some malign intent, particularly when the woman's handiwork includes laying out corpses. Nor should it be forgotten that she, too, is adroit with the gelding knife:

non lh'achan par, de Burgos a Carrion,  
nen [a] ela de capar galiões.<sup>32</sup>

The couple may live in a region once inhabited by the Cid, but their deeds are scarcely epic.

Superstition and bird lore<sup>33</sup> are associated with criticism of the clergy as in Airas

Peres Vuitoron's poem on Don Gómez:

Pois que Don Gómez cura querria  
con boas aves ante prender mal  
ca ben con outras, non lhi dé Deus al  
ergu'estes corvos, per que s'el fia.<sup>34</sup>

These verses, 'de difícil interpretação' according to Rodrigues Lapa,<sup>35</sup> possibly refer to a man who aspired to a benefice with cure of souls, one which would allow him to live well, 'con boas aves'. The meaning of *aves* is ambiguous. It might signify fowl for eating, birds for hunting, or it might even have sexual connotations.<sup>36</sup> The *corvos* of the poem are birds of omen - D. Gómez apparently relies on these signs in preference to the Christian Deity, and there may be a veiled allusion to the clergy.<sup>37</sup> Other birds mentioned are the *cornelha* and the *águia caudal*,<sup>38</sup> in addition to the *bon corvo carnaçal*, though it is not clear how a carrion crow can

in any way be described as good. Whatever the different layers of meaning in this *cantiga*, the message of the final stanza is unequivocal. Because of his pretensions to understand augury, this is the fate to befall D. Gómez:

E con bon corvo, foss'el pois caer  
 eno [infern'e] ficass'en poder  
 do diaboo, ca pois s'av porria.<sup>39</sup>

Joan Airas de Santiago is not known to have spent time at the Portuguese court. Nevertheless, his four poems on belief in omens offer valuable insights into medieval superstitions and birdlore, and the association with members of the clergy with the predatory crow... The first of these poems, *Os que dizem que veen ben e mal* is more playful than inculpatory, mocking those who see portents in the flight of birds and expressing his own preference for an edible fowl on his table:

Se ant'eu non queria un capon  
 que uu gran[de] corvo carnaçal.<sup>40</sup>

This sentiment seems perfectly sensible, particularly when voiced by a member of the clergy. More surprising is his assertion that:

E o que diz que é mui sabedor  
 d'agoir 'e de aves, quand'algur quer ir,  
 quer corvo seestro sempr'ao partir.<sup>41</sup>

Here the tone is more malicious. The poet is ridiculing those who claim to possess this arcane knowledge - the crow is, after all, an omen of bad things to come and since the Greek civilisation flourished, flight from the left has been perceived as far less favourable a sign than movement from the right. In other words, despite his professed lack of interest in the matter, the poet is better versed in superstitious lore than the self-styled cognoscenti. Line 15, then, takes on an added significance:

Ca eu sei ben as aves conhoscer.<sup>42</sup>

though he immediately undermines this comment with a further joke about his dietary preferences.

Whether he subscribes to such beliefs himself, Joan Airas is familiar with the vocabulary of augury, and knows perfectly well which birds and movements to look out for - *bullhafre, voitre, viaraz*.<sup>43</sup> Among the edible varieties, he mentions the partridge, again, perhaps with a sexual innuendo.<sup>44</sup>

Nor does the poet miss the opportunity to include a reference to *agoiros* when he satirizes the merchant Don Beeito:

Dizen que ora chegou Don Beeito,  
muito alegre, pera sa molher,  
con sas merchandias de Mompiler;  
mais dizer-vos quer'ora un preito:  
já Deus non me leixe entrar sobre mar,  
se, polo custo, queria filhar  
o mercado que el algur [á] feito.

E por un destes nossos miradoiros  
veo aqui, ben guisado, esta vez,  
con sas merchandias que alá fez;  
mais dizen que ouve maos agoiros  
e ar dizen que mercou atan mal,  
que nunca end'averá seu cadal,  
ca se lhi danaron mui mal os coiros.<sup>45</sup>

Rodrigues Lapa opts for a rather innocent reading of this poem:

Não é fácil apreender o significado da cantiga, que apresenta alguns versos de difícil restituição; parece porém que o autor ridicularizava um mercador que vinha de Mompilher, muito alegre, com prendas para a esposa, quando devia vir de cabeça baixa, por motivo dos maus negócios que fizera.<sup>46</sup>



José Luis Rodríguez, however, confirms my own reading of these verses, suggesting that Don Beeito is being mocked less for his lack of business acumen than for having contracted a sexually transmitted disease while on his business trip to the south of France.<sup>47</sup> This reconstruction is certainly borne out by the allusion to *maos agoiros*, which presage the consequences of 'o mercado que el algur [á] feito' - a line which is echoed in the second stanza, 'con sas merchandias que alá fez', and the final comment that 'se lhi danaron mui mal os coiros'. The satirical poets frequently make an association between fortune telling and sex as can be seen in the third poem by Joan Airas to deal with superstition. This poem opens with a parody of the courtly convention of discretion, 'Va dona, non dig'eu qual', then proceeds to link the interpretation of omens with sexual dalliance and possibly, too, pseudo-religiosity. Instead of going to church, the lady of this poem allows herself to be distracted from her devotions by a 'corvo carnaçal'. The second verse verges on the blasphemous:

A dona, mui de coração, oíra sa missa, enton<sup>48</sup>

Since she has not yet left her house, this can only be intended as a euphemism for the sexual act, presumably with a cleric. When she is about to set out 'por oír o sarmon', the "Crow" again dissuades her from leaving, with his onomatopoeic cawing:

E diss' o corvo: quá, [a]cá,  
e non quis da casa sair<sup>49</sup>

The poet feigns perplexity at these signs:

Nunca taes agoiros vi,  
des aquel dia que naci.<sup>50</sup>

but then demonstrates that he fully comprehends the situation. The unnamed lady:

ouv'un corvo sobre si  
e non quis da casa sair.<sup>51</sup>

The final poem in this sequence by Joan Airas de Santiago ridicules Don Pero Núñez, who makes a habit of reading omens, and who on this particular occasion is reluctant to set out for Santiago because he has noticed a crow outside his house:

...Deste corvo non posso escapar  
que del non aja scarnho a tomar,  
con gran perda do que ei guanhado,  
ou da maior parte do que ouver  
per ventur'ou do corpo da molher,  
segund'eu ei o agoiro provado.<sup>52</sup>

As Don Pero muses out loud, it become clear where the danger lies: the 'crow' is there either to prey on his goods and wealth, or on his wife. I do not accept Rodrigues Lapa's view that Don Pero acts as pander for his wife. If that were the case, he might be less anxious about the presence of the crow:

que vejo tan chegado  
a nossa casa, pois filha perfia  
e corvej'aqui sempr'o mais do dia.<sup>53</sup>

These lines read more like the suspicions of a jealous husband than the comments of a complacent cuckold, and the final line of the poem, voiced by the crow himself:

De nout'a crás terrás finado.<sup>54</sup>

confirms this interpretation. The crow is probably a priest, interested in acquiring Don Pero's wealth in the form of contributions to the Church, as well as Don Pero's wife.

Alfonso X of Castile and Leon also takes superstition, and even magic, as a theme for his satirical Galician-Portuguese verse. In poem number twenty-three he has some scurrilous comments to make about the Dean of Cadiz, who borrows books of magic that enable him to

make love with priapic fervour and, in some instances, to carry out his own personal exorcism ceremonies:

e pois que fode per eles assaz,  
se mulher acha que o demo ten,  
assi a fode per arte e per sen,  
que saca dela o demo malvaz.<sup>55</sup>

Alfonso also mentions a witch figure, *ua velha*, who is able to 'escantar d'olho mao' (poem number thirty-one of the Rodrigues Lapa edition), while the protagonist of yet another Alphonsine *cantiga* is no less a wizard than Merlin himself. In number one hundred and eight of Mettmann's edition,<sup>56</sup> judged by Mário Martins to be:

uma das raras cantigas antipáticas da colectânea del-rei D. Afonso X, o Sábio, apesar das boas intenções do rei castelhano e de Merlim.<sup>57</sup>

Merlin, an unlikely apologist for the Christian faith argues with a learned Scottish Jew and in order to convince him of the error of his beliefs, prays to God to have the Jew's son born deformed:

Que o rosto lle tornar  
fez Deus o deant'atras,  
como lle fora rogar  
o filho de Sathanas.<sup>58</sup>

This cruel 'miracle' enabled Merlin, better known as a practitioner of the black arts, to convert the Jews to Christianity.

Although Pero Meéndez da Fonseca was not a Portuguese poet, he has a curious poem about a character who must have been known as much in Portugal as in Galicia and Castile, *Paio de Maas Artes*, a poem in which he casts suspicion on the way in which D. Pelayo Pérez Correa came to be appointed *Comendador mayor* of Uclés:

Chegou Paio de maas artes  
 con seu cerame de Chartes;  
 e non leeu el nas partes  
 que chegasse a uu mês,  
 e do lues ao martes foi comendador d'Ocrês.<sup>59</sup>

Presumably the suspicion of sinister powers arose because of this man's sudden and unexpected appearance, out of the dawn mists:

E chegou per ua strada,  
 descalço, gran madurgada,  
 u non catavan nada  
 duu om'atan rafez.<sup>60</sup>

followed by his rapid rise to high office:

log' ouve mant'e tabardo  
 e foi comendador d'Ocrês.<sup>61</sup>

Elisa María Ferreira Priegue has studied D. Pelayo Pérez's career, and points out:

Consideradas individualmente, ninguna de las  
 circunstancias de su promoción son irregulares,  
 pero el conjunto de ellas da bastante que pensar.<sup>62</sup>

D. Pelayo Pérez did not stay *Comendador de Uclés* for long. Within eleven months he was promoted to Master of the Order of Santiago, perhaps because of his own ambition, or perhaps because it was in the interests of D. Fernando III that the lands he succeeded in reconquering should be under the control of the Order of Santiago in general, not in the hands of Portuguese knights. Ferreira Priegue has also made some preliminary investigations of the possible identity of the author of this cantiga, and offers three suggestions: firstly, that he was a cleric who had experienced difficulties in his dealings with the Master:

Dado que el Maestre tuvo roces con prácticamente todo el mundo, el terreno de búsqueda se amplía hasta límites casi inabarcables.<sup>63</sup>

Secondly, the poet might have been a friar of Santiago. D. Pelayo Pérez was not popular within his order and seems to have antagonised practically everyone. The final, and most plausible possibility is that Pero Meéndez da Fonseca was one of the Portuguese nobles who supported D. Sancho II and consequently shared his exile at the court of D. Fernando III:

con obvios y múltiples motivos de rencor contra el ex-comendador de Alcácer do Sal,  
con quien se tropezaría frecuentemente en el séquito del rey y en sus campanas.<sup>64</sup>

D. Pelayo Pérez was in fact present at the Council of Lyons, 1245, and his successor in the *encomienda* of Alcácer do Sal, Gonçalo Peres 'Magro':

fue uno de los que más eficazmente facilitaron la accesión al trono del nuevo rey, con  
el respaldo de los contingentes portugueses.<sup>65</sup>

Four poems, three by Estêvão da Guarda, privado d'el rey D. Dinis, and one by D. Pedro de Portugal, recount the woes and misfortunes of Martim Vasques, failed astrologer and equally unsuccessful cleric. The first of these (Rodrigues Lapa, number 122), tells us that Martim Vasques has lost faith, not in God, but in the planets. Martim used astrology to read his future, but must have made a serious miscalculation because all his plans have come to nothing. After taking Holy Orders in the mistaken belief that he would be given a rich living, he now finds himself without a benefice and forbidden to exercise his former profession of minstrel. Now he would happily renounce the Church, and has taken to wearing a hood to cover his tonsure until the shaven hair grows back. Martim Vasques is completely disillusioned, and has promised never to consult his astrology books again.<sup>66</sup>

In number 123, Estêvão da Guarda again takes the topic 'of Martim Vasques' incompetence in the magical arts, and compares him to Merlin, who allowed himself to be tricked by the woman he loved. On one level, we might see this poem as the poet's demonstration of his familiarity with the Arthurian legend. On another, it might be rather

salacious in meaning. Instead of teaching her magic, Martim Vasques has initiated his lady into sexual awareness and must now satisfy her needs, even to the point of death by exhaustion.<sup>67</sup>

Poem number 124 tells us that Martim Vasques has now perfected his skills:

Ora é já Martin Vaásquez certo  
das planetas que tragia erradas.<sup>68</sup>

Nevertheless, the stars must be against him. Instead of the rich living he coveted, he has been given a church 'sen prol nen ua en logar deserto'. No matter that he shaved off his beard and tonsured his crown, 'cuidand'aver per i egreja boa', the parish is so poor that there is not even bread or wine for Holy Communion:

u non á pan nen vinho d'oferenda  
nen de erdade milho pera borõa.<sup>69</sup>

The poet is decidedly unsympathetic, ridiculing Martim Vasques' greed and pretensions. As far as Estêvão da Guarda is concerned, Martim has got precisely what he deserved. Walter Pagni, in the prologue to his critical edition of Estêvão da Guarda's poems, suggests that:

La satira di Estevan non nasce da intenti o convinzioni politiche, sociali o morali, e nemmeno, pur avendo un carattere eminentemente personale, da odi o risentimenti privati. Essa scaturisce dall'acuta osservazione di azioni e situazioni, da cui è sollecitato il suo gusto di comporre ritratti e quadretti, la sua predisposizione alla derisione e alla beffa.<sup>70</sup>

While I agree about Estêvão da Guarda's predilection for poems that mock and deride, it seems to me that the poet is also making an oblique comment on the reasons for which men go into the priesthood, and on the veniality of some clerics' motives.

D. Pedro de Portugal also finds Martim Vasques a worthy subject for his satire. The rubric of his poem, transcribed by Rodrigues Lapa, informs us that:

Esta cantiga suso scripta, que se começa Martin Vásquez noutro dia, fez o Conde a un jogar que avia nome Martin Vaásquez e preçava-se que sabia d'estrelosia e non sabia en nada; e colheu aí vaidade na mão ca avia d'aver igreja de mil libras ou de mil e quinhentas; e mandou fazer coroa e roussou a barva e foi-se a alen Doiro e non ouve nemigalha; e o Conde fez-lhi esta cantiga.<sup>71</sup>

This is one of those instances where the rubric conveys more information than the poem itself, which is incomplete. If the rubric makes much of Martim Vasques' sin of vanity, D. Pedro emphasises the disparity between Martim Vasques' expectations and the harsh reality of his situation:

E diz que vio na ua  
que averia sen contenda  
igreja de moi gran renda,  
ca non pequena e nua;  
e, por que lhe vai tardando,  
el vai-se muito agravando,  
por que lhe non dan nen ua.<sup>72</sup>

The court poets may poke fun at those people who believe in omens, superstitions, astrology, but their parodies and burlesques must have contained a kernel of truth, otherwise there would have been absolutely no point in singling out these targets. Satire only works when it comes - uncomfortably - close to the truth. The literary stance they choose to adopt does not necessarily reflect a genuine rejection of superstitious beliefs or practices. If these poets could shift from composing tender lyrics in worship of the Virgin Mary to penning graphically lewd descriptions of the sexual act, it follows that they 242 Ömight have had other literary personae, depending on the time of writing and the audience to whom they were addressing their verse.

It was not only the Church that promulgated laws to combat fortune-telling and superstition. Secular legislation, too, was formulated to suppress questionable rites and rituals. *Partida VII*, Título XXIII includes three laws against 'los agoreros, et de los sorteros, et los otros adevinos, et de los hechiceros et delos truhanes'.<sup>73</sup> The first law offers a

definition of *adivinanza* and the various forms that it may take, stating that divination means usurping God's power to tell the future. However, this may be achieved through astrology, which is one of the Seven Liberal Arts, and not forbidden to those who are 'maestros et la entienden verdaderamente', since they have made a serious study of the subject.<sup>74</sup> Quoting Antonio Garrosa Resina, who has recently published an analysis of magic and superstition in medieval Castilian literature:

Los astrólogos son estimados como una clase superior y más elevada de adivinos, que ejercen un oficio respetable y a los que se les debe honrar. Su concurso se solicita en algunas ocasiones, para determinar por su ciencia el paradero de las cosas perdidas o robadas.<sup>75</sup>

Men who do not have this specialised scientific knowledge, on the other hand, should go away and 'trabajar de aprenderla estudiando en los libros de los sabios'.<sup>76</sup>

The second kind of divination is more malign:

La segunda manera de adivinanza es de los agoreros, et de los sorteros et de los fechiceros que catan en agüero de aves, ó de estornudos ó de palabras, á que llaman proverbio, ó echan suertes, ó catan en agua, ó en cristal, ó en espejo, ó en espada ó en otra cosa luciente, ó facen fechizos de metal ó de otra cosa qualquier, ó adivinan en cabeza de home muerto, ó de bestia, ó de perro, ó en palma de niño ó muger vírgen.<sup>77</sup>

Alfonso X mentions customs such as 'divination by dog'. This was apparently found in Celtic folklore. Prognostications were also made from the howling of dogs<sup>78</sup> and this link takes us back to the earlier suggestion that much of medieval Portuguese superstition is founded in Celtic mysticism. As John Esten Keller rather whimsically points out:

In Galicia, also, he may have fallen under the influence of the many legends and superstitions of a people whose ancestry went back to the Celtic invaders of antiquity. To this day not even the Irish lean more toward the world of fairies and elves than do the Gallegos. The mark of that cloudy land of wooded mountains and mystery may have had a greater effect upon Alfonso than anyone realises.<sup>79</sup>



In any case, all of these means of foreseeing the future are strictly forbidden because of the great dangers they pose, and no one is to receive these soothsayers in their homes or protect them from the authorities. The second law touches on black magic, proscribing such practices as conjuring up spirits, and going out into the night into strange places to find objects to make spells.<sup>80</sup> Nor is anyone to make wax or metal figures or other love charms; especially dangerous are philtres to cause people to fall in love:

porque acaesce á las vegadas que destos brebages atales vienen á muerte los que los toman, ó han muy grandes enfermedades de que fincan ocasionados para siempre.<sup>81</sup>

The third and final law in this section sets out the correct procedure for laying information against augurs and soothsayers, and the penalties for their crimes. The compiler classes them as *baratadores*, presumably because they extort money or goods from the naive and credulous. But there are exceptions to the prescription: 'los que ficiesen encantamientos o otras cosas con buena entencion', including those who carry out exorcisms, resolve differences between husband and wife, or work their charms to save crops from hail, mist or marauding locusts or plant lice. These people should not be punished:

ante decimos que deben rescebjir gualardon por.<sup>82</sup>

If the Alphonsine laws do not mention the clergy in connection with predicting the future and witchcraft, this omission is rectified by the synodal statutes promulgated at Braga by D. Frei Telo, 5 December 1281, and in Santiago de Compostela by Rodrigo González de Leon, 17 August 1289. The Braga constitution runs as follows:

Item statuimos nichilominus sub pena excomunicacionis iniungentes quod nullus clericus uel monachus seu secularis diuinatores, incantatores, auriolos, aurispices, uel sortilegos, uel illos qui profitentur artem magicam, adeat uel requirat uel horum aliquid faciat, alioquin si monachus fuerit quidem deprehensus in hoc fuerit perpetue incarcerationis, si clericus secularis depositionis, si laicus anathematis penas merito poterunt formidare.<sup>83</sup>

The Santiago ruling is shorter, but no less fierce:

Statuimos quod nullus clericus sit sortilegus uel incantator, uel augur uel diuinator. Et si monitus super hoc non resipuerit, beneficio suo priuetur et est excommunicatus a canone.<sup>84</sup>

This constitution is repeated verbatim in Rodrigo de Padrón's Santiago Synod of 1309.<sup>85</sup>

Frei Álvaro Pais makes various comments about witchcraft and related activities in his works. In the *Speculum Regum*, the twenty-third sin of which kings and princes are guilty is allowing superstition to flourish in their kingdoms:

Vigésimo terceiro, [pecam] nos agoiros, sortes e outras superstições, que alguns confiadamente observam, desviando-se, assim, da verdadeira fé e, por isso, esses tais estão sem luz, pois que nada melhor resplandece no príncipe do que a fé recta.<sup>86</sup>

The twenty-eighth sin is that they fail to prosecute practitioners of the black arts, particularly in the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula:

Vigésimo oitavo, não combatem, como é seu dever, os hereges, os magos, os aríolos, os encantadores, os sortilegos e os matemáticos, e nisto cometem gravíssima ofensa, mormente os reis de Espanha.<sup>87</sup>

Frei Álvaro does not state whether clerics are equally guilty in this matter, whether of committing acts of wizardry themselves, or allowing others to do so unpunished. He does, however, take up the theme again in his *Collyrium Fidei*, discussing the:

error et phantasia quorundam nobilium hispanorum, qui quum, qui quando eis nascitur filius vel filia, mesas faciunt preparari, ad quas dicunt fata venire, que de natis eis prospera vel fausta vaticenentur, quod ad artem magicam pertinet reprobata.<sup>88</sup>

Frei Álvaro also described sorcerers and witches in Portugal:

commentadores se faciunt bestiarum, sicut dicuntur in Yspanias, inter quos sunt viri et femine, qui cum quibusdam pactionibus et demonum consultationibus tacitis signum crucis apponunt, et aliqua bona verba divina cum aliis verbis fallacibus vel obscuris vel caracteribus vel signis, cum quibus incantationibus aliquos perimunt, aliquos sanare videntur.<sup>89</sup>

Compare this with the visitation report for the parish of Sant Boi in Catalunya, August 1303:

Item dixerunt quod na Godaya facit conjurationes hominibus et animalibus patientibus. Idem facit Elicsendis Godayla et Cathalana; idem dixit Catalana per sacramentum se uti conjurationem oculorum cum pater noster et ave Maria et quibusdam verbis profanis mixtis cum verbis divinis que dicit. Item quod frangit glandulas sine conjuratione. Item dixit per sacramentum Elicsendis Goday a predicta quod coniurat oculos et glandulas. Item animalia exarteylata cum gladio mange blanc. Unde utrique predictis coniurationibus et quod stet Catalan per .III. dimes dominicos et dicta Elicsendis godayla per unum in portis Ecclesie sine capa dum missarum sollempnia celebrabuntur.<sup>90</sup>

The 1378 visitation of Pombeiro by D. Pedro Tenorio, Bishop of Coimbra, and Vasco Domingues, Precentor of Braga, did give rise to a passing reference to superstition, 'que amoeste os sorteiros e os que um aas adiuinhas',<sup>91</sup> but this is hardly conclusive evidence of widespread *maleficia*.

The *Carta Régia* of 3 November 1385, on the other hand, is rather more precise in its prohibitions:

nenhuma pessoa não use nem obre de feitiços, nem de legamentos, nem de chamar os diabos, nem de escantações, nem de obra de vedeira, nem obre de carântulas, nem de agoiros, nem de sonhos, nem de encantamentos, nem lance roda, nem lance sortes, nem obre adivinhamentos em alguma guisa que defeso seja...nem outro sim ponha mão, nem meça cinta, nem scante olhado nem iguem, nem lance água per joeira, nem faça remedio outro sim algum pera saúde de algum homem ou animália, qual não conselhe a arte da física...

Outrossim estabelecem que, daqui em diante, em esta cidade e em seu termo, não se cantem Janeiras nem Maias, nem a outro nenhum mês do ano, nem se lance cal às portas so título de Jano, nem se furem águas, nem se lancem sortes, nem se bitem águas, nem se faça alguma outra obra nem observância, como antes se faziam.<sup>92</sup>

Lynn Thorndike describes similar customs elsewhere in medieval Europe:

On the midnight of January first the peasants sprinkled themselves and their domestic animals with water to insure good health, and a bouquet of flowers was deposited at the fountain by the first-comer, or if none could be procured, a handful of straw was burned.<sup>93</sup>

The late fourteenth-century Portuguese version of Martín Perez's handbook for confessors, the *Livro das Confissões*, offers some extremely detailed lists of medieval superstitions, explaining which of these are admissible, which are not, and how severely the latter category should be punished. Some of the misdemeanours he notes date back to Martin of Braga's *De Correctione Rusticorum*, others are drawn from the writings of the Church Fathers, such as St. Augustine, while some are mentioned in English confession manuals of the thirteenth century. The *Livro* is practical rather than theoretical in character, based on pastoral experience as much as on current theology. It was, after all, intended for use by simple parish priests, the 'clérigos minguados de scientia' of the prologue. Consequently the compiler has relatively short passages of exegetical discussion, but incorporates lengthy lists of questions to be put directly to the penitent as he makes his annual confession.

Superstition is discussed in the second part of the manual under the heading of the First Commandment:

Demanda se foy a deuinhadores. Se fez circos. Se fez espiramentos ou os escreueo ou os ensinou ou os obrou.<sup>94</sup>

The question about circles is not entirely clear; it might refer to the practice of dactyliomancy, divination by means of a suspended ring, gyromancy, foretelling the future by walking in a circle, or it could be a reference to conjuring devils. The espiramentos suggests attempts to transmute base metals into gold, alchemy, or some other medieval science.

Se fez ou soube coniuerações alguas, se sabe encantar como alguus que fazem aparecer o que nõ he uerdade mas fazem maleficios enganosos enos olhos dos homees com que os escarnecem.<sup>95</sup>

The preoccupation here is with necromancy, and also with attempts to defraud:

Assi como quando fazem da corda que pareça serpente & nom he uerdade saluo que o semelha.<sup>96</sup>

This kind of deception is sinful not only because it is little more than extortion, but also because of the extremely sinister associations of the serpent and its relationship, in the medieval mind, with evil, death and the devil.

Se sabe escantar ou se fez assi ou a outrem escantar ou alguu gãado.<sup>97</sup>

*Escantar* is best translated as 'to hex' or 'bewitch', and it was a commonplace of medueval life to attribute sudden illness, of humans or livestock, to an evil spell.

Se sabe alañar sortes por casar ou por outras fazendas do mundo.<sup>98</sup>

This question recalls Constitution nine of the Synod of Lisbon, 1240, 'in nuptiis prohibeantur per excommunicationem sortilegia'. People are not to look into the future, but must accept what happens, as God's will:

Se catou por aguyro ou por aue ou por outro signal. Se uedou lume ou outra cousa por taaes maas saberdorias. Se catou por encontro ou se has fe enas estrelas ou en alguu dia mays que en outro por To tenporal. Estas cousas som todas defendidas & maldictas de Deus & da sancta egreja.<sup>99</sup>

This is a standard medieval list of auguries, with ornithomancy, pyromancy, star-gazing and belief in the virtues of one day rather than another. It is not important these do not work: if people believe in such practices, then they are breaking the First Commandment and failing to

worship the one true God, putting their faith in other powers. Here the compiler of the manual cites St. Augustine as the relevant authority. Those people who seek out soothsayers and pay heed to their predictions are held to be idolators and pagans, and may have to be referred to a higher authority for absolution, which gives us an indication of how seriously such behaviour was taken.

Martín Pérez then presents a whole series of superstitions, ranging from belief in the efficacy of strange words and signs to the use of sacred objects for profane purposes:

Se sabe fazer cartas ou nominas ou se as tras consigo ou as ten en casa. E toda carta en que achares outras palauras se non do euangelho e outros signaaes se non os da cruz, ueda lhe os & faze as queymar, & se nom quiser non o assoluas. Esse meesmo se alguu colhe a herua & pe a, se outras palauras diz se nom o pater noster & o credo in Deum & a Aue Maria ou palauras do euangelho, estas palauras nom uedes & todas las outras palauras & todos los outros signaees lhe uedaras se non o da cruz. Se fez maleficios alguus por benquerenças ou por malquerenças.<sup>100</sup>

This is not very different from Thomas of Chobham's *canones contra superstitiones*:

Item, non licet christianos temere traditiones gentium observare et colere elementa aut lune et stellarum cursus aut inanem signorum fallaciam poro domo facienda vel propter segetes vel propter arbores plantandas vel coniugia socianda. Scriptum est enim : omnia qui facitis Christi facite, gratias agente deo. Nec in collecitonibus herbarum que medicinales sunt aliquas observationes vel incantationes liceat attendere nisi tantum cum symbolo divinio aut oratione dominica, ut tantum deus creator omnium et dominus honoretur.<sup>101</sup>

The confessor is then to put further questions to the penitent:

Outrossi demandaras com fez os maleficios & com que ca algumas uezes os fazem com as cousas sagradas. E fazem sacrileigo & podem seer escomungados de escomunhom mayor ou meor segundo de suso ouuiste.<sup>102</sup>

This is precisely the type of practice outlawed by Statute three of the synod held in Lisbon, 13 January 1403 - within five years of the translation of the *Libro de las confesiones* into Portuguese:

Item, aquellos que ussam do Corpo de Deus ou de crisma ou doutra coussa sagrada ou de feitiços ou em outras coussas como nom devem.<sup>103</sup>

The compiler does not regard these as being isolated instances of aberrant behaviour:

Outrossi demanda aas escantadeyras & aos que coniuram & palauras dizem & as leuantarom de seu, ca muytos o fazer.<sup>104</sup>

Equally worrying is the fact that many who resort to the services of diviners and sorceresses do not think that they are committing any sin:

E por razom que muytos destes que uão aos adiuinhos & a escantadeyras teem que nom he peccado, por razom que muytas uegadas dizem o que ha de uijr & acontece assi. Outrossi dizem que ueem a olho de muytos doentes que logo som sãos como som escantados & porende creem que esto uen de Deus & que plaz a el.<sup>105</sup>

This is manifestly untrue, states the author, and he adduces the unquestionable authority of St. Augustine, and the Book of Deuteronomy to lend weight to his argument.<sup>106</sup>

Completely in keeping with the pragmatic spirit of this manual is Martín Pérez's list of 'permitted practices, which might be classed as professional necessities:

Enpero non doestam os fisicos que catam horas certas & tempos pero dar meezinhas se o fazem segundo sua sciencia natural. Outrossi os sangradores enas sangrias. Outrossi os lauradores en semear & en laurar & os carpenteyros en talhar madeyra. Ca en estas cousas pode se achar razom natural segundo Deus ordinou. E non he peccado en catar tenpos & as horas que Deus ordinou pera husar das uertudes & das cousas que Deus pos enas suas creaturas en muytas maneyras segundo o departamento dos tenpos & das horas.<sup>107</sup>

Martín Pérez returns to the question of observing particular days and times, in Chapter 44 of Part three, 'Da doutrina pera conhecer os pecados mortaaes'. After a discussion of various means of divination, conjuration, 'marauilhas falsas' and astrology,<sup>108</sup> he informs the confessor that:

Ha hy outra que se faz en esguardamento dos dias e das horas & dos tempos & dos logares sen virtude natural pera as vydas ou as saudes ou as fazendas dos homees saber sen virtude natural digo por os tenpos & por as horas que esguardan os fisicos pa as meezinhas dar & ar sangrias fazer & por os que esguardan os lauradores pera semear ou chantar & por os que esguardan os meesteyraaes en na madeyra talhar. Ca poden estes taaes per taaes cousas fazer & achar razõens naturaaes en nas cousas que Deus creou & por tanto podesse fazer sen pecado.<sup>109</sup>

This is evidently standard practice, accepted by the Church and incorporated into its legislation accordingly. We have already seen Raymond of Peñafort's comments on this topic, and Pedro de Cuéllar says much the same in his catechism:

Pero dezimos que en sangrias e en xaropes tomar e coger árboles e semejables cosas si en toda manera creemos, si aquello es menester e neçessario catar los cursos de la luna o del sol, poniendo toda esperança en aquello que confondido, mas principalmente poniendo esperança en Dios, bien podemos catar en tales cosas el curso de luna: en dar sangrias o xaropes e en tales cosas commo estas, e en coger yervas e árboles; e así usan agora los monges.<sup>110</sup>

Nevertheless, we should bear in mind Lynn Thorndike's description of prohibited activities:

The virtue of herbs was associated with sorcery that persons given to magic should be especially watched towards St. John's Eve, when they were believed to scour the woods for herbs to use in their concoctions, plucking them with the right hand and throwing them into their basket without looking at them, lest they lose their virtue. The time factor was also important here, since it was advisable that the herbs be plucked while the clock was striking noon. Some villages near Lunéville rang the bell only one or two instead of twelve times in order to curtail the sorcerers' botanizing.<sup>111</sup>

When the confessor comes across unjustifiably superstitious or sorcerous practices, he is to impose the following penances:



aos que colhen & poen ervas ou cartas ao colo se n ã|c o pater noster ou con ceredo in Deum ou con alguas palauras do evangelho poen penitencia de dez dias en pan & agua. Os que buscan sortes e adiuyinhancas en no salteyro ou en nos avangelhos deuen jaiunar.x.dias en pan & agua.<sup>112</sup>

Activities not to be tolerated under any circumstances are conjuring up clouds of darkness and using signs and circles, but it is quite licit to have faith in the protective powers of words taken from the scriptures or saints' lives when read out loud in storms.<sup>113</sup> Women, in particular, are to be upbraided for falling prey to:

alguus enganadores que catam signos & dizem que lhes diram de seus filhos quaes seram & de suas fazendas, outrossi de seus maridos & leuam delas algo com mentiras & fazem lhes de suso perder as almas. Destes taaes acharas adeante ena segunda parte eno capitulo dos que nom ham officio.<sup>114</sup>

The second part of the Castilian version was never translated into Portuguese, so there is no Portuguese list of professions with their own specific vices.

Chapter two of this part of the confessors' manual deals with dreams and their interpretation, which is strictly forbidden to all but those who are extremely wise, and close to God. Only such a person would know how to recognise 'as artes do inimigo pera gardar sy & os outros delas'.<sup>115</sup> Chapter 53 of Part Three lists the penances to be meted out by the confessor to those guilty of sins connected with superstition and witchcraft:

Dos maleficios & dos encantamentos & dos agoyros & adeuinhos. Conven assaber que tragen a suas casas & v`a buscar os adeuinadores & adeuinadeyras & os agoyreyros encantadores & sorteleyros & lhes demandam conselho. Es ordenada penitencia de dous anos. En no decreto diz que deue fazer penitencia de cinque anos. Esta meesma penitencia he de aquelles que creen por as estrelas & por os signos & por os encantamentos mããos do primeyro dia do ano que creen que por ly lhes vijnra bem ou mal ou nom. Esta meesma penitencia manda fazer aos que sãaen escantar ou esconjurar os termos ou os canpos & fazen legamentos & ascondenos & desujanos en nas carreyras & en os outeyros & poen outros sinaaes por desviar tenpestades dos gaados ou dos fruytos & por os envyar a outros.<sup>116</sup>

There is a clear divergence from the Alphonsine recommendation to reward rather than punish those who work spells *con buena entencion* and try to save their crops from natural phenomena.

The enumeration of tariffs continues with a description of commonly held beliefs about witches and their power to 'hex' an enemy:

Nos que creen & afirman que as molheres se tornan estreytas & que sãaen de noyte & andan por os ares & por as terras & que entran por os furacos & comen & çugan as creaturas pñhe aquella penitencia dos XL dias & dos sete anos. Nos que creen por olhado que a vista ou o ouuyr de alguas cousas poden mal fazer & porende se vãa a escantar, poen penitencia de huu ano. Aos que dan cousas çujas & torpes a seus maridos a comer & a seus amigos ou a outros alguus por que os ençendan en amore & ben querenças poen penitencia de cinque anos. E a elles se t`aes cousas comeren ou beueren VI anos. Aos que buscam outros escantamentos ou alguus maleficios por bem querenças ou por mal querenças ou fazem alguas torpidades ou dan a comer ou a beuer alguas cousas como quer que nom sejan çujas ou buscam quen lhas faça tâaes cousas poen penitencia de dous anos. Aos que fazem encantamentos ou legamentos ou maleficios por minguar a vyda de alguu, poe penitencia de V anos. Aos que creen por encantaçoms ou por maleficios que poden alguus tirar o leyte de alguu gãado pera outro ou a boa andança de hua casa pera outro ou aquelles que en tâaes cousas otram pōoen penitencia de tres anos. Aos que vsam das cousas sagradas & beentas das egrejas pera encantamentos & maleficios, poen peendença de V anos. Por legamentos fazer poen XL dias en pan & agua. E tâaes danos poden ende aqueecer per que mereça penitencia dos VII anos. Aos que creen que desque canta o gallo fugen os diabos & porende andan os homees seguros poen peendença de VI dias en pan & agua. Aos que creen que ha hy fadas pera fadar, poen peendença de X dias en pan & agua. Aos que colhen & poen ervas ou cartas ao colo se non con o pater noster ou con o credo in Deum ou con alguas palauras do evangelho pōoen pentencia de dez dias en pan & agua. Os que buscam sortes & adiuynhanças en no salteyros ou en nos avangelhos deuen jaiunar X dias en pan & agua.<sup>117</sup>

This catalogue of illicit practices and beliefs is of great interest but, it has to be pointed out, Martín Pérez mentions no rites or superstitions found solely in the Iberian Peninsula. Virtually all of the activities he mentions are described by Norman Cohn<sup>118</sup> and by Jeffrey Burton Russell.<sup>119</sup> Nor does he prescribe any penances specifically for members of the clergy who set a bad example to their congregations and imperil their souls by dabbling in the occult. There is no provision for characters like the Dean of Cádiz or Martim Vasques.

D. João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja's synodal statutes, promulgated in Lisbon, on 13 January 1403, contain several prescriptions against superstition and dubious practices.

Constitution Three lists those cases which only the Archbishop can absolve:

Aquelles que ussam de sorteiros e adivinhadeiros e que fazem os cirços, scilicet scriptos pera chamar os demonios. Item, aquellos que ussam do Corpo de Deus ou de crisma ou doutra coussa sagrada ou de feitiços ou em outras coussas como nom devem.<sup>120</sup>

D. João Afonso repeats statutes formulated by his immediate predecessor, 'dom Joham da boa memoria', D. João Anes:

Primeiramente que nemhuu nom use de sortes, nem de agoiros, nem de emcantamentos, nem de esconjurar, nem de chamar spiritus malignos, nem de trager escripturas nem nominas em que sejam escriptas pallavras maas e deshonestas com figuas e caranturas ou com nomes e palavras que nom possam seer emtendudas, nem achadas nas sanctas Escripturas... Item, que nemhuu nom fizessem circo per chamar os demonios ou pera saber as cousas ascondudas ou pera fazer enfigimentos empeciviis e per que se demonstrem e saibham as coussas que am de viir. E foi per el posta sentença descumunhom em todos os que fizessem estas coussas e usasem dellas...

Item, se continha nas ditas constituições que nemhua pessoa nom possese mão em outra em maneira de veadeira ou encantadeira nem usase de idollatria fazendo ou dizendo alguas coussas que perteceem mais à parte do emmigo da linhagem humanal que a Deus e aos seus sanctos. E era outrosi deffesso que nemhuu nom fosse a taaes vedeiras...

Item, se continha em ellas que nom cantassem maias, nem tomassem agoas, nem lançassem hi sortes, nem dessem janeiras, nem lançassem cal às portas com emtenção que por as darem ou receberem emtendessem da aver melhor ano ou mes e nom as dando ou recebendo peor, e que nom gardasem os dias azinhagoos, nem a terça feira, creendo que huu dia hé de melhor ventuira que o outro.<sup>121</sup>

The text of this episcopal constitution corresponds very closely to that of the *Carta Régia* of 1385. The editors do not give a precise date for D. João Anes' synod, but suggest that it must have been held between 1393 and 1402. If the *Livro das Confissões* does not by itself constitute firm evidence for the extensive acceptance of pagan customs in medieval Portugal, seen in conjunction with these other two sources it could well lead us to suppose that sorcery, superstition and soothsaying were endemic. D. João Anes' statute was intended to regulate

conduct throughout the archdiocese, and his prescriptions are very concrete. D. João Afonso de Azambuja made a conscious decision to repeat this constitution because he felt that it was still relevant. Mário Martins has suggested that:

os sínodos não legislavam para situações irreais.<sup>122</sup>

Previous attempts to extirpate these beliefs had clearly met with little, or limited success, and only by examining later legislation shall we be able to establish whether superstition continued to be a cause of concern for the medieval Church.

Although we might expect to find abundant examples of superstition and popular beliefs in the late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century Portuguese *exemplum* collection, the *Orto do Esposo*, only two out of 260 *exempla* (my numbering), deal with the kinds of practice that we have seen condemned in secular and ecclesiastical legislation. Number fourteen tells how an *escolar nigromante* in Montpellier summons a devil to bring his friend, also a student, news of his homeland.<sup>123</sup> The demon appears in the guise of an innocent maiden, but when a priest passes by bearing the Host, the devil responds to the presence of the sacrament by falling to his knees:

E, quando esto uio o escolar, disse: Hora ñ creo que este he demo, ca se o fosse, ñ ficarya os geolhos ao corpo de Jhesu Christo. E disse o demo: Non sabes que escripto he: Eno nome de Jhesu Christo todo geolho seia inclinado das cousas celestiaaes e terreaaes e jnfernaas? E logo desapareceu.<sup>124</sup>

Frederick G. Williams does not give any source for this *exemplum*, listing it as *sem fonte*, but there are in fact similar tales in other collections, the *Libro de los enxemplos* (Gayangos, 389), and the *Speculum Laicorum* (Welter, 269a). It is not surprising that students should be viewed with mistrust: they had access to strange books and were equipped with the knowledge to decipher them. If on the one hand we have the example of Frei Tomás de

Portugal, studying and teaching in various European universities, we might also consider the reputations attached to Gerbert, later to become Sylvester II, Michael Scot, or even Enrique de Villena.<sup>125</sup>

*Exemplum* number sixteen describes an enchanter who conjured up a demon for a woman who wished to learn how she might become pregnant by her husband. But before she could voice her question, a priest passed by, carrying the Host, whereupon she repented of her deed:

E a molher prometeu que nō fizesse tal cousa e chamou logo o nome de Jhesu, e per virtude do nome ficon afortificada e luire do diaboo. E partiu-se logo o diaboo, cōfondido pello nome de Jhesu.<sup>126</sup>

Again, Williams give no source for this tale, but it is remarkably similar to number fourteen, and probably derives from the same tradition.

Among the Alcobça manuscripts kept in the Arquivo Nacional is one that contains a mid-fifteenth century translation of San Pedro Pascual's *Los Diez Mandamientos*,<sup>127</sup> written towards the end of the thirteenth century. As is the case in other didactic works, sermons and treatises, superstition is treated as a contravention of the First Commandment:

E esto he, que non ore homem os ydolos, ca em tres maneyras se oram os ydolos. A primeira per fé, e por speranza, a IIª por falso amor, a IIIª por avareza. Por fé, e por speranza se oram os ydolos, quando algum põe sua speranza em nos adivinhadores, e nos feyticeyros, e em nos encantadores, e em outros maãos feitos sem Deus, e sem razom, que alguuns ha hy que quando perdem alguma cousa, vaam aaqueles, que se fazem adivinhadores, e encantadores, e creem e speram de aver aquela cousa, que perderom per eles, e asy fazem deles seus deoses. E ha hy alguns, que quando ham algumas enfermidades, que mandam buscar quem os scante por ho olhado, ou por algum maaõ feito, ou por alguma cousa, que sospeytam que lhe fezerom, e speram e creem por aquele, ou por aqueles, que os scantar, que averam saude, e asi fazem dele ou dela seu Deus, e fazem grande peccado mortal. Ca todo aquele, ou aquela, que se faz adevinho por alguma cousa vãa, caay na maldiçom do Spritu Sancto. E que isto seja verdade, assy o diz Jeremias propheta, onde diz, que malditos seram todos aqueles, ou aquelas, que pooem sua speranza, e sua fé no homem, nem na molher, ca toda nossa fé e speranza e nosso amor deve de seer em Deus verdadeiro.<sup>128</sup>

The author describes some of the practices, finding lost property, lifting curses and faith healing, and explains why they are sinful. There is nothing particularly original in his

disquisition, but he is contributing yet another authoritative pronouncement to the corpus of anti-superstition literature in circulation, reinforcing the Church's position on this matter, and impressing on his audience the need to avoid these customs. The translation of his treatise ensures that the same Christian message will reach a wider Christian public.

The next fifteenth-century source, the *Ordenações Afonsinas*, brings very little in the way of new information about superstitions or official attitudes to them. *Título XXVI* of *Livro I* prescribes that once a year, judges should make enquiries about crimes and abuses; if these are taking place within their jurisdiction, they are to 'fazer geeral Correição sobre estas cousas':

Item. Se had hi adevinhos, ou feiticeiros, ou alcovetas. <sup>129</sup>

This brief clause is of interest only insofar as it groups three different activities together, thus suggesting an association between them of the kind we find in *Celestina* or her Portuguese counterpart, *Genebra Pereira*.<sup>130</sup> In other words, the procuress is likely also to be a fortune teller and sorceress, or 'wise woman'.

*Título XLII* of *Livro V*, *Dos Feiticeiros*, repeats and reproduces laws passed by D.

João I in Santarém, March 1403:

Nom seja nehoo tam ousado, que por buscar ouro, ou prata, ou outro aver, lance varas, nem faça circo, nem veja em espelho, ou em outras partes. E qualquer que o fizer, seja preso ataa noussa mercee, e açoutado publicamente polla Villa, honde esto acontecer. E o que o d'outra guisa achar de ventura, aja-o, e faça dell sua prol. <sup>131</sup>

D. Afonso V gives his reasons for legislating against sorcery:

Todollos Direitos, assy Civis como Canonicos, estranhaarom sempre muito o peccado da feitiçaria; porque nom pode nehoo de tal peccado usar, que nom participe da arte, e conversaçom diabollica; a qual he tam contraira, e odiosa ao Nosso Senhor DEOS, e aos seus Santos Mandamentos, que per nenhũa guisa nom pode com elles convir. <sup>132</sup>

After a brief elaboration on this last point, D. Afonso repeats his grandfather's law, with the proviso that if the offender is:

vassallo, ou de mayor condiçom, polla primeira vez seja degrado por tres annos pera Cept.<sup>133</sup>

There is some documentary evidence that judges carried out their official duties, as laid down in *Título XXVI, Livro I* of the *Ordenações Afonsinas*. In 1985, Humberto Baquero Moreno, one of the very few Portuguese historians who have broached the subject of witchcraft in medieval Portugal, published seven documents, with commentary, that provide valuable insights into this area. Referring to the difficulties that face would-be researchers of the topic, he emphasises that:

a detecção de documentos atinentes a processos de feitiçaria, anteriormente à introdução da Inquisição em Portugal por D. João III, resulta totalmente improcedente. Apenas se torna viável ao investigador detectar a existência de casos de feitiçaria em cartas de perdão que se encontram dispersas em livros da chancelaria régia, mas cujo número diminuto resulta pouco compensador perante os esforços realizados por quem se abalance à consecução desta tarefa.<sup>134</sup>

After a brief summary of the broad characteristics of witchcraft in France and Spain, the historian concludes that the Portuguese variety is virtually identical:

São na realidade as questes sentimentais, com base no erotismo, as que dominam o panorama nacional. Mulheres que se apresentam simultaneamente como alcoviteiras, prostitutas e feiticeiras, a par de outras que pretendem readquirir o amor perdido de seus maridos, pelo que recorrem frequentemente à prática de mezinhas e de outros sortilégios.<sup>135</sup>

In the first of these documents, we read that the sisters Maria and Catarina Sequeira of Leiria were denounced and arrested because:

nom temjam Deus usauam mall de ssy hussando de sser feiticeiras e alcouuiteiras que dormjam <sup>136</sup> com os homeens casados e solteiros e com os clerigos e frades como maas molheres.

There is no mention of any ecclesiastical discipline being brought to bear on their clerical clients, but the women are granted a pardon by D. Duarte, Évora, 18 March 1435.

The second document concerns Elena Gonçalves of Portalegre, who has applied to D. Afonso V for a pardon, explaining that:

Joham Afonso, morador em a dicta villa de Portalegre, querellara della dizendo que per sseu aazo e conssentimento lhe foram dados feitiços o qual for em ponto de morte e fora tolheito das pernas e braços huu tempo polla qual razom ella fora pressa no castello da dicta villa.<sup>137</sup>

It is not stated whether João Afonso was arrested for his complicity in this malfeasance. Possibly the judge felt that the bout of paralysis that he suffered was punishment enough. In any case, this document certainly proves the truth of the warning found in the seventh *Partida*:

porque acaesce á las vegadas que destos brebages atales vienen a muerte los que los toman, ó han muy grandes enfermedades de que fincan ocasionados para siempre.<sup>138</sup>

D. Afonso's response to her appeal is favourable, and his letter of pardon was issued at Évora, 16 April 1450.

The third document, also from the Chancery of D. Afonso, is a letter of pardon for Leonor Domingues of Campo Maior:

ella fora presa e acusada per huu ouujdor do corregedor desta comarca dizendosse contra ella que em leuando preso do dicto correiçom huu Mafamede, mouro forro, que ella e outras molheres lhe lançaram pucaros daguoa e farinha e lhe deram ramos doliueiras que eram feitiços.<sup>139</sup>



The episode with flour and water sounds fairly innocuous, but since olive branches are a specifically Christian symbol, giving them in these circumstances, and to a Moor, amounts to an act of blasphemy. The sentence passed on her was that 'fosse degradada da dicta villa e termo por tres meses com huu pregam na audiençia'. But using as grounds for appeal her relatively high status, advanced age, and the fact that her husband would lose his harvest were she to go into exile, Leonor manages to have the sentence repealed, 'comtanto que pagasse trezentos rreais', at Évora, 15 April 1456.<sup>140</sup>

Document number four is a pardon for Guiomar Gonçalves of Loulé, who was arrested in 1455 by Fernão da Banha, who:

a prendera dizemdo que ella era barregãa de homem casado e feitiçeira e alcoueteira pella quall razam fora leuada aa cadea da correioom do Algarue.<sup>141</sup>

Guiomar was released on bail, but then arrested again, this time by Mem Rodrigues, judge and cousin of Fernão da Banha, because, so the document runs:

tinjha em ssua casa huua Lianor Aluarez, cozinheira que fora dos frades do mosteiro de Ssam Francisco, da dicta villa, e que mandaram chamar huu frade do dicto mosteiro per nome frey Gonçalo e que tanto que fora em ssua casa aa noyte o tomaram e desoestiram (sic) e lhe tiraram per ssua natura e colhoes e ho lançaram nuu pella porta fora de noyte.<sup>142</sup>

Their misdemeanour sounds more like female revenge for sexual harassment or failure to pay for sexual favours than a witches' ritual. The episode was clearly intended to ridicule and humiliate the friar, rather than cause him any lasting damage. Guiomar received a conditional pardon from D. Afonso at Évora, 17 July 1456.

D. Afonso issued another letter of pardon, Lisbon, 31 August 1447, to Catarina Pires, wife of Gonçalo Eanes, 'besteiro da camara do rei', and her mother Catarina Gonçalves, who

had escaped from prison after a successful appeal against a sentence imposed on them for being *feiticeiras* and *alcoueteiras*.<sup>143</sup>

The practice of pardoning women accused of witchcraft continues into the reign of D. João II. The sixth document edited by Baquero Moreno is a letter of pardon for Isabel Álvares of Santarém, who:

fora pressa por sse dizer que ella sopricamte era *feiticeyra* e que tinha *feityços* no llar pera sseu marjdo e for por ello degradada por huu anno fora da dicta villa de Santarem e seu termo.<sup>144</sup>

Isabel Álvares begs the king to remit the remaining half of her sentence:

por quanto era molher ja pobre, a *jdadle* etc.<sup>145</sup>

D. João grants her request, since she paid the '*despesaas da nossa rollacom* quinhentos reais'.<sup>146</sup> Unfortunately we cannot attempt to guess what kind of *feityços* this woman kept in her home, whether they were aphrodisiacs, unlikely, in view of her age, or herbal remedies for rheumatism. What does emerge from this, as from the earlier documents, is the fact that all that was needed for one of these women to be arrested and thrown into prison was the testimony of a neighbour or relative. The motives of the accuser might not be particularly pure, revenge for a slight (real or imagined), greed, thwarted lust. The entire process is less than satisfactory, leaving a great deal of scope for error.

The final document in this series is perhaps the most interesting because of the details it contains:

Dom Joham etc saude. Sabede que Lianor Pirez, molher de Pero Nunez, morador em Tor[r]es Vedras nos emujou dizer que ella ouuera outra nosa carta de perdam por sse dizer contra ella que com huua judia hordenara *feitiços* ao dicto seu marjdo, a saber, huu bollo pera lhe dar a comer e lhe elle querer bem e outras cousas, nam declarando

que cousas eram. E que por ello as nosas justiças lhe nam quiriam guardar o dicto perdam pollo quall ella declaraua as dictas cousas em esta gisa a saber: que a dicta judia per nome a Viziboa tomava chumbo derretijdo com terra e lamçouoo em aguo e fazia huua fegura de homem e outra de molher de barro e que lhes daua com huu cordell e dizia sobresto suas horações e pallauras. E que per esta via o dicto seu marjdo lhe querrya grande bem e nam faria salluo o que ella ssopricamte quisesse ssegundo que nas dictas cullpas majs compridamemte se continha.<sup>147</sup>

The pardon was reissued, 'comtando que ella pagasse pera a piedade dozemtos reais', Lisbon, 10 May 1492.<sup>148</sup>

Baquero Moreno draws several conclusions from these documents. Although men are involved in the activities which have led to these women being prosecuted, all of the appellants are women. Citing José Sánchez Herrero,<sup>149</sup> he suggests that:

Este predomínio feminino reveste com efeito um carácter absoluto, revelador da propensão que as mulheres possuíam relativamente a tendências de carácter supersticioso.<sup>150</sup>

Accusations of procuring, prostitution and witchcraft, though frequently levelled at women from the lower socio-economic groups, may at times transcend the boundaries of class, ages and religion. All of the women convicted and pardoned have in common the fact that they come from rural locations (except for Santarém), and all from the South of Portugal. For this coincidence, Baquero Moreno suggests the following explanation:

Admitindo, sem sombra de dúvida, a existência de casos de magia em todo o território, não obstante a ausência de provas documentais, é de notar contudo que no Portugal muçulmano a sua influência se torna mais palpável. A tradição islâmica deveria ter aqui um peso muito sensível.<sup>151</sup>

This may be overly speculative. The descriptions of superstitious practices that we find in other regions of Portugal, the Iberian Peninsula and indeed in other European countries are not substantially different from ones that occur in these letters of pardon. Had the cases

brought against these women involved alchemy or astrology, Baquero Moreno's argument might be more acceptable, but I fail to see any North African influence, either explicit or implicit.

Superstitions are mentioned in two of the visitation reports for Santiago de Óbidos.

Among the general rulings for the diocese of Lisbon, 9 June 1462, we find:

Item mandamos ao prior e capellam de cura da dicta igreja que evitem fora della todollos casados que barregueiros pubricos forem sse do dicto pecado em que estam tirar nom quiserem, e esso meesmo os ssolteiros que estiverem com as ssolteiras se as nom vierem rreçeber aa porta da igreja per palavras de presente segundo forma da santa madre Igreja, e que esso meesmo evitem os ydolatras e feitiçeyros e feitiçeyras e adivinhadeiros e lançadores de ssortes em chunbo e cera e doutras quaaesquer cousas que fezerem contra os mandados da santa Igreja defendendo que lhes nom dem fogo nem logo.<sup>152</sup>

D. Frei João Martins, Bishop of Safim, renews this sentence in article twelve of his visitation document, 1 June 1473:

Item porque achamos que os feytiçeyros, adivinhadeyros, escantadeyros, beenzedeyros, agoyreyros e sortelheyros som excomungados polla constituyçam signodall mandamos vos sob pena dexcomunham que denunciees publicamente por escomungados aquelles e aquellas que notoriamente em vossa freeguesia de taaes artes usarem per tantas vezes ataa que conheçam seu pecado e sejam dignos de beneficio de asoluçam e de seerem rrestituídos aa partiçipaçam dos fiees christãos e sacramentos da Igreja.<sup>153</sup>

The synodal constitution to which D. Frei João Martins refers is number twenty-three of the 1403 Synod, and in fact, this whole title is taken directly from D. Jorge da Costa's 1467 visitation. We can only conclude that the penalties for practitioners of sorcery and enchantment are included more for purposes of completeness than because of any pressing anxiety about such activities taking place within the Lisbon diocese.

The Synod of Braga, held by D. Luís Pires, 11 December 1477, includes several statutes pertaining to superstition and other sinister activities within the diocese.

Constitution forty-four forbids members of the clergy to say Mass in fields or beneath trees, 'que mais parece costume de gentiios que de cristãos'.<sup>154</sup> Number forty-six orders the spiritual leaders of the diocese to find out:

se há hy alguuns homens ou molheres hereges ou que nom querem hir aa egreja ou barregeiros publicos ou arrenegadores e blasfemadores ou feiticeiros, benzideiros e adivinhadores ou usureiros e onzeneiros.<sup>155</sup>

If such people are found, they are to be rebuked; should this admonition fail to persuade them to change their ways, these offenders are to be brought before the archbishop, and dealt with by him.

Like the *Livro das Confissões*, the early printed *Tratado de Confissom* (1489)<sup>156</sup> purports to guide the confessor through the process of leading the faithful to a fuller awareness of their sins. It is for this reason that the compiler of the *Tratado* not only sets out the appropriate questions to be asked about superstitious practices, but also includes a discussion about the inherent sinfulness of such matters.

Following the scheme adopted by earlier writers, the author first deals with diviners in his section on the Commandments:

Seguemse os .x. mãdametos em os quaaes faça estas perguntas que se seguem e no primeiro lhe faça sete perguntas. A primeira como cree en Deus. A seguda se he sorteiro ou sortera. A terceira se he adevinha. A quarta se tirou por agoiros. A quinta se tirou por sinos em que nascesse. A sexta se tirou por idoleiros. A septima se fez alguus encantamentos.<sup>157</sup>

Among the general questions that the confessor must put to all of his penitents, we find:

Item se fez feitiços. Item deve de perguntar aas molheres que confessar a quada hua se fizeram ou derom alguas cousas a seus maridos ou a outros homens per modo de amadigos ou de feitiços e esta meesma pergunta faça aos homees.<sup>158</sup>

This query recalls not only 'aos que dan cousas çujas e torpes a seus maridos a comer & a seus amigos' in Martín Pérez's work,<sup>159</sup> but also the 'três arcas de feitiços' of Brízida Vaz' in the *Auto da Barca do Inferno*.<sup>160</sup>

In the 'Capitulo de todos os estados', *lavradores* in particular are to be asked whether they consulted soothsayers or believe in them.<sup>161</sup> In the *Livro das Confissões*, it should be remembered, farmers, along with other special professional groups, were given a dispensation to 'catar horas certas & tempos (...) en semear & en laurar'.<sup>162</sup>

The author's discussion of the Commandments and precisely how they may be broken is useful not only to a confessor, but might equally serve as the text of a sermon:

E si estes pecados muito som de grãde sandice aqueles que delles ussam, digo primeira mente que a um agoiro aos spirros que pouco siso por razoes suficietes. Deus deu ao home a boca pera falar e os narizes para cheirar e espirrar. E assi todos os membros foram feitos pera seu officio cada huu pois se as narizes ou cada huu dos outros membros usã dos officios pera que for feitos, nom hã os homees a um por agoiro, e se o ham fazem sandice.<sup>163</sup>

Here the commentator's argument is based not on theological intricacies, but plain common sense: noses were intended for smelling and sneezing, not for predicting things to come. The discussion continues with the author's opinion of ornithomancy, and its practitioners:

Outrossi nos galirejametos das aves muito maior sandice he rezom. De todas as criaturas nã ha hi mais nobre nem mais excelente que o home e Deus nom deu tal poder a home que soubesse has cousas que ham de viiñr quãto mais pouco o dara as aves.<sup>164</sup>

While he does not in any way subscribe to beliefs in the ability of birds to predict the future, the compiler of the manual does propose a sort of hierarchy of birds, arguing that if they were privy to this knowledge:

as mais nobres aves o aviã de saber, assi como he o açor ou falcão ou gaviã, nem o corvo, nem o francelho, nem ho minhoto.<sup>165</sup>

This ranking of greater and lesser birds - note that they are all birds of prey, goshawk, falcon, hawk, raven, kestrel and kite - suggests some familiarity with works such as the *Livro da Falcoaria* de Pero Menino, the *Livro das Aves*, Pero López de Ayala's *Libro de la caza de las aves*, and the medieval hunting and bestiary traditions in general.<sup>166</sup> There is also in this list an echo of Deuteronomy 14: 11-18:

Of all clean birds ye shall eat. But these are they of which ye shall not eat: the eagle, and the ossigrage, and the ospray, and the glede, and the kite, and the vulture after his kind, and every raven after his kind, and the owl, and the night hawk, and the cuckow, and the hawk after his kind, the little owl, and the great owl, and the swan, and the pelican, and the gier eagle, and the cormorant, and the stork, and the heron after her kind, and the lapwing and the bat.

Still on the topic of birds, the author observes:

Outrossi veemus nos per spirecia que as aves os homees as esinam a falar assi como o esturninho ou pega, papagaio e por esso nunca dizem as cousas que hã de viinr e sabem falar e assi todolos agoiros em todas las escripturas som reprovados pelos sabedores.<sup>167</sup>

This business of talking magpies and parrots is a far cry from the rather prosaic objects of, say, Jean Gerson's tracts, in which he inveighs against those who attribute meaning to 'unlucky cawing crows, mewing cats, crowing cocks, black dogs and snakes'.<sup>168</sup> This new and exotic development in the history of superstitious practices stems from the Portuguese explorations in Africa and their discovery of hitherto unknown fauna and flora - like the famous elephant of 1514.

The *tratadista* continues, using as his point of reference not the scriptures or *auctoritates* but, he says, his own personal experience:

Outrossi veemus per esperecia que os agoreiros tã be homes como molheres que sepre a sua fim he maa e o acabameto peor e he sandice usar deles.<sup>169</sup>

He does not offer any examples of soothsayers who have 'come to a bad end', but stresses the point that only God can know what will take place in the future. Again he resorts to the notion of a hierarchy of privilege or merit:

E se fosse cousa cōvinhabel que alguu ouvesse dadivinhar ou saber as saber as cousas que hã de viinr os mais nobres e os que fazem boa vida o aviam de ssaber assi como som os leterados e os res e os principes e os que bem vivem assi como som religiosos de booa vida e estes n no sabem. Ergo mais pouco o devem de ssaber os velhos e as velhas que nuca souber que cousa era deitar de si os pecados e os maaos pensametos os quaaes nos vee da parte do diaboo. Nem os dizentes nem outros que se efigem que o sabem. Por que estes que efigem este saber veemolos que som homes e molheres viis e de pouco valor e o que peor he que nuca fezerō boa vida nem ouverō emeda de maaos costumes be parece que aqueles que per eles vao creer que tal vida fazem como eles por que nuca aqueles que a Deus temerom no ādarō per taaes sādices. <sup>170</sup>

The compiler of the treatise obviously values learning, since he places the *leterados* before kings and princes. The *velhos* and *velhas*, 'homes e molheres viis e de pouco valor' we may take to be 'low-life' characters like Gil Vicente's *clérigo nigromante* in the *Exortação da Guerra*, or Genebra Pereira in the *Auto das Fadas*.

Not only do soothsayers come to a bad end, but they are proved quite unable to deliver what they promise:

Outrossi estes que finge que sabem adivinhar som sepre pobres maaos ano venha por eles se adivinhar sabe por que nō adevinhã hu jaze os thesouros escōdidos os quaes nehuu nom sabe e saairã de pobreza. E nō engane os homees a olho mais esto nō fazem por que nō pode. <sup>171</sup>

I would surmise that the author of this treatise was an experienced popular preacher.<sup>172</sup> His technique consists in ridiculing those with pretensions to be able to read the future or find lost objects, and he invites the audience to join in and agree with him: 'if they really knew how to find buried treasure, they'd be rich themselves'. All that is missing from his discourse are the explicit phatic reinforcers 'wouldn't they, aren't they'. The tone of this passage verges on the



'folksy', with such popular expressions as *maao ano venha*, and the whole text reads like a parish priest admonishing - albeit gently - his superstitious and foolish flock:

Outrossi digo que crer pelos e cantadores he outrossi de pouco siso. <sup>173</sup>

This argument is pursued when he comes to the question of sickness and healers. After citing scriptural authorities, he points out:

Outrossi se curar podessem ou devessem os sabedores hiriam a eles mais n vaã a eles salvante os necios quãto ergo mais vaã tanto som julgados por menos sabedores e assi crer per eles he pouco siso. <sup>174</sup>

The repeated emphasis on foolish rather than evil behaviour, suggests that like Martín Pérez, the compiler was writing for priests with the *cura animarum*, pastors rather than theologians, who must attempt to regulate the conduct of their parishioners:

se se nã quiere correger deve de seer escomugados e deitados fora da eigreja e da figresia assi como ovelha gafa que nã ençuge as outras. <sup>175</sup>

The author's final words on the subject come in his list of reserved cases which only the bishop can absolve, 'salvo e artigoo da morte': <sup>176</sup>

O segundo he os que tomam o corpo de Deus ou crisma ou outra cousa sagrada pera fazer maleficios alguus, O terceiro he os sorteiros ou encantadores ou agoireiros e os que usam de sperimentos pera chamarem os demes pera fazerem outros maleficios alguus. <sup>177</sup>

These are not instances of simple superstition, but the more malevolent practice of conjuring devils that we have seen described in various synodal statutes and in the *Livro das Confissões*. There is evidently a hierarchy of sinfulness, and these latter activities occupy premier position.

D. Diogo de Sousa promulgated sixty statutes in his Synod of Oporto, 24 August 1496.

Only two of these make any mention of superstition, and then only briefly. Constitution twenty-five demonstrates the Bishop's anger with certain disobedient elements within his diocesan clergy:

Item, porque somos emformado que alguus abades, capel`aes e outros clerigos de nosso bispado nom olhando a obrigaçam que teem de nos obedecer e assi a nossos mandados e misigeiros, e como a desobediencia foi o primeiro peccado que no mundo entrou pollo qual em todollos outros emcorremos, e assi o que Deus disse que mais queria obediencia que sacrificio, os ditos abades, capelãaes e clerigos aas vezes por afeições, outras horas por peitas e outras alguas cousas, nom querem pobricar nossos mandados quando pera isso som requeridos...e assi mesmo nos he dito como per as ditas rezões muitas vezes nom querem avitar da igreja alguus escomungados per nossas cartas, e outros por se nom confessarem nem comungarem a tempo devido ou por se nom falarem pubricamente ou serem pubricos barregueiros e feiticeiros ou estarem casados com parentas e cunhados.<sup>178</sup>

It is clear from this extract that D. Diogo is more concerned with imposing and enforcing episcopal discipline than with eradicating superstition and witchcraft in his diocese. In Constitution twenty-eight, among those cases reserved for his personal attention are heresy, excomunhom maior, fire-raising, clandestine marriages, *feiticeiro e feiticeiros*, lost property for which no owner is found and public blasphemers.<sup>179</sup> This suggests that D. Diogo is aware of the existence and activities of sorcerers, but has either legislated against them in some other document, or is relying on laws already promulgated to cover such eventualities. They are certainly not one of his more pressing priorities. The absence of constitutions detailing superstitions and suspect customs may also reflect a shift in attitude as the Middle Ages draws to a close, though there are in fact references to sorcerers, augurs and healers in the Synod of Guarda, held by D. Pedro Vaz Gavião, 12 May 1500.

Constitution sixty-four of D. Pedro's Synod runs as follows:

Porquanto a só Deus nosso Senhor é atribuído saber as cousas escondidas e assim as que hão de vir e não [a] outra pessoa alguma, porém muitos homens e mulheres, pouco lembrados de suas consciências e quanto em esto a Deus ofendem, querem atribuir assim o atribuído a ele só Deus fazendo-se feiticeiros, adivinhadeiros, encantadores,

sorteiros, agoueiros, benzediros, usando de outras semelhantes artes. E querendo nós esto evitar, além das penas que os tais por direito merecem, poemos nos sobreditos e em cada um deles, que das ditas artes ou de cada uma delas usarem, sentença de excomunhão, e assim em os que a eles forem sobre as ditas cousas, e também em aqueles que benzerem por ourelos, cintas ou por quaisquer outros modos ou palavras, a qual assolução de excomunhão reservamos para nós ou nosso vigário geral, e ante que assoltos sejam paguem mil reaes para as obras da nossa sé. <sup>180</sup>

D. Pedro's preoccupations are manifestly different from those of D. Diogo de Sousa. The former names particular practices and imposes stiff penalties on those found guilty of them, while, the latter, as we have seen, is more interested in bringing recalcitrant clergy to heel. D. Pedro also includes a rather unusual prohibition: 'Que nenhumma pessoa se encomende nem enterre de noite':

Achamos um abominável costume, mais corruptela, em algumas partes do nosso bispado qu todo finado se encomenda e enterra de noite e ao outro dia depois de seu enterramento a clerizia vai a casa do dito defunto e trazem dela uma tumba vazia com procissão e Subvenite, o que é assaz irracionável e para estranhar. <sup>181</sup>

This 'abominable custom' may have pagan origins, or possibly be associated with black magic. If we recall Claudina, Celestina's *comadre*, much of her best work was done at night. At any rate, the bishop imposes a harsh fine on those who persist in this peculiar rite:

E qualquer que o contrário fizer, condenamo-lo em mil reaes, a metade para as obras da nossa sé e a outra para o nosso meirinho. <sup>182</sup>

No doubt by allocating half of the fine to his constable, the bishop was ensuring that his ruling was effectively carried out.

Constitution twenty-two of D. Diogo de Sousa's Braga Synod, 15 December 1505, is to all intents and purposes a repetition of Statute twenty-five of his Oporto Synod, held in 1496:

E aos abbades e capellâaes de quaesquer igrejas mandamos que evitem das igrejas quaaesquer barregueiros e barregueiras, e feiticeiros e benzedeiros ou feiticeiras e benzedeiros, que forem notorios. <sup>183</sup>

Constitution twenty-five, Braga, which deals with reserved cases, corresponds to number twenty-eight, Oporto, with one new, and rather sad, addition:

reservamos soamente pera nos estes nove que nesta constituçam sam declarados, scilicet: heresia, excomunham maior, incendio, matrimonio clandestino, feiticeiros, aver alheo cujo dono se nam achar, publicas arrenegadores, publicos barregueiros, e daquelles per cuja culpa ou negligencia se acham seus filhos afogados na cama. <sup>184</sup>

To do justice to the topic of superstition and witchcraft in Gil Vicente, a whole new thesis would be required. His plays abound with questionable old women who exercise the profession of go-between and maker of spells, incantations and prophecies. His witch figures are especially wellversed in herbal lore and popular remedies. They purvey cosmetics and philtres, deliver babies or perform abortions. Gil Vicente may ridicule these figures, but, significantly, he condemns them to hell.

Many of the superstitions we have seen condemned throughout the medieval period seem to be alive and flourishing in his plays. The *Auto dos Físicos*, for example, has an interesting reference to sneezing, and its significance. In this parody of courtly love, the lovelorn cleric (an imitation of Rojas' Calisto), sends his *moço* to woo the 'lady' Branca Denisa. When the boy returns, he is subjected to a searching interrogation:

Clérigo: Estava sola?

Moço: Só estava.

Clérigo: Que fazia?

Moço: Ensaboava.

Clérigo: Y de lo al qué tenemos?

Moço: Quando me viu espirrava.

Clérigo: Por qué?

Moço: Porque é boa mulher. <sup>185</sup>

The implication seems to be that the boy is the Devil's envoy, that the *clérigo* and his associates are diabolic figures.

But while Gil Vicente uses superstition to amuse and entertain his audience in the plays, it is worth noting that he issues a savage condemnation of the Franciscan friars for their behaviour after the earthquake of January 1531:

Os frades de cá não me contentaram, nem em púlpito, nem em prática, sobre esta tormenta da terra que ora passou; porque não abastava o espanto da gente, mas ainda eles lhe afirmavam duas cousas, que os mais fazia esmorecer. A primeira, que polos grandes pecados que em Portugal se faziam, a ira de Deus fizera aquilo, e não que fosse curso natural, nomeando logo os pecados por que fora; em que pareceu que estava neles mais soma de ignorância que de graça do Espírito Santo. O segundo espantamento que gente puseram, foi que, quando aquele terramoto partiu, ficava já outro de caminho, senão quanto era maior, e que seria com eles à quinta-feira, ua hora depois de meio dia.<sup>186</sup>

There is a noticeable difference from the tone of D. Afonso IV's comments on the consequences of blaspheming:

uem aas terras mujtas tenpestades.<sup>187</sup>

He berates the friars for misinterpreting a natural disaster in such a way as to terrify the laity, and then, taking up their own arms against them by citing various *auctoritates*, he arraigns the friars for usurping God's power of prophecy. They have abused their position of moral authority as preachers to men 'porque pregar não há-de ser praguejar', and more perturbing still, they have rekindled old hatred of the New Christians:

primeira pregação, os cristãos novos desapareceram e andavam morrendo de temor da gente.<sup>188</sup>

It should be remembered that when the earthquake took place, some of those New Christians who had survived the slaughter of 1506 might still have been alive.<sup>189</sup> This is a striking illustration of the excessively fervent type of preaching mentioned in Chapter Three. It also

points to a deep-rooted superstitiousness within the population in general, if they were prepared to accept unquestioningly the friar's interpretation of events. For that matter, it suggests that members of the clergy were not themselves untainted by prevailing popular beliefs, regardless of their education and learning. There is something of a paradox in the Church's response to the whole question of superstition. On the one hand we see members of the clergy making constant and repeated efforts to prevent or discourage superstitious beliefs and practices. Note, for example, the common-sense approach of the compilers of confessors' manuals. On the other hand, however, no one seems to believe more firmly in witchcraft and the power of evil than the clergy themselves, and this is seen in a range of *exempla*, treatises and documents. Then there is an ill-defined, grey area between the two poles of silly, 'harmless' superstition, and malevolent sorcery, where the clergy apparently share the beliefs of the people. Three centuries of prescription and prohibition by the clergy only serve to confirm the validity of the superstitions in question, giving them a status and substance they might not otherwise have attained. There is no doubt that the Church did try to deal with the problem, but because of its very nature, any success they might have had would be limited and temporary. The same inherent limitations are found in clerical handling of gambling and blasphemy, which also have their elements of superstition. As we shall see in the next chapter, neither good intentions nor reforming legislation were lacking. It was effectiveness and enforcement that were to prove difficult.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Superstition: from the Latin *superstitio*, 'dread of the supernatural, from *superstare*, to stand still by something (as in amazement)', *Collins English Dictionary*, second edition 1986. See also *Chambers English Dictionary* (1988): 'superstition': 'false worship or religion; an ignorant or irrational belief in supernatural agency, omens, divination, sorcery', etc.; 'a deep-rooted but unfounded general belief; a rite or practice proceeding from superstitious belief or fear'.
2. Martin of Braga, *Sermón contra las supersticiones rurales*. Texto revisado y traducción de Rosario Jove Clois, Barcelona, 1981, page 42.
3. Eugenio López-Aydllo, 'Los cancioneros gallego-portugueses', pages 486-491. See also *Cambridge Medieval History. Volume VII. The Close of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1936, page 666: 'A larger amount of primitive folklore appears to have survived in Celtic law...Especially characteristic of the Celtic peoples was the belief in fairies or underground beings. Other reported details of Celtic magic, such as magic shields or swords, wands of yew or rods of hazel, enchanted caves and draughts, the virtues or voices of winds and waves, may for the most part be duplicated in the similar lore of other peoples and in later medieval romance. Astrology does not appear to have been highly developed among the Celts, but they observed the waxing of the moon'.
4. Frank Callcott, *'The Supernatural' in Early Spanish Literature studied in the Works of the Court of Alfonso X, el Sabio*, New York, 1923, pages 99-100.
5. Martin of Braga, op. cit., page 74.
6. Gratian, *Decretum II*, 26, quaestio 2 (...) Hinc sunt etiam illa, limen calcare, quum ante domum suam transit, redire ad lectum, si quio, dum se calceat sternutaverit (...). Burchard of Worms, Bishop from 1008 to 1025, author of *Corrector sive Medicus*, edited various times. *Thomae de Chobham Summa Confessorum*, edited by F. Broomfield in *Analecta Namurcensia Medievalia*, 25 (1968): 'Alii si sturgentes sternutaverint, bonum vel malum inde sibi credunt futurum'.
7. Raymond of Peñafort, *De Poenitentia et Matrimonio. Liber primus. De Sortilegio et Divinatio*, Farnborough, Hants., 1967 (reprint), page 102, col.2.
8. Ibid., page 104, col.2.
9. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 290.
10. Odette Pontal, *Les Statuts synodaux français I*, page 66.
11. John G. Tuthill, *The Sermons of Brother Paio: Thirteenth-Century Dominican Preacher*, page 150. See also page 228 for sermon schemes.
12. Kenneth R. Scholberg, *Sátira e invectiva en la España medieval*, page 101. Compare Scholberg's opinion with the view expressed by López-Aydllo, op. cit., page 491: 'hallamos en los cancioneros, al propio tiempo que la repercusión de estas creencias, muestra harto expresivas del escepticismo con que ya comenzaban a verse tales prácticas'.
13. Frede Jensen, *The Earliest Portuguese Lyrics*, page 93.
14. Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal I*, Lisbon, 1977, page 238.

15. Alexander Haggerty Krappe, *The Science of Folklore*, London & New York, 1974, page 216: 'Various superstitions (though by no means all) are connected with sneezing. The very custom of the saying 'God bless you' is an outgrowth of the savage belief that at sneezing there is a danger of the soul's escaping from the body for good and all'. See also Martin of Braga, op. cit., nº 23, pages 74-76.

16. Dante, *The Divine Comedy I. Hell*, translated by Dorothy L. Sayers, Harmondsworth, 1949, pages 195-198.

17. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 315, pages 470-471.

18. Hydromancy: the art of divining from lucid surfaces, such as water, ice, crystal, mirrors, closely linked to worship of wells, sacred springs, etc. Geomancy: divination from the element earth. Pyromancy: prediction from fire. Aerimancy: divination from atmospheric phenomena such as clouds, fogs, thunder, lightning, comets, falling stars, etc. Necromancy: divination by means of the spirits of the dead, performed more by night than by day, and often involving sacrifice of blood or other parts of the human body, alive or dead. Oneiromancy: divination from dreams. Cheiromancy: the art of predicting fortunes by 'reading' the lineaments of the hands. Augury or ornithomancy: divination by observing birds and their flight. Haruspicy: the art of predicting the future from the entrails (usually liver) of fowls. Incubation: a practice in which a person is given a dream-inducing drug, or may sleep with special herbs under pillow in order to provoke specially significant dreams, Horoscopy: observation of nativities. *Arioli*: wizards. *Aurispices*: diviners who inspect birds' entrails. *Horoscopi genethliaci*: diviners who read the future from natal days; the same as *mathematici*. *Augures*: soothsayers, augers. *Pythones*: predict from Pythagorean tables or globe. *Salisatores*: those who divine from the jerking movements of their limbs. Clearly, much of this vocabulary derives from the Mosaic Laws of the Old Testament. Deuteronomy 18: 10-12. 'There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer, For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord'.

19. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 315, page 470.

20. Compare with nº 190, page 292, by Joan Baveca: 'Maior Garcia sempr'oi [u] dizer (...) que non quer já sen clérigo viver', and also Pero d'Ambroa, nº 339, page 504; 'ca ua dona, que sempre loei en meus cantares, e por que trobei, anda morrendo por un escolar'.

21. Ibid., nº 315, page 470.

22. Loc. cit.

23. Giovanna Marroni, 'Le poesie di Pedr'Amigo de Sevilha', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale*, X (1968), page 312.

24. Eight other poets make Maria Balteira the subject of their 'jogos de escarnho': Joan Baveca, Joan Vazgues de Follete, Pero d'Ambroa, Pero da Ponte, Pero Garcia Bungalés, Pero Mazaldo, Roy Gomes de Briteiros, Vaco Perez Pardal.

25. Martin of Braga, op. cit., page 76, nº 23. Jove Clols cites Pliny, *Natural History*, VII, 6(5), 42.

26. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 315, page 471.



27. Giovanna Marroni, op. cit., page 313. See Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scott*, London, 1965, page 90: 'Some auguries occur behind, some to right or left, and are named accordingly. They are twelve in number according to the signs of the zodiac: *fer noua, fer vetus, confer, emponent, scassarus nova, scassarus vetus* on the right side, and on the left *confer vetus, confer nova, viaraz, arenaz, scumassaris vetus, et scumassaar nova*, each of which he describes, and all of which apply to moves or pauses of man or bird'.
28. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, n° 325, page 471.
29. *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, edited by Henry H. Carter, New York & London, 1941, n° 166, page 100.
30. 'Fernão Garcia Esgaravunha, Aires Peres Vuitorm, Martim Alvelo, os jograis Lourenço Juião Bolseiro, e (...) João de Guilhade'. Rodrigues Lapa, *Lições de Literatura Portuguesa*, page 196.
31. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, n° 130, page 211.
32. Loc. cit.
33. Note the frequent association between clergy and crows. For example, see *Libro de Buen Amor*, page 483: 'son parientes del cuervo: de cras en cras andavan'.
34. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, n° 77, page 128.
35. Loc. cit.
36. For discussion of the sexual symbolism of the partridge, see A. D. Deyermond, 'The Worm and the Partridge: Reflections on the Poetry of Florencia Pinar', *Mester*, 7 (1978), pages 3-8. I am indebted to Professor Deyermond, who drew my attention to this article and provided a copy of it. Note also John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk. The Art of Medieval Hunting*, London, 1988, page 230: 'Linkages between falconry and love-making are common in medieval miniatures and carvings'.
37. 'Le corbeau se place naturellement comme symbole à côté de la colombe. Oiseaux prophétiques, ils avaient été tous deux envoyés par Noé, pour s'assurer si les eaux s'étaient retirées de la terre. Mais le corbeau ne revint pas; la colombe seule revint, apportant un signe d'espérance. Cette circonstance, jointe à celle de l'opposition de couleurs et des idées défavorables que l'antiquité attachait au corbeau, fit adapter quelquefois celui-ci comme emblème du démon... On crut donc que le démon pouvait se montrer sous la figure d'un corbeau'. Alfred Maury, *Croyances et légendes du moyen âge*. Nouvelle édition des fées du moyen âge et de l'auteur par MM. Auguste Longnon et G. Bonet-Maury, Geneva, 1974, page 273. Note also Krappe, op. cit., pages 254-255: 'Hardly less important, in the history of divination, is the crow family of birds. What accounts for their role is, first, their peculiarity of feeding upon carcasses, second, their ability to imitate the human voice'. Particularly relevant to this discussion are the moral qualities attributed to certain birds in the fourteenth-century Portuguese fragmentary translation of *De bestiis et aliis rebus*: 'The crow depicted in the Portuguese bestiary is encircled by the legend 'corvus crocicans doctor predicans', and the author cites Isidore's comments on how the crow picks out the eyes of a corpse first - 'corvus est diabolus'. See J. A. Mota, V. L. Sampaio, N. Rossi (eds.) *Livro das Aves*, Rio de Janeiro 1965; Firmino Crespo and Fernando Frade, 'Anotações e Comentários sobre o *Livro das Aves*', *Geographica*, 3, n° 9 (1967), pages 21-39, 88; Mário Martins, 'A Simbologia Mística nos nossos Bestiários', in *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, pages 379-393. Idem, 'O *Livro das Aves*', in *Estudos de Cultura Medieval I*, pages 45-49. Idem, 'Simbologia das Aves e Outros Animais',

in *Alegorias, Símbolos e Exemplos Morais da Literatura Medieval Portuguesa*, second edition, Lisbon, 1980, pages 31-36.

38. *Cornelha* translates as 'jackdaw' or 'rook'. The *águia caudal* is the Golden Eagle. For an explanation of the problems involved in translating Peninsular bird names, see Keith Whinnom, *A Glossary of Spanish Bird-Names*, London, 1966.

39. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 77, page 129.

40. *Ibid.*, nº 178, page 278.

41. *Loc. cit.* See *Poema de Mio Cid*, edited by Colin Smith, Madrid, 1976, verses 11-12: 'A la exida de Bivar ovieron la corneja dviestra y entrando a Burgos ovieron la siniestra'. See also *La Celestina*, edited by Dorothy S. Severin, second edition, Madrid, 1971, page 87: 'Todos los aguëros se aderezan favorables o yo no sé nada de esta arte...Ni perro me ha ladrado ni ave negra he visto, tordo ni cuervo ni otras nocturnas'.

42. *Loc. cit.*

43. C. C. J. Webb (ed.), *Policraticus*: 'Vultures portent difficulties, hardships and rapine, such as accomplished the founding of Rome'. See also Krappe, *op.cit.*, page 254: 'Birds of Prey are by their very character, their strength and often enough their size, most apt to attract man's attention. Hence the rôle of eagles, vultures and hawks in universal divination'. *Bulhafre* means 'kite'. (*L. milvus*) and appears in the *Livro das Aves* with the legend 'Milvus carnem rapiens desidiosus voluptuose querens'. According to the bestiary tradition (Crespo and Frade, *op. cit.*, page 27): 'É ave rapaciíssima e ávida de aves domésticas. O seu voo é amolentado (o que simboliza os que são tentados a viver na molície e voluptuosidade)'. The vulture, too, is depicted but the accompanying legend is illegible. José Luis Rodríguez understands *viaraz* to mean *abejaruco*, 'bee-eater', or *alcaraván*, 'stone curlew', in *El cancionero de Joan Aires de Santiago*. Edición y estudio, Santiago, 1980, page 289. See also Eric and David Hosking with Jim Flegg, *Eric Hosking's Birds of Prey of the World*, London, 1987.

44. See A. D. Deyermund, 'The Worm and the Partridge'.

45. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 182, page 281.

46. *Loc. cit.*

47. José Luis Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, page 300.

48. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 186, page 286.

49. *Loc. cit.*

50. *Ibid.*, page 287.

51. *Loc. cit.*

52. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 187, page 288.

53. *Loc. cit.*

54. *Loc. cit.*

55. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 23, pages 42-43. See the article by Francisco Márquez Villanueva, 'Las lecturas del deán de Cádiz en una 'cantiga de mal dizer'', in *Studies on the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria': Art, Music, Poetry*. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221-1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year - 1981 (New York, November 19-21), co-editors Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, Madison, 1987, 329-354.
56. Mettmann, *Cantigas II*, page 24.
57. Mário Martins, 'Merlim numa cantiga de Santa Maria', *Estudos de Cultura Medieval. Volume III*, Lisbon 1983, page 48. See also W. R. Davis, 'Mary and Merlin: An Unusual Alliance', *Romance Notes*, 14 (1972), pages 207-212.
58. Mettmann, *Cantigas II*, nº 108, page 24.
59. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 402, page 592.
60. Loc. cit.
61. Loc. cit.
62. Elisa María Ferreira Priegue, op. cit., pages 363-364.
63. Ibid., page 367.
64. Loc. cit.
65. Ibid., page 365.
66. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 122, pages 196-197.
67. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 123, pages 198-199.
68. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 124, page 200.
69. Ibid., page 201.
70. Walter Pagani, "Il canzoniere di Estevan da Guarda", *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari*, 19 (1971), page 67.
71. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 329, pages 489-490.
72. Loc. cit.
73. *Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio. III Volumes*, Madrid, 1972 (reprint of the 1807 edition), page 667.
74. See Samuel Waxman, op. cit., page 325. *Partida 7ª*, XXIII, 1, page 667.
75. Antonio Garrosa Resina, *Magia y superstición en la literatura castellana medieval*, Valladolid, 1987, page 199.
76. *Partida 7ª*, XXIII, 1, page 667.
77. Loc. cit.

78. *The Cambridge Medieval History. Volume VIII*, Cambridge, 1936, page 666.
79. John Esten Keller, *Alfonso X, El Sabio*, New York, 1967, page 31.
80. *La Celestina*, page 124: 'Y aun la una le levantaron que era bruja, porque la hallaron de noche con unas candelillas, cogiendo tierra de una encrucijada'.
81. *Partida 7ª*, XXIII, 2, page 668.
82. Loc. cit.
83. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 21.
84. *Synodicon Hispanum I*, page 275.
85. Ibid., page 284.
86. *Espelho dos reis. Volume I*, page 255.
87. Ibid., page 257
88. Álvaro Pais, *Colírio da Fé contra as Heresias. Volume 1*, edited by Miguel de Pinto Meneses, Lisbon, 1954. Cited by António Domigues de Sousa Costa, *Estudos sobre Álvaro Pais*, pages 49-50.
89. Loc. cit.
90. J. M. Martí Bonet, L. Niqui i Puigvert, F. Miguel i Mascort, *Processos de l'arxiu diocesà de Barcelona. Volume I*, Barcelona, 1984, pages 101-102.
91. *Memórias do Mosteiro de Pombeiro*, page 174.
92. Published by Eduardo Freire de Oliveira, *Elementos para a História do Município de Lisboa. Iª Parte*, pages 275-276. Modernised version in A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa*, third edition, Lisbon, 1974, page 171. Note Freire de Oliveira's footnote to the effect that there was a subsequent royal decree, 14 August 1440, 'que autorisou maiores penas pecuniárias', page 272.
93. Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science. Volume IV*, New York, page 276.
94. *O Livro das Confissões de Martín Pérez*, cód. alc. 377, folio 62r, col.1.
95. Loc. cit.
96. Loc. cit.
97. Loc. cit.
98. Loc. cit.
99. Loc. cit.
100. Ibid., folio 62v col.1. Compare this ruling with the following extract from Pedro de Cuéllar's catechism of 1325: 'onde en las cosas que devemos demandar de días aziagos o otros

nin calendas nin meses nin años nin los cursos de la luna o del sol o de otros planetas nin traymientos de yervas e piedras e cartas escriptas que traen al cuello; todas estas cosas son condempnadas sinon el Pater noster e el Ave María e el Credo in Deum e las otras oraçiones', edited by José-Luis Martín and Antonio Linage Conde, in *Religión y sociedad medieval. El catecismo de Pedro de Cuéllar (1325)*, Salamanca, 1987, page 174.

101. Thomas de Chobham, *Summa Cum Miserationes Domini*, pages 477 and 480.
102. *Livro das Confissões* 378, folio 51r, col.2.
103. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 321.
104. *Livro das Confissões* 378, folio 51r col.2.
105. Ibid., cols.1 and 2.
106. Ibid., col.2. Deuteronomy 18:1-3: 'If there arise among you a prophet or a dreamer of dreams...thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams'.
107. *Livro das Confissões* 377, folio 63r, col.2.
108. *Livro das Confissões* 378, folio 38v, cols.1 and 2; folio 39r col.1.
109. *Livro das Confissões* 378, folio 39r, col.2.
110. *El catecismo de Pedro de Cuéllar*, page 174.
111. Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, page 277.
112. *Livro das Confissões* 378, folio 51r, col.2.
113. *Livro das Confissões* 378, folio 63r, col.2.
114. Ibid., folio 63r, col.2.
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116. *Livro das Confissões* 378, folio 50v, col.2.
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122. Mário Martins, 'O Teatro Sagrado na Legislação dos Sínodos Medievo-Portugueses', *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, page 507.
123. See Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Les Portugais à l'Université de Montpellier*, Paris 1971.

124. *Orto do Esposo I*, pages 12-13.
125. Samuel M. Waxman, op. cit., pages 328-330, and N. G. Round, 'Five Magicians or the Uses of Literacy', *The Modern Language Review*, 64 (1969), pages 793-805.
126. *Orto do Esposo I*, page 13.
127. Derek W. Lomax, 'Algunos autores religiosos, 1295-1350', *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, 2 (1977), pages 81-90.
128. Mário Martins, 'A Explicação dos Dez Mandamentos, por S. Pedro Pascoal, em Português', *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, pages 76-77.
129. *Ordenações Afonsinas I*, page 165.
130. Gil Vicente, *Auto das Fadas*, in *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente II*, pages 400-426. See P. E. Russell, 'La magia como tema integral de la *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*', in *Studia Philologica: Homenaje ofrecido a Damaso Alonso*. Volume III, 1963, pages 337-354. For useful discussion of incantations and superstitions in medieval Spain and elsewhere, see D. J. Gifford, "'Magical Patter": The Place of Verbal Fascination in *La Celestina*', in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in Honour of P. E. Russell*, edited by F. W. Hodcroft et al, Oxford, 1981, pages 30-37.
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152. 'Visitações de Santiago de Óbidos (1434-1481)', page 159.
153. Ibid., pages 200-201.
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157. Ibid., page 183.
158. Ibid., page 187.
159. *Livro das Confissões 377*, folio 63r, col.2.
160. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente I*, pages 201-229.
161. *Tratado de Confissom*, page 207.
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167. *Tratado de Confissom*, page 210.
168. D. Catherine Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson*, page 160.
169. *Tratado de Confissom*, page 210.
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171. Ibid., page 211.

172. See J. T. Montalvão Machado, 'Um Frade de Chaves, em Guimarães', in *Congresso Histórico de Guimarães e Sua Colegiada. 850º Aniversário da Batalha de S. Mamede (1128-1978). Actas. Volume III. Comunicações*, Guimarães 1981, pages 263-276.
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174. Loc. cit.
175. Loc. cit.
176. Ibid., page 233.
177. Loc. cit.
178. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 373.
179. Ibid., page 376.
180. Ibid., page 257-258.
181. Ibid., page 274.
182. Loc. cit.
183. Ibid., page 156.
184. Ibid., page 159.
185. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente II*, page 585.
186. Ibid., pages 642-643.
187. *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso IV (1325-1357)*, page 115.
188. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente, II*, page 645.
189. The episode is narrated by Damião de Góis in the *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel. Parte I*, pages 253-255.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### GAMES, GAMBLING AND THE CLERGY

Among those activities most consistently condemned throughout the medieval period by ecclesiastical and secular authorities alike, gambling occupies an important position. While members of society in general are forbidden to participate in games of chance, there are also numerous rulings aimed specifically at those members of the clergy who might be tempted to indulge in this vice. Infringement of these laws may incur such penalties as a public flogging, exile to North Africa, or even the death sentence.

Paralleling the legal prescriptions against gambling, we find, too, a recurring literary type, the *taful*, sometimes a layman, frequently a cleric, the goliardic *clérigo tabernario*, as described by Menéndez Pelayo.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter will trace the long-standing association between the clergy and the dice, and attempt to clarify the motives for the opprobrium in which games and gamblers were held.

This discussion takes as its point of departure Canon 16, IV Lateran (1215), which reads as follows:

Clerici officia vel commercia saecularia non exercent, maxime inhonesta. Mimis, jocularibus et histrionibus non intendunt, et tabernas prorsus evitent, nisi forte causa necessitatis in itinere constituti. Ad aleas vel taxillos non ludant, nec hujusmodi ludis intersint.<sup>2</sup>

The prescribing authorities do not dwell on this issue. It is stated simply and clearly. Gambling is a secular activity and therefore not for the clergy. Moreover, by its very nature it

involves dishonesty, and is therefore inadmissible as a clerical pastime or means of supplementing one's livelihood.

One might raise the question of the extent to which the Church was influenced by the goliardic verse of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and whether the canon lawyers bore the literary stereotype in mind when formulating their laws. Although it would be unrealistic to imagine that clerics did not play dice games, such prescriptions as Canon 16 might well be viewed as a reaction of the clerical establishment to such unashamed declarations as:

In taberna quando sumus,  
non curamos quid sit humus,  
sed ad ludum properamus,  
cui semper isudamus.<sup>3</sup>

or the Archpoet's *Confessio*:

Secundo redarguor etiam de ludo;  
sed cum ludus corpore me dimittit nudo,  
frigidus exterius mentis aestu sudu,  
tunc versus et carmina meliora cudo.<sup>4</sup>

Nor can the Church have approved - or been seen to accept such works as this, the *Gambler's Mass*:

Si quis Deciorum  
dives officio  
gaudes in Vagorum  
esse consortio,  
vina nunquam spernas,  
diligas tabernas.<sup>5</sup>

These, and similar verses, offer one clue as to why gambling was considered to be so disreputable: namely because it usually took place in taverns, which meant that clerics would

succumb not to one vice, but to several. Hand-in-hand with dicing went drunkenness, and, no doubt, recourse to the services of the local harlot:

Los goliardos o clérigos vagantes, eran estudiantes o profesores, ya hemos dicho, que tenían frecuentemente órdenes menores (la tonsura al menos, lo cual les permitía disfrutar de algún beneficio eclesiástico), y que andaban de las escuelas de una ciudad a otra, buscando a los mejores maestros en tal o cual enseñanza, al tiempo que se entregaban, por el camino, o en las mismas ciudades, a una vida alegre (disoluta al entender de los burgueses), y que consistía fundamentalmente en visitar con asiduidad tabernas y burdeles, buscando el amor carnal - sin mayores refinamientos cortes - como una de las grandes emociones del mundo.<sup>6</sup>

The precepts of IV Lateran, like the verse of the goliards, are international in character. As far as medieval Portugal is concerned, although there is not, as yet, a monographic study of games and gambling, sufficient information is available for one to be able to reconstruct some details of these activities, and the ways in which they were perceived.

One of the earliest references dating from after 1215 occurs in the Statutes for the Synod of Lisbon in 1240. Constitution sixteen, *De Ludis*, states:

Prohibetur sacerdotibus penitus uniuersis ludere cum deciis.<sup>7</sup>

This unequivocal prescription is borrowed directly from Odo of Sully's Synodal Statutes of between 1215 and 1232, a fragment of which survives in *códice alcobacense* 184 (CXXVIII), National Library of Lisbon:

Prohibetur penitus universis sacerdotibus ludere cum deciis.<sup>8</sup>

Constitution nineteen, 'De Prole', reads:

Prohibetur sacerdotibus ne habeant secum prolem quam in sacro ordine genuerint et hoc maxime propter scandalum laicorum. Et ne in domibus suis habeant aleas uel decios omnino prohibetur.<sup>9</sup>

João de Deus, *canonista português*, also prescribed against dice and games of chance, in the *Liber Poenitentiarius*, c.1248.<sup>10</sup> Under the heading 'De poenitentia presbyterorum et cui debeant confiteri', he lists ten groups of sins particular to this office, with the additional comment 'tanta sit malitia clericorum':

Quarto, quia immiscent se spectaculis et pompis mulierum, et recipiunt munera et incumbunt usuris, et plus diligunt comas laicorum quam coronas clericorum, et immiscent se mercationibus, et frequentant domicilia mulierum viduarum, et habent quoque apud se mulieres a canonibus interdictas, et frequent tabernas, et ludos taxillorum et alearum, et nolunt divina officia frequentare, et diligunt venationes silvaticas et saltuosas, et dant liberius venatoribus, meretricibus, vel jocularibus quam pauperibus de patrimonio Crucifixi in periculo animarum suarum, et in scandalo plurimorum, contra ecclesiasticas sanctiones.<sup>11</sup>

This description parallels that found in Canon 16, and is germane to this discussion not only because of the reference to dice, but because of the other activities that are considered to be on a par with gambling - frequenting taverns, spending time with local widows (possibly celestinesque procuresses), entertainers and whores, taking part in 'spectacles', and making money. Clergy who pursue these activities are committing sins of commission and of omission, breaking canon law on several counts, and not doing their duty as members of the Church, 'nolunt divina officia frequentare', not giving to the poor, and setting a bad example through their scandalous conduct.

Jacques de Vitry takes a similar view of gamblers in his *History of Jerusalem*, lumping them together with the most hardened sinners, the dregs of society:

No race of men and no plague has had greater power to hurt the (Holy Land) than the criminal and pestilent men, wicked and impious, sacrilegious, thieves and robbers, homicides, parricides, perjurers, adulterers, and traitors, corsairs - that is, pirates - whoremongers, drunkards, minstrels, dice-players, mimes and actors, apostate monks, nuns that are common harlots, and women who have left their husbands to live in brothels, or men who have run away from their true wives and taken others in their stead.<sup>12</sup>

Four decades later, D. Telo, Franciscan friar and Archbishop of Braga, looked back to IV Lateran for inspiration for his Synodal Constitutions of 1281:

Item precipiendo mandamus ut a crapula et ebrietate omnes clerici diligenter abstineant, officia uel commercia secularia non exerceant, ioculatoribus, mimis et istrionibus non intendant, tabernas prorsus euitent, nisi forte necessitatis causa in itinere constituti; ad aleas, taxilos non ludant, nec huiusmodi ludis intersint; coronam aut tonsuram habeant competentem.<sup>13</sup>

Even allowing for the tendency of the medieval church to reproduce and reiterate its moral teachings:

Pode dizer-se que as prescrições se repetem e não fazem mais do que aplicar aos casos concretos da vida portuguesa os cânones do IV Concílio de Latrão, atendendo aos usos civis e à variação da moda.<sup>14</sup>

the recurrence of these rulings suggests two things; firstly, that earlier legislation had not succeeded in eradicating these practices, but had gone unheeded, and, secondly, that the Church, along with the civil authorities, continued to abhor dice games. Why this continuing, institutionalised disapproval?

According to one historian:

The game provoked violence, suicides and pacts with the devil. Losers threw stones at pictures of Madonna, who had played them false. One man shot an arrow aloft against God: it returned covered with blood.<sup>15</sup>

It was precisely this type of behaviour, sinful, aggressive and blasphemous, which brought the game into disrepute, quite aside from more material considerations of loss of property or the game leading to impoverishment or the squandering of one's patrimony.

Perhaps underlying the Church's hostility to gambling was the recollection of the scene at the foot of the Cross, when Roman soldiers drew lots for Christ's clothes. In any

case, the importance of the belief that blasphemy is the habitual accompaniment to games of chance must not be underestimated. For this is the aspect emphasised time and again in the Galician-Portuguese poetry of the thirteenth century, both the sacred *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and the profane *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*. There is never any suggestion that gambling is, in itself, an inherently wicked act. Instead, the respective poets, Alfonso X, Pero Garcia Burgalês, Martín Soárez among others, focus attention on the sins into which the gambler is led.

From the satirical *cantigas*, one notable example is Pero Garcia Burgalês' mockery of Maria Peres 'A Balteira' and her predilection for the dice:

Maria Balteira, por que jogades  
os dados, pois a eles descreedes?<sup>16</sup>

The poet suggests that her impiety may be a serious obstacle to any future relationship with a 'decent' man, since even in her dreams she will be dicing and blaspheming:

se vo'lo oir, terrá-vo-lo a mal  
bon ome, e nunca con el jogaredes.<sup>17</sup>

Here the satirist's irony operates on several levels. For one thing, anyone who is familiar with the other Balteira poems might question the likelihood of a 'bon ome' embarking on a relationship with such a notorious *soldadeira*. For another, the poet has no doubt that the only kind of relationship a man would have with Maria Balteira would be a sexual one - note the double-meaning of *jogaredes*.

Pero da Ponte apparently sees nothing improper in gambling:

nen torto non faz o taul  
quando os dados acha algur  
de os jogar h[i]ua vez.<sup>18</sup>

But since gambling is being compared to a wife committing an act of infidelity, perhaps we should not take his declaration too seriously.

We have no way of knowing whether Martín Soárez's poems were known in Portugal, but his verses on gambling may still provide an interesting, if not controversial view of gambling and similar activities. In one *cantiga*, Martín Soárez first blames God for making him a sinner, then proceeds to enumerate his vices with evident relish:

soo mui gran putanheir'aficado  
e pago-me muito dos dados jogar.<sup>19</sup>

Juxtaposed with these unsalubrious habits are equally reprehensible activities:

Podera-m'eu ben, se foss'avegoso,  
caer en bon prez e onrado seer;  
mais pago-m'eu deste foder astroso  
e destas tavernas e deste beber.<sup>20</sup>

Again, gambling is associated with drinking to excess and unbridled promiscuity. In stark contrast to the frivolous treatment of the topic in the satirical *cantigas*, however, is the note of outraged piety which predominates in Alfonso X's hagiographical narratives, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Here gambling is considered so base a practice or profession that the word *tafur* becomes a by-word for dishonest, evil conduct. In *cantiga* number five, for example, we find the expression *peyor que tafur*.<sup>21</sup>

In another instance, it is synonymous with 'thief':

un crerizon que era tafur e ladr<sup>on</sup>.<sup>22</sup>

Morris Bishop's description of medieval gambling and the types of behaviour that it engendered is amply corroborated by some eight *cantigas* in all.<sup>23</sup> Though it has been

demonstrated that Alfonso drew on international sources in order to compose his poems, and they are not automatically indicative of either attitudes or practices within the Peninsula, it should be pointed out that number two hundred and thirty-eight is located not merely within the Peninsula, but even more specifically in Portugal:

E desto vos direy ora ua vengança  
que Jhesu-Christo en Guimarães dun jogar mao rafez,  
que el e ssa Vigen Madre santa e o seu bon prez,  
per que o mundo foi salvo, ante todos deôstou.<sup>24</sup>

Without wishing to call into question the sincerity of these lines, we have to point out that Alfonso was himself renowned for his interest in dice and board games, as demonstrated by his *Libro de los juegos*.<sup>25</sup> How may we reconcile these apparently opposing, contradictory views? On the one hand, the Miracles of Our Lady demonstrate that only divine intervention will save a sinner from the infernal consequences of gaming, while on the other, Alfonso himself takes pleasure in games, and perceives them to be a worthy means of exercising the intellect.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, he does feel it necessary to incorporate several comments on gambling in his legal compilation, the *Siete Partidas*.

*Partida 1ª, V, LVII, Ley LVII of Titulo V*, enjoins the upper clergy, the 'perlados de santa eglesia', to lead by example, eschewing such pursuits as bull-fighting, hunting, gambling and playing other games:

nin otrosi non deben jugar a las tablas, nin a los dados.<sup>27</sup>

The Portuguese translation of this work, the *Primeyra Partida*, contains exactly the same prescription:

ne deue jogar tauolas ne dados.<sup>28</sup>



*Titulo IX, Ley xxxiiii<sup>a</sup>* of the Portuguese version is a reworking of canon 16:

e nõ deue jogar dados ne tauolas ne andar cõ taffues ne creersse cõ elles ne entrar en tauernas e beuer, saluo se o fezer cõ prema andando camiho. <sup>29</sup>

*Partida VII, Titulo XVI, Ley X* reads as follows:

Juegos engañosos facen á las vegadas homes hi ha con que engañan á los mozos et á los homes nescios de -las aldeas, asi como quando juegan á la correhuela con ellos, ó con dados falsos ó en otras maneras semejantes destas, faciéndolo con engaño. <sup>30</sup>

The issue here is not dice or other games, but fraud. The monarch is aware that shysters and rogues prey on simple country folk, either by using loaded dice, or by winning at *correhuela* - perhaps a medieval version of 'Find the Lady'. There is no suggestion that games should be prohibited, rather that they should be run honestly. Note the Portuguese law of 1266, by which:

se determina a applicação da pena de morte àqueles que joguem jogo falso ou se sirvam de dados falsos ou chumbados. <sup>31</sup>

This same attitude underlies another work, Maestre Roldán's *Ordenamiento de las tafurerías* (1276), written at Alfonso's behest, because of the absence of clear, coherent legislation on the topic, and because of the seriousness of the offences to which it may give rise:

ningunos pleytos de dados nin de las tafurerias no eran escritos en los libros de los derechos, nin de los fueros, nin los alcaldes no eran sabidores, nin usaban nin juzgaban de ello...porque se juzguen los tafures por siempre, porque se viede el destréz, e se escusen las muertes, e las peleas, e las tafurerias. <sup>32</sup>

One of the main concerns is with the blasphemy that tends to accompany games of chance, and here it is difficult to accept Bertil Maler's description of this legislation as *relativamente benigna*, <sup>33</sup> when those who blaspheme against God and the Virgin for the third time are to be

flogged and have their tongues cut out, while those who are caught cheating for the second time:

que les corten el dedo pulgar de la mano derecha, o de la izquierda, con qualquier que jugare.<sup>34</sup>

Maestre Roldán's laws are quite consistent with the blasphemy laws of the *Siete Partidas*. *Partida 7ª, XXVIII*, formulated to deal with 'Los que denuestan a Dios, et a Santa Maria et a los Otros Santos', prescribes a scale of penalties, according to the rank and status of the offender. For the nobility, the punishment is confiscation of lands for one year, on the first occasion, for two years for a second offence, and *de llano* should there be a third infringement. A knight or squire will lose his horse and weapons, a commoner will lose his belongings, and if he has no goods to confiscate, he is to be flogged the first time, branded the second time, and have his tongue cut out for a third breach of the law. *Ley V* is quite explicit about the ways blasphemy may be committed:

De fecho obrando algunt home como en manera de denuesto alguna cosa contra Dios ó contra Santa Maria, escupiendo en la magested ó en la cruz, ó firiendo en ella con piedra, o con cuchillo ó con otra cosa qualquier, por la primera vegada haya toda la pena el que lo ficiere, que diximos en las leyes ante desta que debe haber por la tercera vegada el que denuesta á Dios ó á Santa Maria: et si aquel que lo ficiere, fuere de los menores homes que non haya nada, mandamos quel corten la mano por ende. Otrosi decimos que si alguno con saña ó con mala entencion escupiere contral cielo, ó firiese en las puertas ó en las paredes de la elesia, haya la pena sobredicha que debe haber el que denuesta á Dios ó á Santa Maria dos veces.<sup>35</sup>

The correlation between *Partidas* and *Cantigas de Santa Maria* is absolute: God may punish the blasphemer in the after-life, but the secular authorities will exact punishment in the here-and-now.

Maestre Roldán's *Ordenamiento de las Tafurerías* encompasses all the estates. Law XXIII forbids knights and squires to wager their horses and weapons:

Sobre armas de cavallero nin de escudero non empresten los tablajeros, nin los que tienen las tafurerias, dineros en las tafurerias del rey, e si lo fecieren, que pierdan todo

aquello que emprestaren, porque los cavalleros e escuderos prescian mucho sus armas e es peligrosa cosa de vender, e podria acaescer que los caballeros e escuderos que abrian menester las armas, e non las podrian aver, e por esta razon acaescerian grandes trabajos entre ellos e los demandadores de las armas, e de aquellos que las tovierén.<sup>36</sup>

Whether or not this was a frequent occurrence in medieval society cannot be established, but the knight who loses his horse and weapons does appear in literary sources. In the late thirteenth century debate poem *Elena y María*, Maria, who loves an abbot, accuses Elena's lover, the knight, of gambling away his property - though with the rather scornful aside that he 'non sabe jogar las tabras':

Quando non tien que despende  
torna se luego ajogar;  
& joga dos vezes o tres,  
que nunca gana vna vez;  
ayna el su auer:  
joga el cauallo & el rrocín  
& elas armas outro sy.<sup>37</sup>

Although the knight is presented as a ridiculous spendthrift of a man,<sup>38</sup> there are more serious implications in her complaint. If he no longer owns a horse and weapons, he is unable to perform the duties incumbent on him as a knight. Horseless and unarmed, he can hardly do battle on behalf of the king.

Law XXV, of the *Ordenamiento* on the other hand, pertains to the clergy, and states that any involvement with gambling will result in loss of their immunity from prosecution by the secular authorities:

Que qualquier clerigo que sacare tablaje o jugare los dados, o sobre algunas cosas que fagan a él, o él a alguno en las tafurerias, o dixere o ficiere algunas cosas de las que defiende la santa egleſia, e este libro, e se quisiere alzar al juicio de santa iglesia, non le valga, ca despues que el clerigo saca tablaje, e seguiere los dados, viene contra aquello que defiende la santa egleſia e las ordenes, porque debe pasar e juzgarse por el juicio que pasan los otros tafures.<sup>39</sup>

Participation in games of chance, then, brings about loss of clerical immunity. Another Castilian source offers insights into why gambling was frowned upon:

Desquē están los omnes en juegos encendidos,  
despójanse por dados; los dineros perdidos,  
al tablero fincan dineros e vestidos:  
do non les come ráscanses los tahures amidos.<sup>40</sup>

Again the picture presented to the reader is one of uncontrolled behaviour, people losing their sense of proportion as well as their property. And to lay stress on his point, Juan Ruiz makes mention of the contemporary authority on the subject:

Los malos de los dados, dize lo maestre Roldán  
todas sus maestrías e las tachas quē an:  
más alnolís rematan, pero non comen pan,  
que corderos la Pascua ni ansarones San Juan.<sup>41</sup>

The practice of gambling was by no means confined to Portugal or Castile. Visitation documents for the diocese of Barcelona in 1303 provide ample proof of this. Virtually every parish visited by the reforming Bishop Ponç de Gualba had at least one known gambler, and this was usually a member of the clergy. We find the standard accusations of blasphemy, usury, frequenting taverns, and keeping low company. After the visit to Santa Maria del Pi in Barcelona, July 1303, the report runs:

Item dixerunt quod in platea furni de Arcubus luditur publice ad adardum diebus etiam dominicis et festivis et est caput ludi Romeus Maiol et furnarius dicti furni tenentes tablaria aleat et taxilla parata et conducunt.<sup>42</sup>

For Vilafranca del Penedès, July 1303:

Item dixerunt quod Rector de Munistrollo de Anoyllia tenet publice in concubinam in villa francha et habet prolem ex ea et dicitur publice usuarius et lusor ad altilenam et mutuatur .XI. pro .XII. in dicto ludo.<sup>43</sup>

In the same month, a visit to Màger brings reports of a monk who plays dice games quite openly:

Item dixerunt quod monachus qui moratur apud Legunam nomine frater Arnaldus Zesposses travessa publice seu ponit parte in ludo alearum. Et dictus frater confessus fuit predictam sed dixit quod non fecit illud. V. septimane sunt elapse ex quo confessus sed fuit suo abbati qui sibi imposuit penitenciam iuxta regulam sue religionis.<sup>44</sup>

The clergy of Arboç, visited July 1303, not only play with dice, but offer loans at interest, and persuade others to join in the game:

Item dixerunt quod Petrus Porta clericus mutuat in ludo .XI. pro .XII. et Nicholaus [Martini presbiter] invitat alios ad ludendum.<sup>45</sup>

The Rector of El Vendrell gambles with his parishioners, lending them money at interest,<sup>46</sup> while the Rector of the Church of Torrelles, Bernat Guau, also the Mayor, is tried by an ecclesiastical tribunal for his many sins, among them allowing people to gamble in his home.<sup>47</sup>

A visit to the parish of Calonge in the diocese of Gerona, on 22 December 1314, produces a similar report:

Item dixerunt quod dictus Claviger jacet ex debito in ecclesia antedicta et introducit de nocte personas inhonestas et lusores et ludunt in dicta ecclesia de nocte.<sup>48</sup>

Also useful for comparative purposes is the *Catecismo* of Pedro de Cuéllar, published in the vernacular for the clergy of his diocese, along with the statutes of his Synod of 1325:

Otrosí, los clérigos non deven husar de joglarías nin de alvardanes e non deven jugar a las tablas nin a los dados, que del juego de los dados se levantan muchos males: levántase dende despreçiamiento de la iglesia e husara, que en el tableage á husura; e levántase robos e escándalos e mençojas, blasfemias, fuerças, furtos, falsedades e razones de muerte, e engaños, e perdimiento, e vida torpe. Nin deven jugar a juegos que vengan por suertes; pero el axedrez bien puede jugar porque viene de entendimiento e por arte; e en tal manera lo deven jugar que non pierdan las oras nin sea negligente el clérigo en lo que es de fazer.<sup>49</sup>

Gambling is wrong, for the reasons given by Alfonso in his *Partidas*, his legal adviser Maestre Roldán, and now by an ordained bishop.

Further fourteenth century references to gaming and gambling dens may be found in Frei Álvaro Pais' *De Statu et Planctu Ecclesiae*, in the final working of the text at Santiago de Compostela, 1340. Among those crimes he attributes to the *reges Hispaniae* is that of profiting from gambling:

Trigesimosecundo, quia recipiunt pretium ab aleatoribus ludi, precipue reges Hispaniae, quod vocatur taulagium, et vendunt quolibet anno pro certo pretio, unde participant pretium de ludo per legem prohibito... et graviter peccant et ad restitutionem talis pretii et lucri tenentur, quia contra legem mercantur... et foveant illud iniquum et causam damni dant et peccati, ideo damnum dedisse videntur.<sup>50</sup>

In the *Speculum Regum*, Frei Álvaro repeats these accusations, and adds:

Ora, eu no livro que compus com os título Do estado e lamentação da Igreja, Secunda Parte, artigo XXIX, parágrafo último *Generaliter uidelicet XVI*, aponteí quase desasseis pecados mortais que se cometem no jogo.<sup>51</sup>

Games of chance are harmful, says Frei Álvaro, because of the crimes they provoke - usury, scandal, foolishness, blasphemy, theft, violence, falsity, death, deception, wasting of time, the desire to make money, many different kinds of corruption, flattery, shameful behaviour and many other dangers.<sup>52</sup>

Coincidentally, in the same year D. Afonso IV of Portugal, one of those very Peninsular monarchs, issued his *Pragmática* and additional laws, one article of which deals with the *jogo dos dados* and its dire consequences:

E porque mujtos homeens nom esguardando o de Deus nem er o guardamento da terra onde ssom. Dizem mujtas maas palauras deostando Deus e ssa madre e os santos pelos quaes deostos (sic) ueem aas terras mujtas tenpestades. Cosijrando nos

que deste pecado e doutros muytos som enduzudos pelo iogo dos dados asijnadamente em nos loges hu sse usam as Taulageens nas praças E que outrossy rrecregem grandes danos de caioes antre aqueles que estes iogos usam e a outros muytos querendo nos que aqueles que per nos deuem seer rreiudos desto cauidar ao seruiço de Deus os tornar nom esguardando muytas rrendas que nos e aqueles onde nos descendemos ata aqui rrecebemos majs consijrando o seruiço de Deus e a prol de nosso senhorio.<sup>53</sup>

It is almost as if D. Afonso has been reading Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, or has just been present at a particularly dramatic 'hell-fire' sermon, perhaps of the kind that Frei Álvaro Pais is purported to have preached. The document is important not least because it confirms Frei Álvaro's remarks on the kings of *Hispania* - how they have benefitted materially from gambling. But Afonso is willing to sacrifice the income that he would otherwise have received from the *tavolagens*, in the interests of the spiritual well-being of his people. In order to achieve this aim, he introduces a series of penalties designed to deter them from gaming in public or private. Rich and poor alike will be on the receiving end of Alphonsine justice - fines range from twenty *soldi* for *homeens ujs* to five pounds for the better-off. Any money that has been bet in games of chance is to be confiscated - perhaps in this way Afonso hopes to make good his losses from gaming licences? Those unwilling to pay their fines are to remain in jail until they do so, and if after ten days they are still unwilling, or unable to pay up, they are to receive ten lashes *em Concelho publicamente*. The same sentences are applicable to those who can be proved to have gambled after the publication of this law, even if they have not been caught *in flagranti*. And to remove all doubts about the nature of the activities which he is prohibiting, D. Afonso states unequivocally that this law is not restricted to dice games, but 'outro qual iogo quer que sseia'.<sup>54</sup>

Just over a decade later, Afonso IV returns, albeit extremely briefly, to the same matter. In his *Carta Régia sobre o Castigo dos Clerigos* (1353) addressed to D. Jorge, Bishop of Coimbra, the King issues the following command:

E outrosy deve de los amoestar que nom husem de mesteres torpes que non pertence a clerigos, convem a saber que nom sejam jograres, nem bofoens, nen tafues en praça.<sup>55</sup>

The wording of this prohibition is strongly reminiscent of Canon 16 of IV Lateran and its successors. If it does reflect the reality of fourteenth-century ecclesiastical behaviour, then the picture which may be inferred of extra-professional clerical activities is hardly an edifying one.

In the Cluny visitation of 3 May 1349, mentioned in Chapter Two, we saw the thoroughly disreputable Prior of Vimieiro, who, with his accomplice the Prior of Ciudad Rodrigo, killed a man and dissipated the goods and wealth of his priory. *A lusor taxillorum*, he did not perform his clerical duty, 'nec fit ibi cultus divinus', the very sin described by João de Deus in the *Liber Poenitentiarius*.<sup>56</sup>

The next Portuguese source to offer some insights into the evils of gaming is the late fourteenth-century translation, the *Livro das Confissões*. This confessor's manual provides a detailed exposition of the spiritual, if not material danger inherent in games of chance. The compiler of the *Livro das Confissões* opens Chapter 110 of the *Parte Primeyra* with a very firm statement of the Church's ruling on this matter:

Do iogo dos dados cue assaber que he uedado & deffeso & todos os outros jogos de tauolas ou quaaes quer que sejã outros que ena uentura se efforçam segundo as leys.<sup>57</sup>

He enlarges on this initial affirmation, and goes on to offer nine reasons why games of chance lead men into sin. The confessor is instructed to ask the penitent if he has committed any of the following sins. The first of these is the desire to win, *cobijça*, which he defines as *a raiz de todos os maaes*. The second sin is the desire to swindle one's fellow Christian:

O segundo he uootade de esbulhar seu cristão do que ten.<sup>58</sup>



Third on the list is usury, a major medieval preoccupation, and one which is dealt with at length in the *Livro*. The fourth sin is described as one arising out of the language used while these games are in progress:

palauras uaas & mentiras & de contenda & outras peores.<sup>59</sup>

while fifth are the blasphemies and words of heresy, as with:

doestos contra deus & contra os sanctos.<sup>60</sup>

(not a little reminiscent of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* or D. Afonso IV's *Pragmática*). The next sin which he presents is the:

grande occasion & aazo de peccar pera muytos que correm aly de boa mete a mirar & a peccar.<sup>61</sup>

The seventh is the scandal caused to the good and the just, while eighth in the catalogue is the wasting of time and the loss of *muytos bees*. The final item is his enumeration in the scorning of the Holy Church and the flaunting of her prohibitions, not only by the act of playing, but by merely being present when and where such activities are in progress. Once the confessor has established which sins have been committed, he is advised by his handbook which penalties the various categories or transgressor should incur. Those who have taken ordees, should, if they will not accept punishment, be *despostos*, while laymen and those in *meores ordees* are to be excommunicated and cast out of the Church. The manual goes into further detail, mentioning chess as one of the offending games, and classifying them all as *de cobijça e maldade*. Sinners are to be exhorted to give back their ill-gotten gains, especially if these were obtained by using crooked dice. If this is not possible, then the winnings should be given to the poor. Should a member of the clergy have lost money, it is to be refunded to his superior. In the same vein:

Se alguu ganha ou joga alguma cousa que fosse das rendas que os cleerigos ha da egja deue a tornar aa egja se o ha mester & se o non ha.<sup>62</sup>

As elsewhere in the confession manual, the compiler is nothing if not realistic, both in his perception of human weakness and misdemeanour - 'uotade de esbulhar seu christão' - and in his understanding of how best to castigate and exact penance from his erring parishioners:

Assi como aquilo que se ganha en solaz & en plazer quando os homees jogã por tomar solaz & plazer todo se ha de tornar aos proues.<sup>63</sup>

Of course, Martín Pérez's nine reasons for condemning games of chance are not new or original. In the *Liber Poenitentialis* of between 1208 and 1215, Robert of Flamborough places dice games in his section *De rapina*:

Rapinam feciste vel fraudum, vel in ludo vel male computando vel falsis deciis vel vendendo vel emendo?<sup>64</sup>

This corresponds to the 'uotade de esbulhar seu cristão do que ten'. Thomas of Chobham, in *Summa cum Miserationes Domini*, classifies dice games as a completely frivolous pursuit:

Quedam autem ex toto sunt inutilia, ut eorum qui faciunt coronas floridas et decios sive talos ad ludendum.<sup>65</sup>

The uniformity of judgment that we find in Martín Pérez, Pedro de Cuéllar and Álvaro Pais can, in fact, be explained by their drawing on a common source, Raymond of Peñafort. Raymond lists nine, similar reasons why gambling should be condemned and prohibited, among them 'voluntas spoliandi proximum, scandalum bonorum, blasphemia'.<sup>66</sup>

The same spirit of pragmatism prevails in the Constitutions of Archbishop D. João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja, in the Synod of Lisbon, on January 13, 1403:

Item, que nom jugassem os dados a vespera e dia de Natal ataa viii. dias de Janeiro. <sup>67</sup>

Although people are unlikely to abandon dice games altogether, it is hoped that they will at least forego their pleasures on such holy days. That is not to say that the prohibition was to be taken lightly:

Outrosi, requeremos e rogamos ao corregedor e justiças e regedores desta cidade e dos outros logares desse arecebispado que façam comprir e agardar as hordenações e statutos que sobre alguus dos ditos cassos per elles forem fectos, ponindo os que contra elles fezerem segundo se em eles contem, em tal guissa que os statutos e promitimentos per elles fectos e confirmados per nosso senhor el-Rei sejam compridamente guardados e postos em execucom asi como compre a serviço de Deus e prol de suas almas. <sup>68</sup>

Thus the Archbishop has no hesitation in calling upon the civil authorities to reinforce the ecclesiastical legislation which he has promulgated, and which the King, D. João I, has confirmed in his temporal laws.

While the Church uses the threat of excommunication to deter would-be gamesters, the civil laws seem, if anything, more drastic. Titles 40 and 41 of Book V of the *Ordenações Afonsinas*, compiled in 1446, cover the topics of dice and gambling in general. The first of these refers back to D. Dinis' ruling on those who use loaded or crooked dice:

Dom Denis, &c. Estabelleceo e pôse por Ley pera todo sempre que todo aquelle, que armasse, ou fizesse jogar alguum jogo falso, ou em jogo metesse alguus dados falsos, ou chumbados, que moira porem. <sup>69</sup>

To succeeding generations, this ruling must have appeared unnecessarily harsh, particularly if the sum of money in question was not a large one. Consequently, the compiler prefers to prescribe a public whipping, and exile *pera as Ilhas*, with a prison sentence thrown in for good measure. Persons of a certain social status are not, however, to be flogged. Exile to Ceuta is viewed as adequate punishment. <sup>70</sup>

Title 41 repeats D. Afonso's ruling of 1340, then moves on D. Fernando's legislation on dice and gambling. Here, the legal retribution for both players and spectators is again less severe than that proposed by D. Dinis:

Todos aquellos, que jogam aos dados dinheiros secos, e forem achados no jogo, manda elrey que percam as roupas que tiverem vestidas, e sejam daquelles que os prenderem, e jaçam na Cadeia quinze dias; e posto que despois queiram comprar essas roupas, nom lhe sejam vendidas, posto que sobre ellas lancem na almoeda. Outro sy todos aquellos, que olharem o dito jogo, e hy forem achados, percam as roupas, que tiverem vestidas, e jaçam hua noite na Cadea, e sejam essas roupas daquelles, que os prenderem; e se as despois quizerem comprar, sejan-lhe vendidas.<sup>71</sup>

One cannot help wondering to what extent the lawmaker intended to shame people into giving up the dice. The punishments prescribed certainly seem designed to humiliate the criminal as well as inflict material deprivation.

Next in this resumé of Portuguese legal history come the mandates of D. João I. These involve far more detailed prescriptions, perhaps because they were within living memory of the compiler, who might have had access to the relevant documents. Whichever the reasons for the wealth of information offered in this section, it is interesting to note that men were, by implication, in the habit of wagering hens, chickens, ducks, sucking pigs, lambs, kids and rabbits, partridges, nuts, water, wine, vinegar and salt. Betting with such items is strictly illegal, but men are permitted to gamble for wine, provided that it is worth less than twenty *soldi*, and is drunk immediately afterwards.<sup>72</sup> This exception echoes Maestre Roldan's Ley XXXI: 'Aquellos que jugaren vino o cosas de comer en las tafurerias o en otros logares que jueguen sin pena e sin calunia ninguna e que lo coman luego e que lo beban'.<sup>73</sup>

Although these laws of D. João I do not single out the clergy as inveterate gamblers, his *leis jacobinas* of 1419 do include an article that covers activities such as gambling:

Na 31, declara que a competência para julgar os clérigos de Ordens menores, ocupados em ofícios impróprios da sua dignidade, como de goliardo, turageiro, gorjeador ou bufão, durante mais de um ano, pertence aos juizes seculares.<sup>74</sup>

An examination of the *Carta Régia* of 1385 shows that D. João I seems to have based his law against blasphemy on that promulgated by D. Afonso IV in 1340 (see pages 354-354):

It. por que o pecado da brasfemya cõtra deus he huu pecado mui graue, pollo qual testemunho da santa escriptura e dos santos padres deus envya ao poboõ fomes, e pestelências e terramodos, e aas de vezes destroy de todo o poboõ que de tal pecado husa, Ordenam Os sobreditos que neguem nõ Renegue de deus, ne diga cõtra ell ne huas brasfemias, ne palauras de doesto, ne dôtra a ssua adre, ne cõtra os seus santos. E qual quer que o cõtrayro ffezer aja a pena cõtehudas nas leis do Regno. Ellrey.<sup>75</sup>

The compiler of the *Ordenações Afonsinas* does not add any new material to this chapter, but is content to let previous legislation stand:

E vistas per nós as ditas Leyx, mandamos que se guardem segundo em ellas he contheudo, porque somos Acerto, que assy foram usadas e guardadas em tempo dos Reyx, que ante nos foram.<sup>76</sup>

Frei João Sobrinho, mentioned in Chapter Three because of his sermons, also wrote a short treatise on gambling, *De Iustitia Commutativa, Arte Campsoria ac Aleorum Ludo*, which appeared in print in Paris, 1483.<sup>77</sup> This work has been translated into Portuguese by Raul Machado and is the subject of a study by Moses Bensabat Amzalak.<sup>78</sup>

Part three is concerned with three aspects of *o jogo de azar*: why it should be licit or illicit, what happens to possessions that have changed hands during the game, and to whom such goods should be restored. According to Frei João, the game of dice is completely illicit because, more than any other game played by men, it exposes the player to the vagaries of chance, unless he is cheating:

sabem, como se diz, lançar os dados a preceito; isto provém realmente de uma fraude enorme e da agilidade imperceptível das mãos.<sup>79</sup>

Gambling is forbidden because it does not depend on *forças humanas*; it is intrinsically evil, it causes evil, and 'é excessivamente nocivo à sociedade'.<sup>80</sup> Other games are not banned because they are healthy and help men to acquire strength and courage. But if these are played for other reasons, namely *cobiça*, they too are illicit. Games were devised for man's entertainment, not to provoke covetousness or brawls. When this happens, the game becomes illicit, at least in the eyes of the Church, as is the case with jousting:

em que geralmente costumavam dar-se mortes e diversos danos dos homens.<sup>81</sup>

As regards the exchange of money after a game, this is not recommended. As Frei João points out:

é mais seguro jogar por um jantar que por dinheiro a seco, sobretudo para os clérigos, que não devem atender em primeiro lugar à *cobiça* do dinheiro, mas à vantagem do exercício humano e à melhor disposição do corpo.<sup>82</sup>

Physical exercise, then, is quite permissible, even for the clergy. Chess, too, is an acceptable game, because it does not depend on chance, 'mas capacidade e trabalho intelectual do homem pelo qual se aguça a inteligência'.<sup>83</sup>

The treatise is simple and to the point. Frei João's recommendations about restitution of wagers to their rightful owners are unambiguous, and differ very little from those suggested by Martín Pérez:

Se o jogador não for o dono do dinheiro, mas um seu criado, aquela quantia deve restituir-se ao patrão. E se for frade ou monge, deve restituir-se ao seu prior ou abade. E se fôr pároco, ou vigário, ou reitor, e joga com os bens da Igreja, de que não é dono mas só distribuidor, aquele dinheiro deve restituir-se ao seu superior, bispo ou papa, ou podem esses bens empregar-se para utilidade da igreja, especialmente daquela cujos bens perdeu.<sup>84</sup>

Despite the brevity of this tract, and the fact that he has opted for economy of expression rather than lengthy observations interspersed with quotations from the *auctoritates*, Frei João still feels impelled to mention the clergy in connection with gambling, making the point that if they do so, it is with money or goods that rightly belong to the Church. The clergyman is not the *dono* but the *distribuidor*, thus by wagering on the fall of the dice, he is stealing from the poor and needy, or failing to keep up his church building. (Frei João does not say what action should be taken in the event of the clergyman winning large sums of money).

The *Tratado de Confissom* also contains material on gambling and its attendant vices. Under the heading of the Ten Commandments, the confessor is to ask the penitent whether he:

jugou as tavolas ou os dados e se renegou no jogo.<sup>85</sup>

Again we see gambling associated with acts of blasphemy. Next, as part of the general confession that every one must make:

Pequei outrossi nos domingos e festas que n despendi meu tempo nas cousas que me s mandadas per Deus...mas despendi e despedo estes dias em trabalhos corporaaes e em comer e em beber sobejamente e e muito falar e jugar e reneguar.<sup>86</sup>

Like his predecessors, the compiler of the confession manual is anxious about the wasting of time that might be used in other, more spiritually rewarding endeavours. Among the matters to be raised specifically with priests:

- \* Item nenhu sacerdote no deve de beber em taverna tirando se mada camino e esso mesmo nõ jugar dados ne cuca ne tirar com beesta.<sup>87</sup>

Once more, drinking is set alongside gambling, because both take place in taverns and in other such haunts.

For the sin of avarice, the confessor is to enquire:

Se por alguu algo deu alguma sentença em seendo juiz dalguu preito ou se fez agravo alguus seus suditos, ou ciinte mete deu máao conselho alguu por alguum aver se leteras algumas maliciosas. Se foi falso escriptvam, se ladrom, se perjuro, se clérigo jogador, ou eganador. Se os marcos alheos dos agros mudou. Se foi falso mercador. Se fez torto a alguus pobres, ou viuvras ou orfãs.<sup>88</sup>

Clearly gamblers are only one group among many who are guilty of this particular sin.

Interestingly, the wording of this catechism differs only slightly from the earlier work of Pedro de Cuéllar:

¿fuieste juez non derecho? ¿fuste por cobdiçia mal consegere o mal abogado, o ganaste letras maliciosamente, o escriptor falsario, o ladrón, o perjurio, o sacrilego, o judgador, o tiraste los mojones de los términos las tierras?; si guardaste mal las fiestas o si fuiste falso mercador o si fuiste en fazer tuerto a huérfanos o a biudas o a pobres por alguna ganancia mala.<sup>89</sup>

Again, this would suggest that both writers drew on a common source.

The term *jogo* occurs in connection with the sin of luxury, while in the chapter on the different estates, *jogadores* are linked with simoniacal clerics.<sup>90</sup> The confessor is to emphasise the importance of keeping the Sabbath, and not becoming involved in:

cousas çujas e desonestas e bevedices e jogos polas quaes cousas se soe acõtecer que em taes dias de sãctificação se levâtã e cõtedas e e arroidos e e omezios e aas vezes mortes.<sup>91</sup>

The objections to gambling have not changed. Not only is it inherently evil, it leads the players into all manner of situations and sins. Should the gambler be a member of the clergy, he bears the added responsibility of setting a bad example to the faithful and undermining the teachings of the Church by his misdeeds.



According to Eduardo Freire de Oliveira, D. João II took a particularly tough stance as far as gambling and blaspheming were concerned:

No mesmo dia (1 de junho), anno de 1490, sabendo el-reino D. João 2º de Portugal que na praça da Palha da cidade de Lisboa vivia um cavalheiro que dava casa de jogo, a qual era escandalosa pelas juras e blasfemias que n'ella diziam os jogadores, mandou a pregao de justica por-lhe o fogo, e não ficou d'ella outro signal mais que umas poucas cinzas.<sup>92</sup>

The synod held at Coimbra on 12 May 1500 by D. Pedro Vaz Gavião contains two statutes on gambling. The first of these, number sixty one, is based on previous synodal legislation, and prohibits the clergy from taking part in secular activities:

Achamos uma constituição de nossos predecessores em a qual defendem, por ser cousa assaz em abatimento e vilpêndio do estado clerical, que nenhum clérigo constituído em ordens sacras ou beneficiado lutasse, bailasse, dançasse, publicamente, nem andasse con touros em curro, garrochando-os ou alanceando-os, nem tambem andasse em jogos publicos, nem jogasse távolas, cartas, dados, nem outro jogo de sorte, maiormente com leigos a dinheiro.<sup>93</sup>

This is the first reference to games of chance played with cards. Playing cards did not become common until printing could produce identical backs, so that given the late development of printing in Portugal, it is not surprising that playing cards were also a late arrival. That is not to say, of course, that such items were not imported. As the devil in Gil Vicente's *Auto da Feira* says:

Às vezes vendo virotes  
e trago d'Andaluzia  
naipes com que os sacerdotes  
arreneguem cada dia  
e joguem até os pelotes.<sup>94</sup>

Statute sixty-three of the same Guarda Synod imposes the sentence of excommunication on those who keep gaming houses, and their customers, because of the money and other items that change hands, and because:

delo se segue muito blasfemar de Deus e de santa Maria e outros muitos males. 95

One literary work in which we might expect to find numerous references to gambling is the *Cancioneiro Geral*. However, this is not the case. Perhaps because games and entertainments were so integral a part of court life that they were not deemed a worthy topic for either playful or serious verse. Only one poet takes up the theme of games and luck, and he uses this as a metaphor for the game of love. In his *cantiga* to D. Guiomar, D. Luís de Meneses has three verses that could very well be read as conveying the orthodox, religious view of gambling:

Poys nam tenho que perder  
nem espero de ganhar,  
para que quero jugar?

O joguo sempre traz dano  
a quem joga mais verdade  
o ganho vem por engano,  
por bulrras e falsedade.  
E de tal enfermydade  
poucos podem escapar  
se nam deydam de jugar.

O perdido e o ganhado  
tudo vay como nam deue,  
o que menos dita teue  
foy melhor auenturado:  
leua menos emprestado,  
tera pouco que pagar,  
quando quer que o tornar. 96

Up to this point, the language of the poem has been strongly reminiscent of the moralising, didactic material we have seen in confession manuals and doctrinal treatises. But with the final three stanzas, all becomes clear. The poet is lamenting the loss of his lady, and this he does not attribute to ill fortune, but to her own inconstancy:

Leuou-ma, mas nã por ter  
melhores trunfos nem mais,  
com muyto poucos metays,

com muyto menos saber,  
 senam soo por ela ser  
 tal que nunca pod'estar  
 hu ora sen se mudar.<sup>97</sup>

The conceit is a clever one; everything that he says may be applied either to games of chance or to the pursuit of one's lady. D. Luís seems to have enjoyed this word play: he uses it again in a poem to another lady:

No jogou do gauoleyro  
 tem na dama jurdiçam,  
 tem todo poder ynteyro  
 des no rey at'oo pyam.

....Neste jogou de sentido  
 nam se torna o guanhado,  
 o perdido he perdido,  
 o deuido mal paguado.<sup>98</sup>

The similitude may be expressed with more subtlety and refinement, but the underlying idea that carnal love is just another game of chance, is the same notion that we saw in the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*. What the poet does not state is that both are equally proscribed by the Church.

Perhaps the last condemnation of the gambler is best left to Gil Vicente, in the *Auto da Barca do Purgatório*. Of the six dead sinners who come to the quayside for the final judgment, the first four, a farmer, fishwife, shepherd and shepherdess, are guilty only of small sins, and once they have spent some time by the shore, in Purgatory, will be permitted to embark for Heaven. The fifth person to come before the Angel and Devil is an innocent child, and he is helped up into the heavenly boat with no further ado. The sixth and final figure, however, finds himself in an entirely different situation. No sooner does the *taful* come on stage than he is most heartily greeted by the Devil:

O meu sócio, e meu amigo,  
 meu bem e meu cabedal!

Vós, irmãos, ireis comigo,  
que não temestes o perigo  
da viagem infernal.<sup>99</sup>

Understandably, this enthusiasm is not reciprocated, and the gambler tries to use the tricks of his trade to play his way out of this predicament. But not even a royal flush will save him now. There is little wonder that the Devil regards the gambler as his own personal disciple:

oh quanta glória me davas,  
quando à hóstia blasfemavas,  
e desonravas os Santos!<sup>100</sup>

The *taful* then makes his way over to the Angel, with a plea of mercy:

Haverá ca piedade  
dum homem tão carregado?<sup>101</sup>

As is always the case in these highly structured morality plays, the verdict of the Angel differs not one whit from that of his infernal counterpart. The gambler has sinned most cruelly against God and Our Lady. The fact that he was playing a losing game when he blasphemed is no excuse:

Tafules e renegadores  
não têm salvamento.<sup>102</sup>

By sifting through the widest possible set of sources, documentary and literary, ecclesiastical and secular, we have uncovered sufficient allusions to games and gamblers to be able to arrive at certain conclusions. As Mary Ernestine Whitmore has observed:

All games in which dice were used seem to have been particularly popular with medieval persons. Often they were played for money or other stakes rather than for the mere sake of pastime, with the result that gambling and the vices attendant on it created no small number of difficulties.<sup>103</sup>

The volume and perdurability of anti-gambling legislation throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, demonstrates the common and continuing desire of both Church and temporal authorities to eradicate a practice which was at best a nuisance and cause of social disruption, at worst a flagrant moral evil in breach of the laws of God and Man.

The reasons why men, including clerics, should not take part in games of chance are laid down and reiterated by a long series of moralists and lawmakers. There are two distinct though related strands of reasoning. Firstly, what we might term the theological arguments against games and gambling, the notion that such an activity is a challenge to God and his ordinances; men should not place their faith in chance since this is tantamount to worshipping a false god. Those who make wagers are placing their souls in jeopardy because they are likely to take the name of the Lord in vain and to have feelings of *cobiça*. Their covetousness may lead them to commit usury or theft, and because of the nature of gambling dens, there is an equal risk that the gambler will become involved with whores, or kill someone in a drunken brawl. The spiritual dangers, maintain the authorities, far outweigh the possible material benefits. In fact, the prescribing authorities are fully conscious of the material consequences of gambling, the loss of property and of patrimony, or, in the case of the clergy, the wasting of Church monies and goods that might otherwise be used to help the poor. And if gambling is scandalous and in contempt of Church law, how much worse it is when the players or even the *tafuis* are themselves men of the Church. Here the guilt is two-fold: not only is the cleric culpable of the sins described above, he is also guilty of setting a bad example and therefore undermining the teachings and authority of his Church.

Nevertheless, if the literature and documentary sources of the Middle Ages show us how members of the clergy brought the Church into disrepute, they also demonstrate how the same institution responded to clerical misconduct and abuse, with laws and penalties to punish those who had transgressed or deter the would-be delinquent. The criminal acts of the Prior

of Vimieiro have to be balanced against the reforming spirit and pastoral concerns of Martim Peres and D. João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos I*, pages 213-256.
2. Hefele-Leclercq, op. cit., page 1346.
3. Published by Luis Antonio de Villena in *Dados, amor y clérigos. El mundo de los goliardos en la Edad Media europea*, Madrid, 1978, page 121.
4. Ricardo García-Villoslada, *La poesía rítmica de los goliardos medievales*, page 82.
5. Ricardo Arias y Arias, *La poesía de los goliardos*, Madrid, 1970, page 220. Compare this with the *Missa Potatorum et Lusorum*, Ricardo García-Villoslada, op.cit., pages 323-326.
6. Luis Antonio de Villena, op.cit., page 54.
7. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 292.
8. Odette Pontal, *Les Statuts synodaux français I*, page 74. Described by Isaías da Rosa Pereira in 'Manuscritos de Direito Canónico Existentes em Portugal', *Arquivo Histórico da Madeira*, II (1959), pages 241-242. Rosa Pereira published the fragment in *Arquivo Histórico da Madeira*, 13 (1963), pages 28-41, and discussed the borrowing in *L'Année Canonique*, 15 (1971), pages 459-480.
9. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 293.
10. *Liber Poenitentiarius*, in Rylands Latin MS. 153, folios 199-242. I am grateful to Glenis Matheson for her help in obtaining a microfilm of this manuscript. For reliable and authoritative scholarship on João de Deus, see António Domingues de Sousa Costa: 'Cultura Medieval Portuguesa. Notas sobre um Mestre Português em Bolonha', *Itinerarium*, 1 (1955), pages 29-37. Idem, *Doutrina Penitencial do Canonista João de Deus*, Braga, 1956. Idem, *Um Mestre Português em Bolonha no Século XIII, João de Deus*, Braga, 1957. Idem, 'Animadversiones criticae in vitam et opera canonista Ioannis de Deo', *Antonianum*, 33 (1958), pages 76-124.
11. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* XCIX, col. 1106.
12. Jacques de Vitry, *History of Jerusalem*. Translation by A. Stewart, London, 1896, page 89. Cited by Palmer A. Throop in *Criticism of the Crusade*, page 98.
13. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 21.
14. Isaías da Rosa Pereira, 'A Vida do Clero e o Ensino da Doutrina Cristã através dos Sínodos Medievais Portugueses (Séculos XIII-XV)', page 114.
15. Morris Bishop, *The Penguin Book of the Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth, 1971, pages 161-162.
16. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas*, nº 376, page 556.
17. Loc. cit.
18. Ibid., nº 363, page 538.

19. Ibid., nº 288, page 435.
20. Loc. cit.
21. Mettmann, *Cantigas I*, nº 5, page 18.
22. Ibid, nº 24, page 68.
23. Mettmann, *Cantigas I*, nº 38, pages 111-114, nº 72, pages 212-213; II, nº 136, pages 103-104; nº 154, pages 144-145; nº 163, pages 162-163; nº 174, pages 185-186; nº 238, pages 346-348; III, nº 294, pages 108-109.
24. Ibid., Volume II, nº 238, page 346.
25. See Pilar García Moreno, *Libro de ajedrez, dados y tablas de Alfonso X el Sabio*, Madrid, 1977.
26. J. B. Trend, 'Alfonso el Sabio and the Game of Chess', *Revue Hispanique*, 81 (1933), pages 393-403.
27. *Partida 1ª*, V, LVII, page 226.
28. José de Azevedo Ferreira, op. cit., page 249: "*Titulo VIII, Ley LVLLª*. 'Como os prelados de Santa Jgreja nõ deue hir os trebelhas'.
29. Ibid., page 287.
30. *Partida 7ª*, XVI, X, page 645.
31. *Livro das Leis e Posturas*, edited by Nuno Espinosa Gomes da Silva and Maria Teresa Campos Rodrigues, Lisbon, 1971, page 84 (not seen).
32. *Ordenamiento de las tafurerías in Opúsculos Legales del Rey Don Alfonso El Sabio II*, Madrid, 1836, page 216.
33. Bertil Maler, 'Maestre Roldán y su *Libro de las tafurerías*. Un detalle de la legislación medieval contra el juego de azar en la Península Ibérica', *separata from Ibero-Romanskt* 1968, page 74.
34. *Ordenamiento de las tafurerías*, page 217.
35. *Partida 7ª*, XXVII, pages 687-689.
36. *Ordenamiento de las tafurerías*, page 223.
37. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (ed.), *Textos medievales españoles*, page 127.
38. 'Les poètes de nos débats d'armour s'ingénuent à enlaidir les chevaliers pour grandir le prestige des clerks, ils font des premiers une caricature plutôt qu'un portrait'. Charles Oulmont, *Les Débats du clerc et du chevalier dans la littérature poétique du moyen âge*, Paris, 1911, page 21. See also E. Faral, 'Les Débats du Clerc et du Chevalier dans la littérature des XIIe et XIIIe Siècles', *Romania*, 41 (1912), pages 473-517.
39. *Ordenamiento de las tafurerías*, page 223.



40. *Libro de Buen Amor*, page 245.
41. Loc. cit.
42. *Processos de l'arxiu diocesà de Barcelona. Volume I*, page 60.
43. Ibid., page 67.
44. Ibid., page 80. Also, 'Item dixerunt quod P[etrus] Ferrarius dez Casals et B[ernardus] Gili ludunt ad aleas publice et blasfemant Deum', loc. cit.
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46. Ibid., page 90.
47. Ibid., page 118.
48. Christian Guillère, 'Les Visites pastorales en Tarraconaise', page 158.
49. *El catecismo de Pedro de Cuéllar*, page 242.
50. Álvaro Pais, *De Planctu Ecclesiae*, lib. II, cap. 30: *De peccatis Regum*. Cited by António Domingues de Sousa Costa, in *Estudos sobre Álvaro Pais*, page 44.
51. *Espelho dos reis. Volume I*, page 275.
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53. *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso IV (1325-1357)* page 115.
54. Ibid., pages 115-116.
55. Ibid., page 152.
56. *Statuts, chapitres generaux et visites de l'Ordre de Cluny III*, page 433.
57. *Livro das Confissões* 377, folio 57r, col.1.
58. Loc. cit.
59. Loc. cit.
60. Loc. cit. See John Edwards' article dealing with blasphemy, 'Religious Faith and Doubt in Late Medieval Spain: Soria circa 1450-1500', *Past and Present*, 120 (1988), pages 3-25.
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66. Raymond of Peñafort, *De Poenitentia et Matrimonio*, pages 253-254.
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68. *Ibid.*, page 337.
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71. *Ibid.*, page 150.
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73. *Ordenamiento de las tafurerias*, page 225. See Ake Blomqvist, 'Viel espagnol *jugar a seco*', *Romania*, 83 (1962), pages 101-105, and Bertil Maler, 'Encore une fois vieil espagnol *jugar a seco*', *Romania*, 83 (1962), pages 535-540. Idem, "Disquisiciones sobre la legislación peninsular contra los juegos de azar", *separata* from *Ibero-Romanskt* 1970.
74. António Domingues de Sousa Costa, 'Leis Atentatórias', page 529.
75. Eduardo Freire de Oliveira, *Elementos para a História do Município de Lisboa. Volume I*, page 280.
76. *Ordenações Afonsinas V*, page 152.
77. *Bibliografia Geral Portuguesa II*, pages 408-477.
78. Frei João Sobrinho, *De Iustitia Commutativa, Arte Campsoria ac Aleorum Ludo*, in *Frei João Sobrinho e as Doutrinas Económicas da Idade Média*, edited by Moses Bensabat Amzalak, Lisbon, 1945.
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82. *Ibid.*, page 279.
83. *Loc. cit.* The game of chess has apparently acquired new respectability.
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85. *Tratado de Confissom*, page 186.
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87. *Ibid.*, page 202.
88. *Ibid.*, page 203.
89. *El catecismo de Pedro de Cuéllar*, page 200.

90. *Tratado de Confissom*, page 205 and page 207.
91. *Ibid.*, page 216.
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93. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 256.
94. *Copilaçam de Todalas obras de Gil Vicente I*, page 154.
95. *Synodicon Hispanum II*, page 257.
96. *Cancioneiro Geral I*, nº 20, page 64.
97. *Loc. cit.*
98. *Cancioneiro Geral II*, nº 514, page 14.
99. *Copilaçam de Todalas Obras de Gil Vicente I*, page 251.
100. *Ibid.*, page 252.
101. *Loc. cit.*
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## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis has been to explore the topic of clerical misconduct as it is depicted in the satirical literature of medieval Portugal. We therefore opened our discussion by establishing which are the prevailing Portuguese anti-clerical stereotypes, and then compared these with similar characterizations of the clergy in other national literatures. By locating medieval Portuguese literature in its broader European context and examining its relationship to other medieval literary traditions, we were able to demonstrate that the artistic, social and moral preoccupations of writers in Portugal differed very little from those of their peers in Spain, France and England. We did not find any significant differences between national stereotypes of the clergy: the bishops, nuns, monks and friars of literature are all depicted as having the same faults and failing; they all demonstrate the same weaknesses, and they commit the same sins. This would seem to suggest that literary representations of the clergy are part of an ongoing tradition, owing much to well-established conventions and traditions.

The next stage of our analysis involved a process of selection, whereby two clearly defined areas of clerical responsibility, with equally clear expectations, both on the part of the Church and the laity, were singled out for close examination. In Chapters Two and Three, we investigated Portuguese participation in General, National Provincial and Diocesan Councils, and we produced a typology and history of the medieval Portuguese sermon. The findings would, it was hoped, either corroborate or contradict the predominant literary stereotypes of clerical indiscipline and laxity.

Two further fields of activity were considered, chosen especially because they might expose particular types of misconduct by clergy and laity alike, and because they would allow us to see the Church's official response to this wrong behaviour. Material on superstitious

beliefs and practices and gambling offers a clear demonstration of misconduct, personal and collective, and it supplies useful insights into the Church's disciplinary mechanisms, how they are applied and how effective they may be.

How, then, did the realities of clerical conduct compare with the 'fictional' version? On the whole, given the volume of evidence for good conduct by some worthy clerics, it would be wrong to make an unequivocal, sweeping condemnation of the Portuguese clergy in its totality. In order to reach a balanced view, we have to consider the different areas of clerical activity that were examined in Chapters Two to Five of this thesis.

As we saw in Chapter Two, Portuguese attendance at the General Councils was variable, and seems to have depended as much on external, non-religious factors as on genuine piety and concern with spiritual preoccupations. The weakest area of clerical performance was undoubtedly the convoking of National, Provincial and Diocesan Councils. Portuguese clerics were not notably active in these spheres. Even if Portuguese documents and texts have not survived, there should be other sources to inform us about councils and synods held by Portuguese prelates. But this is not the case. The councils and synods do not appear to have taken place. We can justify this failure to some extent, using the argument of Portuguese political instability, or the mitigating circumstance of the Great Schism, or even by attributing blame for this state of affairs to the Popes who appointed foreign (absentee) bishops to Portuguese sees. But there is no avoiding the hard fact that despite the recommendations of IV Lateran and subsequent General Councils, remarkably few councils were held by Portuguese prelates during a period of three centuries. In this area, the Portuguese clergy were undoubtedly negligent, and their behaviour matches the literary stereotype.

On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that in some dioceses at least, and at various junctures, the task of visitation was carried out regularly and with due seriousness. As

stated in the conclusion to Chapter Two, were we not in possession of the visitation articles discovered and published by Isaiás da Rosa Pereira, it would be easy for historians to reach quite erroneous conclusions about an absence of canonical visitations in medieval Portugal. Because these documents do exist, we are in a better position to speculate about the frequency and purpose of visitations carried out in other dioceses. If the visitation articles for Óbidos, Sintra and Mafra are representative of the wider situation, we have been offered a privileged insight into the everyday running of the medieval Portuguese Church, the problems that arise and the solutions found by those clerics responsible for administration and the cure of souls.

As regards the obligation of preaching, not all members of the clergy fulfilled this duty, or that of hearing confession. But, as we saw in Chapter Three, throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there was continuity of preaching. Preaching took place in the most varied range of circumstances, and gave rise to all manner of sermons. By drawing on many different sources, it was possible to establish beyond doubt that many different sections of the clergy were indeed engaged in the task of preaching, even if the texts of their sermons have not survived. Their reasons for preaching may not always have corresponded to our twentieth-century notions of appropriate ecclesiastical conduct; some of the sermons we have listed arose out of political rather than spiritual needs, but this must have been quite in keeping with medieval perceptions of the rôle of the clergy. The Church understood its involvement in society to be total, not partial. Therefore the clergy did not make rigid distinctions between the temporal and the spiritual. Understandably, there were conflicts of interest: certain prelates must have had serious difficulties in serving two masters, their temporal monarch and their spiritual leader. Equally, it must be said, some archbishops and bishops were self-seeking and ambitious; by placing their own interests before those of either the King or the Pope, they brought themselves, their office and their Church into disrepute.

But against these delinquent clerics must be weighed those religious who undertook the chore of composing *ars praedicandi*, compiling collections of *exempla*, and copying doctrinal treatises or confession manuals. It is within these writings that we find evidence to support the assertion that when certain elements of the clergy chose to break their vows and indulge in forbidden pursuits, other clerics responded by criticising and condemning their less worthy brethren through the medium of sermons, and doctrinal literature. No one was more critical of errant clergy than the clergy themselves. Some of the harshest criticisms of the clergy were uttered from within the Church itself, they were not necessarily voiced by lay moralists. This is quite apparent in the profusion of laws and prohibitions that we have seen throughout the three hundred years that elapsed between the convocation of IV Lateran and the staging of Gil Vicente's morality plays. Although it could be maintained that the need to repeat and reiterate certain decrees and laws arose as the direct consequence of continuing clerical laxity and misconduct, the fact that the Church continued to legislate against particular abuses and to proscribe certain types of activity does suggest that the desire for a disciplined, and morally sound clergy continued to be uppermost.

Many aspects of clerical conduct in the Middle Ages cannot be excused or justified. The kinds of behaviour normally held up as models of misconduct are bad enough when they derive from the laity: that the secular and regular clergy should also commit such offences is even less acceptable. Some of the instances of delinquent behaviour that we have seen described in non-literary, ecclesiastical sources, such as the visitation articles, match the literary stereotypes all too well.

The clergy seem to be prone to two distinct kinds of sin. Firstly, sins of omission, which are the direct result of their reluctance, inability or refusal to do what was required or expected of them. In the case of the upper clergy, this would include failure to convoke councils or failure to convoke councils or attend those assemblies convened by others; it could

involve neglect of the parish clergy and their parishioners, or it might mean a failure to offer adequate guidance, encouragement and discipline to monastic communities. Dereliction of duty might take all sorts of forms, all of them ultimately injurious to the reputation and moral well-being of the Church. If canonical visitations were not carried, no control of the lower clergy was being exercised, rulings on misconduct and appropriate measures were not being supplied. In this particular instance, of course, even if a bishop were unable to make a visit in person, he always had the option of deputing a proctor to go in his place.

We have already stated that many different kinds of sermons are known to have been preached in medieval Portugal. Nevertheless, the absence of sermon manuscripts might lead us to conclude that fewer were preached than should have been. If this speculation is well-founded, we have yet another instance of clerical neglect. Sermons are essential in promoting Christian values and regulating good conduct. Only through the medium of the sermon could the clergy pass on to a mass audience the Church's notions of right conduct and impose some degree of social control.

If sermons were not preached regularly, the message was not transmitted. At the same time, the act of preaching did not itself offer any guarantees of clerical success. It was manifestly not enough for a priest or friar to stand up in his pulpit and address his congregation. There is ample evidence that the wrong kind of sermon could do more harm than no sermon at all. The content of a sermon had to be carefully planned and structured if it was to be of any value to its listeners: the preacher should, ideally, give serious thought to its potential impact on his congregation. Inflammatory preaching, as we have seen, could marginalize certain sections of the community, Jews, for example, causing a sense of grievance and eventual social unrest, or at worst, it could spark off a riot and lead to wholesale slaughter and destruction of property. Or, again, a preacher might misjudge his audience and preach the sort of sermon that would undermine the authority of the Church, planting the seeds of



doubt rather than encouraging the growth of faith and belief in the Word of God. An erudite, scholastic sermon preached to a simple lay congregation could alienate more parishioners than it brought to God. Similarly, a burlesque sermon might produce the wrong kind of reaction among its audience, though it might conceivably have given rise to honest amusement that in no way threatened the seriousness with which the Church was viewed by medieval society.

Although it would be naive to believe that all clerics had a duty to sit down and produce manuals or *florilegia*, they might be reasonably expected to maintain a reasonable level of activity within their dioceses and parishes, preaching, hearing confession, and curing spiritual ills. To use the medieval commonplace, just as a doctor cannot properly attend a patient whom he has never visited, the priest can neither bring his congregation to an awareness of evil if he has not preached sermons on the topic, any more than he can prescribe penances for sins committed if he has never heard a parishioner's confession.

One notable instance of the sin of omission is failure to teach by example. This is a crucial aspect of clerical behaviour. The cleric was the living embodiment of the abstract ideals of the Church. The Church prescribed norms of behaviour, and it was his job both to persuade others to observe those norms, but also to put those prescriptions into effect in his own everyday life, in his dealings with the rest of society. He was supposed to demonstrate that the Church's ideals were, with God's help, attainable. If members of the clergy did not even try to live up to the ideals of the Church, why should laymen or women make any effort?

A further consideration is, of course, the privileged position of the clergy within medieval societies. Exemption from taxation, from military service, ownership of property, all of these were acceptable as long as the clergy were seen to deserve their privileges or to be earning the material benefits of their office. But discrepancies between the elevated ideals of the Church, and the routine, habitual behaviour of its functionaries, could easily lead to

resentment and to a diminution of respect for the robes or habit, as well as for the men who wore them. Such feelings could loosen the ties of loyalty and respect that allowed the clergy to operate within medieval society.

We have discussed failure to teach by example; but there were also cases of failure to teach in the active sense of the word. As the guardians of literacy and learning, it fell to the clerics to promote learning and disseminate knowledge. If on the one hand, some clerics committed the sin of evincing excessive pride in learning, other, unlettered clerics could lower standards of teaching, learning, and administration. This in turn caused people to hold the clergy in contempt, as can be seen from the goliardic passages in Gil Vicente, where his friars speak in macarronic Latin and display their ignorance with pride.

In addition to these sins of omission, we should also reflect upon the sins of commission of which certain clerics were guilty. It was not merely the case that some members of the clergy omitted to perform their duties; others behaved in ways that would inevitably cause scandal and outrage. The provocation of *escandalo* is seen as a serious fault, in synodal legislation and in confessors' manuals. What kinds of behaviour were considered scandalous? This question is not easily answered. What might be shocking to a modern scholar could possibly appear quite normal and acceptable to the contemporaries of the offending clerics. In the matter of clerical concubinage, though the clerical ideal was that of chastity, it was taken for granted that priests frequently had wives and children. The formulaic letters of legitimation for the medieval period show that expectations of clerical celibacy were more realistic than we might expect.

As for hunting, this is not seen as an intrinsically harmful activity: clerics are only discouraged from hunting when they allow it to interfere with their ecclesiastical duties, or

when they seek high office out of a desire to be able to afford hawks and hounds rather because of a burning vocation to serve the Lord.

Superstitious belief and practice in medieval Portugal is fairly well-documented. This does not necessarily signify that the Portuguese were any more ridden with superstition than other societies, just that information on the subject has come down to us in synodal statutes, confession manuals and other documents. According to certain sources, some members of the clergy were just as likely to believe in the efficacy of omens and augurs as were the laity, despite having received a clerical education. Nor should we overlook the traditional association between *escolares* and *nigromantes*. Presumably men of letters could use their knowledge to read suspect books and summon devils. On the whole, there is not a vast amount of evidence to suggest that the clergy were particularly involved in superstitious rites or witchcraft. There are occasional suggestions that the clergy use celestinesque bawds to procure women for them, that they have business dealings with witch-like figures. But the ecclesiastical documents we examined in Chapter Five are most interesting because they reveal a genuine attempt by of the clergy to eradicate certain questionable, unchristian practices. This is one of the clearest examples of how the mechanisms of ecclesiastical discipline actually functioned, at the level of the visitation article and the synodal statute, in confession manuals and catechisms, and in sermons and *exempla*.

The topic of games and gambling raises some interesting issues. Like hunting, certain games are not perceived as inherently evil. The problems arise because of the concomitant deeds that ensue: blasphemy, brawling, cheating or theft, loss of goods, keeping bad company, putting one's faith in chance rather than in God - the list of accompanying sins is extremely long, and helps us to understand why the Church kept on legislating against games of chance throughout the period in question. One apparent cause of scandal was not merely clerical participation in such activities, but the running of gambling dens by members of the clergy

themselves. How could a cleric preach against gambling and expect to have his sermon taken seriously if fellow members of the clergy undermined his moral teachings by making a business out of precisely those activities which he had condemned from the pulpit?

In conclusion, we should not be persuaded by the artistic, creative portrayal of the clergy to accept unreservedly an all-inclusive condemnation of the medieval Church and its representatives in Portugal. Our examination of the secular and ecclesiastical literature of the period has shown that not all clerics were predatory, crow-like figures. More than a few approached the ideal of Good Shepherd. The literary stereotypes do reflect the reality of medieval Portuguese society, but it is not the only reality. It is obvious that the clerical behaviour described in documents will be of the extreme variety, either very good, (saintly), or very bad (devilish). The adequately competent and conscientious cleric is least likely to come to our notice. He is not bad enough to attract adverse or unfavourable comments, and not remarkable enough to acquire a reputation for preaching, counselling or demonstrating especially devout behaviour. He is rarely mentioned in literary or documentary sources (letters, chronicles and supplications), unless he has the good fortune to belong to the household of a member of the royal family, the upper nobility, or of a major political figure. There is no need to draw attention to such a cleric if he is simply getting on with the business of the Church. Literary stereotypes tend to focus on one or two traits of character and behaviour, traits which are then embellished or exaggerated for comic or satirical effect. On its own, anticlerical satire does not provide a true picture of clerical behaviour in the Middle Ages. It may give some indications as to how individual members of the conducted themselves, but it is not a reliable measure of the conduct of the collectivity. If we accept the anticlerical stereotype without question, we are discounting the good clerics who did carry out their duties with good words, deeds and examples.

## APPENDIX 1

STATED IDEAL	STEREOTYPED CONDUCT
chaste clergy	unchaste and promiscuous clergy
abstinence, fasting	<i>gula</i> , eating and drinking to excess
learning and wisdom	foolishness, illiteracy and ignorance
praying, preaching, meditating	hunting, gambling, frivolous pursuits
faith in God, observance of the Mosaic laws	superstition games of chance, magic
poverty	acquisition of property symbols of wealth, status
modesty and humility	ambition and pride in worldly things
dignity of individual and institutional	clergy who exercise base professions, brawl, behave like laymen
unity of purpose and observance of norms	squabbling over rights; schismatic popes

# APPENDIX 2

## ECUMENICAL COUNCILS

DATE	COUNCIL	PORTUGUESE DIOCESES, PARISHES, ORDERS, MONASTERIES ETC.
1215	IV Lateran	Braga, Ciudad Rodrigo, Coimbra, Guarda, Lisbon, Oporto, Salamanca
1245	I Lyons	Braga, Coimbra, Guarda, Lisbon, Oporto
1274	II Lyons	Braga, Évora, Guarda, Salamanca, Alcobaça, Santo Tirso
1311-12	Vienne	Braga, Lamego, Oporto, Tuy, Viseu
1409	Pisa	Lamego, Lisbon, Franciscans, Austin Friars
1414-18	Constance	Braga, Coimbra, Viseu, Mestre André Dias
1423-24	Pavia-Siena	Lamego
1431-36	Basle	Braga, Oporto, Viseu, Austin Friars, Dominicans, Benedictines, etc
1437	Ferrara	"
1439	Florence	"
1443	Rome	"

# APPENDIX 3

## NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

DATE	TYPE OF COUNCIL	LOCATION
1261	Provincial	Braga
1262	National	Braga
1310	Provincial	Salamanca
1313	Provincial	Zamora
1322	National	Valladolid
1333	National	Santarém
1335	Provincial	Salamanca
1382	National	Santarém
1426	Provincial	Braga
1470	Provincial	Braga

# APPENDIX 4

## VISITATIONS

DATE	LOCATION	VISITOR
May 1259	Vimieiro	Cluniac visitor
11 May 1264	Vimieiro	Cluniac visitor
1292	Vimieiro, Rates	Cluniac visitor
5 November 1300	S. Pedro de Canedo	D. Geraldo Domingues
9 May 1302	S. Pedro de Canedo	D. Geraldo Domingues
16 April 1312	Vimieiro	Cluniac visitor
1314	Rates	Cluniac visitor
1336	Vimieiro, Rates	Cluniac visitor
7 May 1340	Vimieiro	Cluniac visitor
3 May 1349	Vimieiro	Cluniac visitor
19 April 1377	Vimieiro, Rates	Cluniac visitor



19 November 1458	Santiago de Óbidos	Luís Anes
25 August 1459	Collegiate Church, Guimarães	D. Fernando da Guerra
April 1460	Collegiate Church, Guimarães	D. Fernando da Guerra
9 June 1462	Santiago de Óbidos	D. Afonso Nogueira
1464	Santiago de Óbidos	Pedro Afonso
2 June 1466	São Miguel de Sintra	Lourenço Vaz
June 1466	Santiago de Óbidos	Lourenço Vaz
14 January 1467	São Miguel de Sintra	Álvaro Gil
14 February 1467	Santiago de Óbidos	D. Jorge
February 1467	S. João do Mocharro	D. Jorge
6 May 1468	Santiago de Óbidos	Afonso Anes
28 May 1468	São Miguel de Sintra	D. Jorge
6 February 1469	Santiago de Óbidos	Afonso Anes
10 February 1469	São Miguel de Sintra	Rodrigo Anes

16 November 1469	Santiago de Óbidos	Pedro Afonso
26 November 1469	São Miguel de Sintra	Pedro Afonso
28 October 1470	São Miguel de Sintra	Álvaro Gil
15 November 1470	Santiago de Óbidos	Álvaro Gil
27 June 1471	São Miguel de Sintra	Álvaro Gil
8 July 1471	Santiago de Óbidos	Álvaro Gil
22 May 1473	Santiago de Óbidos	Álvaro Gil
1 June 1473	Santiago de Óbidos	Fr. João Martins
2 June 1473	S. João do Mocharro	Fr. João Martins
17 February 1475	São Miguel de Sintra	João Esteves
22 February 1475	Santiago de Óbidos	João Esteves
2 April 1476	Santiago de Óbidos	João Esteves
16 May 1476	Santiago de Óbidos	João Esteves
25 March 1477	Santiago de Óbidos	Martim Vaz
13 December 1477	Santiago de Óbidos	Afonso Anes

25 December 1479	Santiago de Óbidos	Fernão Caravalho
29 January 1480	São Miguel de Sintra	Rodrigo Anes
10 March 1481	Santiago de Óbidos	Fernando Anes
9 May 1481	Paço de Sousa	Fernão Martins
21 March 1482	Santiago de Óbidos	Fernando Anes
18 January 1485	Santiago de Óbidos	João Esteves
27 April 1484	São Miguel de Sintra	João Álvares
22 March 1485	Santiago de Óbidos	Álvaro Esteves
22 April 1485	São Miguel de Sintra	Álvaro Esteves
28 February 1487	Santiago de Óbidos	Frei João Aranha
28 February 1487	São Miguel de Sintra	Frei João Aranha
30 April 1488	Santiago de Óbidos	Dr. João Gil
18 May 1489	Santiago de Óbidos	
23 March 1490	Santiago de Óbidos	Dr. João Gil
30 May 1490	São Miguel de Sintra	Afonso Gil

1489	Santo André de Mafra	
1490	Santo André de Mafra	
12 April 1491	Santo André de Mafra	Afonso Gil
3 May 1491	Santiago de Óbidos	Pedro Dias
28 April 1492	Santo André de Mafra	
2 May 1492	Santiago de Óbidos	
16 June 1492	São Miguel de Sintra	Diego Lopez
21 March 1493	Santo André de Mafra	Dr. João Gil
23 March 1493	São Miguel de Sintra	Dr. João Gil
28 March 1493	Santiago de Óbidos	Dr. João Gil
15 May 1494	Santiago de Óbidos	
1 June 1494	Santo André de Mafra	
6 June 1494	São Miguel de Sintra	
13 March 1495	São Miguel de Sintra	
15 March 1495	Santo André de Mafra	

6 April 1496	Santiago de Óbidos	João Lopez
1496	Santo André de Mafra	Diego Lopez
1497	Santiago de Óbidos	
1497	Santo André de Mafra	
1498	Santiago de Óbidos	
1498	Santo André de Mafra	
1499	Santiago de Óbidos	Pero Gonçalves
1499	Santo André de Mafra	Pero Gonçalves
1500	Santiago de Óbidos	Pero Gonçalves
25 May 1500	Santo André de Mafra	Pero Gonçalves

# APPENDIX 5

## SERMONS AND PREACHERS

ARMY SERMONS, CRUSADE SERMONS AND PREACHERS OF THE CRUSADE		
12th century	<i>De Expugnacione Lyxbonensi</i>	D. Pedro, Bishop of Oporto; a certain priest
13th century	Braga, Provincial Council	D. Martinho Geraldès
15th century	Lagos	Frei João Xira
15th century	Santa Maria do Carmo	Frei Martinho
15th century	Lisbon Cathedral	Frei Aimaro, Bishop of Ceuta
15th century	Crusading Bull	Frei Afonso Velho, OP
15th century	Before D. Afonso V	
15th century	Crusading Bull	D. João Galvão, Bishop of Coimbra
15th century	<i>Crónica do Príncipe D. João</i>	
15th century	Crusading Bull	Frei João da Póvoa, OFM
15th century	Crusading Bull	Mestre João Mendes
15th century	Crusading Bull	Frei Diogo, OFM

BURLESQUE SERMONS		
15th century	Letter of pardon from D. João II	Rodrigo Álvares, student
16th century	Synodal Statutes	D. Pedro Vaz Gavião, Bishop of Guarda
FUNERAL SERMONS		
14th century	Transfer of Inês de Castro's remains to Alcobaça	Jean de Cardaillac, Archbishop of Braga
15th century	Nuno Álvares Pereira	Mestre Francisco
15th century	D. João I	Frei Fernando de Arroiteia, OP
15th century	D. João I	Frei Rodrigo, OP
15th century	D. João I	Frei Gil Lobo, OFM
15th century	D. João I	Mestre em Teologia
15th century	D. João I	Dr. Diego Afonso Mangancha
15th century	Infante Santo	Frei Afonso de Évora, Prior of S. Domingos
15th century	D. Afonso	Mestre João, OFM
15th century	D. João II	D. Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas, Bishop of Tangier

<b>HOMILIES</b>		
15th century	<i>Livro do mosteiro de Seica</i>	
15th century	<i>Livros do mosteiro do Bouro</i>	
<b>LITURGICAL SERMONS</b>		
13th century	Santarém	Franciscans and Dominicans
13th century	Sermonário	Frei Paio de Coimbra
13th century	<i>Sermones praedicabiles</i>	D. Pedro Julião
13th century	<i>Sermones dominicales et festivi communes</i>	Frei João Gil
15th century	Guimarães	Franciscans, Dominicans and the Collegiate Church
<b>MISSIONARY SERMONS</b>		
15th century	Portugal	Martim Lourenço and the other <i>lóios</i>
15th century	Canary Isles	Frei Estêvão de Loulé, OFM
16th century	Brazil	Frei Henrique de Coimbra, OFM
16th century	India	Pedro de Abreu, OP



<b>PEST SERMONS</b>		
15th century	Lisbon	Mestre André Dias
<b>PREACHERS</b>		
13th century		S. Gongalo do Amarante, OP
13th century	<i>partilha das terras onde pregar, entre entre Porto e Guimarães</i>	Frei João Martins, OP; Frei Lourenço Mendes, OP; Frei Vicente Egas
14th century	<i>Speculum Regum</i>	Frei Álvaro Pais, Bishop of Silves
15th century	<i>O Ceo Aberto na Terra</i>	D. João Vicente
15th century	Supplications	Frei Rodrigo do Porto, OFM
15th century	Supplication	Pedro Gonçalves, Rector of Santa Maria de Óbidos
15th century	Supplication	João Gonçalves, Canon of Silves and Bachelor of Theology
15th century	Supplication	Vasco Tenreiro, Rector of S. Pedro de Torres Novas
15th century	Supplication	Frei Aires, OP

15th century	Supplication	Diogo Gonçalves
15th century	Supplication	João Saraiva, Master of Theology
15th century	Supplication for the Hospital do Espírito Santo	Frei Martinho de Távira
15th century	Supplication	Frei Gonçalves do Porto, OP, Bachelor of Theology
15th century	Letter of privilege, from D. João II	Vicente, Bachelor and preacher
15th century	Frei Diogo Velho, OP,	Visitor of the Province of Spain
15th century	Frei João Dias, OP,	Visitor of the Province of Spain
PREACHING TO COUNCILS		
15th century	Council of Constance	Mestre André Dias
15th century	Council of Pavia-Siena	Mestre André Dias
15th century	Council of Basle	Frei André do Prado

<b>PREACHING HERESY</b>		
14th century	Coimbra	Afonso Geraldès, Bachelor of Theology
15th century	Guimarães	Frei João de Vila Franca
<b>PREACHING TO HERETICS</b>		
13th century	Santarém	Frei António de Santarém
13th century	Alenquer	Frei Zachary of Rome
<b>PREACHING AGAINST JEWS</b>		
26 January 1481	Braga	Mestre Paulo
15th century	Santa Maria do Carmo	Frei João Sobrinho, O.Carm.
<b>PREACHING BEFORE THE POPE</b>		
15th century	Sermo ad clerum, before Martin V	Mestre André Dias
15th century	Orationes, before Alexander VI	Martinho de Viana
<b>PREACHING THAT LEADS TO RIOTS</b>		
15th century	Lisbon	Frei Vasco de Alagoa

PREACHING TO SYNODS		
14th century	Pombeiro	Jean de Cardaillac, Archbishop of Braga
14th century	Sermon <i>in loco de Chambus</i>	Jean de Cardaillac, Archbishop of Braga
15th century	Braga	D. Fernando da Guerra
ROYAL PREACHERS		
14th century	D. Isabel	Frei Salvado Martins
14th century	D. João I	Frei Afonso de Alprão
14th century	D. João I	Frei Vicente de Lisboa, OP
14th century	D. João I	Frei João de Xira
15th century	D. Henrique	Martim Pais
15th century	Infante D. João	Vasco Gil
15th century	D. Afonso V	Frei Afonso do Paraíso, OFM
15th century	D. Afonso V	Frei Gonçalo Mendes, OP
15th century	D. Constança, Duchess of Bragança	Frei Estêvão de Guimarães

15th century	D. Afonso V	Frei Afonso de Lorvão, OP
15th century	D. Afonso V	Frei Afonso de Évora, Prior of S. Domingos
15th century	D. Afonso V and D. João	Frei Diogo de Coimbra, OP
15th century	D. Afonso V	Frei João Sobrinho, O.Carm.
15th century	D. João II	Frei Álvaro Correia, OP
15th century	D. João II	Frei Álvaro da Torre, OP
15th century	D. João II	Frei Pedro Dias, OP
SCHOLASTIC SERMONS		
14th century	England, France, Spain	Frei Tomás de Portugal
14th century	Portugal	Frei Rodrigo do Porto, OP
15th century	Cologne, Oxford, Portugal	Frei Fernando de Chelas, OP
15th century	Salamanca and Lisbon	Diogo Gonçalves

SERMO CASUALIS		
13th century	Thanksgiving sermon, Order of Santiago	D. Pedro, Bishop of Évora
14th century	Thanksgiving sermon after Battle of Salado	
14th century	Preaching in Évora to stop rains	Frei Afonso Abelho
14th century	Portugal's adherence to the Avignon Obedience	D. Martinho, Bishop of Lisbon
14th century	Thanksgiving for lifting of siege of Lisbon	Frei Rodrigo de Sintra, OFM
14th century	Thanksgiving sermon in Lisbon Cathedral	Frei Pedro, OFM
14th century	Thanksgiving sermon in Santa Maria da Escada, after Aljubarrota	
14th century	Wedding of João de Avis and Philippa of Lancaster	D. Rodrigo, Bishop Ciudad Rodrigo
14th century	Dispensation of D. João to marry Philippa of Lancaster	Frei Rodrigo de Sintra, OFM

15th century	Victory sermon at Ceuta	Frei João Xira
15th century	D. Lianor's wedding to the Emperor Frederick III	<i>Um notável doutor</i>
15th century	Departure of D. Lianor to meet her bridegroom	D. Pedro de Noronha
15th century	Victory sermon at Arzila	Frei Nuno Álvares de Aguiar, Bishop of Morocco
15th century	Foundation of Trinitarian Convent, Évora	
16th century	Sermon at Belém, on the departure of the Portuguese fleet for the Indies	D. Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas, Bishop of Tangier
16th century	Thanksgiving sermon, on discovering Brazil	Frei Henrique de Coimbra, OFM
16th century	Sermon to crew and to Indians, Brazil	Frei Henrique of Coimbra, OFM
16th century	Thanksgiving sermon to mark the return of Duarte Pacheco from India	D. Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas, Bishop of Tangier

<b>SERMO VULGARIS</b>		
13th century	<i>Legenda</i>	S. Pedro Gonçalves Telmo
14th century	<i>Livro de pregações</i>	Frei Vicente de Lisboa, OP
<b>SERMON FOR ADVENT</b>		
15th century	Council of Basle	Frei André do Prado, OFM
<b>SERMONS TO ENCOURAGE PILGRIMAGES</b>		
13th century	Lisbon Synodal Statutes, 1240, nº23	
<b>SERMONS TO RAISE RANSOMS</b>		
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