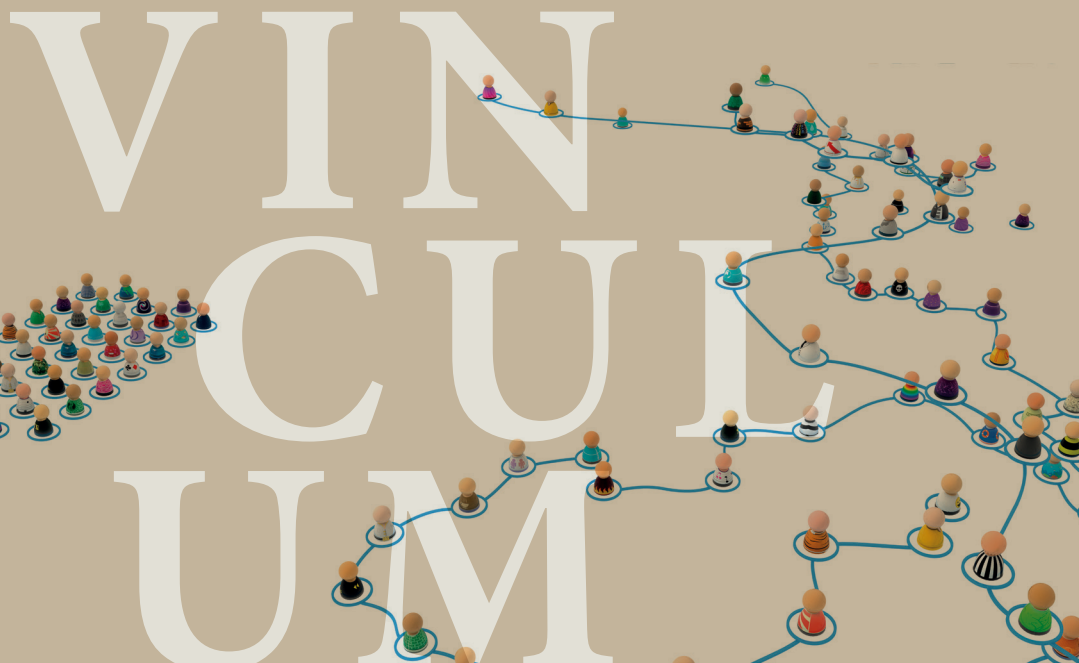


HISTORICAL AND ARCHIVAL STUDIES /
ESTUDOS HISTÓRICOS E ARQUIVÍSTICOS



(dir. Maria de Lurdes Rosa)



Entails in the Portuguese territories, 14th to 17th centuries:
the social agency of a corporate body - Volume 2

**POWER: ENTAILMENT, STATUS,
AND SOCIAL MOBILITY
(14TH - 17TH CENTURIES)**

Ana Rita Rocha



PROJETO VINCULUM

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“Walk in the footsteps in which your fathers’ virtue hath already walked! How would ye rise high, if your fathers’ will should not rise with you?”

Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*





PRESENTATION

Maria de Lurdes Rosa

VINCULUM project's four volumes of *Historical Studies*, which are now being published, were conceived as complementary pieces in response to a central hypothesis, supported by another collective endeavour: the compilation of an extensive documentary survey and its transformation into a database that served as the foundation for all the books. The Introductions made by the authors of each volume highlight their respective specificities and bear witness to the independent decisions of autonomous and experienced researchers, who often took their own direction in relation to the initial project, as expected and encouraged. This Presentation, which is common to all the four books, can thus refer to the work of pursuing a shared hypothesis and an overall research plan, which are essential to explain here in order to understand what has been achieved. Subsequently, I shall take the liberty of composing a "quasi-chronicle" of a scientific endeavour that was also a great experience of human conviviality around the 'historian's craft', beloved by us all.

The hypothesis

The research programme of the VINCULUM project, as outlined in its European Research Council (ERC) proposal, was based on an extensive *State of the Question*. This described the analytical richness of historiography on entails while identifying open questions to be addressed through the development of major empirical enquiries, the connection of historiographical traditions, and, above all, the exploitation of the opportunity to propose innovative interpretations.



The central hypothesis to be demonstrated was the corporate nature of entails as entities endowed with their own social agency.

In previous historiography, entailment had been studied either from one-sided perspectives (legal, social, cultural) that played down its wholeness, or from the point of view of site-specific monographs that scarcely problematize the broader issues. VINCULUM project argued that only by considering the whole could the phenomenon be understood, the more so because the autonomy (for analytical purposes) of the spheres of politics, economy, society, religion, etc., corresponds to an epistemological paradigm belonging to a different society. Departing from the Portuguese-Iberian case, the proposal has been to study ‘entailment’ as a diverse but pivotal practice, one embedded in law, aristocratic discourse, and kinship-based organization, and to craft a definition that takes into account this global nature. VINCULUM was grounded on the analytical importance of the idea that entailment, a corporate body, was a key social agent as such. As such, only by assuming that this specific legal subject is the social agent, created and acting within a specific kind of society where non-personal legal subjects were normal, would it be possible to bring out and analyse the historical problem, apprehending entailment in its entirety and in the totality of its functions.

Scientific objectives for its realisation

To achieve this, a set of scientific objectives was devised, namely:

- To develop and follow a roadmap of concepts, historiography, and new theoretical approaches (notably by adopting the perspective of historical anthropology, offering a novel treatment of sources, and expanding the spatio-temporal boundaries of analysis).
- To gather and structure documentary information according to theoretical principles rooted in the epistemology of sources, beginning with a comprehensive reconstruction of the contemporary system of information production, followed by the study of archival preservation and the custodial history of these records.



To develop and test the hypothesis of entails such as legal body, made of persons, goods and corporate identity. In fact, no other semi-formal institution has managed to function for so long or with such a central social role as the entail; its strength managed to compete with much stronger institutions, and relegated other familial corporate bodies to a second plan. Entailment provided a brand for the group that lived around the entails – seat, name, symbols, internal norms created to govern internal and external relations, a script and legal forms for using wealth and for the prevention of its loss. It was reproduction-oriented. It embodied the model par excellence of nobility and as such ruled over the way to maintain or achieve it. To understand this objective, it were analysed its basic components, which functioned together to achieve the institution’s aim: structuring a specific kind of family, maintaining or gaining power, lasting perpetually around the same essential origin.

The central structure of the research program was therefore designed around what are defined as the central components of the agency of the entailment corporate body – kinship, power, identity – to propose a new concept for the phenomenon. Profiting from what was considered an excellent lab, the project was also set to verify how what could be termed “entailment societies” functioned in the specific context of the colonization of the Atlantic territories.

Definition of analytical fields and methodologies of analysis

Following the ERC project proposal’s structure, analytical fields for the exploration and validation of the hypothesis were defined, alongside a set of methodologies to achieve the objectives – what may be evocatively termed the design of the research programme. Each of these fields was subsequently configured into a specific subproject. The construction of the database, the first subproject, is explained in the accompanying documentation¹. The remaining fields, which were expected to result in four

¹ <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/>, “About” and “Information”.



monographs, correspond to subprojects 2 through 5, and their main output are the *Historical Studies* now published. Let us briefly outline these subprojects².

(Sub)project 1, “Kinship and family – entailment structure, lineage, house” had as central goal to define what can be called “entailment kinship”, a particular configuration of kinship bonds that has a threefold specificity: i) a capacity (and need) to combine vertical descendancy with the maintenance of large groups of relatives from the horizontal branches; ii) a conceptualization of the founder that combines elements from theology and juridical thought with older nobility values of lineage leadership; iii) an institutional framework that turns this manipulated kinship group into a corporate body, with its own internal norms and rule. The methodological pathway consisted mainly in the construction and analysis of case studies were to be set forth from the database materials to examine how entailment affected kinship relations.

As for **(sub)project 2, “Power – Entailment, status and social mobility”** it dwelt on the historiographical consensus on the strong relationship between entailment practices and social power, a cornerstone of the main historiographical interpretations of the role of the entail in the maintenance of aristocratic status and the creation of the ethos of nobility and came to function as a parameter of social achievement, turning its foundation into a necessary step in social climbing. The main objective in this subject was to understand exactly how both trends functioned, combined and rivalled each other. The time span chosen by VINCULUM was here fundamental, since it related to societies enduring processes of change, territorial expansion and internal organization (new nobilities, ascension of non-noble elites, affirmation of the importance of purity of blood parameters in the access to power structures, the Crown’s growing centrality). Concerning the construction of research, different case studies were drawn from the database materials, concentrating on the most relevant cities and applying a common questionnaire.

² The project is now available in full on the website, where the subprojects’ configuration may be explored in detail - <https://www.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/about/>.



Considering (sub)project 3, “Identity – Entailed corporate bodies: innerness, community, exterior relations”, the focus was on the identity of entails as corporate bodies, superior to the human agents encompassed therein, throughout the generations, with the powers of administrators being limited. Such existence was possible because of the institutional nature of entails, and to understand the core of the entail will be the starting point of the study. When entails started to grow, they quickly replaced the figurehead of the lineage with that of the founder. It would have been a major change and a very good option. The founder would become, after his founding act, and even more so after his death, a legal person, whose will was the law, enabling an institutionalization of the kinship he consecrated. The founder managed internal relations departing from a Christian version of the *patria potestas*, inserted in a paradigm of affective and redistributive paternalism, combined with the triumph of the idea that the virtues of blood were transmitted by primogeniture, in the direct line of the founder himself. Methodologically speaking, the signals of such identities will be identified from among the entails in the database, categorized and analyzed as to their actual functioning, aiming at define the meaning of corporate identity.

Finally, with (sub)project 4, “Entailment societies? Entails and colonization of the Atlantic territories”, the central objective was to reunite the three parameters previously studied and to observe the agency of the entail corporate body in what can be referred to as a laboratory. The use of the laboratory metaphor is both historiographical (combined analysis of medieval–modern–maritime expansion history, insertion of the hypothesis of the dynamics of feudal society) and historical (the islands were unpopulated and the society was organized from the ground). Combining quantitative analysis and qualitative insights, as supplied from the database, this project was planned around the concept of “entailment societies” as derived from “slave societies”, and sought to globally investigate how the Atlantic islands as uninhabited territories were socially captured through entailment, and the consequences of this.



This comprehensive roadmap marked the beginning of the VINCULUM project in June 2019, with a phased approach that appeared both robust and feasible: to complete the documentary surveys and input the data into the database in the first two years; to update the enquiries accordingly, prepare and draft the monographs during the following three years. These plans, however, were altered just a few months after the project began, as soon as the first team was assembled, necessitating a profound reorganisation. On the one hand, from March 2020 the COVID-19 pandemic posed significant challenges, particularly limiting access to archives and libraries and delaying the prompt resolution of central Information Technology issues within the project. On the other hand, and even more persistently, archival realities proved to be a major obstacle. While the types of archival collections targeted for research aligned with the original plan, the overwhelming volume of documentation encountered in some cases, coupled almost invariably with inadequate documentary descriptions, required adjustments.

These challenges were addressed with the ERC's flexibility regarding the adaptation of the plan and the granting of an additional semester. They were also mitigated by the enthusiasm and professional dedication of the excellent team assembled by VINCULUM from the outset. Consequently, instead of beginning in June 2021, the preparation of the *Historical Studies* commenced in August 2022, with the recruitment of the four postdoctoral researchers (PDs) envisaged in the original proposal. Fortunately – reflecting the strong collaborative relationships within the team – it became possible to promote two researchers previously responsible for the documentary surveys and database development, Ana Rita Rocha and Arthur Curvelo, to postdoctoral positions after they completed their PhDs a few months after their initial recruitment. The team was completed with the hiring of two additional recently graduated PhD researchers: Rita Sampaio da Nóvoa and Miguel Aguiar. Noteworthy is the diversity of institutional affiliations, academic training, and the internationalisation of the doctoral backgrounds of the postdoctoral researchers, which greatly enriched the team. Their qualifications include doctorates from institutions such as the Universidade de Coimbra – Faculdade de Letras; Universidade de Lisboa – Instituto de Ciências Sociais; Universidade



Nova de Lisboa – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas & U. Paris I– Panthéon–Sorbonne; Universidade do Porto – Faculdade de Letras & U. Paris I– Panthéon–Sorbonne.

The work of preparing the books initially unfolded with a strong sense of collective engagement, as it was essential to convey the hypotheses to be tested – or inferred! The ongoing development of the database, which already contained thousands of documents with no sign of slowing down, was a concern shared by the entire team. A timeline for what we might call “individual reflection” was established to ensure the collective effort could proceed with minimal disruption. It was decided from the outset to include two initial chapters in all the books, dedicated respectively to historiography and the “documentary landscape,” the latter discussed in detail in group meetings. Between March and April 2023, the researchers revised the design of their respective research project and defined the criteria for constructing their documentary samples. With the structures for the specific parts of each book refined, the now–designated “Historians” embarked on their individual tasks, reformulating their initial questions based on personal decisions and drafting the books – first in Portuguese and later overseeing the revision of their English translations. The progress of the work was presented and debated during coordination meetings, which were crucial moments for ensuring coherence in this collective research endeavour.

It should be noted that, in addition to their monograph, each postdoctoral researcher was required, according to the original proposal, to organise a science communication event, conduct a postgraduate–level training activity, and submit an article to a peer–reviewed publication. Over these years, each researcher fulfilled these obligations, in some cases exceeding the expected number of outputs. A further issue arose when Arthur Curvelo decided to pursue a permanent academic position at universities in Brazil, a country to which he had returned for personal and professional reasons. While he continued contributing to the project as much as possible, the solution adopted, which posed no significant difficulties, involved maintaining the work Arthur had already completed and awaiting his further contributions on Brazilian entails within a broader framework.



This was complemented by engaging new collaborators. For the entails of Cape Verde and São Tomé, Miguel Geraldês Rodrigues, a PhD graduate of yet another institution, the European University Institute, was brought in. For the entails of Madeira, Ana Madalena Trigo de Sousa, a PhD researcher at the Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, joined the team, marking an excellent new collaboration between VINCULUM and the Madeira Archive and Library, where this centre is based. The entails of the Azores will be addressed through a collective effort by the team.

It would be remiss not to mention the master's researchers who continued, over these years, to contribute to the documentary surveys and database development, even if they did not directly participate in writing the books. This task proved far more challenging than initially anticipated due to the nature of the documentation and deficiencies in archival descriptions. An additional, albeit positive, factor was the high standard voluntarily adopted for the database: constructing a "guide of the information system"; creating three repositories of information (archival institutions, authority records, and documentary descriptions) in compliance with archival standards; providing diplomatic descriptions of items to preserve documentary transmission; following rigorous verification of authentic documentation; adhering to the formal parameters defined in the survey for included documentation; and writing all entries in English. The "basistas," as they became known, also undertook science communication activities and authored texts – many of which were not initially planned but were enthusiastically embraced whenever the opportunity or idea arose.

It is time to conclude. I would say that, in the end, this presentation-chronicle was written somewhat in reverse: the expression of satisfaction comes at the end. This does not diminish the contentment, for it is justified through the gradual exposition to the reader of what became a scientific adventure we will never forget – one that made us better scientists and better people. We thought, planned, worked, and faced difficulties, resolving them together. Our approach was rooted in a profound respect for *Histoire-problème*, for scientific freedom, and for the definition of theoretical problems based on the materials themselves. We believe this



approach makes a difference and ensures the quality of our results. The Historical Studies you are about to read stand as evidence of this, and I extend my heartfelt thanks to all their Authors for the dedication, enthusiasm, and rigour they brought to their work. Now, only the fifth and final book of the series remains, under my responsibility. It was envisioned as a monograph presenting the historiographical and conceptual issues and providing a broad picture of entailment, as well as a synthesis of the results obtained in the different projects. It hopes to reconsider the problem according to the proposed model, testing it and opening new avenues for future interpretations. Above all, it will be a work that is indebted to and enriched by the extraordinary efforts of this remarkable team.





FOREWORD

The entailment of property served as one of the principal mechanisms for socio-economic perpetuation and social advancement among European families during the *Ancien Régime*. In Portugal, family aspirations were channelled through the systems of *morgados* and chapels. This book examines the entailment of Portuguese assets as a means of social advancement and the consolidation of familial power, offering an exploration that spans the broad historical framework of the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

The current historiographical landscape is richly populated with studies that explore various mechanisms of social mobility, which allowed permeability between different social estates. Among these mechanisms, it has been demonstrated that the entailment of property functioned as a means of social ascent for families and, conversely, as an effective instrument for consolidating their power. The vast historiographical output in this field of study is evident in the first chapter of this work. In the state of the art, the author conducts an extensive review of the literature related to processes of social mobility and systems of property entailment. This provides a valuable historiographical contribution and is immensely useful for the reader.

However, while there has been a marked increase in studies examining systems of property entailment in recent years, there remains much to be explored. The complexity of the institution itself, as well as regional peculiarities, socio-economic contexts, and family-specific characteristics, still hold numerous unanswered questions. What mechanisms were employed by these families? Can we identify patterns in family strategies? To what extent did socio-economic and geographical context impact social mobility?



Ana Rita Rocha's book seeks to address these questions through a comprehensive documentary sample presented in the second chapter. Across various sections, the author meticulously explains the sources employed, their characteristics, and the methodology used in constructing the documentary sample. The bulk of the sources used are preserved within the *Vinculum* Project's database. The author highlights the importance of reconstituting archival records, as well as the role of the institutions that produced these records. Accordingly, several sections are dedicated to documentation generated by the Crown, ecclesiastical institutions, and, importantly, family archives, which hold particular significance.

Using extensive and varied archival documentation, Ana Rita Rocha conducts a comparative study of four Portuguese cities: Santarém, Évora, Porto, and Lisbon. The following chapters of the book focus on each of these cities, where the author provides a detailed account of the reasons for selecting each city, their socio-economic contexts, a prosopography of the founders, and ultimately, a comparative and reflective analysis. The choice of these four cities proves ideal, as demonstrated throughout the work, due to their shared characteristics and, more importantly, their unique distinctions. For instance, Santarém's connections with India, Évora's emphasis on municipal power and service to the Crown, Porto's role in overseas trade and the rise of a socially ascending mercantile bourgeoisie, and Lisbon's importance as the kingdom's capital. The analysis of these four cities offers a broad perspective on the many facets of property entailment, as Rocha adeptly demonstrates.

Through this work, readers delve into and gain an understanding of the diverse social strata involved in entailment in one form or another. The wide temporal scope, spanning from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, allows for the recognition of different historical phenomena. For example, the author highlights the role of knights during the medieval *Reconquista*, alongside merchants, the nobility, and the significance of the royal bureaucracy, particularly in Lisbon, in the early modern period. This chronological and geographical journey immerses readers in the distinct historical realities, linking economic, social, and political elements within which these families operated. The relationships between



founders and other social actors are significant, such as Santarém's connection with mendicant orders in the process of entailment, as well as the importance of clergy in social advancement. In the case of Lisbon, the presence of knights from military orders in the seventeenth century, particularly from the Order of Christ, is also notable.

Broadly speaking, a compelling idea is the symbiosis between the Crown and the process of property entailment on multiple levels, as the author notes. The presence of the Court and the king fostered administrative, political, economic, and social structures that facilitated social mobility. Furthermore, the author does not confine her analysis to property entailment alone but examines a range of mechanisms within family trajectories, allowing for a deeper understanding of this complex phenomenon. In this regard, the text highlights the significance of marriage strategies for social advancement, as seen in cases like the Carneiro family, among others. The analysis of women's role in managing the household economy is another recurring theme, with the author emphasizing notable examples, such as the Lobo lineage, which reveals the prominent role of women, especially during widowhood. Another noteworthy section is dedicated to the less-studied topic of Asian maritime expansion, in contrast to the more frequently studied Atlantic Indian expansion. The author presents significant aspects, such as the *cursus honorum* of Pantaleão Ferreira, who sent his descendants to Asia to boost their social standing. Ana Rita Rocha explores how the presence of Portuguese families in places like Macau, among other key locations, became a pathway for social ascent. This contribution is particularly valuable, as it frames early globalization from a social rather than purely economic perspective.

Throughout the chapters, Ana Rita Rocha employs an analytical methodology to present a broad and highly illustrative array of cases showing the processes of social mobility or power consolidation within families, where property entailment served as the core of their strategies. The author demonstrates how entailment served a dual purpose: either as a means of social ascent or as a tool for the perpetuation of power. In both cases, the importance of preserving memory and transmitting symbolic capital, which helped shape the family's identity, is revealed. For this reason,



Ana Rita Rocha highlights the significance of the representation of power within these families, through chapels, their ornamentation, and the role of patronage. The mimicking of noble practices – *living nobly* – was a fundamental aspect of the *Ancien Régime*, explaining the importance of the family name as a distinguishing feature for consolidating power and preserving the memory of the founders, making it a prominent element of familial identity. Moreover, the author emphasizes the importance of the founders' recognition of their ancestors when establishing *morgados* and chapels, often specifying this through various clauses in founding documents. Recognition of ancestors was crucial, even to conceal doubts about the family's honour and status, as the author notes in the case of Lisbon, where families sought to erase Jewish origins or any social stigma that could hinder their social projection.

In sum, Ana Rita Rocha's book examines the complex processes of social ascent and consolidation of power through a significant and distinguished selection of documentary evidence, taking into account the many facets of this process. Throughout these pages, we gain a better understanding of the workings of *morgados* and chapels as essential tools for the social projection of families. Furthermore, the author's exhaustive documentary analysis provides a window into the structural aspects of *Ancien Régime* society, enabling us to comprehend various complex historical processes through the phenomenon of property entailment. Indeed, Ana Rita Rocha's work stands out as a deep and rigorous study, making a significant contribution to this increasingly prolific field of historiography. Her research spans multiple aspects, phenomena, and contexts, allowing us to piece together the mosaic of historical reality.

Dr. Isabel M^a Melero Muñoz

Universidad de Sevilla



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This book is the culmination of five years of work, research and learning in the VINCULUM project. It has benefited from the support of a group of people and institutions who have contributed greatly to its outcome. I would like to acknowledge them all.

Firstly, I would like to thank Professor Maria de Lurdes Rosa, principal investigator of the VINCULUM project, for her careful coordination of this work, as well as for her friendship and willingness.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1863, amongst the wave of new liberal ideas and ideals, entails (both *morgados*¹ and chapels) were abolished throughout Portugal. It was, in part, the end of the society of the Ancien Régime and in another, the beginning of one that sought individual freedom, social equality and the liberation and free movement of land. For centuries, these institutions had shaped behaviour, identities, families, kinship ties and society itself. Through them, the founder, whose will became internal law, gathered part of the family's assets under the legal framework of a *morgado* or chapel, administered by a successor of their choice. From then on, the entail would regulate relations amongst family members and then between them and the rest of society, as well as establishing its own forms of property management.

The entails, conceived from a perspective of perpetuity and connecting living, dead and future relatives, were corporate bodies, made up of people, assets and a corporate identity. They also had a social agency, which dominated the actions of their members, both inside and outside the institution. While some social groups, namely the nobility, founded entails as a strategy to maintain their status and power, other groups established *morgados* and chapels as a means of social ascension. In both cases, these institutions acted as guarantors of the power and lineage of their founders and contributed to their social affirmation.

¹ In Portuguese, corresponding to the Spanish *mayorazgo* and the English entail.



Based on these ideas, this work focuses on power, one of the components that characterise entails as corporate bodies, along with kinship and identity. In this sense, its main objective is to understand how entailment practices and social power functioned, combined and rivalled each other. It also aims to assess the role of entails in maintaining aristocratic status and power and, furthermore, in the processes of social ascension of lower groups who aspired to achieve nobility. In fact, national and international historiography has shown that *morgados* and chapels functioned as criteria of social conquest and, through their institution, were seen as a fundamental step in upward social mobility. It is therefore proposed to verify the theories – for the Portuguese case and from a more global perspective – that argue that, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, urban elites systematically utilised the creation of entails as a means of social advancement and consolidation of their parental groups, and that the nobility, for their part, sought to monopolise the main *morgados* and chapels, using these institutions to maintain the power they had acquired, often thanks to a previous process of social climbing. In keeping with the limits set by the VINCULUM project, this analysis has been carried out in the long term and surpasses the time limits traditionally defined in academic research, covering the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. In this way, it will be possible to understand the evolutionary processes that Portuguese society went through, particularly in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period and during overseas expansion, which had a very clear influence on the establishment of entails.

Given the objectives of the work, a roadmap of questions to be answered has been drawn up. Firstly, it is necessary to understand who established entails, particularly within the group of urban elites, sociologically and professionally characterising the men and women who founded *morgados* and chapels without discounting their family origins. In this respect, the fates of the families who managed to rise socially should also be examined, in order to understand their subsequent path and their integration into the higher social classes, which required a change in behaviour and adaptation to different, typically aristocratic ways of life. On the topic of social mobility, the adoption of the entailment model by urban elites influencing the maintenance or increase of their social status will be considered.



Likewise, it is important to question whether it is possible to discern patterns of ascension among these groups, for example, whether the different families of the elites resorted to common strategies to reach the highest groups in the social hierarchy. Given these processes of ascension, how did *morgados* and small chapels function in this context? How did they contribute to social mobility and consolidate the power of urban elites within the communities where they were established? Furthermore, given that the focus of the work is on the groups that held political and social power in the main cities of the kingdom, how did entailment, as a means of social ascension, coincide with other forms of access and maintenance of power, namely holding municipal office or membership of important confraternities and brotherhoods? Finally, the analysis of the documentation leads to another question, which reinforces the overall understanding of entailment and the power component: how did the various aspects of entailment described in the foundation documents manifest or externalise the power of the founders and their families? In particular, reference is made to the obligation to use the family name and coat of arms, the practice of producing documentation and its subsequent archiving, the ornamentation and architecture of the chapels, sometimes described in great detail, the family tombs and even the relations established with the civil and religious authorities.

In order to answer all these questions, and in accordance with the overall objectives of the VINCULUM project, a methodology was defined that considered the institution of entails by Portuguese urban elites in the Ancien Régime, starting by determining the sphere of analysis. To commence, the initial point was the material collected in the VINCULUM project database, totalling more than 7,000 entails as archival institutions established between 1300 and 1700, more than 17,600 authority records for individuals and more than 26,500 item-level archival descriptions corresponding to the documents produced by those entails². All the *morgados* and chapels have been geographically indexed through this resource, archival fonds, and according to the current Portuguese municipalities or, in cases where their location is unknown or the institution is

² The VINCULUM project database is available online at the following address: <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2024].



based on other types of assets other than property, with generic terms that indicating an uncertain location³, totalling 284 “place access points”⁴.

Faced with such a large amount of information and the impossibility of considering it as a whole in this study, it was necessary to make a choice and define a methodological strategy capable of responding to the previously defined objectives. Thus, the analysis of the entailment component of power and the institution of entails by urban elites involved selecting case studies from the documentation gathered in the database, focusing on the most relevant cities in the kingdom throughout the medieval and modern periods, both medium-sized and large, and applying a common questionnaire so that they could be compared. Once the case studies were selected, the process moved forward with “life stories”, both of individuals and families, to characterise social mobility, the maintenance of achieved status and power and the connections established with other circles of power. In short, this methodology will allow us to achieve a global perspective on the relationship between entails and the exercise of power by elites in an urban context.

As already shown, in the study produced by this project upon the entailment component of power and the importance of the institution of *morgados* and chapels in the processes of social mobility and the maintenance of the status of urban elites between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, the geographical distribution of entails plays a major role. The phenomenon is particularly visible and common in cities with a strong presence of political and mercantile elites alongside municipal oligarchies. All of them sought to emulate the behaviour of the nobility in their social rise – to be equal to them. In this sense, using the geographical

³ The following index terms were found in this case: Free choice location (*morgados* and, above all, chapels founded in a location chosen by the first administrator); Non territorial - money (*morgados* and chapels based on the entailment of a sum of money and not real estate); Unspecified location (*morgados* and chapels with unknown or unspecified location in the foundation document); Unspecified location - Public debt instrument (*morgados* and chapels based on the entailment of a public debt instrument).

⁴ The list of municipalities (or access points created specifically for cases where the location of the entail is unknown or when it comes to entails established over public debt instruments or other assets) where entails have been identified can be found at <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/taxonomy/index/id/42> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2024].



indexing of the archival fonds described in the previously referenced VINCULUM project database, four medium-sized and large cities were selected for case studies. These fulfil some of the fundamental requirements for understanding the use of the various modalities of power in the context of entailment systems.

Considering these preconditions, the cities of Évora, Lisbon, Porto and Santarém were chosen, primarily because of their importance in the kingdom since the twelfth century and throughout the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period, but also because they had a very significant presence of elite individuals linked to the royal court, municipal power and trade networks, especially during Portugal's period of expansion. The number of entails identified for each of these cities varies greatly, reflecting their territorial size, geopolitical importance and, in another respect, the extent of the documentary survey carried out in the context of the VINCULUM project. While 1831 entails were collected for the city of Lisbon, a much smaller number of *morgados* and chapels were identified for the other cities, which in only one case exceeded one hundred institutions: 162 entails in Évora; 95 entails in Porto; and 63 entails in Santarém. For each of these cities, a sample of entails was selected that were likely to have been established and/or administered by members of the urban elite and that best answered the questions posed in the Power sub-project. The four cities chosen as case studies and the entails selected as a sample for each have their own characteristics, which is to be described in the development of this study. In general, the social, economic and political characteristics of each city were born in mind. It was found that aspects such as proximity or, to the contrary, distance from the royal court, the development of a predominantly bourgeois and mercantile society, the affirmation of municipal power and the emergence of the municipal oligarchy were decisive in the movement to establish *morgados* and chapels in these urban centres.

Having defined the objectives of this study, its central questions, the cities to be analysed and the respective *corpus* of documents, the work that is now presented is divided into six chapters. The first chapter consists of an elaboration upon the state of the art on entails in general and on



the entailment component of power in particular, both in Portugal and abroad – namely in Spain and France – since the 1970s. In addition to general studies and articles on entailment, such as Bartolomé Clavero’s inaugural work⁵, in Spain, and Maria de Lurdes Rosa’s first monograph on the subject⁶, more specific studies have been favoured, highlighting, among other things, the importance of *morgados* (and their counterparts in other countries) and chapels for the social advancement of elites and other groups considered inferior. This chapter concludes with a look at the main Portuguese historiographical works and articles dedicated to local elites and their social journeys in the cities where they were based.

The second chapter focuses on the sources collected as part of the VINCULUM project and their in-depth discussion, emphasising those that are most relevant to the study of power. This chapter is divided into two main sub-chapters: “The reconstitution of the entails archives” and “The information producing institutions”. In the first, the information gathering processes during the course of the project are described, with the aim of reconstituting the archives of the entails as they existed in the Ancien Régime, before their dispersal following their abolition in 1863. The explanation of the fundamental concepts and operation of the database allows one to see that, in this case, the entails are presented as producers of information, even though the documents come from different sources. These are the object of analysis in the next subchapter, which focuses on the numerous Ancien Régime institutions that produced information related to *morgados* and chapels in the project’s database. Further consideration is given to the archives that hold the respective fonds or collections, which are fundamental to understanding the information flows from their production to the present day. The producing institutions are divided into those of the Crown, the Church and families with entails themselves, who produced, received and archived countless documents over the centuries.

Chapters three to six represent the development and central body of this study, in which answers to the objectives and questions posed at the

5 Clavero, 1989.

6 Rosa, 1995.



outset are sought in depth. Each of these chapters focuses on one of the cities selected as case studies: Santarém, Évora, Porto and Lisbon, respectively. The order in which they are presented is not arbitrary and, without detracting from any of these cities, follows a hierarchy between them, from lesser importance during the period under study through to the peak of the kingdom's urban hierarchy. The four chapters are structured similarly, although each has specific features. Each begins with a description of the city to be analysed, presenting the main criteria that led to its selection as a case study, including its historical development and the main political, social and economic aspects. This is followed by a characterisation of the sample of entails selected and the corresponding documentation described in the database, which are of most interest for the study of power and the social rise of elites.

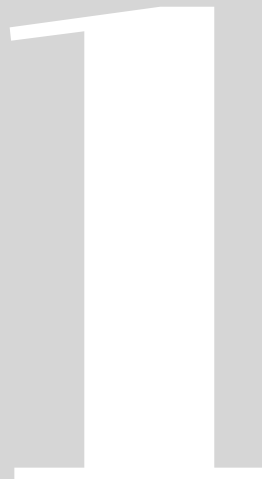
In the documentary analysis and main case studies, social and professional characterisations of the entails institutors are created, allowing a deeper understanding of the urban elite and to address the various signs or aspects related to the exercise of power by these individuals and their lineages, and, furthermore, the processes of social advancement that they traversed. At this point, the analysis varies somewhat from chapter to chapter, in order to accommodate the specificities of each city and documentary *corpus*. In some cases, greater attention is paid to the founders' awareness of their social power, which is reflected in the entails and chapels foundation deeds, in particular in the choice of burial sites, the description of their chapels and the reference to the archiving practices that the administrators of the entails had to adopt. In others, the social and personal histories of the founders and their ascendants and descendants are highlighted, demonstrating the role that the entails played in their rise and social consolidation. The study of the four cities selected as examples shows that, as corporate bodies, the *morgados* and chapels founded between 1300 and 1700 had a clear purpose of manifesting social power and contributing to the social advancement of their founders and their lineages.





The historiography on entails

CHAPTER 1







The historiography on entails

The 1970s marked a resurgence in the historiographical study of entails in the Iberian Peninsula, conditioning and influencing the scholarly works of the following decades until the present day. Bartolomé Clavero's inaugural work of 1974¹ was largely responsible for this renewal, taking on a character of a pure "fresh start" in its approach to the entailment institutions, especially the *mayorazgo*, the Castilian correspondent of the Portuguese *morgadio*².

In the aforementioned work, Clavero took an evolutionary perspective of the *morgadio*, from its genesis, starting with the feudal reaction of 1369 through to the legal abolition of secular territorial property in Castile during the bourgeois revolution of 1836. He also considered the main components that characterised it: primogeniture; the moment of foundation; and the regimes of inheritance and patrimony. As the author points out, this was undertaken in the context of institutional history and legal history, considering the legal regime of the *morgadio* as an institution³. As a legal historian, the study already shows a fundamental aspect that will characterise all his work: the use of legal sources, especially pleadings, legislation on *morgadio* and the treatises by jurists⁴. Some of the author's later studies, dating from the 1980s and 1990s, are proof of

1 Clavero, 1989. This second edition of the work includes the appendix "La institución del mayorazgo entre Castilla y Europa" (pp. 435-473), to which the author adds a more European perspective and an understanding of the Castilian case, which aims to partially update the first edition and in which he deals in particular with the issue of primogeniture.

2 As Maria de Lurdes Rosa pointed out, "*Morgadio* is the word used for the institution as a genre, while *morgado* designates both the owner of the entail and the institution itself". Rosa, 2020.

3 Clavero, 1989, p. 1.

4 Clavero, 1989, pp. 5-7.



this, starting from the legal analysis of the *morgados* and focusing on the issues of primogeniture and the structure of its inheritance⁵.

From this point on, and throughout the 1980s and 1990s, studies on entails in Castile and other kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula multiplied, mainly from a holistic perspective of the institution, but also focussing on one or more specific aspects of *morgados* and chapels, where the influence of legal history was evident. New studies offer a global analysis of the *morgadio* centred on a particular geographical space or social and/or familial context⁶, but also give great importance to the legal aspects of the institution, addressing its evolution and functioning⁷. Among these authors, José Luis Bermejo Cabrero advocated an urgent review of the *morgadio* in 1985, taking a critical stance towards Bartolomé Clavero's work – he considered that he had relied heavily on the documents and testimonies that served his thesis and disagreed with his characterisation of the *morgadio* as feudal property. This idea led him to propose a more traditional characterisation of this institution, based on the strict perpetual entailment of property and the definition of an order of succession based on substitutions⁸. The next year, Clavero published an article in response to Bermejo Cabrero, agreeing with the need to revise the *morgadio* whilst disagreeing on the reasons for doing so⁹. Defending his position, Bartolomé Clavero addressed, in particular, the origins and evolution of the *morgadio*, returning to its definition, and also analysing the issue of incompatibilities in the case of accumulation of *morgados*.

At the beginning of the 1990s, Guy Lemeunier broke new ground with the anthropological perspective with which he studied the Castilian *morgadio*, attempting to understand the particular traits in terms of the mentality that should be attributed to the massive use of this institution by the upper classes of modern Castilian society¹⁰. This study also offers one of the first approaches to, and consideration of, the importance of the mor-

5 Clavero, 1986, 1992, 1993–1994.

6 Moreno Núñez, 1984; Molénat, 1986; García Díaz, 1989.

7 Bermejo Cabrero, 1985; Marzal Rodríguez, 1996.

8 Bermejo Cabrero, 1985, pp. 286–289.

9 Clavero, 1986.

10 Lemeunier, 1993.



gadio for the urban oligarchies, who relied on it to establish themselves as the “backbone” of society¹¹.

In these decades, specifically at the end of the 1980s, Juan Pro Ruiz’s article should also be highlighted for its innovative approach to analyse another form of entail: chapels. Focusing on the Spanish lay chapels of the Ancien Régime, this study concentrates on their familial and social functions, as institutions that ensured the support of second children, but also the ennoblement of wealthy social groups¹².

A renewed historiographical output of work on entails in Portugal began in the 1980s, supported and driven by the efforts of international scholars. In this context, the studies of Maria de Lurdes Rosa are decisive. First, she approached the subject of entailment by reconstructing the legal sources on which the clauses establishing *morgados* were based, in order to understand how the exclusion of the physically and mentally disabled from the succession was carried out, an act which contributed to the “construction” of the image of the heir, with symbolic implications for the whole family¹³. The author’s first works on entailment in Portugal culminated in her master’s thesis, published in 1995, entitled *O morgadio em Portugal, séculos XIV–XV. Modelos e formas de comportamento linhagístico*¹⁴. In this work, Maria de Lurdes Rosa analyses the *morgadio* in Portugal at the end of the Middle Ages, in its many aspects, particularly with regard to the set of models and behavioural practices that this particular form of entailment gave rise to and made possible for the social groups that adopted it, taking lineage as the social structure behind this institution¹⁵.

The beginning of the twenty-first century brought new developments in the history of entails, with a significant increase in historiographical works in both Spain and Portugal. The 2000s began with the 2002 republication of a study by Jean-Pierre Dedieu, who linked the *morgadio* to families and power networks, highlighting its quantitative importance,

11 Lemeunier, 1993, p. 722.

12 Pro Ruiz, 1989.

13 Rosa, 1988.

14 Rosa, 1995.

15 Rosa, 1995, p. 19.



but also its “hierarchical” role, making it a mark of the nobility¹⁶. From the perspective of institutional history, the author presents and describes the five pillars or principles on which the *morgadio* was based: integrity (non-dispersion of entailed assets), kinship (preference for the agnatic lineage of the founder), non-confusion (between accumulated entails), overfeeding (annexation of new assets to the entail, to ensure the maintenance of its economic potential) and concentration of resources (the entire family put itself at the service of the entail)¹⁷.

In Spain, the following studies begin to focus on specific aspects of the *morgados*, contributing to a more detailed understanding of them as a whole. Antonio Irigoyen¹⁸ and Manuel Pérez García¹⁹, starting from different points of view, attach particular importance to the family and the *morgadio* as a means of its perpetuation. The first analyses the establishment of entails by clergymen, aiming to understanding whether there is a specific and differentiated behaviour among these individuals and the implications for the founder’s family, especially in terms of its perpetuation and the social reproduction of the group. Pérez García, on the other hand, uses the economic perspective of the *morgadio* and the entailed patrimony to understand the social trajectories of powerful families and the mechanisms they used with clear objectives of social reproduction. From an economic point of view, María Concepción Quintanilla Raso, one of the authors who has devoted a great deal of attention to the phenomenon of entailment and the nobility, and Jesús María Usunáriz Garayoa study the exceptional cases of alienation of entailed property, which was by definition inalienable, and the strategies developed by the nobility and families to donate, sell, exchange or mortgage their property, mainly as a response to growing indebtedness and to guarantee the liquidity of their assets²⁰.

The following decades of the twenty-first century were marked by the development of studies that explored judicial sources, specifically petitions, as a starting point for the study of the *morgados*. Jorge Antonio Catalá

16 Dedieu, 2002.

17 Dedieu, 2002, pp. 110-114.

18 Irigoyen, 2004.

19 Pérez García, 2009.

20 Quintanilla Raso, 2004; Usunáriz Garayoa, 2009.



Sanz analyses the petitions on the possession of entails sentenced in the *Audiencia* of Valencia with the aim of revealing a series of contradictions that underlie the Valencian *morgados* and that jeopardise the integrity and inalienability of the property, as well as the perpetuity of the family²¹. It's important to note that the author points out the differences between the Castilian and Valencian *morgadio* and that the latter was less strict than the former, and that the terms *morgado*, entail and *fideicomisso perpétuo* (perpetual trust) were used interchangeably to refer to the same reality²².

Periodically contemporaneous and likewise focussing on this subject, Isabel Maria Melero Muñoz's studies are similarly relevant. In a series of works, one of which she was co-author, she focuses on the issue of conflicts over the succession of the *morgados*, selecting them as case studies²³. These family conflicts, taking place in Seville in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, allow an assessment of the social and economic importance of the *morgados* during the Ancien Régime, highlighting the political, economic and personal interests of those involved, including those which took precedence over family unions. Isabel Maria Melero Muñoz's in-depth knowledge of these disputes led her to develop a critical analysis and historiographical reflection on the *morgadio* from the point of view of the dynamics of social conflicts. She also developed a comprehensive approach to the existing sources for the historical study of *morgados*, emphasising the *porcones* (Castilian word used for juridical allegations) as the main documents for this purpose²⁴. More recently, the author defended her doctoral thesis, entitled *Linaje, vinculación de bienes y conflictividad en las élites nobiliarias de la España moderna. Los conflictos en torno a la sucesión del mayorazgo (XVII-XVIII)*²⁵. In the context of social and family history, as well as the history of law, Muñoz studies the *morgadio* in Spain in a very comprehensive way, without forgetting to compare it with other European institutions, such as the French *substitutions fidéicommissaires* and *majorats*. After an initial approach to the *morgadio*, in terms of its evolution, legislation, act of foundation

21 Catalá Sanz, 2011.

22 Catalá Sanz, 2011, pp. 63–64, 68–69.

23 Melero Muñoz, 2015; Melero Muñoz; Regalado González-Serna, 2017; Melero Muñoz, 2018a.

24 Melero Muñoz, 2018b.

25 Melero Muñoz, 2021.



and comparative perspective, the thesis focuses on the study of conflicts surrounding the *morgadio*, specifically those resulting from succession issues and those related to its administration and management. As will be shown, this work is also fundamental in understanding the role of the *morgadio* as a means of social ascension.

At the same time, Portugal has also seen the development of historiography relating to entails. Among the studies published during the first decade of the twenty-first century are those that deal with entails in their final phase, from the speeches of the reformers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to their abrogation and subsequent social impact. In an article in which, as the title suggests, Laurinda Abreu offers some reflections on entails, she begins by presenting the conclusions that emerge from the analysis of the documents recorded in the *Juízo das Capelas, Resíduos e Legados Pios*, highlighting the social and economic importance that chapels assumed in the Lisbon region²⁶. Finally, the author focuses on the process of the elimination of the entails, recalling the criticism that had been made since the eighteenth century of the entailment system, then responsible for the immobilisation of property and its consequent exclusion from the commercial sphere, and analysing the legislation and the reform under the leadership of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (the well-known *marquês de Pombal*) which finally led to the abolition of the low-income chapels and the limitation of the creation of new ones.

However, the main contribution to understanding the process of annulment of *morgados* was made by Judite Esteves²⁷. As part of her PhD, she studied the abolition of entails in the nineteenth century, based on a case study of the Castelo Branco district. She ultimately sought to understand whether, after 1863, entailed assets were included in a system of equal division or whether their indivisibility was maintained, thanks to the legal figure of *terça* (free quota or third), which allowed the main heir to continue to be favoured. Since Esteves analyses the different family strategies developed to ensure the continuity of the old economic and statutory

²⁶ Abreu, 2001–2002.

²⁷ Esteves, 2008.



power of the *morgadio* lines of descendants, this thesis is fundamental for assessing the persistence of the old entailment system at the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century.

However, the twenty-first century was marked, above all, by the work of Maria de Lurdes Rosa, in line with the studies published in the 1980s and 1990s. Starting with her doctoral thesis, defended in 2005 and published in 2012, the author carried out extensive research into the founding of lay chapels in Lisbon in the late Middle Ages (1400–1521), with the aim of explaining the logic of their operation in which the soul was positioned as a “legal subject” and owner of land²⁸. Before focusing on the chapels of Lisbon, the author frames the subject from a legal and legislative point of view, dissecting the theological and canonical construction of the property of souls and the institution of the king’s role in the salvation of souls. With regard to the lay chapels of Lisbon, she analyses the creation of these foundations, their devotional contexts and, above all, the constitution of the chapels as entailment institutions, adopting the model of family succession in *morgadio*.

The theme of entailment in Portugal during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period has been a constant in the historiographical work of Maria de Lurdes Rosa. Sometimes the subject is considered in conjunction with other topics such as heraldry – an element of family identification, as can be seen in the entails and chapels foundation deeds²⁹. Her most recent papers – entirely devoted to the subject under scrutiny – are both the arrival and departure points of her research on the *morgadio* in Portugal. From the perspective of historical archivistics, she has analysed the importance of family archives in the context of entails, focusing on the importance of genealogical knowledge for all branches of the family that aspired to succeed in the entail and needed genealogical proof; this was provided by the archives that were created within the institution³⁰. After taking stock of the genealogical importance of the *morgadio* in pre-modern Portuguese society and its impact on relational knowledge therein,

28 Rosa, 2012a.

29 Rosa, 2012b.

30 Rosa, 2019.



she discusses the formation of family archives from the moment of the institution of an entail and the way in which documents were organised, using a genealogical criterion that facilitated their recovery and use as evidence. Finally, in another study, she looked at the profile of the *morgado*'s founder as an authority figure, bringing the family together and supporting the entailment institution, whilst it concurrently supported them and gave the founder an existence beyond death³¹. In this article, Maria de Lurdes Rosa presents the *morgadio* as a corporate body, based on the figure of the founder, capable of protecting the family from failure and guaranteeing its perpetuity.

Maria de Lurdes Rosa's studies on entails have taken on a new dimension and international projection with the project *VINCULUM - Entailing Perpetuity: Family, Power, Identity. The Social Agency of a Corporate Body (Southern Europe, 14th-17th Centuries)*, which the author has been coordinating since 2019 and within which this study was carried out. This project focuses on the phenomenon of entailment, seeking to explain it globally, starting from the main idea that entails were corporate bodies with a social agency. This centred around three main components: kinship, power and identity. It furthers the postulation that entails influenced kinship relations, contributing to the social ascension of urban elites and determining the construction of a corporate identity. The project also explores the theory that entails were fundamental in the appropriation of territory and the configuration of social relations and power in the Atlantic territories (the Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe and Brazil). The results of VINCULUM's research presuppose an unprecedented historiographical renewal of the study of entails and, in the specific case of this subproject, the study of the elite in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period, both in Portugal and in Southern Europe³².

Entails, as a legal body made up of people, goods and corporate identity played a fundamental role in maintaining the power of those who held them and were linked to them. This was evident in the process of social

31 Rosa, 2020.

32 On the VINCULUM project and its outputs, see <https://www.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/> [Accessed 10 Oct. 2024].



ascension carried out by the elites, as well as in the strategies of social perpetuity in different groups. In fact, since the 1980s, particularly in Spain, authors of studies on *morgados* and chapels have emphasised the importance of entails as a means of ascension and social reproduction for families. José Ignacio Moreno Núñez, in a paper on archaic *morgados* in Castile, concluded that, thanks to the institution of *morgados*, the Dávila family managed to keep the original and main nucleus of its patrimony intact and the cohesion of the lineage, which corresponded to the foundations of their gradual ascent to *rico-homia* (the highest nobility)³³. A few years later, the previously mentioned Juan Pro Ruiz highlighted the role of these institutions for the nobility, protecting and consolidating their power and social image, and for other wealthy social groups, who saw in them an opportunity to imitate the behaviour of the nobility and confirm the economic status they had achieved in his study of lay chapels in Spain³⁴.

At the beginning of the 1990s, Ignacio Atienza Hernández focused on the study of the administration of the “house” between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the lineage and the family, seeking new definitions for these concepts and presenting an approach to the relations of solidarity that developed in the context of the “house” and to the name and marriage within the lineage³⁵. At this point, the author's interest in the resources available to the lineages for their social assertion is already evident. These resources include the use of the family name and transmission of family heritage, regulated by the *morgadio* and often the cause of family discord; marriage strategies, used to create alliances or resolve differences between lineages; and also the ceremonies of the life cycle, which established a link between the lords and the communities where they exercised their power and where their “houses” were established³⁶.

Towards the end of the same decade, a study by Juan Hernández Franco and Antonio Peñafiel Ramón corroborated the role of the *morgadio* as a strategy for perpetuating and broadcasting the social status of lineages.

33 Moreno Núñez, 1984, p. 703.

34 Pro Ruiz, 1989, pp. 588-592.

35 Atienza Hernández, 1991.

36 Atienza Hernández, 1991, pp. 21-34.



It also paved the way for Hernández Franco's historiographical work on these subjects³⁷. Starting from the functions of lineage, these authors address how, through the *morgadio*, the "houses" of Murcia in the Ancien Régime (fifteenth to eighteenth centuries) preserved and demonstrated their social position, organising the transmission of this intangible inheritance to their descendants and avoiding tension between kinship³⁸. Among their conclusions, they point to the relevance of the entailment as a means for families with a defined lineage to achieve broad control over Murcian society and differentiate themselves within it, especially in the seventeenth century, and therefore also as a means of preserving and transmitting the identity of lineage within that society³⁹. The concept of social reproduction, based on the ideal of perpetuating the family at the top of Ancien Régime society, is already evident in this article⁴⁰.

During the 1990s there was also a growing awareness of the link between the *morgadio* and the processes of upward mobility and social reproduction in Portugal, especially regarding the characterisation and social status of the founders of the entails. At the beginning of the decade, Maria de Lurdes Rosa analysed four noble families from Portalegre throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, plotting paths of lineage and focusing on the *morgados* instituted as a specific form of succession and safeguard of heritage⁴¹. These families opted for a form of inheritance in the *morgadio*, which was a distinctive element of their strategies of lineal conservation⁴². The author concluded that, after a first phase of regional implantation of these families, involving the occupation of positions at a local level, their descendants followed a path closer to the royal court, gaining prominence through the exercise of administrative-political offices⁴³.

37 Hernández Franco; Peñafiel Ramón, 1998.

38 Hernández Franco; Peñafiel Ramón, 1998, p. 161.

39 Hernández Franco; Peñafiel Ramón, 1998, pp. 170–171 and 174–175.

40 Various authors, to whom we will return, have tried to define the concept of social reproduction in their studies. For this brief definition, we follow the one proposed by Pérez García, 2009, p. 347.

41 Rosa, 1991.

42 Rosa, 1991, p. 48.

43 Rosa, 1991, pp. 50–51.



Miguel Côte-Real, in a later paper, also presents a perspective of the ruling elites on a local scale, focusing on a different geography and time period: Vila Nova de Portimão, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries⁴⁴. Distinguishing between hereditary nobility and civil nobility, the latter otherwise formed by those who acquired the status of noble by performing a noble office or function, the author focuses on the role that families belonging to both groups played in local and regional administration. In the case of the first group, the *morgados* administered by each of Portimão's main families are described, some of which came into their possession through marriage⁴⁵. As for the civil nobility, it is concluded that its members, thanks to their financial power, managed to ascend to a way of life equivalent to that of the nobles, allowing them access to governance⁴⁶.

The beginning of the new century saw a multiplication of studies on the problem of power as a component of the institution of entailment both in Spain and Portugal, although on a smaller scale in the latter. As such, there is an evident growth of historiographical interest in the role of the *morgadio* as a means of social ascension for certain groups who aspired to noble status. Using concrete examples, several Spanish authors have reinforced the idea that these institutions served the social interests of numerous families. Juan Ramón Palencia Herrejón uses the example of the sixteenth century Cardénas, and the consolidation of their patrimony to evaluate how the social ascension of a second tier nobiliary group took place, one which managed to entrench itself among the most powerful family groups of that century⁴⁷. The detailed description of each of the *morgados* founded and administered by this family allows an understanding of their journey, and how they used this institution to achieve their goals of social climbing and consolidation. The study also focuses the foundation of a secondary *morgado* that included the jurisdiction of a town, giving its holder great notoriety⁴⁸. It should be emphasised that Palencia Herrejón concluded, firstly, that the monarchs – in particular the Catholics – promoted the *morgadio* as a legal tool that contributed

44 Côte-Real, 1999.

45 Côte-Real, 1999, pp. 294–298.

46 Côte-Real, 1999, pp. 298–299.

47 Palencia Herrejón, 2002.

48 Palencia Herrejón, 2002, p. 346.



to the consolidation of the great Castilian estates and, consequently, to the formation of a loyal nobility. Secondly, he concluded that it was important to relate the *morgadio* to the need for internal organisation of the lineages, establishing a clear internal hierarchy based on the multiplicity of entails⁴⁹.

From a similar perspective, Enrique Soria Mesa approaches lay chapels as an instrument of social promotion and family solidarity, choosing to ignore their religious function⁵⁰. However, this article stands out because it pays some attention to the process of social ascension of the chaplains themselves, belonging to the families of the founders, who benefited from the income provided by the chapels in order to achieve their aspirations within the ecclesiastical hierarchy⁵¹. The author also emphasises the familial strategies – namely the use of endogamous practices – which developed to facilitate the accumulation of several chapels toward a single person, thus increasing the income from them⁵².

In the same vein, María Concepción Quintanilla Raso analysed the consolidation and reproduction mechanisms of the lineages of the Castilian high nobility in the Lower Middle Ages, focusing on the *casa condal* (“earldom”) of La Puebla de Maestre and its use of the *morgadio* as a means of transmitting inheritance⁵³. Firstly, the author emphasises how the multiplication of *morgados* served the interests of two distinct social groups. Firstly, the families of the upper nobility saw this practice as an instrument for strengthening their lineages, which could thus better represent their *dignitas*. Secondly, family groups with a more discreet position resorted to the multiplication of *morgados* as a means of assimilation into the great nobility, allowing them to improve their image and position⁵⁴. These general concepts easily can be applied to the house of La Puebla del Maestre, which developed a variety of strategies (matrimonial, relations with other noble groups, participation in key moments in

49 Palencia Herrejón, 2002, p. 353.

50 Soria Mesa, 2002.

51 Soria Mesa, 2002, p. 141.

52 Soria Mesa, 2002, pp. 141–143.

53 Quintanilla Raso, 2006.

54 Quintanilla Raso, 2006, p. 163.



Castilian politics and the multiplication of *morgados*) with a view to consolidating its lineage and heritage. As the author clarifies, it was necessary to create an appropriate strategy of continuation and continuity that would effectively pass on the material and symbolic content of the lineage to the following generations⁵⁵.

Dietmar Roth's work on the entailment of estates in Vélez Blanco is even more significant in the context of studies on the aspect of power in terms of entailment institutions⁵⁶. In fact, this paper is entirely dedicated to the role of *morgados*, chapels and places of memory as a means of perpetuating the social rise of local oligarchies, taking one locality as a case study. After an initial approach toward the formation of the local oligarchy, its wealth and the exercise of local power, the author focuses on the ideal of family perpetuation, which manifested itself in the perpetual entailment of immovable property, and the strategies developed to keep family names, lineage and entailed property in union. These include endogamous marriages, the accumulation of *morgados* and the use of dowries as an instrument to invest in kinship. This paper, however, pays particular attention to *morgados* as a strategy for social ascension, with a view to achieving notable nobility or even a noble title. The analysis of the different *morgados* founded in Vélez Blanco between 1588 and 1788 illustrates this, highlighting the links between the families of the founders and administrators and the local and regional oligarchy, as well as the foundation of *morgados* at the beginning of the seventeenth century by families that had become wealthy in the second half of the previous century⁵⁷. Furthermore, the chapels established in the same place between 1603 and 1745 show the family's concern for the chaplains and their future social aspirations, along with the group solidarity that developed with family collaboration in the foundation of chapels. Finally, it is important to note that Roth gives some examples of men linked to the mercantile world who established both types of entails (*morgados* and chapels) as a way of consolidating their social ascension⁵⁸.

55 Quintanilla Raso, 2006, p. 171.

56 Roth, 2007.

57 Roth, 2007, pp. 216-226.

58 Roth, 2007, pp. 233-234.



Other authors' studies have also considered the importance of entails in the social ascension of their founders and administrators, but from a complementary perspective in relation to their main objectives. Yet more have focussed, in essence, on their role in consolidating an ascent that has already been achieved. Through a more comprehensive study of the chapel foundation deeds in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Candelaria Castro Pérez, Mercedes Calvo Cruz and Sonia Granado Suárez emphasise that these institutions contributed to the salvation of the souls of the founders, whose investment in them was made to guarantee a quick passage through purgatory, projecting earthly inequalities into the after-life⁵⁹. This is, therefore, a manifestation in eternity of the power of those who founded or administered chapels. With reference to Vicente Suárez Grimón, the authors also mention that these institutions were a means of acquiring prestige or beginning the journey towards ennoblement, thus justifying their materialistic variable⁶⁰. Enrique Soria Mesa, in his work on the Spanish nobility during the Early Modern Period (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries), emphasises social ascension⁶¹. For this reason, in the chapter highlighting the paths that led to ascension, he includes a sub-chapter on the *morgadio*, characterising this institution and its social functions. Among the various aspects considered, the author addressed the extension of the *morgadio* regime to the whole of Castilian society, starting with *Cortes de Toro* of 1504–1505. In this sense, the urban oligarchies were the great beneficiaries of this change, beginning to establish entails to protect their family heritage and to lay the foundations for the future aggrandisement of their descendants⁶².

The *morgadio* as a means of consolidating an extant status was favoured in the studies of Lucía Fernández Secades and Jorge Ortuño Molina⁶³. The first, whilst considering that the *morgadio* also promoted social ascension, integrates it into the strategies of the transmission of lineage, giving it an important role in the noble family structure that was centred around it.

59 Castro Pérez; Calvo-Cruz; Granado-Suárez, 2007, p. 337.

60 Castro Pérez; Calvo-Cruz; Granado-Suárez, 2007, p. 337.

61 Soria Mesa, 2007.

62 Soria Mesa, 2007, pp. 230–231.

63 Fernández Secades, 2008; Ortuño Molina, 2009.



It not only helped to preserve the patrimony of a house, but served to also increase it, protecting not only the patrimony of the nobility, but also the nobility as an elite.

Ortuño Molina starts from social inequality in the Middle Ages and its apparent static nature to the means of social reproduction and ascension, which were nevertheless attempted to be concealed. Using the example of the Pacheco, lords of Villena, the author shows that the *morgadio* could function as a propaganda tool to legitimise the nobility's condition of social domination, functioning as an element of aggrandisement, consolidation of a standing status – and also of the continuous ascent of the beneficiary of royal grace or holder of the estate⁶⁴. In conclusion, Molina emphasises that the *morgadio* became a tool for reducing the possibilities of social ascension by limiting access to resources, but also for consolidating acquired social status and establishing channels of promotion. But despite the endeavours towards creating a static society, that society always looked for ways to achieve social promotion⁶⁵.

In another sense, in the first decade of twenty-first century Spain, the *morgadio* was also approached from the perspective of its usefulness for the strategies of social broadcast by the elite, in conjunction with its role as an instrument of social ascension. In a paper cited above, Antonio Irigoyen uses the founding of *morgados* by clergymen as an example to suggest that this institution was a means of preserving the estates of the nobility and perpetuating family identity and permanent social position, providing future generations with inalienable economic bases that guaranteed them an improved way of life⁶⁶. To quote, “el mayorazgo permitió y fundamentó la reproducción social del sistema: unió para siempre propiedad, familia y desigualdade”⁶⁷. Focusing on the subject of this study, Irigoyen analyses the figure of the cleric as the founder of *morgados*, considering, in part, what this meant for his family: it gave splendour and consolidated its process of social ascension (in the case of entails

64 Ortuño Molina, 2009, pp. 267–268.

65 Ortuño Molina, 2009, pp. 278–279.

66 Irigoyen, 2004, pp. 114–115.

67 Transl.: “the entail underpinned the social reproduction of the system: it linked property, family and inequality forever”. Irigoyen, 2004, p. 115.



established by *raçoeiros* (portioners), the lowest category of the *cabido* (cathedral chapter).⁶⁸

Cristina Ramos Cobano, in turn, analyses the mechanisms used by the Cepeda family – landowners in the town of Villalba del Alcor, near Seville – in the eighteenth century to minimise the fragmentation of their family estate⁶⁹. Focussing on the division of assets between heirs, which often went against the forced and equal division determined by Castilian inheritance law, the author discusses the founding of *morgados* by the Cepeda to avoid the dispersion of assets, presenting this as one of the main tactics used by noble families to maintain their economic position without going against the laws of the kingdom. Through strategic matrimonial alliances, this family was able to concentrate several *morgados* in their hands, guaranteeing them the block transmission of a considerable fortune, thus reinforcing their power and social status.

In an article centred on family conflicts over the ownership of a *morgado* in the fifteenth–through–sixteenth centuries, María Antonia Carmona Ruíz begins by reinforcing the use of *morgadio* by the nobility to avoid the dispersion of patrimony and accentuate internal cohesion, mentioning that minor lineages used small *morgados* to obtain prestige, economic security and, further, to avoid the dissolution of their family patrimony⁷⁰. However, by describing the conflict that arose over the entail established by Juana Carrillo for her grandson in detail, Carmona Ruíz demonstrates that the foundation and administration of *morgados* could indeed become an economic problem for its owner, one who could not freely dispose of the entailed property to solve financial problems, and a source of family conflict that tested the internal cohesion of the members.

At the end of the 2000s, Manuel Pérez García attaches particular importance to the social reproduction of the most powerful families in an article on *morgadio* and entailed property in the kingdom of Murcia and Valencia⁷¹. This work has already been referenced above with regard to

68 Irigoyen, 2004, pp. 124–126.

69 Ramos Cobano, 2008.

70 Ramos Cobano, 2008.

71 Pérez García, 2009.



global approaches to *morgadio*, being one of the most comprehensive studies on the issues of social reproduction and the use of *morgadio* as a means of achieving social and political power. Although the focus is on the *morgado* of Rocamora, with properties in both Castile and Aragon and the conflicts that arose between different branches of the lineage, the author presents a detailed analysis of individual and familial social trajectories along with social reproduction strategies, linking the concepts of social networks, clientelism and marriage. In this respect, the action of families linked to the territorial oligarchy to avoid the dispersion of their patrimony and to reproduce themselves socially is particularly evident, especially since the Laws of Toro of 1505⁷². Throughout this process, the importance of the *morgadio* is underscored, reinforcing its central place in the strategies of social reproduction and accumulation of power within families during the Ancien Régime.

In Portugal, in the early 2000s, historiographical output concerning this subject was more subdued. However, the few studies that should be highlighted have contributed to the development of knowledge about the importance of the *morgadio* for the social ascension of the elite and their subsequent social reproduction. In this respect, Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro's work has been fundamental and, above all, innovative, offering a new perspective on the subject, with a strong focus on the history of the nobility and the relational changes in their behaviour. In a paper published in 2001, the author analysed the adoption of the entailment model to promulgate social reproduction by the elites between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries⁷³. The adoption of this model meant that the line of the first-born son was favoured, with second-born sons and daughters being sent into an ecclesiastical career with or without the institution of *morgados*. As Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro highlights in his introduction, this model implied the predominance of relations of vertical kinship over horizontal, due to their importance in the processes of upward social mobility. The aim, nonetheless and above all, was the continuation of the house⁷⁴. By adopting this model, primogeniture and masculinity

72 Pérez García, 2009, pp. 356–357.

73 Monteiro, 2001.

74 Monteiro, 2001, p. 19.



were imposed in the nobiliary succession to guarantee the continuity of the houses. In this sense, matrimonial homogamy was frequently practised in order to preserve the social identity of the group, guaranteeing the monopoly of the main trades of the monarchy and their remuneration through royal donations, although this increased the risk of some houses being annexed by others. For this reason, the work discusses the strategies that families used to counterbalance these risks, defining marriage rules for successors of both genders⁷⁵. The paper is also central regarding questions of power within the framework of the entailment system as it analyses the process of adopting its reproductive model, contextualising its chronology, the contexts and social trajectories within which it took place. At this point, it is worth highlighting the spread of the model throughout the sixteenth century, not only amongst the most prominent lineages of the kingdom, but also among the main elites of the province, including the families of the municipal elite of Porto, who, thanks to the progressive generalisation of the *morgados*, led a process of social ascent towards the nobility, replacing mercantile activity⁷⁶. It became clear that the establishment of entails was closely linked to the preservation and idea of the house, despite the fluidity of its identity⁷⁷.

Two other studies from before 2010 confirm the central place of the *morgadio* in elites' strategies for social ascension and reproduction. João Rosa Vieira Caldas, an architect, developed his doctoral thesis on the rural architecture of the Ancien Régime in the Algarve and the relationship of rural houses to the territory⁷⁸. Seemingly unrelated to the topic at hand, this thesis nevertheless highlights the Algarve's aristocracy and their social evolution, in relation to their respective housing developments, as well as the *morgado* as one of the designations of property in the Algarve. In particular, the author examines the evolution of the nobility and the means by which its status was maintained, as well as the affirmation of the bourgeoisie in Algarve society, thanks to the recovery of economic life, giving it a prominent place amongst the local power structure⁷⁹.

75 Monteiro, 2001, pp. 31–32.

76 Monteiro, 2001, p. 33.

77 Monteiro, 2001, pp. 35–36.

78 Caldas, 2007.

79 Caldas, 2007, pp. 34–39 and 61–62.



The power and social mobility of both groups was clearly visible in the architecture of their houses and land holdings. In this scenario, the *morgadio* is presented both as one of the main causes of the immobility of land organisation and the consequent stagnation of the agrarian economy during the Ancien Régime and, further, as the “principal suporte de uma estrutura fundiária que, privilegiando a nobreza, perpetuava a ordem social estabelecida”⁸⁰ from the sixteenth century onwards⁸¹. Finally, in an analysis very much focused on the heritage of aristocratic architecture, the inclusion of the chapel in the towers, turreted houses and compact quadrangular houses belonging, in some cases, to owners who underwent a process of social ascension, acquiring the function of an external sign of power and nobility, especially in the eighteenth century, are particularly notable⁸².

In a previously referenced study, Judite Esteves addresses all of these issues, but in a chronology that follows the extinction of entails in the nineteenth century, framing the strategies of ascension and social reproduction of the *morgadio* lines of descendants in this process beyond the existence of the *morgados*⁸³. In a section dedicated to this institution over time, the author focuses on the social characterisation of the founders until the end of the eighteenth century, reinforcing that any individual could unite their assets in the form of a *morgadio* and that the entail foundation deeds covered practically all social groups, contradicting the concept of associating *morgadio* exclusively with the nobility⁸⁴. But Esteves’ analysis of the power and the notion of family is particularly relevant, using the Beira Baixa region of Portugal as a case study.

After defining the concept of family, the author begins by considering that, in the district of Castelo Branco in the nineteenth century, a family-based oligarchic political system was predominant, concluding that it was the families who owned entailed properties that controlled the

80 Transl.: “main support of a land structure which, by privileging the nobility, perpetuated the established social order”.

81 Caldas, 2007, pp. 33 and 41.

82 Caldas, 2007, pp. 69–94.

83 Esteves, 2008.

84 Esteves, 2008, pp. 23–24.



region's land trade and even political power⁸⁵. At the same time, the families carried out endogamous marriages – a relationship of dependence toward maintaining the networks of economic and political power, in addition to consolidating or increasing power over the land, all with clear objectives of economic, political and social reproduction of this kinship or *morgadio* line of descendants⁸⁶. As the author emphasised, “a cumplicidade entre a instituição morgada, o reforço dos capitais familiares, a procura de ascensão social, torna-se uma evidência”⁸⁷. Despite being set in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a period later than the one studied here, this thesis is an important contribution to assessing whether there was continuity in the strategies of reproduction and social ascension the *morgadio* lines of descendants compared to the Ancien Régime, even allowing the practical application of a questionnaire similar to the study of power in the context of the entailment system between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.

As highlighted in the section reviewing studies dedicated to the *morgadio* in a broader context, the 2010s and 20s saw a considerable increase in historical works focusing on the role of entails in maintaining the power and social mobility of their holders. Spain continues to be fertile ground in this area, with a considerable number of papers, books and theses on the subject. In general, when dealing with the concepts of family, lineage and the house, inheritance systems and urban elites, authors have focused on the overarching issues of social ascension and reproduction. Juan Hernández Franco and Sebastián Molina Puche, citing the aristocracy as their protagonists, sought to understand the means that families had at their disposal to be “durable” and the strategies they developed to maintain their honour or social distinction over time⁸⁸. In this sense, the authors analysed the main objective around which all family decisions were structured and subordinated, i.e., the effort to maintain the set of material, immaterial and symbolic elements in the hands of the members of the lineage, following the concept of the “entailment reproduction

85 Esteves, 2008, p. 235.

86 Esteves, 2008, pp. 246–263.

87 Transl.: “the complicity between the *morgada* institution, the reinforcement of family capital, the search for social ascension, becomes evidential”. Esteves, 2008, p. 254.

88 Hernández Franco; Molina Puche, 2010.



model”, as elaborated by Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro and to which mention has already been made. To this end, families focussed their attention on the first-born son and the *morgado*, in order to avoid the dispersion of assets⁸⁹. According to the authors, members of the family – specifically the children – were subordinate to the first-born, on whom all the family’s efforts were centred. This, in turn, became more restricted and focused on the next of kin, with the wider lineage being relegated to the background⁹⁰. Hernández Franco and Molina Puche concluded that applying Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro’s model of “entailment reproduction” to the reality of Castile has drawbacks. In fact, in Castile, the transmission and continuity of the house, through the *morgadio*, was to be concentrated in the family environment, made up of close kinship ties⁹¹.

In a slightly later paper, Juan Hernández Franco, co-authored with Raimundo A. Rodríguez Pérez, again analysed the role of the *morgados* in the formation of houses concentrated on the closest relatives, replacing the lineages made up of larger families or unilineal descent groups⁹². In the process of evolution from lineage to house, the institution of *morgados*, advantageous marriages and royal favour were decisive. Many of the most powerful lineages, through the foundation of *morgados* for subsequent and illegitimate children, gave rise to various houses, some of which became the richest and most prestigious in the Spanish aristocracy⁹³. In other cases, the accumulation of wealth and patrimony, thanks to palatine service, allowed less illustrious families to establish several *morgados*, which put them on a par with the old *ricos-homens* (members of the highest nobility)⁹⁴. All of these ideas are then put to the test with the case study of the Fajardo family, who, by consolidating their military positions, managed to rise to the rank of Castilian *rico-homia* and gave rise to several houses, relying on the establishment and accumulation of *morgados*⁹⁵.

89 Hernández Franco; Molina Puche, 2010, pp. 8–9.

90 Hernández Franco; Molina Puche, 2010, p. 9.

91 Hernández Franco; Molina Puche, 2010, p. 18.

92 Hernández Franco; Rodríguez Pérez, 2014.

93 Hernández Franco; Rodríguez Pérez, 2014, p. 390.

94 Hernández Franco; Rodríguez Pérez, 2014, pp. 393–394.

95 Hernández Franco; Rodríguez Pérez, 2014, pp. 394–402.



At the same time, studies are beginning to focus on the social ascension of local elites and their strategies of social reproduction. Based on a very specific case – that of the *veintecuatro* Pedro Camacho de Villavicencio, from Jerez de la Frontera – Enrique José Ruiz Pilares analyses the foundation of *morgados* by urban elites, following the 1505 Laws of Toro. These laws made that institution a hereditary mechanism available to the entire population, through the entails of *tercio y quinto*, not requiring a royal licence⁹⁶.

As the author points out, the main beneficiaries of these new entails were the lineages of the urban elite, who leveraged this legal instrument to consolidate their prominent position in the city, such that it would then extend to their descendants⁹⁷. After analysing the methods of entailment in Jerez de la Frontera, especially after the enactment of the Laws of 1505, Ruiz Pilares focuses on the figure of Pedro Camacho, an individual who had significant political pre-eminence in the city, and the *morgado* he founded in 1507, the first and most important entail established following those laws. It is interesting to note that, in his analysis of Camacho's heritage, the author emphasises the entailment of the family house, symbolising both continuity with ancestors and the power of the lineage and its social relations. The burials and family chapels, given to the holder of the *morgado*, were symbolically very similar, giving him authority over the rest of the family⁹⁸. In the context of studies on power, this paper contributes to confirming the *morgadio* as a means of perpetuating the memory of the lineage, as well as contributing to the hierarchisation and increased prestige of the *pariente mayor*⁹⁹.

More recently, Juan José Iglesias Rodríguez has once again highlighted entails as a means of social promotion and access to the nobility, based on the case study of the merchants of Seville and Cádiz linked to the *Carretera de Indias* (the sea route from Spain to America). Their fortunes allowed them to lead a paradigmatic *cursus honorum*, which culminated

96 Ruiz Pilares, 2012.

97 Ruiz Pilares, 2012, p. 320.

98 Ruiz Pilares, 2012, pp. 327–328.

99 Ruiz Pilares, 2012, pp. 341–342.



in the acquisition of municipal positions and entry into the ranks of the nobility¹⁰⁰. Although closely associated with the nobility, the institution of entails eventually became a common practice among members of the mercantile and financial bourgeoisie, wishing to ennoble themselves and achieve social advancement. In his paper, it is worth noting the three-pronged motivation for the accumulation and entailment of property, highlighting the social importance of the *morgados*: preservation of fortune within the lineage and maintenance of the foundations of the family's economic power; assimilation of the business bourgeoisie to the social uses of the nobility; and finally rationalisation of capital management and realisation of investments¹⁰¹.

Also in this field, Manuel Pérez García focused on reconstructing the vital trajectories of the members of the most important families of the urban oligarchy in southern Spain, analysing the behaviour and social evolution of the members of two families from the Kingdom of Murcia¹⁰². The author pays particular attention to the concept of social reproduction as a means of achieving social continuity and the perpetuity of membership of powerful groups and families. Considering the families studied, it is possible to see how the urban elites imposed themselves and rose socially. The main means or strategies that stand out are participation in war, which guaranteed the granting of land by the Crown, occupation of municipal positions, statutes of blood purity, membership of institutions or closed social bodies such as military orders, the Holy Office, the army or brotherhoods, matrimonial alliances, and finally the entailment of accumulated wealth. In this context, and as the author emphasises in a comprehensive chapter, the *morgadio* functioned as a factor in the consolidation of lineage structures, being a key element in the perpetuation and social reproduction of the landed elite¹⁰³.

During the same period of study, but considering a more specific aspect, some authors have highlighted the matrimonial strategies of Ancien

100 Iglesias Rodríguez, 2019.

101 Iglesias Rodríguez, 2019, §8.

102 Pérez García, 2021.

103 Pérez García, 2021, pp. 164-220.



Régime families as a means of social ascension, in close connection with the legal figure of the *morgadio*. Using the example of the Bustos family between the mid–sixteenth century and 1850, Rafael María Girón Pascual analysed the process of patrimonial accumulation and matrimonial strategies, in which the *morgadio* played an important role¹⁰⁴. In describing the history of the family from 1558 to 1850, the author has viewed the case study in a manner that combines genealogy with the study of free and entailed estates, further analysing the marriages of this line with others, elaborating the rights over entails and the relations of power that were established between the different lineages. In the various individual chronicles presented, the social rise of the members of the Bustos family is evident, shown through marital links with families that held economic and political power in the city where they were based, and through the institution and accumulation of *morgados* over time.

Also based on a policies of marriage, Raúl Molina Recio analysed the economic effects of the family strategies of the Castilian nobility in the Early Modern Period, showing that the large investments that noble houses made in the marriages of their descendants ended up being profitable in terms of the *morgados*, estates, rents and manors that were incorporated into them through this mechanism¹⁰⁵. In this sense, marriage had a significant impact on increasing the economic potential of the houses and the social status and political weight of their members in the kingdom, as well as contributing to the transmission of privilege and status and to the social reproduction and perpetuation of the family through its offspring¹⁰⁶. Molina Recio proposes a categorisation of the objectives of the different matrimonial strategies, including marriages celebrated with the aim of achieving social ascension or hypergamy, alliances between different social strata, from which both groups benefited: while some managed to climb the social ladder, others, already of a higher status, received an economic boost at a time of crisis¹⁰⁷. Regarding questions of power in connection with entails, it should also be mentioned that, according to the author (and in other similar works), marriage strategies were responsible

104 Girón Pascual, 2010.

105 Molina Recio, 2014.

106 Molina Recio, 2014, pp. 16–24.

107 Molina Recio, 2014, pp. 27–28.



for a considerable increase in the wealth of the houses, which, through them, accumulated numerous *morgados*, with the obvious consequence of increasing the economic power of the nobility¹⁰⁸.

Within the processes of social ascension and reproduction, intra-family conflicts also played a considerable role, a topic which caught the attention of certain authors. Although these particular studies only superficially touch on the core topics of this work and as detailed thus far, they all contribute to understanding how rivalries and disputes between members of the same family could contribute to their social affirmation and consolidation.

Raimundo Rodríguez Pérez, in a study of the intra-family conflicts of the House of Vélez between 1546 and 1567, found that, when faced with the breakdown of the family unit due to inheritance and the transfer of property, the wealthier families resorted to external organisations to resolve the conflict and maintain their strategies of social reproduction¹⁰⁹. As the author mentions, the owner of the house found that the petitions were one of the most useful ways of increasing his power and that of his house¹¹⁰. In general, the origin of these conflicts was the *morgadio*, as a hereditary system, in which the first-born imposed himself on younger siblings: they were left out of the inheritance and had no choice but to wait for their older brother or parents to either establish a new entail for them or an endowment¹¹¹. Very much focused on fraternal relations, Rodríguez Pérez concludes that the example studied shows that the owner of the house favoured the perpetuation of the pre-eminence of his descendants over considerations of lineage and, therefore, his social reproduction – relying, above all, on the house as the main branch of the family¹¹².

Isabel Maria Melero Muñoz, for her part, in one of her many works on conflicts over the succession of *morgados*, together with Victor Daniel Regalado González-Serna, studied a dispute that took place in Seville in

108 Molina Recio, 2014, p. 65.

109 Rodríguez Pérez, 2012.

110 Rodríguez Pérez, 2012, p. 252.

111 Rodríguez Pérez, 2012, p. 256.

112 Rodríguez Pérez, 2012, p. 266.



the eighteenth century, demonstrating the ambition of the families to dominate the lineage¹¹³. As well as emphasising that the ultimate expression of the Orozco family's accumulation of power was the foundation of a *morgado*, guaranteeing the preservation of the lineage's wealth and status, the authors show that the litigants claimed the *morgado*'s succession as a means of establishing themselves as the head of their lineage and ascending both socially and economically. They even cite the example of a litigant who took her father's surname before she was recognised, using one of the most common practices in the Early Modern Period to achieve social ascension¹¹⁴.

Tamara González López analysed a series of petitions heard in the Ecclesiastical Court of Lugo. Her aim was not to study intra-family conflicts, but instead to understand the care with which the noble elites sought to maintain and reinforce their image in the sacred environment, on which the social prestige of the lineages depended¹¹⁵. Although not directly related to entails, this paper is an excellent example of the strategies for displaying social power of the nobility and elites used in privileged spaces such as churches. In this context, conflicts could be motivated by questions of hierarchy in rituals, some of which presupposed an order between the families present¹¹⁶.

In order to guarantee their omnipresence, some families obtained the right to place their coat of arms in the church, for example to mark the patronage of a chapel or altarpiece. These elements became a perpetual reminder to the community of the family's position in it: a clear demonstration of power and superiority¹¹⁷. The author also highlights the importance of the Church in enhancing the community's image of noblemen, due to its legitimising function¹¹⁸. The conclusions drawn by González López could perhaps be applied to the families that founded and administered entails, who represented themselves in various ways in religious

113 Melero Muñoz; Regalado González-Serna, 2017.

114 Melero Muñoz; Regalado González-Serna, 2017, pp. 273–278.

115 González López, 2018.

116 González López, 2018, p. 972.

117 González López, 2018, p. 972.

118 González López, 2018, p. 973.



circles, especially through the construction of chapels as a means of social consolidation and assertion.

In continuation, the Church is precisely the setting for a series of papers published since 2012 which study of how families used this institution and the chapels they founded to achieve their social projection. Gonzalo Herreros Moya analyses the lay chapels of the city and Kingdom of Córdoba in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries along their social dimensions, focusing on lineage and kinship and their importance in this type of entail¹¹⁹. In addition to his historiographical approach to the subject and sources used, Herreros Moya focuses on the three personal roles involved in each chapel, allowing an appreciation of the relevant psychological and social aspects of the Early Modern Period: the founder, the administrator (*patrón*) and the chaplain¹²⁰. Whilst considering ‘the founder’, the author emphasises that, despite the variability and unpredictability of the act of founding a chapel, spiritual expectation, material support and social need had to come together in unison, a factor which was also one of the main drivers behind the act. In fact, the chapels had a strong social component of prestige and social protection, giving meaning to the lineage and the house¹²¹. With regard to ‘the administrator’, his role as the first-born son and head of the family stands out, as he became the focus of the attention of the lineage – he was the one who enhanced their position and dignity¹²². When it came to filling the post of ‘the chaplain’, the family’s concern for its own social reproduction and advancement was particularly evident, usually choosing members of their family¹²³. As other papers have shown, the appointment of chaplains made it possible for a family member to support themselves and even to ascend socially within the ecclesiastical hierarchy¹²⁴. In conclusion, Herreros Moya states that the chapels were also intended to honour the earthly memory with three principal foci: transcendence, prestige and family support¹²⁵.

119 Herreros Moya, 2012.

120 Herreros Moya, 2012, p. 118.

121 Herreros Moya, 2012, pp. 121–123.

122 Herreros Moya, 2012, p. 127.

123 Herreros Moya, 2012, p. 131.

124 Herreros Moya, 2012, pp. 132–133.

125 Herreros Moya, 2012, p. 140.



The figure of the chaplain outlined by Gonzalo Herreros Moya leads to a group of papers that focus on the role of family clerics in the context of the links that were established between the family and the Church. Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez considers the active intervention of the prebendary figure in family strategies, based on the example of the chapter of Córdoba in the Early Modern Period, which presupposed the return of the investment made in that member's career and position to the group¹²⁶. In this context, some families opted, as a strategy of social promotion, to direct their first-born sons towards an ecclesiastical career and occupation of a dignity in the chapter, leaving the family succession in the hands of the second-born sons or even daughters. In this way, it was possible to accumulate extensive dowries that paved the way for favourable marriages, especially for these daughters¹²⁷. Prebendaries could also contribute to the financing of family strategies through the foundation of entails or the increase of an already entailed patrimony. These ecclesiastics could set up a *morgado* for a brother or nephew and their descendants, improving their prospects, or for the endowment of a niece or other relative, guaranteeing her a hypergamous marriage and the consequent social ascension of the family¹²⁸. The *morgado* could also be used to finance the maintenance of the standard of living of another future cleric in the family, by appointing him as an extraordinary usufructuary of that instrument¹²⁹. At the end of the paper, however, the author highlights another aspect that diverted the attention of his family's prebendaries: the founding of *morgados* for their illegitimate children, an act which recirculated their wealth away from the environs of legitimate kinship¹³⁰.

Rafael Duro Garrido focuses on the foundation and endowment of chapels by the clergy of Seville Cathedral in the first half of the sixteenth century, highlighting the religious, cultural and economic importance of these institutions and the religiosity of the high clergy¹³¹. Although not containing very direct or complete references to the issues of power studied here,

126 Díaz Rodríguez, 2014.

127 Díaz Rodríguez, 2014, pp. 78–79.

128 Díaz Rodríguez, 2014, pp. 87–88.

129 Díaz Rodríguez, 2014, p. 93.

130 Díaz Rodríguez, 2014, pp. 105–108.

131 Duro Garrido, 2018.



the paper nonetheless gives some clues regarding the importance of these chapels in the social framework of their founders. The commissioning of masses both for the soul of the founder and for the souls of people from his ecclesiastical surroundings shows the existence of a sense of ‘belonging’ to a collective, in which blood ties are replaced by certain solidarities between members of the community¹³². The economic and social power of these founders is also evidenced by the amount of property with which the chapels were endowed and the income they generated. The canons were responsible for the richest foundations, followed by those of the *raçoeiros*¹³³. Finally, in the context of the clerical chapels, blood ties were of little importance and family members were relegated to a secondary role when it came to appointing a chaplain or administrator, a position often held by the chapter of Seville Cathedral¹³⁴.

Raúl Molina Recio and Francisco Manuel Carmona Carmona study the relationship between the nobility and ecclesiastical institutions, with the aim of evaluating the investments made by the former in the latter and understanding how the Church contributed to the social reproduction and increase in power of noble families. Molina Recio takes the example of the Fernández de Córdoba family between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries to analyse their investment in the Church, sending many of their second sons to an ecclesiastical career as part of a wider family strategy¹³⁵. The aim of this action was the social reproduction of the family and involved increasing and maintaining its power over time, using certain ecclesiastical strategies¹³⁶. The family Fernández de Córdoba, like others, invested in the entry of some of their sons into ecclesiastical life so that they could project the power of the family into the ecclesiastical world¹³⁷. However, the author concludes that the greater the reach and economic potential of the houses, the fewer the number of clerics who belonged to them, as they had more wealth with which to marry off their offspring.

132 Duro Garrido, 2018, p. 1160.

133 Duro Garrido, 2018, p. 1164.

134 Duro Garrido, 2018, p. 1165.

135 Molina Recio, 2018.

136 Molina Recio, 2018, pp. 1531–1533.

137 Molina Recio, 2018, p. 1536.



In any case, the Church was still an important means of perpetuating and socially reproducing the nobility, whose descendants occupied the highest positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy¹³⁸.

Manuel Carmona Carmona, taking a different approach to similar objectives, analysed the link between the monastery of Madre de Dios de Baena and the founding lineage of the Casa de Cabra between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries¹³⁹. The paper presents the monastery as an actor in the family's social and political capital, guaranteeing its livelihood and the perpetuation of its dignity and honour. There, the family was represented through a family pantheon, the use of heraldry and ceremony to exercise the politics of prestige inherent in its aristocratic status¹⁴⁰. At the same time, the nuns, coming from illustrious families of the nobility or urban oligarchy, imitated the behaviour of the nobles in the monastery and monopolised the priory, occupying it with the daughters of the founding Count and other women associated with him, in a kind of "mayorazgo intramuros", according to Carmona Carmona¹⁴¹.

In recent years, several doctoral theses have also been defended in Spain, making a significant contribution to understanding the paths of social ascent taken by families from different parts of the Kingdom. In general, these theses analyse the individual and/or collective trajectories of lineages, many of them belonging to local elites and urban oligarchies, and in which their strategies for social ascent and reproduction are evident. Maria Eugenia Contreras Jiménez extensively analysed the Árias Dávila family, evolving from humble origins to a very high political, economic and social position, eventually structuring itself and its assets according to the nobiliary models of the time¹⁴². She has, in part, followed some of the most important members of the family, drawing up detailed prosopographies that provide information on the political positions or offices they held in both the royal and local administrations and the means they used to achieve their group's social ascension. In a chapter on the family

138 Molina Recio, 2018, pp. 1538 and 1542-1544.

139 Carmona Carmona, 2019.

140 Carmona Carmona, 2019, pp. 196-202.

141 Carmona Carmona, 2019, pp. 202-205.

142 Contreras Jiménez, 2016.



structure created by the founders of the lineage, the use of *morgados* is brought to the fore, with the aim of consolidating the rapid rise they had achieved and the wealth they had accumulated, as was the case with other individuals of great economic capacity and social position¹⁴³.

The theses by Enric Marí García and José Antonio Martínez Martínez also follow the same pattern of describing the social trajectories of the families they selected as case studies¹⁴⁴. The first author studies the Roigs, a family from the local Valencian elite who, like others, managed to achieve social and economic promotion thanks to trade and the professional exercise of various urban offices and magistracies, as well as having important relationships with other noble houses¹⁴⁵. The *morgadio* appears in this study as a means of altering strategies of family succession, which belatedly began to follow a format of nobiliary succession, replacing preferential transmissions or egalitarian inheritances. Founded in 1692, the family entail was created at a time of social and economic consolidation, which allowed the head of the lineage to give up his career as a lawyer and become the administrator of his assets, but also at a time when the situation of the family was fragile and the social network around the founder was weakening¹⁴⁶.

Martínez Martínez focuses on the social trajectory of the Musso Muñoz de Otálora family, approaching the process of the family's social ascent through an analysis of the mechanisms used to justify their new position of dominance over the community, entry into the circles of urban power, and the strategies of social reproduction, such as matrimony and instruments of patrimonial conservation (*morgados*, chapels and pious works). In addition to the importance of the *morgadio*, he also highlights the endowment of chapels by this family, both to display their power and to mimic the groups to which they aspired to equal. The author even compares the chapel to the *morgado* and characterises it as a key element of family cohesion and tool of social domination¹⁴⁷.

143 Contreras Jiménez, 2016, pp. 293–304.

144 Marí García, 2017; Martínez Martínez, 2017.

145 Marí García, 2017.

146 Marí García, 2017, pp. 241–244 and 331.

147 Marí García, 2017, pp. 272–284.



María Isabel Cobo Hernando's thesis is even more important for the study of the dynamics of power in the context of entailment, since it gives a central place to the *morgadio* within the De la Guerra's strategies of social reproduction and promotion in the Cantabrian region¹⁴⁸. In fact, one of the chapters of the work is entitled "Mayorazgo y reproducción social" and focuses on the practices that ensured the perpetuation of the lineage as a prominent societal group, demonstrating, as such, strategies of social reproduction. These included the protection of the estate through the *morgadio*, marriage ties, service to the Crown and the Church and emigration, an option which enabled the accumulation of great wealth. In turn, the instruments for the social consolidation of the *infanzones* (Castilian word used for noblemen with military origins and belonging to the local elite), discussed in elsewhere in the thesis, included ecclesiastical patronages and chapels. In this context, the patronages were even integrated into the nobiliary *morgados* to ensure that the privileges derived from them remained in the family and their "leadership" belonged to the *pariente mayor*. The patronages and privileges associated with them helped promote the social supremacy of the family over the community, acting as an instrument of power, creating bonds of loyalty between the patron saints and the priests they appointed¹⁴⁹. Similarly, the chapels are analysed as an instrument of social consolidation and reproduction, becoming a "stepping stone" for the family chaplain to climb the social ladder¹⁵⁰.

In a very comprehensive thesis on the *morgadio*, although centred on the already mentioned conflicts surrounding succession, Isabel Maria Melero Muñoz highlights the fact that this institution, which was common amongst the nobility, also functioned as a "social ascender" for the wealthy bourgeoisie, who imitated nobiliary practices by tying up their acquired assets in the same manner¹⁵¹. Throughout the thesis, the author frequently refers to this social function of the *morgados*, highlighting the impact of the Laws of Toro of 1505 in democratising their practice, facilitating the foundation of entails by people of average status who wished to

148 Cobo Hernando, 2017.

149 Cobo Hernando, 2017, pp. 193-194.

150 Cobo Hernando, 2017, pp. 197-207.

151 Melero Muñoz, 2021, p. 14 and 700-701.



perpetuate their lineage and increase their patrimony¹⁵². The conflicts that arose around this institution also contribute to a better understanding of the social and economic practices developed around the *morgadio* and the way in which the noble elite revealed their dominant role in Ancien Régime society, utilising it as a key institution for their furtherment and consolidation of their power¹⁵³.

Fewer studies have been published in Portugal during the last two decades regarding the component of power leveraged in the entailment's sphere of influence compared to the first decade of the twenty-first century, and likewise to Spanish output. In addition to the works and papers already described in the context of the historiography of the *morgadio*, Joana Cândido, as part of her master's dissertation in Architecture, studied this institution as a "landscape unit" made up of a series of architectural elements that still have an impact today on the organisation of agricultural property in the Algarve¹⁵⁴. Although the influence of the institution on the social trajectories of its founders is not directly addressed, it is clear that the long-term prevalence of the term *morgadio* and the stratification of the territory, resulting from the division of the large estate into smaller plots, reflect the evolution of Ancien Régime society and the generalisation of the practice of *morgadio* among the Algarve's nobility between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Similarly, the exploitation of these lands in the twentieth century shows a certain continuity with the Ancien Régime in terms of the social position of their owners and social organisation of the region. Further, the fragmentation of the large *morgados* by the owner himself and the subsequent transfer of plots to partners or tenants allowed the proprietor to leave the properties and devote himself to the activities he usually carried out in the city. The author also argues that the characteristics of the property and the way it was exploited reveal the social structure of the rural Algarve, at the top of which were the large landowners, most of whom were established by *morgados* founded in the region from the fifteenth century onward¹⁵⁵.

152 Melero Muñoz, 2021, p. 82.

153 Melero Muñoz, 2021, p. 757.

154 Cândido, 2010.

155 Cândido, 2010, pp. 62-63.



More recently, Alice Gago published a paper concerning the archives of three late medieval families from Porto: the Machuco, Valadares Carneiro and Delgado. These archives are part of the “Arquivo Almada e Lencastre Bastos”, deposited at the National Library of Portugal¹⁵⁶. By studying these repositories, it is possible to trace the social paths of these families, their territorial implantation in the city and their role in the functioning of the houses, the construction of their memorialisation and identity¹⁵⁷. Firstly, the author describes and characterises the Almada e Lencastre Bastos collection, considering its origin, formation, archival description tools, the research perspectives offered by the documents in the collection, and family archival practices. In this context, the importance of these preserved documents for the study of the mechanisms of social ascension of the families that produced them is highlighted, including the adoption of the entailment reproductive model, following the evolution and subsequent consolidation of the social position acquired¹⁵⁸. Alice Gago then goes on to analyse each of the families listed, considering their social characterisation and social trajectories of their main members. This study shows that these families belonged to Porto’s elite, that their members held royal and municipal offices and that they formed marital alliances with prominent social and economic families in the city. Some of these alliances were endogamous in nature and were a way of maintaining power and preserving the family wealth. In addition, some of these families invested in the ecclesiastical careers of certain sons who went on to occupy important chapter dignities. Finally, all resorted to founding *morgados* and chapels in the churches and convents of the city, helping to preserve the family memory¹⁵⁹.

Another series of studies has been published since the mid-1990s in Portugal which, whilst similar to those described above, differ in that they relate to a very specific geographical area of the Kingdom: the Atlantic islands. All focus on the elites that were formed in the new overseas territories in direct relation to the use of the institution of entailment. Miguel Jasmins Rodrigues, when analysing the organisation of power in Madeira

156 Gago, 2018.

157 Gago, 2018, p. 102.

158 Gago, 2018, pp. 106-107.

159 Gago, 2018, pp. 108-119.



in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – the first period of sugar prosperity – paid attention to the social and political structure that emerged after the first process of settlement on the island¹⁶⁰. During this period, both high and lesser status nobles settled in Madeira, occupying the municipal offices, giving rise to its elite. As with the kingdom’s elites, they developed a number of mechanisms to consolidate their social positions, in particular matrimonial matches, a strategy closely linked to power and the establishment of entails. Because of the importance of the land itself in the Atlantic and the methods of proper succession, the *morgadio* took on an important role as a means of consecrating and maintaining lineage¹⁶¹. For this reason, the *morgados* multiplied on the island, ensuring the integrity of heritage, its permanence in terms of lineage and memorialisation of the founder, as well as contributing to the rise and social reproduction of the island elites, who underwent a process of formation and consolidation during the first centuries of Madeira’s settlement.

The work of José Damião Rodrigues has been fundamental in with respect to this topic. In papers dated between 2002 and 2014, he focussed on the formation and consolidation of noble houses and the importance of property entailment in shaping municipal oligarchies and the social reproduction of the local nobility on the island of São Miguel between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries¹⁶². In an initial paper, he begins with the concept of the “house” and its role in pre-modern society, concluding that it was “a estrutura organizadora do universo nobiliárquico nos Açores no final do Antigo Regime, em estreita relação com o sistema vincular”¹⁶³. As with the elites of the mainland kingdom, the nobility of São Miguel used entails – together with endogamous and consanguineous marriages and the transmission of property through dowries – as a powerful instrument of social reproduction, maintaining their indivisible patrimony, which functioned as the material support of their power¹⁶⁴.

160 Rodrigues, 1996.

161 Rodrigues, 1996, p. 312.

162 Rodrigues, 2002; Rodrigues, 2004; Rodrigues, 2007; Rodrigues, 2008; Rodrigues, 2013; Rodrigues, 2014.

163 Transl.: “the organisational structure of the nobiliary universe in the Azores at the end of the Ancien Régime, [was] in close relation to the vincula system”. Rodrigues, 2002, pp. 18–19.

164 Rodrigues, 2002, pp. 24–25.



In a later study, the author analyses the creation of the network of councils of São Miguel during the reign of King Manuel I and the appropriation of the island's territory¹⁶⁵. In this context, the *morgadio* played a fundamental role, contributing to the formation and consolidation of municipal oligarchies. In the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, it is clear that the lesser nobility which held the dominant position in island society, linked to the ducal house of Viseu-Beja and later to the royal house, founded entails¹⁶⁶. Entailment was therefore a form of affirmation and social differentiation between the families that practised it and exercised local power and the rest of the population that had settled on the island of São Miguel¹⁶⁷. In later publications, Damião Rodrigues once again emphasised the importance of the *morgadio* for the Azorean elite as a means of preserving individual and family memory and the social reproduction of the houses¹⁶⁸, often in conjunction with endogamous and consanguineous marriages, allowing the accumulation of several *morgados* in the same family¹⁶⁹.

Other authors have also analysed entailment in the Atlantic islands, particularly the establishment of chapels, drawing relation to the social groups that practised it and its subsequent purpose. Susana Goulart Costa investigates the foundation of chapels on the island of São Miguel, mainly in the 18th century, and concludes that these institutions were a form of social and spiritual valorisation that highlighted the elite status of the urban nobility¹⁷⁰. Whilst the founding family consciously valued themselves in the eyes of their peers, they likewise 'overvalued' themselves in the eyes of their social inferiors. Individuals from the third estate (merchants, farmers and mechanical officers) also founded chapels in order to mimic the most powerful in society¹⁷¹. In a paper on chapels and *terras de ónus* (another type of entailed property with pious obligations) on the island of Fogo in Cape Verde between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, Maria

165 Rodrigues, 2004.

166 Rodrigues, 2004, p. 447.

167 Rodrigues, 2004, p. 448.

168 Rodrigues, 2007, p. 486.

169 Rodrigues, 2014.

170 Costa, 2005, p. 312.

171 Costa, 2005, pp. 312-313.



João Soares uses the study of the 1814 *Tombo das Capelas da ilha do Fogo* to explain the social strategies and sociopsychological indicators involved in the founding of chapels¹⁷². In this context, the strong attachment of Fogo's elite to the land and agricultural property is highlighted, explaining their entailment and consequent distance from the property market¹⁷³. In line with these studies, the author also concludes that property entailment was a recurring practice among members of families who held positions on the council and militia, and royal or ecclesiastical offices. This elite saw entailment as a form of social and symbolic pre-eminence and a guarantee that their rural heritage would remain intact, as well as serving as a means of social ascension¹⁷⁴.

In a different vein, Maria Isabel Albergaria dedicated her doctoral thesis in Architecture to the noble house on the island of São Miguel in the Ancien Régime, approaching it as a model of the organisation of social and political power¹⁷⁵. As explained in the paper's introduction, “a *casa nobre* emerge como palco privilegiado de toda uma complexa trama de interesses e obrigações, cedências e imposições, fazendo dela uma típica instituição do Antigo Regime”¹⁷⁶. Construction was therefore an act of social affirmation in physical space, a prolonged action in time and, in the case of the great houses, an act designed to represent power. In this sense, the logic of social and political affirmation was imposed as a characteristic of the dominant groups¹⁷⁷. Among the commissioners of the noble house, the main protagonists were the nobility, including the most important people and those who governed the land, undergoing processes of social ascension and consolidation, to which patrimonial entailment contributed – especially in a ‘new’ society with scant yet rapidly evolving histories of honour and prestige¹⁷⁸. The author also emphasises the role of the clergy and merchants as protagonists of noble construction, entailing

172 Soares, 2014.

173 Soares, 2014, pp. 117–118.

174 Soares, 2014, p. 119.

175 Albergaria, 2012.

176 Transl.: “the noble house emerges as the privileged stage for a complex web of interests and obligations, compromises and impositions, making it a typical institution of the Ancien Régime”. Albergaria, 2012, p. 17.

177 Albergaria, 2012, p. 62.

178 Albergaria, 2012, pp. 73–83.



assets and adopting actions similar to those of the elites in order to achieve nobility in the case of the latter¹⁷⁹. The analysis emphasises that practices that were common to various geographies and chronologies, in which *morgados* and chapels were used by economic and political elites as a means of social ascension, spread to the new colonies.

In addition to all the listed studies, which are majoritatively related to attachment, there are also a number of works and papers that deal with topics such as the nobility and urban elites, which prove to be fundamental in understanding the evolution of these social groups and the adoption of the entailment model in the context of their processes of social ascension and consolidation. In Spain (or relating to the Spanish context), the studies by María Concepción Quintanilla Raso and Michael J. Crawford have relevancy for the enrichment of understanding questions regarding social ascension and reproduction in the context of the entailment model. In the first, the author discusses the development of aristocratic power within the manorial sphere in Castile in the late Middle Ages, analysing the manor as a zone of power¹⁸⁰. An aspect that Quintanilla Raso focuses on is the changes that took place at the end of the Middle Ages in the concept of nobility, the nature of status within the nobility and in the mechanisms of access and social promotion, with the consequent change of lineages in the Castilian political scene. Both external and internal factors contributed to this, including the establishment of the *pro indiviso* inheritance system, which led to the formation of “*mayorazgos arcaicos*” and, consequently, the constitution of consolidated and “fortified” estates¹⁸¹.

Michael J. Crawford analyses the court cases that passed judgement on the conflicts over recognition and possession of the status of nobleman (*hidalgo*) in Castile, and furthermore the contexts in which they occurred and the efforts to claim, deny and manage the noble legal privileges associated with that status¹⁸². Although not making direct reference to entailment, this work has contributed to the overall knowledge of the processes and means used by local elites to climb the societal ladder and achieve

179 Albergaria, 2012, pp. 84–95.

180 Quintanilla Raso, 2002.

181 Quintanilla Raso, 2002, pp. 249–250.

182 Crawford, 2014.



noble status in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. Among the various ideas and conclusions presented, it is important to note that, in the last decades of the fifteenth century, nobility was understood as a status dependent on individual achievements and merit – not exclusively by blood or birth. Over the course of the sixteenth century, nobility would eventually evolve into a status based on descent and lineage rather than merit and service, which would have obvious consequences for the social ascension of the elite¹⁸³. Crawford also points out that in Seville, especially from the sixteenth century onwards, council positions were held by individuals recognised as nobles, which led to an increase in applications for recognition and the consequent restrictions imposed by the council¹⁸⁴.

The collective works of the Murcia school on the history of the nobility and the family prove to be even more important, coordinated by Juan Hernández Franco together with co-authors, with texts that reflect on the social status of the nobility and the changes that took place within noble families in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries¹⁸⁵. The first volume presents a new vision of the nobility and the nobiliary, offering new perspectives for the study of the nobiliary as a political and ethical reality of the European nobility of the Early Modern Period, the idea and practice of nobility, and the permanence and changes of the Spanish nobility in different environs¹⁸⁶. The various papers included in the collection reflect on the social image of the nobility, the historiography of the subject, the concepts of lineage and house and the strategies and processes of both social promotion and reproduction. All are of interest to the subjects under discussion, although some stand out with greater relevance. While Arlette Jouanna analyses the externalisation of the social pre-eminence of the nobility as a group with a higher social status that was obliged to be exemplary, Juan Hernández Franco and Raimundo Rodríguez Pérez establish a comparison between the concepts of lineage and house, where the latter implied the existence of social relationships, particularly through marriage strategies, and favoured the distinction between families with

183 Crawford, 2014, pp. 23, 105 and 126.

184 Crawford, 2014, pp. 44–45.

185 Hernández Franco; Guillén Berrendero; Martínez Hernández, 2014; Hernández Franco; Precioso Izquierdo, 2020.

186 Hernández Franco; Guillén Berrendero; Martínez Hernández, 2014, pp. 16–18.



a privileged status and other branches of the same lineage¹⁸⁷. The *mor-gadio* contributed to the elevation of the house as one of the main instruments for its reproduction¹⁸⁸. Francisco Precioso Izquierdo analyses the relationships of patronage between the great Castilian aristocratic houses and both their clients and servants, who went on to make remarkable careers in the political arena of the monarchy¹⁸⁹. The social promotion of these individuals is particularly evident, rising to important careers in the royal administration, the army or the Church, thanks to the alliances they forged based on the social credit of their former lord, as well as their legal studies and economic management¹⁹⁰. Fernando Manzano Ledesma discusses the Asturian nobility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, looking at their strategies for ascension and social reproduction, particularly marriages within the same group, and drawing attention to the ownership of chapels by these families as an indication of their pre-eminent position in their social environment¹⁹¹. The tome also includes a paper by Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, in which he takes stock of the historiography produced in Portugal on the subject of the nobility and the urban elite, focusing on the adoption of the entailment reproduction model by the highest social groupings and furthermore on intergenerational mobility paths whilst presenting new perspectives for study¹⁹².

The work coordinated by Juan Hernández Franco and Francisco Precioso Izquierdo focuses on the subject of the changes that the noble families underwent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the breakdown of the social hierarchy, examining how the families at the top of the social hierarchy accepted and added new “standards of modernity”, while concurrently trying to transmit some of their traditional values to wider society¹⁹³. As in the previous work, the papers of greatest interest centre on the issues of social prestige, matrimonial choices and social reproduction and ascension. The two coordinators authored a joint paper on the

187 Hernández Franco; Guillén Berrendero; Martínez Hernández, 2014, pp. 25–42 and 139–175.

188 Hernández Franco; Guillén Berrendero; Martínez Hernández, 2014, p. 155.

189 Hernández Franco; Guillén Berrendero; Martínez Hernández, 2014, pp. 349–367.

190 Hernández Franco; Guillén Berrendero; Martínez Hernández, 2014, pp. 352–353.

191 Hernández Franco; Guillén Berrendero; Martínez Hernández, 2014, pp. 369–382.

192 Hernández Franco; Guillén Berrendero; Martínez Hernández, 2014, pp. 75–90.

193 Hernández Franco; Precioso Izquierdo, 2020, p. 17.



conjugal trajectory of two houses of the Toledo lineage at the end of the eighteenth century, which followed well-defined strategies such that the houses that were united by marriage nonetheless remained independent and did not lose their own identity, built up over centuries¹⁹⁴. Raúl Molina Recio reflected on the way in which the nobility reproduced its power through the centuries, employing a series of demographic and familial strategies, and specifically the way in which they maintained their numbers in order to extend their networks of political and economic influence between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, taking the Fernandez de Córdoba family as an example¹⁹⁵. Throughout the implementation of these strategies, each member of the family had a clearly defined role, contributing to their perpetuation over time by maintaining their status, and to social reproduction by increasing that same status¹⁹⁶. Finally, Pierre Arnaud's contribution regarding the rise and fall of the García de León y Pizarro family in the transition from the 18th to the 19th century is worth mentioning¹⁹⁷. The author describes the social rise of the members of this family, including their careers, the jobs they held and their membership of the local elite. Arnaud concludes that the ingredients behind the rise of the García de León family could be considered 'classic' and coincide with the elements that the social history of the eighteenth-century Spain has emphasised: nobility, social relations, military service and a trajectory that includes a visit to America¹⁹⁸.

In Portugal, since the 1980s and especially the 1990s, various authors have devoted certain studies to local elites and nobility, as well as their social trajectories in the cities where they were based, often including a consideration of the institution of entails and the role they played in processes of social mobility. Ângela Beirante's studies on Santarém and Évora, from a broad perspective, contribute to understanding the social composition of these cities throughout the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period¹⁹⁹.

194 Hernández Franco; Precioso Izquierdo, 2020, pp. 113–133.

195 Hernández Franco; Precioso Izquierdo, 2020, pp. 201–223.

196 Hernández Franco; Precioso Izquierdo, 2020, p. 207.

197 Hernández Franco; Precioso Izquierdo, 2020, pp. 225–246.

198 Hernández Franco; Precioso Izquierdo, 2020, p. 232.

199 Beirante, 1980, 1981, 1995.



In the specific case of Évora, the author creates a detailed profile of the main families belonging to the nobility and the urban elite, with reference to the *morgados* and chapels they founded and administered²⁰⁰. In a paper on the chapels of the city, first published in 1982–1983, Ângela Beirante characterises the social background of the founders, grouping them into principal categories, including the nobility, the clergy and the popular classes²⁰¹.

In this respect, the historiographical work of Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro and Mafalda Soares da Cunha, sometimes co-authors, proved even more innovative. The first of these authors, as previously mentioned, dedicated part of his research to the nobility and the concepts of house and lineage, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These studies are fundamental in understanding the social reproduction models of this group, their marital strategies and approach for maintaining status and power, including the foundation and accumulation of entails²⁰². In 1997, Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro reflected on local elites and social mobility in relation to the occupation of municipal offices at the end of the Ancien Régime²⁰³. After characterising the local elites and presenting a proposal for classifying and delineating the hierarchy of the social categories for those who could be elected as *vereadores* (councillors) during the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, the author focuses on the profile of the municipal staff. In this regard he seeks to understand who actually held the offices by looking at the social status of the ruling families of some of the most paradigmatic cities, which reveal well-established processes of social ascension. This paper concludes with an analysis of the forms of familial organisation and kinship of Portuguese municipal elites, amongst which the central role that the model of societal reproduction through entailment acquired during the sixteenth century is highlighted, becoming the *de facto* behaviour for these social groups²⁰⁴.

200 Beirante, 1995.

201 Beirante, 2011.

202 Monteiro, 1993, 2003 and 2009 are some of the author's many studies on these issues.

203 Monteiro, 1997.

204 Monteiro, 1997, pp. 363–364.



This model could involve sending second-born sons and daughters into the clergy, but above all, as the name suggests, it could involve entailing assets in favour of the first-born line, which was also prevalent in the processes of upward social mobility²⁰⁵.

Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro returned to the study of municipal elites in a later article, presenting a historiographical reflection on the subject²⁰⁶. His main objective was to discuss novel questions or topics for analysis and the appropriate methodologies to provide answers. The author draws attention to the need to develop long-term studies of family reconstitution to understand the appropriation of local and central institutions by the nobility and elites, and the logic of social reproduction. As emphasised, this approach makes it possible to measure the spread of the “entailment reproductive model” (or pattern of primogeniture) and the fixation of elites in local institutions or their progression to wider spaces.

Mafalda Soares da Cunha published a study of the most important Portuguese manor house of the Ancien Régime: the House of Bragança, between 1560 and 1640²⁰⁷. The author sets out to “tratar a Casa de Bragança como um lugar institucional de promoção ou consolidação do poder”²⁰⁸. To this end, she addresses issues such as the composition and organisation of the ducal court, the exercise of manorial power and the characterisation and organisation of the networks of patronage of the House of Bragança. Of particular relevance in this regard is the chapter dedicated to the models and practices of social reproduction of the brigantine clientele, including the adoption of the entailment reproductive model²⁰⁹.

Taking a different perspective, but nonetheless in the field of aristocratic studies, Mafalda Soares da Cunha has published several works on the aristocracy and overseas expansion, and the impact that service to the king in the territories of the empire had on the maintenance of status and

205 Monteiro, 1997, pp. 364–367.

206 Monteiro, 2005.

207 Cunha, 2000.

208 Transl.: “treat the House of Braganza as an institutional place for promoting or consolidating power”. Cunha, 2000, p. 13.

209 Cunha, 2000, pp. 491–498.



power and social mobility of this group²¹⁰. In these studies, the author also reflects on the adoption of the entailment reproductive mode by the nobility in the context of the migration to overseas territories. Finally, it should be noted that Mafalda Soares da Cunha, together with Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, wrote a chapter on the relationship between the formation of the aristocratic family and the exercise of political power, in which they once again discuss the *morgado* as a model of family organisation²¹¹.

Back in the 1990s, Pedro de Brito published one of the most significant studies on local elites and the importance that the institution of *morgados* and chapels played in their processes of social ascension and consolidation²¹². In this book, which is the result of his master's thesis, Brito provides a detailed analysis of the families that made up Porto's urban patriciate between 1500 and 1580, in other words, the families in which power was concentrated in the city. Further, he considers the economic power on which they based their political influence. He begins by listing the 70 families under consideration, analysing their historical and genealogical evolution, followed by an assessment of the occupation of public functions (both local and central administration), religious, military and economic activities carried out by these families, in order to understand their social paths in the city of Porto. This study stands out above all for the prominent place that Pedro de Brito gives to the institution of *morgados* and chapels by these families, dedicating an extensive chapter to it²¹³. Family by family, the author lists the entails founded and administered by their members, which contributed to their social affirmation and proximity to the personal and societal mannerisms of the landed nobility. The book ends with a reflection on the classification of the families studied as belonging to the bourgeoisie or the nobility, noting that some of them achieved the noble status to which they aspired.

In a much later article, Pedro de Brito returned to the subject of local elites and their families in the Early Modern Period, attempting to define this social group and to determine its origins and the superimposed titles

210 Cunha, 2001, 2009.

211 Cunha; Monteiro, 2010.

212 Brito, 1997.

213 Brito, 1997, pp. 345–381.



given to it, especially those of *cavaleiros vilãos*, *homens-bons* and *cidadãos* (citizens)²¹⁴. Finally, the author focuses on the analysis of networks of family power, especially in small localities where they were closer thanks to greater endogamy. Through the research of dominant families, Brito concluded that, in Porto, the main families of the urban elite were strongly endogamous, considering that they were all directly or indirectly linked to each other by at least one marriage. It is also clear that these families gradually abandoned the trade to which they had previously devoted themselves and invested in property, which led to a considerable increase in the foundation of *morgados* by their members – and a consequent decrease in the resources available for dowries and for directing second sons towards an ecclesiastical career. Pedro de Brito's studies clearly emphasise the role of entails as a means of social ascension and also as a means of consolidating extant status.

Continuing in the context of historiographical production regarding Portuguese elites (especially in the Early Modern Period) certain studies on the New Christians and their paths up the social ladder must be mentioned. In this respect, Fernanda Olival's work on families of New Christians who managed to become aristocrats thanks to their activities as merchants and jurists is paradigmatic²¹⁵. The author pays particular attention to the cases of Heitor Mendes de Brito, Cristóvão Esteves and Diogo de Castro do Rio, showing how the New Christians accumulated wealth and prestige with the king until they received the coveted letters of nobility. The foundation of entails by these individuals and the importance of these institutions in their social mobility and maintenance of status and power they had achieved are also highlighted. A few years later, Ana Isabel Ribeiro published a similar study on the Mata family, who began their social journey in mercantile activity, until acquiring the office of postmaster to the kingdom in 1606²¹⁶. Like Fernanda Olival, this author also devotes part of her study to the foundation and administration of entails by the Mata family as a means of social ascension, contributing to their nobility and titling.

214 Brito, 2010.

215 Olival, 1998, 2002.

216 Ribeiro, 2005.



The late 1990s and the 2000s were particularly fertile for the publication of studies and the defence of dissertations and theses on medieval and modern urban elites and oligarchies. In this respect, Adelaide Millán da Costa can be regarded first and foremost. She focused much of her research on the medieval city and the elites and oligarchies that exercised power in the urban world. In addition to her doctoral thesis, in which she addressed the relationship between the Crown and the municipality of Porto, based on the manifestation of these powers in the urban environment, also reflecting on the city's oligarchy²¹⁷, she has published other studies on the municipality's elites, providing research indicators and methodological perspectives²¹⁸.

Throughout the 2000s, master's dissertations and doctoral theses have also been defended and published on the subject, both in the Medieval and Early Modern periods. As a whole, these studies analyse, often using the prosopographical method, the most important families belonging to the local elite of a given city in relation to the institutions in which they exercised their power and influence – in particular the city councils and *Santas Casas da Misericórdia* (Holy Houses of Mercy)²¹⁹. The studies by Rute Pardal, on local power and the power elites in Évora during the Philippine dynasty, Mário Farelo on the oligarchy of Lisbon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and André Madruga Coelho on the social path of the Lobo in the late Middle Ages, prosopographically demonstrate that, to the families and members of the urban oligarchies, the institution and administration of *morgados* and chapels were a constant, and a stage in their social ascension through the exercise of local power²²⁰. The authors also show the strategies these families developed to achieve the social promotion and consolidation they sought, and to perpetuate themselves and their descendants in power.

Joaquim Bastos Serra's work on Évora's municipal oligarchy between 1367 and 1433 is very similar to the previous studies but nevertheless stands out for the inclusion of a specific chapter on *morgados* and chapels,

217 Costa, 1999.

218 Costa, 2001, 2009.

219 Pardal, 2007; Farelo, 2008; Mósca, 2011; Coelho, 2017; Serra, 2018.

220 Pardal, 2007; Farelo, 2008; Coelho, 2017.



among familial approaches²²¹. After contextualising the political and military context and royal intervention in the municipal administration – characterising the organisation of the municipality and the men in charge and their careers – the author devotes the final part to the governing group and strategies for promoting and consolidating their extant social positions. As the author points out in the subchapter “Estratégias familiares” (“Family strategies”), the members of the urban oligarchy developed strategies around the organisation of their own families and the projection of their external image, with the clear aim of increasing their capacity for influence and preserving the power and prestige they had already acquired. In this context, Bastos Serra shows the *morgados* and chapels founded by these elites as a means of defending their patrimony and guaranteeing the continuity of family power and wealth. Entailment and first-born and male succession were no longer the preserve of the high nobility but were increasingly used by the lower and middle nobility, linked to local government, as one of the methods for strengthening their social standing. Using the example of a medium-sized Portuguese town at the end of the Middle Ages, this study allows a proof of the idea that has been under analysis: the importance of the component of power in the context of entailment and the use of the *morgadio* as a means of ascension and social consolidation of the elites.

221 Serra, 2018.





Information and documentation

CHAPTER 2

2





Information and documentation

In May 1568, at the culmination of a process of social ascension that had begun a few years earlier, Diogo de Castro do Rio, belonging to a family of New Christian merchants – and now a nobleman of the King’s House¹ – with his wife Beatriz Vaz, founded a *morgado*, for which they appointed their son Martinho de Castro do Rio as the first administrator². The entail foundation deed was drafted and validated by António do Amaral, the king’s public notary in Lisbon and environs, who travelled to the founders’ house for this purpose and subsequently registered the document in his book of notes from which he made a copy. A few weeks later, the couple petitioned King Sebastião, asking for confirmation of the institution as they had made some additions, including the obligation to incorporate their son’s legitimacies into the *morgado*³. The confirmation warrant was issued by the royal chancery on 6 July 1568 and, shortly afterwards, copied into its registry books, they still preserved today in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo⁴. In the same book, shortly after the warrant, the entail foundation deed was recorded to document the act of the royal confirmation⁵.

1 Olival, 2002.

2 Entail foundation deed (1568-05-19) – VINCO01637 DCRBVMCR EA/005a; TT-GCL-RV-98, fls. 143v-157.

3 Petition ([15--]) – VINCO01637 DCRBVMCR EA/004aa; TT-C-SH-D-24, fls. 135v-136.

4 Chancery record of a confirmation warrant (1568) – VINCO01637 DCRBVMCR EA/004; TT-C-SH-D-24, fls. 135v-136v.

5 Entail foundation deed (1568-05-19) – VINCO01637 DCRBVMCR EA/005a; TT-GCL-RV-98, fls. 143v-157.



Throughout its existence, this entail and the institutions with which it had to liaise in its day-to-day management continued to produce documentary information, some of which has survived to this day. For example, some months or years after the foundation, Martinho de Castro do Rio entailed his reserved portions (1568), the founders regulated female succession (1574) and drew up their wills (1575 and 1580). In the following century, an inventory of the assets of the grandson of the founders and administrator of the entail was listed and certain apostilles on public debt instruments belonging to the *morgado* were registered in the chancery (1641–1642)⁶.

In the nineteenth century, as a result of liberal laws that sought to restrict the foundation and existence of entails, the descendants of the founding couple and administrators of the *morgado* were forced to register it in *governo civil* (civil government) of Lisbon so that it could be maintained. In order to do this, they had to recover information produced centuries before to prove ownership and for registration purposes. As such access to a copy of the foundation deed of the entail became available along with the confirmation warrant, as well as the annexation deeds of the reserved portions and the declaration deed of female succession, among other documents⁷. This type of record reproduces, at least in part, the archive of the entail, at a time when its existence was already constrained and, as is known to interested historians, nearing its end⁸.

2.1. Reconstituting the entail archives

The description of the documentary production and conservation of the *morgado* of Diogo de Castro do Rio and Beatriz Vaz is one of many examples of reconstituting an archive of an entail and circulation of information during the institution's existence, from the second half of the sixteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century.

⁶ The documents relating to this entail are described in the database under the reference code VINC001637 DCRBVMCR EA.

⁷ TT, Governo Civil de Lisboa, Registo Vincular, livro 98, fls. 143v–175.

⁸ See Esteves, 2008, pp. 45–97, for more information about *registo vincular* (entailment register) and the entail extinction process.



In fact, this was the criterion that led to the creation and completion of the VINCULUM project database⁹, i.e. the virtual reconstruction of the archives of pre-modern institutions, especially those of *morgados* and chapels. After the introduction of the liberal laws and abolition of entails in 1863, these archives were broken up and dispersed among several archives¹⁰, distorting the informational landscape of previous centuries. The result is an archival database, using AtoM¹¹, which gathers documentation in accordance with the archival standard for document description – *International Standard for Describing Institutions with Archival Holdings* (ISDIAH), *General International Standard Archival Description* (ISAD(G)) and *International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families* (ISAAR-CPF).

The main objective of the project database is to collect documents produced by or accumulated from entails founded in Portuguese territories, excluding the *Estado da Índia*, between 1300 and 1700¹². Following pre-defined search criteria regarding the archives and fonds to be consulted, the collated documents are distributed and described by entail, reproducing the most accurate structure of information and the flows of information between institutions, in constant relationship with the individuals who founded and administered the *morgados* or chapels. In this sense, the documentation was gathered and structured from the perspective of the originating institutions, both those of the Crown and the Church, as well as the entails and families that owned them, using logical relationships that were established between one and the other throughout the existence of *morgados* and chapels, from their foundation to their extinction,

9 Database available at <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

10 The disintegration and dispersal of many of these archives produced by the entails occurred as a result of the sale of the assets that had been bound up until then or the loss of the usefulness of proof of the goods and favours that guaranteed the integrity of these archives. Gago, 2018, p. 105 In Spain, a similar process took place in the context of disaffiliation, which resulted in the transfer of fonds from disaffiliated institutions to various archives, although there was a concern to inventory the assets and describe the documentary collections. Caballero García, 2005.

11 Short for Access to Memory. About this archival database, which uses open-source software, see <https://www.accesstomemory.org/pt/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

12 The logic behind the creation and construction of the database is explained in the “About” tab of the database, available online: <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/about> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



capturing the moments of entailment management¹³. This type of research is not without its limitations, particularly with regard to the documentation available: this is only a fraction of what may have been the panoply of documents produced and accrued by medieval and modern entails. As such, the reconstruction of these archives through the recovery of information produced by other institutions allows to see, at least in part, what the “entailment information system” may have been like retrospectively, restoring the documents to the central unit under analysis – the entail – whilst maintaining the chains of information transmission.

The organisation of information by entail, which assumes the role of the Archival Institution¹⁴, in close connection with the Authority Records (created for both persons and institutions/corporate bodies)¹⁵ and the Archival Descriptions¹⁶, opens up multiple perspectives for critical examination and research. From the outset, specific research objectives can be focussed on the entails themselves, across singular or multiple institutions, and upon the people who founded and administered them, whose personal and socio-professional information (as well as family relationships) are partially included in the database¹⁷. The archival description of documents, in turn, offers significant potential. It is possible to consult the documents chronologically, applying a date-based serialisation to aid in understand the production of information over time, the typologies most – or indeed least – collected in the producing institutions and, also, the data contained in the *scope and content* – an open description field that characterises the content of the document.

Other studies could be based on the thematic and geographical indexing of the items and fonds described in the database. Firstly, all fonds have been indexed according to the location of the entail to which they relate,

¹³ The various producing institutions are listed and described in Vinculum Information System Guide, available online: <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

¹⁴ The list of entails (or Archival Institutions) can be consulted at <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/repository/browse> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

¹⁵ The list of Authority Records, both of persons and institutions, can be consulted at <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/actor/browse> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

¹⁶ Archival Descriptions at Fonds and Item level are available at <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/informationobject/browse> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

¹⁷ In fact, only the data provided by the documents consulted and described were entered into the database.



allowing a more refined analysis by city, town or even region¹⁸. Secondly, all the foundation deeds of entails, including wills, dowry deeds and similar, and sentences have been assigned terms (*access points*) that make up a *thesaurus* predefined within the framework of the project. This, functionally, enables identification of the main themes covered by the documents in contextual terms. Many of these terms relate to the rules of succession imposed by the founders, but furthermore to all the other conditions imposed and obligated upon successive administrators, such as the use of a family name or coat of arms, the creation of a *tombo* or inventory, and the fulfilment of pious duties. In the case of sentences, some of the indexing terms are very similar to those in the foundation deeds of the entail, however, from the point of view of non-compliance (changes in administrative norms against specified tradition, for example), and several terms relating to the management of the entailed assets were added¹⁹.

The reconstitution of the archives in the VINCULUM project database clearly shows the role of the entail as a corporate body (or organisation) that produced information, but also as a recipient of information produced by other institutions which it then had to manage and preserve. The accumulation of documentary information, regardless of its originator, by the families that founded and administered entails led to the creation of private archives – family repositories or archives of the entails themselves. However, the scarcity of archives of this type or the gaps therein that characterise those that are still preserved today lead us to consult, above all, the surviving archives of other institutions, those with which the entails were related during the course of their existence. This method allows a reconstruction of the information flows of the Ancien Régime and an understanding how information circulated between institutions, particularly regarding entailment issues²⁰. Through the originals, copies and records produced by all those institutions, “living organisms” of the

18 The list of geographical indexing terms can be consulted at the following URL: <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/taxonomy/index/id/42> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024]. It should be noted that the indexing was based on the current division of the country into municipalities.

19 The list of thematic indexing terms can be consulted at the following URL: <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/taxonomy/index/id/35> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

20 Method developed in Rosa, 2017.



Ancien Régime that managed their own archives²¹, it becomes possible to understand the use of *morgados* and chapels by local elites as a means of social ascension and reproduction, and the maintenance of the power they had achieved.

Families that were the protagonists of processes of social ascension and that, in the course of these processes, founded *morgados* and/or chapels, became centres for the aggregation of documentation, both produced by themselves and that which they needed as a result of their management activities and also those which came from other institutions. In order to understand who founded entails with the aim of social advancement and their subsequent path, as well as the link between the founding families and other forms of access to and maintenance of power – particularly through the occupation of municipal positions – it was essential to establish a survey based on geographical criteria. To this end, within the framework of this subproject dedicated to the component of power ligatured to entailment, the researches employed a geographical indexing of the entails entered in the database. Case studies were chosen within cities and/or towns where the strategies of the urban elites and/or oligarchies to match the social strata of the nobility and entwined social ascension were visible. Considering these parameters, the cities of Lisbon, Porto, Évora and Santarém were chosen as they were the scenes of countless cases of social mobility in the medieval and modern periods, led by their elites and members of urban oligarchies. Furthermore, they have benefited from extensive studies on these topics in recent decades²². Through these examples an understanding of the information that the families under analysis were able to mobilise can be enriched, in association with the social changes they went through, and the reasons that led them to register their documents with the Crown or ecclesiastical institutions, plus the frequency with which they did so. The relationships they have developed with these organisations in terms of producing and disseminating information about the entails they founded and administered are also visible.

21 Rosa, 2017, p. 573.

22 In this regard, we refer to the previous chapter, where we considered the literature on the subject of urban elites, specifically in the cities selected as the case study.



The geographical indexing was also complemented by the use of thematic indexing, selecting the *access points* most closely related to the issues of power studied in this subproject, namely “Inventory”, “Family Name”, “Coat of Arms”, “Crown”, “Church”, “Municipality”, “Accumulation”²³. The documentation indexed under these terms revealed the strategies of families in ascension and their attitudes to their demonstrations of power and social status. The relationships they established with civil and religious powers are also perceptible, particularly in the context of control and surveillance of the entails founded and/or administered by their members.

The records indexed with the above-mentioned geographical and thematic *access points* were collected from the respective institutions of origin, both those belonging to the Crown and the Church, as well as from the families and entails themselves, according to previously established criteria. The Crown’s institutions of record stand out in general, such as the royal chancery and Torre do Tombo (the Royal Archive), the *Capelas da Coroa* (Crown Chapels), the *provedorias das comarcas*, the *Hospital de São José* and, in the context of Church institutions, convents and monasteries. The selection of the fonds and collections to be consulted, coming from the listed origins and are now kept in several Portuguese archives, depended on various factors that ultimately determined the results obtained. As such, account has been taken of the relevance of the information preserved by each fonds/collection, the archival description available and accessible to the researcher, the actual availability of examination –sometimes limited by the state of preservation of the documentation – and other difficulties encountered in collecting documentary data.

After defining the criteria for analysis and overcoming the obstacles that conditioned the contents of the collection itself, an array of more than

²³ These access points refer to clauses in the documents founding the entails that determined, respectively: the obligation to have an inventory made; the obligation to use the family surname; the obligation to use the family coat of arms; the establishment of oversight by the Crown; the establishment of supervision by the Church; the establishment of necessary vigilance by the municipality; and the prohibition or conditioning of the accumulation of entails.



26,500 records were described in the database²⁴, distributed over different types of documents and origins. In the specific case of the subproject dedicated to the power component, and after selecting the case study cities, there is a certain discrepancy between the total number of records collected for each. Lisbon has the largest number of documents, totalling more than 7,000 items in the project database. Santarém, Évora and Porto have smaller but significant numbers, totalling a few hundred records. These differences are explained by the intrinsic characteristics of each city – for instance, Lisbon’s role as capital and its relative importance compared to the other cities should be born in mind – but also by the fonds/collections held within each location and other factors that will be explained throughout this text. The heuristic options and the criteria for consulting documentation also played a very important role in these results. Take the example of Portalegre – a town for which the project has collected over 1,000 records. This high number is due to the archival description of *tombos* of chapels and *morgados*, produced by *provedoria da comarca de Portalegre*, kept in the institution’s fonds at Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre and now available online²⁵. This is an important sample of the documentary production of *provedorias das comarcas*, a topic which will be covered closely.

24 It should be emphasised that when reference is made to the number of records or items in the database, this is not necessarily referring to the number of documents entered, so the numbers presented are relative. In fact, the same document can be broken down into several items because it contains the exemplification or copy of one or more documents that give rise to several records. In addition, in order not to lose the chain of information, all records prior to 1700, such as chancery or *provedoria* records, have also been described, followed by the document(s) recorded. See, for example, the chancery record of the entail foundation deed and other documents of the *morgado* of Vasco Fernandes César and Inês Gonçalves Batavias, which includes 34 items, described in Chancery record of an entail foundation deed (1595-05-06) – VINCO02397 VFCIGB EA/001; TT-C-J3-P-3, fls. 214-253. In any case, each item still corresponds to an “independent” informational act. Finally, in some cases, the same document was described more than once, particularly in situations where the same person founded more than one entail for different administrators, so it was necessary to trace the institution back to each of the entails created.

25 Series “Tombos de capelas e morgados”, from the fonds of Provedoria da Comarca de Portalegre, available at <https://digitarq.adptg.arquivos.pt/details?id=1015766> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



2.2. Information producing institutions

2.2.1. The Crown institutions

Collecting documents from the institutions that produced them reveals the close relationships that the families – especially those who were the protagonists of a process of social ascension, or the entails themselves, as corporate bodies – had with the institutions of the Crown. This includes those that granted graces and those that registered, controlled and verified the information. As seen in the case of Diogo de Castro do Rio and Beatriz Vaz, the foundation of a *morgado* or chapel depended on those who expressed the desire to establish it, but also on an official scribe to formalise and validate the act, thus giving it public credibility. This function was the responsibility of *tabeliães* or public notaries, who carried out their work in public registry offices or notarial offices based in urban areas close to the communities. Although not a royal institution in the strict sense of the word, medieval and modern notaries and their notarial offices were nevertheless regulated by the Crown. In fact, these officials generally identified themselves as *tabelião público do rei* (the king’s public notary), followed by the name of the town or city where they practised their profession²⁶. Regarding matters of entailment, it is important to emphasise that their duties were not limited to writing and validating deeds for the foundation of entails. Their services continued to be required throughout the existence of the entail to draft the most diverse selection of documents relating to its management at the request of the administrators or other stakeholders. Often, in accordance with the instructions left by the founders, a public notary was responsible for registering, over time, the assets acquired by various means and other deeds in the entail’s book (*tombo* or inventory), which would remain in the possession of its administrators and other institutions chosen for this purpose²⁷. However, the lack of medieval notarial notebooks and the problems with those that still exist today from the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries – “relative

26 See, for example, Entail foundation deed (1568-05-19) – VINC001637 DCRBVMCR EA/005a; TT-GCL-RV-98, fls. 143v-157.

27 See, for example, Entail foundation deed (1547-07-04) – VINC005232 AAGP EA/001g; SGMAI-GCVC-RV-9610, fls. 141v-153v.



poverty, dispersion and lack of indexing”²⁸ – limits the knowledge of the documentation produced by these officials to that which has been preserved in the archives of other royal and religious institutions in the form of copies or records, or even the originals themselves.

Firstly, the analysis of the data collected for the selected cities shows the obvious importance of registering the documentation of the entails founded by the urban elites in the royal chancery, one of the most important institutions of the Crown, whose records are kept in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo. Although the powers of the royal chancery in the field of entails are unclear and there are no specific regulations on the subject, it can be seen that, as part of its general functioning, it had the obligation to draw up and record the documents issued by the king relating to two specific aspects of the life of entails: ownership, in particular, of the *Capelas da Coroa*; and the management of entailed assets in its books. Added to these aspects was the confirmation of foundation deeds of entails – these may or may not have been copied in full in the book in which the royal confirmation letter was registered²⁹.

Considering the information described so far and the objectives underlying the research carried out, it was necessary to consult the record books of the set of reigns from King Dinis to King Pedro II. This is a timespan that extends from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century, and concerns 18 reigns and more than five hundred books. In view of this large volume of information, a decision was made to carry out a preliminary documentary survey based on the chancery indexes for each reign, dating back to the eighteenth century, consulting the “chapel” and “*morgado*” entries from the commoners’ books³⁰. Consultation of these indexes was naturally subject to certain limitations, in particular the possibility that they didn’t cover all the records relating to entails in the chancery books. However, given the volume of information

28 Vinculum Information System Guide (hereinafter VISG), “Notarial Offices”: <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/notarial-offices/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

29 VISG, “*Chancelaria régia*”: <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/chancelaria-regia-en/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

30 These books are described and some of them are available for consultation at <http://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4202506> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



they contain, it was impractical to consult them in their entirety, thus using the indexes proved to be very useful, allowing thousands of records of interest to the project to be analysed.

As far as the dating of these records, a large concentration of documents is from the seventeenth century, during the reigns of Kings Filipe II, Filipe III, João IV, Afonso VI and Pedro II. Bearing in mind that more than half of the records written in this century are related to the entailment administration, it seems clear that this exponential increase in comparison to the sixteenth century was due to the greater control exercised by the Crown over the chapels that became vacant for the royal house – a right that was exercised from King Filipe II’s reign onwards. This king sought to revitalise the system regulating the pious legacies of these chapels and to make better use of an important source of revenue for the state³¹. The quantities of extant documents for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are considerably lower, corresponding to a period when the Crown’s control was not yet felt (fourteenth) or was in its infancy (fifteenth), with a gradual increase in documentation relating to the administration of *Capelas da Coroa* through to the end of the 1400s and, consequently, in the information produced by the chancery.

Analysing the types of documents recorded in the royal chancery from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century also sets the groundwork for understanding the interaction between urban elites and the Crown. In addition to the predominance of letters of administration and warrants recorded in the chancery related to the importance of the *Capelas da Coroa*, especially from the fifteenth century onwards, there is a significant demonstration of the concerns of the founders and administrators with requests for confirmation of entail foundations, donations, privileges, contracts and other types of documents. Furthermore, there are various documents relating to the transfer of assets, which by their nature were inalienable and relied on royal authorisation in order to be disposed of (sold, donated, subrogated), which is why subrogation warrants, leases, and countless patterns of

31 VISG, “Juízo das Capelas da Coroa (Court of the Crown Chantries) (1643-1832)”: <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/juizo-das-capelas-da-coroa-court-of-the-crown-chantries-1643-1832/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



public debt instruments multiplied. In fact, considering the families in social ascension, the king and his chancery frequently issued various kinds of grace letters. Be it a royal confirmation, or the donation of property or other goods, this was a way for the king to compensate those who served him and thus “validate” the process of social ascension of these individuals.

Even the king himself could be responsible for the institution or donation of a *morgado* to a new owner, usually from the founder’s lineage, as shown by the analysis of the documents produced by the royal chancery. The reigns of King João I and João IV, separated by more than two centuries, are paradigmatic in this respect. Both kings often favoured those who supported them and fought on their side in the wars against Castile or Spain by donating properties in the form of a *morgado* or *morgados* that had been confiscated from their opposition. This led, especially during the reign of King João I, to the creation of a new nobility made up of members of the lower classes, whose action at the king’s side gave them their longed-for social promotion. This eventuality is reflected in the documents produced both by and for the *morgados* founded, or belonging to, the honoured families, attesting to the importance of registering information in the chancery books for the families in active social mobility³². Similar events came to pass in the early years of King João IV’s reign, although with some distinguishing particularities. The king invested – above all – in donating the administration of *Capelas da Coroa* to his supporters, translating into a considerable number of administration letters and warrants, in comparison to other document types³³. The only donation deed relating to entailment issues recorded in the chancery books of King João IV falls within the same context and may have contributed to the social promotion of its beneficiary. In 1656, the monarch donated the chapel founded by Vasco Esteves de Gatuz in Estremoz to António Cavide as a reward for his services to the House of Bragança, succeeding the king, who until then had been the administrator of this entail but resigned his role³⁴.

32 See, for example, Donation deed (1404-11-12) – VINC000015 VAV EA/001a; CP-J1-3-2, pp. 27-28 and Donation deed (1384-09-05) – VINC000034 JFP EA/001a; CP-J1-1-1, p. 139.

33 See, for example, Administration letter (1642-08-20) – VINC001684 EGSD EA/002a; TT-C-J4-D-12, fls. 241v-242 and Administration letter (1643-09-01) – VINC001834 GERE EA/001a; TT-C-J4-D-17, fls. 306v-307.

34 Donation deed (1656-06-23) – VINC002396 VEG EA/007a; TT-C-J4-D-6, fls. 149v-151v.



It was, however, the founders or administrators of entails themselves who regularly approached the Crown to have their rights or written information confirmed and given royal authority. Frequent registration with the chancery was, in fact, a sign of social ascension and a route toward closer proximity to the royal court and circles of power. There were several founders who asked the king to confirm the foundation deeds of their *morgados*. Some significant examples from the cities selected as a case study have been collected, allowing an understanding of the motivation of the institutors to ask for royal confirmation of the foundational act and registration in the chancery.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, Fernando Gonçalves Cogominho, a knight and vassal of the king, and Maria Eanes founded a *morgado* at Quinta da Fonte dos Coelheiros in Évora with the approval of their son, appointed as successor, and their daughter-in-law. The oldest known copy of the entail foundation deed is recorded in the chancery of King Pedro I, in a confirmation and donation letter³⁵. In fact, less than a month later, the king not only confirmed the institution, but also honoured Fernando Gonçalves Cogominho with the donation of the town of Oriola (Portel), emphasising the social importance of this family³⁶. This confirmation and donation letter was again, around five months later, confirmed by the monarch who granted it. Until the seventeenth century, the *morgado* of Torre de Coelheiros continued to appear in chancery records, even after it left the hands of the Cogominho family and was donated in 1469 to João de Sousa, a nobleman from the King's Household³⁷, and incorporated into the *Capelas da Coroa*³⁸. The constant presence of this entail between royal documentation and chancery records provides additional validation, reinforcing the social position of its founders and successors – and the close connection they maintained with the Crown.

35 Entail foundation deed (1357-01-22) – VINC000025 FGCME EA/002aaa; CP-P1, pp. 17-19.

36 Confirmation and donation letter (1357-02-15) – VINC000025 FGCME EA/002aa; CP-P1, pp. 16-20.

37 Donation deed (1469-02-20) – VINC000025 FGCME EA/001a; TT-C-A5-31, fl. 33.

38 Denunciation warrant of administration (1680-10-19) – VINC000025 FGCME EA/005a; TT-C-A6-D-44, fl. 128v.



The case of the *morgado* founded in Lisbon by Gines de Barona, Beatriz Gomes and António de Barona, their son, is even more representative of the relationships that were established between these institutions and the workings of the Crown, particularly the royal chancery, in respect to the production and circulation of information regarding entails. The registration of documents relating to this *morgado* in the chancery began even before its foundation and reveals the direct intervention of the Crown in the process. In fact, it was only after obtaining a licence warrant in 1627 that the couple could proceed with the foundation of their *morgado*, as they also wanted to entail the inheritance of their son, who was still a minor³⁹. Having obtained the necessary authorisation, Gines de Barona, his wife and his son went to the notary to inscribe and validate the foundation deed, dated 19 January 1628. The same document was registered in the books of the royal chancery of King Filipe III, by order of the *chanceler-mor* (chancellor) and at the request of the involved party, as indicated by the preceding paragraph⁴⁰. This is followed, within the same record, by the petition to confirm the foundation deed and the aforementioned licence warrant granting additional validity to the act⁴¹. Two years later, Gines de Barona and Beatriz Gomes, together with their infant son, directly requested royal intervention in a document rectifying the foundation deed, in the face of threats from António Serrão. Serrão argued that the entail would pass to the Crown upon the couple's death, given that his son and successor was a cleric⁴². The case gave rise to a number of legal reports, including one by Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga, the Crown's attorney, which proclaimed in favour of the founders and would thus be attached to the foundation deed⁴³. The final decision of the legal reports reveals the value that registration in the chancery could have giving the existence of an entail its authority even more clearly: valuable enough for the king to confirm the institution and have the documents produced in the chancery

39 Licence warrant (1627-11-20) – VINC002678 GBBGAB EA/001a; TT-C-F3-P-3, fl. 132.

40 Entail foundation deed (1628-01-19) – VINC002678 GBBGAB EA/002a; TT-C-F3-D-21, fls. 187-194.

41 Petition ([1627]) – VINC002678 GBBGAB EA/002b; TT-C-F3-D-21, fl. 193 and Licence warrant (1627-11-20) – VINC002678 GBBGAB EA/002c; TT-C-F3-D-21, fl. 193.

42 Confirmation letter of an entail foundation deed (1630-04-10) – VINC002678 GBBGAB EA/003a; TT-C-F3-D-21, fls. 194v-196.

43 See, for example, Legal report (1629-04-28) – VINC002678 GBBGAB EA/003f; TT-C-F3-D-21, fl. 197.



registered. The confirmations of the foundation deed and the addition of new clauses took place in 1630 and 1636 respectively, guaranteeing the survival of the entail that had arisen from the will of the Barona family a few years earlier⁴⁴.

Whilst involved, this example is particularly illustrative of the way in which documents were produced, and information circulated and transmitted within the royal chancery in close proximity to the entailment institution. It also reveals the motives that may have led to the Crown's request for intervention in the foundation of a *morgado* and subsequent actions. In addition, the intervention of other authorities is evident, in particular the legal officers and the incorporation of the documentation they transferred into the chancery's record books, in order to guarantee and validate an otherwise complex process. Finally, the entail under analysis also shows, as mentioned, that the intervention of the royalty and registration in the chancery were not limited to the confirmation of foundation deeds.

The Torre do Tombo – linked to the Crown as a royal archive and Ancien Régime institution that both produced, validated and preserved information – played a significant role in registering documents created within and relating to the entails. Some of the fonds and collections are very rich and exemplary of the Torre do Tombo's role in registering entailment documents. Within the scope of the project, the series “Instituições de morgados e capelas”, from the collection “Morgados e capelas”⁴⁵, and the series “Livros de Registo”, from the fonds “Arquivo do Arquivo”⁴⁶, were selected for their importance.

44 Confirmation warrant (1630-09-01) – VINC002678 GBBGAB EA/004a; TT-C-F3-D-26, fls. 23-23v and Confirmation warrant (1636-11-29) – VINC002678 GBBGAB EA/005a; TT-C-F3-D-40, fl. 100v. This entail was analysed and described as part of the “Entail of the month” initiative of the VINCULUM project and can be consulted at <https://www.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/entail-of-the-month/chapel-morgadio-of-gines-de-barona-beatriz-gomes-antonio-de-barona/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

45 “Instituições de morgados e capelas” series, from the “Morgados e capelas” collection, available at <https://digitalq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4223347> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

46 “Livros de Registo” series, from the “Arquivo do Arquivo” collection, available at <https://digitalq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4436389> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



The first series consists of a total of 30 books, originally kept in a drawer of the Torre do Tombo known as the “gaveta dos morgados”, and which, after being dismantled (date unknown), was incorporated into the “Núcleo Antigo”⁴⁷. Given the objectives of the project, 25 books of interest were selected, analysed and described in the database. The remaining five books were not considered – mainly because of their date, being later than the seventeenth century⁴⁸, or because they related to entails that did not fall within the project’s objectives, such as those of ecclesiastical administration⁴⁹. This resulted in almost two hundred and fifty records relating to 28 different *morgados* and chapels⁵⁰.

The books that make up the series under study correspond to copies of foundation deeds, tombs and other documents relating to entails that the respective founders or administrators requested to be registered in the royal archive. Those gathered for the project were written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, with one exception⁵¹, copy extant documentation from these centuries. This appears to reveal that this was a process that began at a point where the foundation of *morgados* was already a fully developed process, and their complex nature meant that registration and retainment in the royal archive was necessary. Several of these copies begin with the royal provision addressed to the *guarda-mor* of the Torre do Tombo, ordering the registration of the entail foundation deed, followed by the petition presented by the administrator. The reasons for this are often repeated and are mainly related to the need to preserve the foundation deed and avoid the corresponding inconvenience in

47 VISG, “Torre do Tombo”: <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/torre-do-tombo-en/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

48 See, for example, <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4611246> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

49 See, for example, <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4611239> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

50 It should be noted that in the same will, dated 6 July 1606, Jorge de Sousa Alvim founded four different entails, one for each of his sons: Manuel de Sousa de Alvim, Simão de Sousa de Alvim, Pedro de Melo de Sousa and Henrique de Sousa de Alvim. See, respectively, Will chart (1606–07–06) – VINC002013 JSAMSA EA/001aa; TT-IMC-NA-204, fls. 1–14v; Will chart (1606–07–06) – VINC002014 JSASSA EA/001aa; TT-IMC-NA-204, fls. 1–14v; Will chart (1606–07–06) – VINC002015 JSAPMS EA/001aa; TT-IMC-NA-204, fls. 1–14v; Will chart (1606–07–06) – VINC005352 JSAHSA EA/001aa; TT-IMC-NA-204, fls. 1–14v.

51 Making reference to the exemplifications of Vasco Esteves de Gatuz’s will, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as the will itself, from 1363. Exemplification of a will (1444–08–16) – VINC002396 VEG EA/020aa; TT-IMC-NA-207, fls. 1–8.



case of its loss⁵². Frequently, these records are the fulfilment of a clause in the foundation deed, whereby the founder ordered the document to be transferred and deposited in the Torre do Tombo for the given purpose of conservation⁵³.

In this context, it is important to understand the whys and wherefores the socially ascending families in the studied cities deliberated whilst utilising this mechanism of registration at the Torre do Tombo. Bearing in mind that there were no books available from this series of records for Évora and Porto, the analysis is limited to the cases of Lisbon and Santarém. Even for these cities, the documentation is relatively scarce, limited to seven entails for the former and two for the latter. The examples of Évora and Porto, where the urban elites were most prominent, are ultimately significant, showing that the practice of requesting the documentary registration of this method was not very common among families that were active in their social mobility, apparently being more frequent amongst those with a higher, and consolidated social status⁵⁴.

Nevertheless, some examples collected from the series under study elaborate an understanding of the reasons behind the registration of entailment documents in the Torre do Tombo – and the impact that this registration may have had on their upward social trajectory. The reasons, in fact, are similar of those presented above – they are, in essence, related to the need to preserve the foundation deed and other documents. The *morgado* founded in Lisbon in 1617 by doctor Belchior Dias Preto, a member of the King’s Council and *desembargador do Paço*, is paradigmatic.

52 This explanation can be found, for example, in the petition of Manuel da Silveira Frade and Martinho da Silveira Frade, his son, of 1621. Petition ([1621]) – VINCO02082 MSFMSF EA/002c; TT-IMC-NA-193, fls. 8–8v.

53 See, for example, the entail foundation deed of doctor João Gomes Leitão and D. Helena de Moura, his wife, of 1629, by which they order three copies of the foundation deed to be made, one of which for the Torre do Tombo, “pera assy não poder faltar o titulo desta estetuissam” (transl.: “so as not to miss the title of this foundation”). Entail foundation deed (1629–07–03) – VINCO01970 JGLHM EA/002ba; TT-IMC-NA-194, fls. 4–8.

54 For example, D. Filipa de Azevedo, Countess of Atouguia, and the administrators of her *morgado*, in particular D. Álvaro Gonçalves de Ataíde, Count of Atouguia, her great-grandson, who asked for a copy of her will. Documentation described in the database under the reference code VINCO01726 FA EA, from the *registo vincular*, but with information that it also appears in the series “Instituições de morgados e capelas”.



That year, in his will, he ordered that two books numbered and authenticated by a judicial authority be made “para se não perder a memoria dos bens deste Morgado, e da Instituição delle”⁵⁵. One of these was destined for the Torre do Tombo, the other for its administrator⁵⁶. His will was carried out and, in response to the petition presented by Lourenço Dias Preto, his son, the king issued a provision in 1623 ordering the *guarda-mor* of the Torre do Tombo to register one of these two books, as determined in the institutor’s will⁵⁷.

In another case, the reasons behind the registration are less clear, apparently pointing to a situation that is quite significant, showing how these families related to different institutions. The administrators of the chapel founded by Manuel de Lima, in the chancel of the monastery of São Francisco of Lisbon, António de Ataíde and D. Ana de Lima, his wife, asked for the institution to be registered in the Torre do Tombo, obtaining royal provision to do so in 1609⁵⁸. The registration of documentation related to a lengthy process that took place between these administrators and the clerics of São Francisco of Lisbon – even involving Pope Paul V. This was required such that they could be buried in the chapel founded by the administrator’s uncle, suggesting the need to register the institution in the royal archive as additional security and validation for the foundation of the chapel in their chosen location.

Focusing on the types of documents, the analysis of the series “Instituições de morgados e capelas” reveals a relative diversity, as in other series, fonds and collections. However, certain typologies stand out as being more common or more relevant within the set of data. Firstly, it is important to mention the identification of the artefact considered as the “mother document” (main document) across the records collected in this series: the Torre do Tombo exemplified original. This document corresponds to the book (or other material support) that gathers the documentation

55 Transl.: “so that the memory of the assets of this *morgado* and its foundation would not be lost”.

56 Will chart (1617-05-08) – VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001ga; TT-IMC-NA-208, fls. 8-9.

57 Provision (1623-01-10) – VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001a; TT-IMC-NA-208, fl. 1.

58 Petition ([1609]) – VINC002086 ML EA/001a; TT-IMC-NA-203, fl. 1; Provision (1609-03-24) – VINC002086 ML EA/001b; TT-IMC-NA-203, fl. 1v.



of the entail that was to be registered in the royal archive and which was deposited in the Torre do Tombo by its *guarda-mor*. As a rule, these exemplars contain the date on which they were delivered and entered into the archive by royal provision. In some cases, the *guarda-mor* was also careful to indicate the exact location where the book was kept, giving a partial insight into the internal structure of the Torre do Tombo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, furthermore, the existence, for example, of the “gaveta dos Morgados” (1627), as indicated in the institution book of Belchior Dias Preto and Ana de Negreiros⁵⁹. In addition to documents such as the aforementioned exemplars or otherwise common petitions and royal provisions, there is a predominance of wills, codicils and deeds of both entails and chapel foundations, with such often being the origin of the record within Torre do Tombo and its main purpose. Finally, it is worth mentioning the registration of documents relating to the management of the assets of the entails in question, such as tenure contracts, deeds of sale, land measurement deeds and even three *tombo*s, two of them of Lisbon entails – *tombo* of the chapel of Tomás de Bairros and Joana da Costa (1574)⁶⁰ and *tombo* of the *morgado* of doctor João Gomes Leitão and D. Helena de Moura (1630)⁶¹. The first was ordered by the *provedor das Capelas, Resíduos, Hospitais, Confrarias e Albergarias de Lisboa* and is singular in its copying of the most important documents relating to the entail, such as the founders’ wills, codicils and property management documents.

The second series of documents, produced internally as part of the registrational functions of the Torre do Tombo, corresponds to the “Livros de Registo”, from the “Arquivo do Arquivo” fonds, and consists of 56 books produced from 1632 onwards. These books recorded “decrees, announcements, orders and sentences in favour of the crown” relating to chapels which, due to a lack of successors, passed to the royal administration⁶².

59 Torre do Tombo exemplified original (1627-02-03) – VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001; TT-IMC-NA-208.

60 Tombo (1574-09-04) – VINC002382 TBJC EA/002a; TT-IMC-NA-189, fls. 1-61.

61 Tombo ([1630]) – VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002d; TT-IMC-NA-194, fls. 13-14.

62 On this series and how it fits into the Torre do Tombo, see <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/torre-do-tombo-en/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



Therefore, although the Torre do Tombo itself created the register, the initial production of the documentation was by other institutions, including the entails themselves and the main courts of the kingdom, allowing an appreciation of the institutional routes of the entailment information.

The documentation upon which this work is based was selected from the handwritten catalogue available in the reference room of the National Archive of Torre do Tombo, where the *morgados* and chapels for which information was recorded are indexed by name of the institutor. Analysis of these records resulted in a set of more than two thousand records in the project database, referring to almost 500 different entails, collected in 52 of the 56 books that make up the series⁶³. In addition to these records, there are others – circa 100 – that were previously encapsulated in the database, taken from the copies made by other institutions and which, as a rule, have not been entered again in order to avoid repeating information, only adding the indication that the document is also copied in one of the archive’s record books⁶⁴. This option fulfils the criterion of reconstituting the archive of each entail, in which there would only be one copy of each document, and not the archives of the producing institutions.

When considering the cities selected as case studies within the scope of the sub-project dedicated to the study of power, it is important to highlight that each document assumes a different level of importance relative to each other, a phenomenon which bears explanation. The volume of documents found in the city of Évora within the “Livros de Registo do Arquivo” is most significant, indeed rivalling the royal chancery. In Lisbon, however, the quantity of documentation is overshadowed by the royal chancery and, above all, by the “Hospital de São José” fonds, kept in the Torre do Tombo and to which attention will return. Similarly, in the city of Santarém, where the documentation from the chancery is largely predominant, the documents from “Livros do Registo” is considerably less voluminous but is relatively similar to other fonds and collections such as “Leitura Nova”, “Capelas da Coroa” and “Registo Vincular”.

63 “Livros de Registo” series, described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4436389> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

64 See, for example, Tombo (1503–04–28) – VINC000649 JEPSP EA/002; TT-FC-CC-4, fls. 76–79.



The case of Porto is puzzling and requires careful reflection. In fact, only six documents were collected concerning this city, relating to five different entails. The explanation seems to centre around the *Capelas da Coroa*, apparently having little expression in this city or, at least, in the related documentation therein. In fact, as will be shown in more detail, no *tombo* or record relating to Porto's entails exists as a result of the *Comissão do Tombo das Capelas da Coroa*, carried out by Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga between 1619 and 1643⁶⁵.

The typological analysis shows that these books originate from the registration of diplomas resulting from legal proceedings relating to the administration of the *Capelas da Coroa*. In addition to administration letters and warrants, along with denunciation warrants of administration, by which the king granted the administration of a chapel to the petitioner on the condition that he obtained a favourable court sentence, confirming the vacancy of the institution for the Crown, there are numerous documents issued by the royal courts, allowing an understanding of the path followed by all who demanded the administration of a *Capela da Coroa* and the bureaucratic procedures of entailment information. The *acórdãos* and *acórdãos em relação* are particularly common, documents judging civil cases relating to the administration of chapels, normally declaring who was the legitimate administrator among those involved (plaintiffs, defendants, appellants, opponents, among others) or confirming the chapel as vacant for the Crown⁶⁶. These papers could also relate to other cases, which might, for example, concern the management of entailed assets⁶⁷.

Certain *acórdãos* also inform regarding the circulation and recording of information after the process was finalised. In 1700, an *acórdão em relação* decided that the chapel founded by Isabel Vaz in the church of Lumiar in Lisbon belonged to the Crown and that its administration would

65 VISG, “*Comissão do Tombo das Capelas da Coroa*”: <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/comissao-do-tombo-das-capelas-da-coroa-en/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

66 See, for example, *Acórdão* (1700-07-29) – VINC001960 JGFP EA/003aa; TT-AA-RA-3, fl. 123v; *Acórdão em Relação* (1697-07-16) – VINC000789 IFSF EA/002; TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 143-144.

67 See, for example, the various *acórdãos* described in the archive of the *morgado* instituted by António Sanches for his niece Violante Maria, with charges at the convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça in Lisbon. These *acórdãos* judged the ownership of various assets entailed to this chapel. Documentation described in the database under the reference code VINC001068 ASVM EA.



be handed over to Manuel Gomes de Sequeira during his lifetime. In addition to this information, the *acórdão* was to be registered in the books of the “Capelas da Coroa” and in the books of the Torre do Tombo. This indeed happened, as the copy cited here demonstrates. The administrator was also obliged to request an administration letter from the *Desembargo do Paço* and make an inventory of the chapel⁶⁸. This example shows how information flows developed within the *Capelas da Coroa*, in relation to the Torre do Tombo, in the exercise of its registrational functions.

Despite the great importance of the aforementioned typologies, in the context of studying the power and use of entails by families for social ascent, the series “Livros de Registo” is centrally of interest because of the documentation it copies – less for the flows of information relating to the *Capelas da Coroa*, as reflected in the lawsuits filed with the royal courts. In fact, the foundational documents transferred to these books are those that are most important in illustrating that families who were the protagonists of upward social mobility resorted to the institution of *morgados* and chapels as a means of reaching the upper social classes and consolidating any power they had already achieved. The documents relating to the management of the entailed estates are also noteworthy, revealing the economic and territorial power that these families were trying to acquire, and which naturally led them to opt for their entailment, in a clear imitation of the customs of the nobility.

Some examples of founders and entails in the selected cities show that it was very common for foundations deeds, dowry deeds and, primarily, wills to be recorded in these books, as documents through which chapels and *morgados* were founded. Other documents may relate to entailed assets, such as *tombos*, land measurement deeds or other types of documents involving property disposal. Given the volume of information, the city of Lisbon offers the most illustrative examples. From the chapel founded by *licenciado* (graduate) António Dias da Mota, in the convent of Nossa Senhora do Carmo in Lisbon, book 3 of the “Registo do Arquivo” copies, among others, the founder’s will of October 1620, as well as a land

68 Acórdão em Relação (1700-05-13) – VINC000439 IVSGBL EA/003; TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 250v–251.



measurement deed from the following year, a deed of sale from 1689, by which the administrator sold a farm in Benfica (Lisbon), in order to be able to subrogate it for a public debt instrument – a clear adaptation of the entailed property to the interests of its administrators⁶⁹. A further, even more paradigmatic example is that of the chapel established by Catarina Fernandes in the convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça in Lisbon in 1533. As well as two *acórdãos*, copied in book 2⁷⁰, the “Livros de Registo” series also includes a full copy of the *tombo* of this chapel in book 5, dated 1692⁷¹. This *tombo* includes both documentation relating to the chapel’s assets, such as a deed of sale, a letter of possession, land measurement deed, and the founder’s will itself, included in a sentence approving it.

The Torre do Tombo’s “Livros de Registo” evidently brings together documents produced by different institutions. Among them is the *Juízo das Capelas da Coroa*, an exclusive court created within the *Casa da Suplicação* to resolve matters relating to the entailment institutions⁷². In fact, in 1621, after the *guarda-mor* of the Torre do Tombo was ordered to register all sentences passed in favour of the Crown in this archive, a significant number of the sentences passed by this court were transferred to the “Livros de Registo”⁷³.

However, the documentation of this court is not limited to that which has survived into the present day through these records. As such, part of the documentary production of the *Juízo das Capelas da Coroa* itself is

69 Will (1620–10–23) – VINC000947 ADMAMEA/004; TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 236v–237; Land measurement deed (1620–01–18) – VINC000947 ADMAM EA/007; TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 238; Sale, quittance and obligation deed (1689–09–06) – VINC000947 ADMAM EA/012; TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 370v–374v.
70 Both *acórdãos* are included in a certificate, dated 1692, issued by the *escrivão dos Feitos da Coroa Real e das Capelas da Coroa de todo o Reino na Corte e Casa da Suplicação*. Certificate of court record (1692–03–19) – VINC000344 CFJF EA/004a; TT-AA-RA-2, fls. 57–57v.
71 Tombo (1692–07–30) – VINC000344 CFJF EA/005; TT-AA-RA-5, fls. 61–70.

72 VISG, “Comissão do Tombo das Capelas da Coroa” and “Juízo das Capelas da Coroa (Court of the Crown Chantries) (1643–1832)”: <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/comissao-do-tombo-das-capelas-da-coroa-en/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] and <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/juizo-das-capelas-da-coroa-court-of-the-crown-chantries-1643-1832/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

73 VISG, “Juízo das Capelas da Coroa (Court of the Crown Chantries) (1643–1832)”: <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/juizo-das-capelas-da-coroa-court-of-the-crown-chantries-1643-1832/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



available today, although its archive is scattered across several fonds, all of which are kept in the Torre do Tombo, namely the “Juízo das Capelas da Coroa”⁷⁴; the “Feitos da Coroa”, “Livros das Capelas da Coroa” series⁷⁵; and the “Conselho da Fazenda”, in the section “Repartição das Capelas da Coroa (1435/1836)”. There is yet another part, incorporated in 1992, whose description is not yet available⁷⁶. Given the research criteria of the VINCULUM project, the series “Livros das Capelas da Coroa”, from the “Feitos da Coroa” fonds, were selected for consultation and archival description, as its production during the seventeenth century, aligns with the project’s study period.

This series is made up of 10 books that bring together the *tombos* of various chapels of the Crown, ordered to be drawn up by *desembargador* Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga, as part of the *Comissão do Tombo das Capelas da Coroa*, which began in 1604 and which he coordinated between 1619 and 1643. The purpose of this commission was to identify the chapels of the Crown and inventory the stolen entails, registering the assets of those chapels and legitimising the administrators who did not have a valid title. The commission’s practice ended up laying the foundations for the *Juízo das Capelas da Coroa*, then already a reality in 1643. According to the data gathered by Abel Rodrigues, in the research leading to his doctoral thesis and made available in the Vinculum Information System Guide, the work of this commission enabled the identification of a total of 672 entails where the right to appoint the administration belonged to the Crown⁷⁷.

The information produced within the scope of the *Comissão do Tombo das Capelas da Coroa* and the *Juízo das Capelas da Coroa* resulted

74 Fonds described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4206684> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

75 Series described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4182620> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

76 Section “Repartição das Capelas da Coroa (1435/1836)” described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=3909910> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024]. The second part, incorporated in 1992, was inventoried by Abel Rodrigues as part of his doctoral thesis on the information system of the *Capelas da Coroa*, which is currently underway (*Para o serviço de Deus e do Rei: a gestão da informação das Capelas da Coroa (Portugal, século XV-XVII)*). The reference to these different fonds was taken from the entry “Juízo das Capelas da Coroa (Court of the Crown Chantries) (1643-1832)” in Vinculum Information System Guide, available at <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/juizo-das-capelas-da-coroa-court-of-the-crown-chantries-1643-1832/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

77 VISG, “Comissão do Tombo das Capelas da Coroa”: <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/comissao-do-tombo-das-capelas-da-coroa-en/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



in an appreciable set of data of interest to the VINCULUM project. This documentation resulted in more than 1050 archival descriptions in the database. In addition to this data, there are more than 280 archival descriptions of documents found in other fonds or collections, but which are also copied in the books of the “Capelas da Coroa”. The documentation collected in this series is of great importance for the study of entails in Portugal and includes documents of interest for the analysis of power.

As established, the *tombos* of the chapels belonging to the Crown were copied into the books of the “Capelas da Coroa” series, inscribed by order of Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga and of which three copies were to be made: one for the Torre do Tombo, one for the *provedoria* and one for the chapel administrator⁷⁸. These *tombos* contained copies of documents instructing the process, starting with the royal warrant or provision of King Filipe II. With this, the king ordered to record the *tombo* of the chapels usurped by third parties, appointing *desembargador* Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga for this function⁷⁹.

The rest of the documentation included in these *tombos* varies from chapel to chapel, depending on the existence of a foundation deed and other documents that would be added to the process. In the case of the *Capelas da Coroa*, frequently denounced as vacant by all those who wished to administer and benefit from them, the most common types of documents include *acórdãos* and *acórdãos em relação*. Through these, a panel of judges from one of the royal courts, such as the *Desembargo*, ruled upon cases relating to the administration of chapels claimed as vacant. Furthermore, the letters of administration are particularly relevant, by which the king handed over the administration of a chapel to its claimant,

⁷⁸ As can be read, for example, at the end of the *tombo* of the chapel founded by Martinho Pires Vieira and Catarina Álvares, in the church of Nossa Senhora de Marvila, in Santarém, dated 27 August 1621, when Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga indicates that three *tombos* will be made, “dos quais este é para a Torre do Tombo, outro para a provedoria, outro para o administrador em um livro, pelo qual cada ano dará conta” (transl.: “of which this one is for the Torre do Tombo, another for the *provedoria*, another for the administrator in one book, for which he will give an account each year”). *Tombo* (1621-08-27) – VINC002240 MPVCA EA/004; TT-FC-CC-2, fls. 16-19.

⁷⁹ See, for example, the *tombo* mentioned above. *Tombo* (1621-08-27) – VINC002240 MPVCA EA/004; TT-FC-CC-2, fls. 16-19. For convenience, the following *tombos*, copied in the same book, do not transcribe the warrant, but mention it, referring to the first *tombo* copied.



through the denunciation warrants of administration. With regards to administration letters, it is important to note that many, in the absence or loss of the document of institution that was supposed to regulate the entail, came to function as such, becoming the “law of the entail”. Two examples of this are the oldest administration letters copied in the *tombo* concerning the chapel of Gonçalo Eanes Rabeja, as founded in the see of Évora, dated 1492 and 1579 respectively and preceded by the title “Cartas em lugar de instituição”⁸⁰, as the institution and an earlier *tombo*, dated 1482, were not to be found⁸¹.

Regarding the study of the component of power related to entailment and the analysis of the documentation of the given cities, certain reflections can be made. The documents collected in the “Capelas da Coroa” series are, in fact, a small component amongst the myriad. Porto is an exceptional case in this analysis: in the books of the “Capelas da Coroa”, kept in the fonds of the “Feitos da Coroa”, no *tombo* or document relating to chapels in this city was collected. This, however, does not mean that there was an absence of chapels in Porto whose right of appointment and administration belonged to the Crown. Likewise, it does not mean that the commission coordinated by Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga failed to cover this city’s entails.

Firstly, although few in number, there are several administration letters for Porto chapels in the royal chancery, including the eleven that were granted to the administrators of the chapel of Martinho Pires Alvarinho between 1468 and 1647⁸². Secondly, in book 9 of the “Capelas da Coroa”, which corresponds to Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga’s “Recopillação das Capelas” or “Borrador”, eight chapels belonging to the Crown were identified in Porto, but none of which had a *tombo* recorded – or, at least, it was not copied or incorporated into the books of that series⁸³. According to the

80 Transl.: “Letters in lieu of institution”.

81 Administration letter (1492-06-09) – VINC001830 GER EA/006a; TT-FC-CC-1, fl. 244; Administration letter (1579-07-31) – VINC001830 GER EA/006b; TT-FC-CC-1, fls. 244-244v.

82 The documentation relating to Martinho Pires Alvarinho’s entail is described in the database under the reference code VINC001238 MPA EA. See, for example, Administration letter (1468-08-16) – VINC001238 MPA EA/001a; TT-C-A5-28, fl. 82 and Administration letter (1647-02-27) – VINC001238 MPA EA/004a; TT-C-J4-D-18, fl. 212v.

83 TT, Feitos da Coroa, Capelas da Coroa, livro 9, fls. 270-273v.



information recorded in this book, some of these chapels were “absolvidas” (absolved), which means that there were descendants of the founders and, therefore, the right to appoint their administration no longer belonged to the Crown.

In the case of the chapel of Domingos Eanes da Maia, the explanation seems to lie in the apparent lack of *provedoria* and monastic records and, therefore, its administration by the friars of São Domingos of Porto, whereby the king “apartou de si qualquer direito que nella tivesse”⁸⁴. As for the other chapels, the explanation is not so simple: there is every indication that their *tombos* were in fact ordered, as can be read at the end of the note on the chapel of Gonçalo Gonçalves and Aldonça Domingues⁸⁵. Although it is likely that their *tombação* (inventorying) did indeed take place, the resulting *tombos* may not have been entered into the Torre do Tombo and, therefore, were not recorded in the books of this series. Moreover, it is currently impossible to ascertain their contemporaneous location – if they even still exist. In order to study these chapels, chapels which reveal the social behaviour of Porto’s elites, other sources of information from different institutions must be relied upon, such as the Royal Chancery, the *Provedoria da Comarca do Porto* or the archives of monastic institutions, as will be shown.

Similar to the conclusions drawn up for the “Livros de Registo do Arquivo”, the books of the “Capelas da Coroa” are of interest for the study of power mainly because of the founding documents they contain. These records allow a framing and further understanding of the use of the institution of entails, especially chapels, by urban elites, in addition to the information gathered in other fonds or collections. In this regard, the wills of the founders are highlighted: the main means of founding chapels, which, in the case of Lisbon, amount to more than two dozen copies. The other types of documents that served the purpose of founding entails are practically absent from the *tombos* of chapels in these cities, except

84 Transl.: “removed from himself any right he had in it”. TT, Feitos da Coroa, Capelas da Coroa, livro 9, fl. 273.

85 TT, Feitos da Coroa, Capelas da Coroa, livro 9, fl. 273.



for a rare dowry deed⁸⁶ in Lisbon, and three foundation deeds, one each in Évora, Lisbon and Santarém⁸⁷.

The *provedorias das comarcas* were, whilst peripheral, part of the institution of the Crown, and were among the most important elements supervising the fulfilment of the pious charges associated with entails. At the end of the Middle Ages, an office was created to look after the chapels and charitable institutions of Lisbon and its outskirts, the *provedor e juiz dos hospitais, albergarias e capelas de Lisboa e termo, por especial mandado e comissão d'el rei*, documented in 1493⁸⁸. This official role also ended up accumulating the functions of *provedor do Hospital of Todos os Santos*, continuing until 1564, when the *Juízo das Capelas de Lisboa* was abolished. At that point, the office's powers were passed to the *provedor e contador dos resíduos, capelas, hospitais, albergarias e confrarias* of Lisbon and its outskirts, which was only abolished in 1832 following the new judicial organisation decreed by the liberal regime⁸⁹.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the organisation of Lisbon's *provedoria* was extended to cover the whole kingdom, with the emergence of the *provedorias das comarcas*, responsible for managing all matters relating to pious institutions, having a territorial jurisdiction that did not always coincide with that of the *comarcas*. According to the *Regimento* (regulation) of 1514, these *provedores* were responsible in matters of entailments such as knowing the number of lay chapels in the area under his jurisdiction, overseeing matters of patrimony and the taking of accounts, among other duties. The intervention of these officers in the process of *tombação* (inventorying) the chapels belonging to the Crown also was

86 Dowry deed (1475-03-20) – VINC002028 LFJSBM EA/001a; TT-FC-CC-4, fl. 79v.

87 Entail foundation deed (1352-09-15) – VINC000134 CVMEL EA/001baa; TT-FC-CC-1, fls. 13-14; Chapel foundation deed (1320-11-08) – VINC001684 EGSD EA/011ab; TT-FC-CC-5, fls. 337v; Entail foundation deed (1488-03-16) – VINC003179 JS EA/002; TT-FC-CC-3, fls. 146v-147v.

88 Rosa, 2012a, p. 229.

89 On the offices of “*Provedor das capelas, hospitais, albergarias e confrarias de Lisboa e termo* (1493-1564)” and “*Provedoria das Capelas Resíduos de Lisboa e termo* (1564-1832)”, see respectively <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/provedor-das-capelas-hospitais-albergarias-e-confrarias-de-lisboa-e-termo-1493-1564-en/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] and <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/provedoria-das-capelas-residuos-de-lisboa-e-termo-1564-1832-en/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



noteworthy, specifically from the seventeenth century onwards, following the commission headed by Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga, attributes that permeate the documentation surveyed in the previously analysed “Capelas da Coroa” series⁹⁰.

The documentary collections of the *provedorias* that have survived are more or less scattered in different archival institutions, from the National Archive to municipal, regional and district archives, and even the Archive of the Secretaria Geral do Ministério da Administração Interna. Among these *provedorias*, the case of Lisbon deserves special mention. In fact, there is no specific archive known for this office. However, copies of some of the documents produced by these administrators preserved in the fonds of the “Hospital de São José”, formerly the “Hospital de Todos os Santos”, which is kept in the Torre do Tombo⁹¹. Particularly noteworthy are the two series of *tombos* from the eighteenth century, the result of a great deal of work in the transferral of documents from the hospital’s own archives and from the notarial offices of the clerks of the Lisbon’s *provedoria*.

According to Maria de Lurdes Rosa, one of these series, made up of five books⁹², was created from the original Manueline *tombos*, while the other, made up of 167 volumes⁹³, was drawn from *públicas-formas* (exemplifications) of *autos-de-conta*, mostly dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁹⁴. In this sense, although the eighteenth-century *tombos* were produced by the hospital itself, the documentation they copied was produced by the clerks of the *provedoria*, allowing a compensation for the lack of other data from this institution.

90 On “*Provedorias das Comarcas* (late fifteenth century–1832)” and their functions, see <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/provedorias-das-comarcas-late-fifteenth-century-1832/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

91 “Hospital de São José” fonds, described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4192593> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

92 Subseries “Tombo das Capelas do Hospital”, from the “Hospital de São José” fonds, described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4194916> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

93 Subseries “Registos de Instituição de Capelas”, from the fonds of “Hospital de São José”, described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4194413> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

94 Rosa, 2012a, pp. 346–348.



Given the archival and documentary landscape of the *provedorias*, it was necessary to select the fonds or series to be consulted, collected and described in the project database on the basis of well-founded criteria. Several fonds or series were excluded for various reasons, such as the lack of relevant documents on chapels and/or *morgados*; the lack of documentation within the project's study period; and insufficient archival description of the collection to determine the presence of entailment documentation of interest to the project. This last reason ultimately determines the project's depth of knowledge of the documentation produced by the *provedorias*, information which could be of great interest for the study that is being developed on the power component. In this case, the fonds of the "Provedoria de Santarém e Tomar", kept in the Torre do Tombo are available⁹⁵. However, the lack of, or limitations in, the descriptive tools would have made the documentary survey extend beyond the feasible time available for the project. As such, attention was focussed on other fonds that were equally relevant and rich in information. For the same reasons, and also because of the size of the collection, consisting of a few dozen books, a decision was made to carry out only a general survey of the copies that constitute the fonds of "Provedoria de Évora", held by the Évora Public Library⁹⁶.

Other documents, however, have been examined and catalogued in the VINCULUM project database, now containing the documents collected in the fonds of the *provedorias* of Angra/Ilha Terceira⁹⁷, Coimbra⁹⁸, Elvas⁹⁹,

⁹⁵ Fonds partially described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4311281> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

⁹⁶ The archival description of each volume that makes up the fonds of "Provedoria de Évora" is available in the catalogue of Biblioteca Pública de Évora, in the "Área de Reservados", by searching for the term "Provedoria" at <https://opac.bpe.bnportugal.gov.pt/OPAC/default.aspx?cli=EVORA> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

⁹⁷ Preserved at the Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional Luís da Silva Ribeiro, where the *Inventário do Fundo da Provedoria dos Resíduos e Capelas da Ilha Terceira* can be consulted in person.

⁹⁸ Preserved in the Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra and described online at <https://pesquisa.auc.uc.pt/details?id=80267&detailsType=Description> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

⁹⁹ In the custody of the Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre and described online at <https://digitarq.adptg.arquivos.pt/details?id=1003864> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



Lisbon¹⁰⁰, Madeira¹⁰¹, Ponta Delgada¹⁰², Porto¹⁰³ and Portalegre¹⁰⁴. The documents collected in these various fonds represent a significant proportion of the total number of records in the database, demonstrating the importance of the *provedorias* in the supervision and control of entails in the Ancien Régime.

Given the objectives of the project dedicated to power and the role of entails in the processes of social ascension of local elites and kin within the selected cities, there is a particular interest held in the documents produced by the *provedorias* of Lisbon and Porto, records which have a significant weight in the total number of records for each of these cities.

In the books of the *provedorias*, documents concerning the chapels of the cities and *comarcas* within the jurisdiction of each of these institutions were recorded. As the opening passage of *tombo 4.º da Provedoria da Comarca de Elvas* states, “[este livro] há de servir para nelle se lançarem todos os testamentos e instituições de capelas desta cidade e sua comarca que começa a servir em janeiro de 1695 (...)”¹⁰⁵, followed by the signature of the *provedor*¹⁰⁶. As this term states, most of the documentation recorded in these books consists of wills and chapel foundation deeds, although other types of documents could also be included, ones that would be useful for the task of control and supervision carried out by the *provedorias*.

100 On the documentation of the *provedoria de Lisboa*, see the description above regarding the series of *tombos* kept in the fonds of “Hospital de São José” at Torre do Tombo.

101 Fonds of the “Juízo dos Resíduos e Provedorias das Capelas”, kept by the Arquivo e Biblioteca da Madeira. The chapels accounts of the administration kept in this fonds were described in the project’s database thanks to a protocol established with Direção Regional do Arquivo e Biblioteca da Madeira, which authorised the VINCULUM project to publish the information described and provided by Fátima Barros, a senior technician at that institution.

102 The documentation produced by the *provedoria de Ponta Delgada* is divided into three fonds, held by the Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional de Ponta Delgada.

103 Preserved in the Arquivo Distrital do Porto and described online at <http://pesquisa.adporto.arquivos.pt/details?id=542798> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

104 In the custody of the Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre and described online at <https://digitarq.adptg.arquivos.pt/details?id=1008454> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

105 Transl.: “[this book] will be used to record all the wills and institutions of chapels in this city and its comarca, which began to serve in January 1695 (...)”.

106 ADPTG, Provedoria da Comarca de Elvas, livro 6, fl. 1. Book described at <https://digitarq.adptg.arquivos.pt/details?id=1004940> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024]. The information described was taken from the entry “Provedoria record”, in the “Documents” section of the Vinculum Information System Guide, available online at <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/documentos/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



Often, these records began with the identification of the entail and the documents transferred, ending with an indication of the date of its registration in the *provedoria*, sometimes after 1700¹⁰⁷. These registrations could be the result of an express order from the founder included in his will or document founding an entail: it was the responsibility of the first administrator to request this registration from the *provedor da comarca*. For example, in 1640, the married couple António de Carvalho and Maria Antónia de Carvalho founded an entail in Porto, ordering that the foundation deed be recorded in the *tombo* of the *provedoria da comarca*, as well as the annexation deeds of the property of their successors¹⁰⁸. In this case, the foundation deed is only known through its registration in the “Livros de Registo do Arquivo”, its copy in the *tombos* of the Porto’s *provedoria* being unrecoverable. However, in the case of some chapels in Castelo de Vide, the exemplification of the will in the books of the Portalegre’s *provedoria* is the materialisation of the registration order included in that same founding document¹⁰⁹.

Worth further mention with regards to the records produced by *provedorias*, a considerable number of documents of interest to the project, namely wills and foundation deeds, were transmitted through the accounts of the administration of the entails. In fact, one of the duties of the *provedores* was to render accounts of the chapels and check that the respective pious charges were fulfilled. António Dias Chamusco, in his will of 1648, determined that “seu testamenteiro fosse obrigado a tomar este testamento nas capellas da Provedoria e pedia muito por merce aos senhores provedores lhe quisessem tomar conta por correição cada anno dos encargos de boa capella que instituhia e como lhe encarregava

107 See, for example, the record of Maria Velez’s will of September 1700, through which she founded two *morgados* in Portalegre. Opening deed of a will (1700-09-27) – VINC004229 MVMG EA/001; ADPTG-PCP-001, fls. 9v-13; Opening deed of a will (1700-09-27) – VINC004230 MVBV EA/001; ADPTG-PCP-001, fls. 9v-13.

108 Entail foundation deed (1640-01-17) – VINC001037 ACMAC EA/001; TT-AA-RA-49, fls. 355-358.

109 See, for example, Agostinho Cabral’s will, dated 2 June 1569. Will (1569-06-02) – VINC005947 ACAC EA/001; ADPTG-PCP-009, fls. 45-47.



El Rey Nosso Senhor pelas leys deste Reyno”¹¹⁰. This resulted in records, sometimes of considerable size, such as that of the chapel of Estêvão de Brito Freire, founded in Lisbon, located in the church of Nossa Senhora de Jesus, and with property in Baía (Brazil)¹¹¹, which inscribed the diplomas of the foundation of the entails and other documents related to their management¹¹². Madeira is a notable example of this, since the documents described in the database from the fonds of the “Juízo dos Resíduos e Provedorias das Capelas”, kept in the Madeira Archive and Library, consist entirely of accounts of administration. Similarly, the documents contained in the *tombos* of the “Hospital de São José” fonds relating to chapels in Lisbon, were copied from the accounts of the administration of these chapels, although they date from after 1700 and were kept by the clerks or notaries of the *provedoria*¹¹³.

Considering the geographical organisation of the *provedorias das comarcas*, the documentation they produced is extremely important for this project, partly based on the geographical indexing of the *morgados* and chapels. Their record books and chapels’ administrative accounts make it possible to quickly retrieve information on the entails founded in a given city or even *comarca*, particularly its foundational documents and other property management documents. It also makes it possible to assess the social status of those who registered the information produced by their respective entails in the *provedoria*, one of the institutions regulated by the Crown to oversee entailment issues, and the reasons for such registration, with possible association with the social ascension of families belonging to the local elite.

110 Transl.: “his executor should be obliged to record this will in the chapels of the *Provedoria* and would ask the provedores to account to him by correction each year for the charges of the good chapel that he had instituted and as was entrusted to him by the king by the laws of this Kingdom”. Will (1648-10-31 - 1648-11-05) – VINCO01067 ADC EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-26, fls. 354-357.

111 Account of the administration (1699-09-10) – VINC000382 EBFVA EA/006; TT-HSJ-ESCR PON-105-1-1214-MÇ1, fls. 1-344.

112 Description based on the entry “Account of the administration” in the “Documents” section of the Vinculum Information System Guide, available online at <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/documentos/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

113 See, for example, the exemplification of the entail foundation deed of Fernando Pires and Constança Vicente, copied from the records of the chapel’s account of the administration, kept in the notary’s office of Luís Botelho de Távora. Entail foundation deed (1334-04-09) – VINC000013 FPCV EA/003a; TT-HSJ-004, fls. 73-78v.



The intervention of the Crown and the institutions that depended on it, in particular the parliament, in matters of entails was felt one last time before their ultimate extinction in 1863. This created a source of great value for the study of *morgados* and chapels in the Ancien Régime, one that is essential to consult: the *Registo Vincular* (entailment register). Following the entailment reform that began in 1860, the result of new, liberal ideals that sought to curb the institution of entails in Portugal, the law of 30 July of the same year, promulgated by the *Cortes gerais* and approved by King Pedro V, determined that “ficam abolidos todos os Morgados ou capellas que não forem registrados no praso de dois annos, no registro que se deve fazer nos governos civis dos districtos onde os bens estão situados (...)” (article 9)¹¹⁴. According to this law, the registration would be requested by the administrator of the entail, who would visit the *governo civil* of the respective district. There would be a special book in keeping, initialled by the civil governor and where the foundations of the entails with assets in that district and all changes that had occurred in them would be transcribed (article 29). In addition, an authenticated copy of these registers was to be sent to the Torre do Tombo (article 30). The law also specified that the register of existing *morgados* should include the titles of the institutions or the sentences that suppressed them; the titles of annexations, detachments or subrogations made; and their current description including their values and charges (article 32). This was followed, on 19 January 1861, by the publication of the *Regulamento para execução da reforma vincular*, which described the procedure to be followed in the case of the option to abolish the entail or to register and maintain it, repeating some of the information in the law of 30 July¹¹⁵.

114 Transl.: “all *morgados* or chapels that are not registered in the registry that must be made in the *governos civis* (civil governments) of the districts where the properties are located within two years will be abolished”. “Carta de lei estabelecendo a reforma vincular”, of 30 July 1860, published in *Regulamento para execução da reforma vincular decretado em 19 de janeiro de 1861 e seguido da carta de lei de 30 de julho de 1860*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1861, pp. 27–36.

115 *Regulamento para execução da reforma vincular decretado em 19 de janeiro de 1861 e seguido da carta de lei de 30 de julho de 1860*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1861. The entailment reform of 1860 and the obligation to register entails following it were analysed by Judite Esteves, in ESTEVES (2008), pp. 45–59.



Following this law and according to the information published by the government on 15 April 1863, in the 17 districts of mainland Portugal¹¹⁶, 731 entails belonging to 451 owners were registered (definitively or provisionally)¹¹⁷. Those on the islands must be added to this number, although exact figures are hard to confirm. In addition, many of these entails were made up of several *morgados* and/or chapels, the result of multiple annexations over time, resulting in a much larger number of entails found in the books of the various *governos civis* (civil governments) and copies kept in Torre do Tombo. Of these hundreds of entails, many were founded before 1700 and their respective foundation deeds and other documents of interest to the project have been recorded.

Although there are government notices that entails were registered in all the districts of the kingdom, the current documentary landscape of the *registo vincular* shows that, at certain times, although exactly when is unclear, there were losses that prevented all the records from surviving to the present day. For this reason, it was necessary to carry out an exhaustive survey of the processes that are still preserved, comparing the copies that entered the Torre do Tombo with the books of the *governos civis*, which are now kept in the district archives¹¹⁸. The research began with the catalogue of *registos vinculares* in the Torre do Tombo, written by Alfredo Pimenta and published in 1932. This catalogue lists, by district, all the processes that are held in the National Archive, identifying the contemporary administrator and all the registered entails, with an indication of the founder(s), along with the place and date of foundation¹¹⁹.

It was found that 122 files were sent to the Torre do Tombo from 11 districts across Portugal and the islands, with regional variations. They came

116 At the time, the district of Setúbal did not yet exist, its current territory being incorporated into that of Lisbon. On the creation of the administrative districts in 1835 and the division of the country into these circumscriptions, see Sousa, 2014, pp. 63–69.

117 See the “Mapa dos vínculos registados definitiva ou provisoriamente, segundo os esclarecimentos recebidos até hoje (15 de Abril de 1863) nesta Secretaria de Estado”, published by Judite Esteves, in Esteves, 2008, p. 54.

118 The archives of the former *governos civis*, which were abolished in 2011, were incorporated (or are in the process of being incorporated) into the district archives corresponding to their former jurisdictions, both before they were abolished and afterwards. On the process of processing the fonds of the *governos civis*, particularly in the period after their extinction, see Sousa, 2014, pp. 335–428.

119 Pimenta, 1932.



from Angra do Heroísmo, Bragança, Castelo Branco, Coimbra, Funchal, Horta, Lisbon, Ponta Delgada, Portalegre, Porto and Santarém. As Alfredo Pimenta himself says, the other districts made no submission, although he knew that Aveiro and Leiria had also registered¹²⁰.

In addition, the districts of Évora, Faro, Guarda, Viseu and Viana do Castelo also created registers of entails. The books of the first four districts are kept in the respective district archives, while those of Viana do Castelo are in the custody of the Secretaria Geral do Ministério da Administração Interna (SGMAI) – but no copies have been received at the Torre do Tombo. In the districts of Aveiro, Beja, Braga and Vila Real, no copies of the *registo vincular* are known to exist, and as such it is likely to be considered lost¹²¹. The sum of this information translates into hundreds of files and documents, the consultation of which was attempted in their entirety, combining the copies that are in the Torre do Tombo with the books that are in the custody of the district archives or SGMAI, in order to avoid the loss of information transmitted by these registers¹²².

This whole process required the families who owned the entails to make a concerted effort to put together all documentation needed to register the *morgados* and chapels they wished to keep. In any case, they also had to partly reconstitute the archives of their entails and collate them as a single document. To do this, they had to request exemplifications of the foundation's deeds and other documents to present to the *governo civil* through notarial offices, sometimes in vain. For example, in 1863, at the time of registering the entail of Nossa Senhora da Aurora in Ponte de Lima, to which ten entails instituted between 1518 and 1724 were annexed, João de Sá Coutinho de Macedo Sottomayor Barreto, the administrator, was unable to present any title of institution, as some had been lost and

120 Pimenta, 1932, pp. IX-X.

121 In the case of Vila Real, it's worth mentioning that there is a known copy of the *registo vincular* of Cunha Pimentel family, kept in the fonds of the same name at Arquivo Distrital de Vila Real, described at <https://digitarq.advr.l.arquivos.pt/details?id=1289926> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

122 We just don't have any information on whether or not there are any *registo vincular* books in Arquivo Distrital de Bragança. In this case, it was decided not to carry out a longer investigation in the archive to find out what books or information it holds, due to the insufficient archival description and the existence of seven processes in Torre do Tombo, which cover, if not all, a good part of the entails registered in this district.



others could not be found, “apezar de continuadas diligencias nos livros das notas e dos registros”¹²³. However, many others were found and copied in the multiply required processes that resulted from the law of 30 July 1860. The *registo vincular* is therefore the culmination of the entire entailment information system, coming to an end in 1863¹²⁴, bringing together documents from the most diverse origins and source institutions.

As part of the VINCULUM project, almost 2,400 items were described in the database, taken from the various processes kept at the Torre do Tombo and the books produced by *governos civis*, now held by district or regional archives. This is one of the most important series or collections of documents in terms of the production of information by, and for, entails. The spread of documents that make up this corpus allowed the collection of data regarding approximately 600 different entails¹²⁵.

Moving on, the case study cities can be taken as examples to evaluate the circulation and transmission of information in the nineteenth-century registry of entails and the diplomatic content of the processes. Firstly, it is clear from the consultation of many of the entail registers that both the families and notaries responsible for the exemplifications for the *governos civis* used the archives of various information-producing institutions competent in entailment matters, many of which have already been discussed. Above all, there was frequent recourse to the documentation produced by the *provedorias das comarcas*, including references to specific books and folios: exemplifying, numerous examples can be found in the records of Évora and Portalegre.

In the case of Évora, the record of the entail founded by Garcia Melo in 1561, added to by Heitor de Melo, his son, and Maria de Castro, his daughter-in-law, was copied in its entirety from the “Tombo dos vínculos e capellas M primeiro, pertencente ao Cartorio do extincto Juizo da

123 Transl.: “in spite of the continuing diligences in the notebooks and registers”. SGMAL, Governo Civil do Distrito de Viana do Castelo, *Registo Vincular*, livro 9609, fl. 415v.

124 The entails were formally abolished in 1863. Esteves, 2008, pp. 60–97.

125 It should be noted that, as with other fonds and series, other documents were also collected from the books and files of the *registo vincular* but were not described in the database because they had already been described from the fonds and series of other producing institutions.



Provedoria da Comarca d’esta cidade que se acha archivado n’este Governo Civil, n’elle a folhas cinco e seguintes”¹²⁶. By 1861, the year in which this entail was registered, the *provedorias das comarcas* had already been disbanded and, therefore, their registry office was incorporated in the archive of *governo civil* of Évora¹²⁷. This provides a clear example of the flows of information and relationships that were established between the various institutions that produced documentation on the entails of the Ancien Régime.

Similarly, in Portalegre, in terms of registering entails, the books of the *provedoria* were almost always used, again with an express indication of the book and folios where the documents were copied. As cited, 20 *tombo*s of chapels and *morgados* have been recorded in this *provedoria da comarca* – in an excellent state of preservation – facilitating consultation by the clerks of the *governo civil*, into whose archives they had already been ensconced in the 1860s. One example is the will and codicil of Martinho da Mota de Sequeira, from 1574 and 1579 respectively, which were copied from book 14 of the *tombo* of chapels and *morgados* of the *provedoria* of Portalegre (fl. 10), which was then held in the *governo civil* archives¹²⁸. Subsequent consultation of the *provedoria*’s books confirmed the existence of the exemplification of the will and codicil, exactly in that book and folio¹²⁹. In addition to the archives of the former *provedorias*, information is held by the project about other collections that the administrators and clerks of the *registo vincular* had access to, sometimes outside the geographical limits of the district in which they were registering.

126 Transl.: “*Tombo* of the entails and chapels M the first, belonging to the archive of the former *Juíço da Provedoria da Comarca* of this city, which is archived in this *governo civil* (civil government), on pages five and following”. ADEV, Governo Civil de Évora, Registo Vincular, livro 1, fl. 14v. The documents relating to this entail are described in the database under the reference code VINC005653 GMHMMC EA.

127 It should be remembered that the *provedorias das comarcas* were abolished in 1832, in the context of the liberal reforms. VISG, “*Provedorias das Comarcas* (late fifteenth century–1832)”: <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/provedorias-das-comarcas-late-fifteenth-century-1832/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024]. It seems likely that the *tombo* mentioned in the *registo vincular* is today among the various *tombo*s of the *provedoria da comarca de Évora* held by the Biblioteca Pública de Évora, already mentioned above.

128 TT, *Morgados e Capelas, Vínculos, Portalegre*, n.º 1, fl. 6v.

129 Will (1574–09–03) – VINC002233 MMS EA/001; TT-MC-V–PTG–1, fls. 6v–8v; Codicil (1579–06–03) – VINC002233 MMS EA/002; TT-MC-V–PTG–1, fls. 9–10.



This was the case with the registry of the entail of D. Martinho Pires de Oliveira, known as the *morgado* of Oliveira, whose exemplification of his will (exemplification of 1533 and will dated to 1306) was copied from the *tombo* of the chapels of the city of Évora, produced by royal order and held by the Torre do Tombo¹³⁰.

Regarding the typology of documents copied in the *registro vincular*, there are few novelties compared to the other series or archival collections so far. Once again, the documents through which entails were founded, such as entail or chapel foundation deeds, wills, codicils, donation deeds and dowry deeds, comprise a significant proportion, acquiring relevance in the context of this study of power. The inclusion of the founding document in the register was, moreover, one of the requirements of the law of 30 July 1860, unless it had become lost and been replaced by the sentence declaring it suppressed.

Sentences are also frequent, both handed down by the king and the royal or peripheral courts, as well as various documents associated with the management of entailed assets, such as deeds of sale and letters of possession. In this respect, it is worth mentioning the complete copies of pre-1700 *tombos*, some of which are quite extensive¹³¹, in the books of the *registro vincular*. In the studied cities, the *tombo* of the chapel of Isabel de Melo, founded in 1514 in the monastery of São Domingos of Lisbon, dating from the early seventeenth century¹³², and the sentence of the *tombo* of the *morgado da Azambujeira*, with a chapel in Santarém, founded by Fernando Rodrigues Patarinho in 1380, dating from 1638¹³³, stand out.

130 ADEVR, Governo Civil de Évora, Registo Vincular, livro 2, fls. 2-31v. This document was introduced into the database precisely from the *Tombo das Capelas da Cidade de Évora*, kept in the fonds of “Feitos da Coroa”, as it is the oldest known copy. Tombo (1533-01-18) – VINCO00004 MPO EA/004a; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 22-24v.

131 See, for example, the *tombo* of the *morgado* of Barbeita, in Monção, founded by Álvaro Afonso and Grimaneza Pereira in 1547, which occupies more than 180 folios of one of the books of *registro vincular* of Viana do Castelo, copying a considerable number of documents, including the foundation deed. Tombo (1636-01-26) – VINCO05232 AAGP EA/001; SGMAI-GCVC-RV-9610, fls. 138-319.

132 Tombo (1600 - 1608) – VINCO00250 IM EA/003; TT-GCL-RV-103, fls. 247-310 - TT-GCL-RV-104, fls. 1-30.

133 Exemplification of a court sentence (1639-01-06) – VINCO00113 FRP EA/001; TT-MC-V-STR-16, fls. 3-58.



Both documents, in addition to the wills that founded the respective entails and various sentences, also carry over various documents relating to the administration of the properties, such as lease deeds, land measurement deeds, and letters of possession, among others, showing the territorial power of these entails and the families who administered them, appearing to have made a path to social advancement¹³⁴.

2.2.2 The Church institutions

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, in addition to the institutions of the Crown, the entails were also linked to the ecclesiastical institutions, whose main task was to regulate the pious charges established by the founders, to be celebrated in the secular and regular churches. It is also worth remembering that chapels could be located in either an episcopal, parochial or even monastic church. These institutions were therefore responsible for monitoring and recording the fulfilment of these duties, leading to the creation of registry books, *tombos* and other documents, kept in diocesan, parish and monastic archives.

Among the secular ecclesiastical institutions, the dioceses and archdioceses played a key role in regulation and supervision of pious legacies. In matters of entailment, these institutions were responsible for supervising the execution of the will of the deceased, which provided for the establishment of pious legacies for the salvation of the testators' souls. They were also tasked with the inspection of the functioning of ecclesiastical institutions in the parishes under their jurisdiction, including chapels, by means of visitations. The bishops (or archbishops) also granted permission for the commutation of pious legacies, the placement of coats of arms and shields, and the building of their own chapels¹³⁵.

134 For example, two of the administrators of Isabel de Melo's chapel belonged to the Castelo Branco family and were noblemen of the King's Household: Francisco de Melo Castelo Branco (flor.1595) and Diogo de Melo de Castelo Branco (flor.1515-1552). Authority Records described in the database at <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/melo-francisco-de-1691> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] and <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/melo-diogo-de> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

135 These competences are described at <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/dioceses-en/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024], where one can also read about the process of "negotiation" between the Church and the Crown regarding the execution of wills.



In each of the archdioceses of the kingdom (Braga, Lisbon and Évora), there was even a specific court for the execution and accounting of the wills of testators who died in January, March, May, July, September and November, months which came under ecclesiastical jurisdiction¹³⁶. The *juiz dos resíduos* (judge of the residues) was responsible for ordering and verifying the fulfilment of the obligations and pious charges associated with chapels, as well as accounting for their administration. Furthermore, he was responsible for having all the charges registered, either on the “boards” of the churches to which the chapels belonged, in the registry books of those same churches, or in a book where the *escrivão dos resíduos* (clerk of the residues) would record all the chapels founded or in the process of being founded in the diocese of his jurisdiction¹³⁷. This naturally resulted in the production of a considerable mass of information regarding entails, which is intertwined and related to the information flows that have already been described.

In the context of the VINCULUM project, part of the section of the “Juízo dos Resíduos de Braga” was consulted and catalogued. It is kept in the fonds of the “Mitra Arquiepiscopal de Braga”, held by Arquivo Distrital de Braga¹³⁸. This section is divided into two offices which were responsible for registering the causes of different parishes in the archdiocese. Each of these offices hold dozens of chapel registry books produced onward from the end of the sixteenth century: the first office has 51 registry books, the second 61¹³⁹. These books copy hundreds of documents from before 1700 that are relevant to the study of entails in Portugal during the Ancien Régime. As a result, more than a thousand items were recorded in the project’s database. The information gathered is fundamental to understanding how the ecclesiastical supervision of entailment institutions, particularly chapels, was carried out within the boundaries of the oldest archdiocese in the kingdom.

136 In the remaining months, the Crown was responsible for overseeing the execution of the will.
137 Description based on <https://visg.vinculum.fch.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/dioceses-en/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

138 The archival description of the section of “Juízo dos Resíduos de Braga” is available at <http://pesquisa.adb.uminho.pt/details?id=1585041> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

139 The archival descriptions of both offices are available at <http://pesquisa.adb.uminho.pt/details?id=1585042> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] and <http://pesquisa.adb.uminho.pt/details?id=1585776> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



These registry books were used by the authorities of the *Juízo dos Resíduos* of the archdiocese of Braga to record the pious charges associated with a chapel and describe its assets, with the opening document stating its content (“à de servir no officio dos residuos para se registrar missas de capellas ofecios e aniversários de defuntos e todos os mais legados e obras pias annuas e perpetuas e descrever as herdades casas e terras que se obrigão pera os ditos encargos”¹⁴⁰) and date¹⁴¹. The records collected in several of these books and subsequently collated in the database are dated mainly from the seventeenth century, with a few examples from the 1590s, while the documents they copy date mainly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the exception of a *tombo* from 1390¹⁴² and three wills from 1309, 1433 and 1462¹⁴³.

The types of documents that copied in these registers have the same characteristics as those already identified in other fonds and series. Documents founding chapels or *morgados* predominate, especially wills, followed by foundation deeds, donation deeds, dowry deeds and codicils. Property management and disposal documents also occupy a prevalent place in this collection. There are also some *tombos*, three-life leases, and deeds of sale, purchase and annexation of property to the entails. Once again, these types of documents stand out because of their importance in understanding the processes and reasons for the formation of entails within families belonging to the local elite and, likewise, the composition of their assets.

However, the section of the “*Juízo dos Resíduos de Braga*” does not include entails established in this work’s selected cities. Nevertheless, the

140 Transl.: “it is to be used in the office of the residue to record chapel masses, services and anniversaries of the dead and all other legacies and annual and perpetual pious works and to describe the estates houses and lands that are obliged for the said charges”.

141 Description based on the entry “*Juízo dos Resíduos record*” in the “Documents” section of the Vinculum Information System Guide, available online at <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/documentos/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

142 Tombo (1390-01-02) – VINC004812 EAB EA/001ca; UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-745, fls. 18-19.

143 Will (1309-05-15) – VINC000994 GLUP EA/003aa; UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-8, fls. 21-21v; Will (1433) – VINC004812 EAB EA/001cb; UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-745, fls. 19-19v; Will (1462-08-26) – VINC004778 VFLF EA/001c; UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-743, fls. 38v-39.



documentation in the collection may lead to future studies on this subject in a particular region of the kingdom, allowing an understanding of how the processes of social ascension developed in the Minho region, possibly establishing comparisons with other areas of the kingdom. The cities of Braga, Barcelos and Viana do Castelo and the towns of Ponte de Lima and Vila Verde, where the number of chapels identified in the registry books of the “Juízo dos Resíduos” is higher, are potential case studies.

The possibility that some of these entails were founded by individuals from Porto or other cities must also be considered, as can be seen in the case of the *morgado* and chapel instituted by Álvaro Vaz Mogueimas in Ponte de Lima in 1689. The information is recorded in the *registo vincular* of Viana de Castelo¹⁴⁴ yet the founder was a citizen of Porto. He was a professed knight of the Order of Christ and *juiz da Casa da Moeda* (judge of the Mint) of that city, choosing to found his entail on the farm he owned in Ponte de Lima¹⁴⁵.

At a lower level of the secular church hierarchy, parishes also produced information on entails. As privileged places for lay (or confraternal) funeral chapels, parish churches were responsible for ensuring the fulfilment of the liturgical duties ordered by the founder. The parish priest and, in the case of collegiate churches, the beneficiaries were also obliged to keep a record of the pious charges for which they were responsible, as well as the most important documents relating to the chapels located in their church, namely extracts from chapel foundation deeds, donations and wills¹⁴⁶. However, copies that have survived to the present day are rare or yet to be unearthed. The book of chapels of the parish of Machico, Madeira, known as “Tombo I”, is one of these rare examples, containing

144 Entail and chapel foundation deed (1689-11-01) – VINC005230 AVMCCC EA/001; SGMAI-GCVC-RV-9610, fls. 103-107v.

145 On Álvaro Vaz Mogueimas, see the information collected in his Authority Record at <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/mogueimas-alvaro-vaz> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

146 On the competences of parish churches and their parish priests, see <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/parishes/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024]



information on the Masses sung for the souls of the founders of entails in that church throughout the sixteenth century¹⁴⁷.

In some cases, however, later documentation refers to these books, providing a relatively complete picture of their form and content. In the 1860s, in order to register the entails administered by doctor Francisco Augusto Furtado de Mesquita Paiva Pinto, eighteenth-century exemplifications of the founding documents were copied from the *tombos* of the parish churches where the chapels were located – Góis and São Miguel de Foz de Arouce (Lousã)¹⁴⁸, with the first described in some detail. It is known that this *tombo* was bound in ancient parchment and the founding documents were written in an antiquated hand, dating back to at least the sixteenth century¹⁴⁹. According to the transcription of the first folio, “nes-te livro manda o Senhor Bispo que se botem em tombo todas as missas que se mandam dizer nesta Igreja de Nossa Senhora de Goéz assim as em fateusim como as de obrigação por certo tempo, e assim as propriedades que às ditas missas estão obrigadas dos logares onde estão e com quem partem”¹⁵⁰. This description shows the richness of the documents contained in these books and the contribution they could make to the study of chapels in parish churches.

As part of the VINCULUM project, it was possible to consult the archive of a parish church, confirming the importance of these records,

147 This book is in the custody of the parish church of Machico and was restored as part of the VINCULUM project and presented to the community on 6 March 2023. About this event and the book’s publicity in the press, see <https://www.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/vinculum-project-day-madeira/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024]; https://www.dnoticias.pt/2023/3/6/351035-livro-recuperado-com-mais-de-500-anos-apresentado-na-paroquia-de-machico/?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=facebook&fbclid=IwAR1GVJELfT-s5nv7Jfv4hDevKA4cdSPwEH6pHT71DXRbfDUS5Z1EZZ87YVs [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] and <https://www.rtp.pt/madeira/cultura/livro-do-seculo-16-encontra-do-na-igreja-de-machico-pelo-paroco-local-video-113679> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024]. The archival description and digital copy of this *tombo* have since been made available on the Arquivo e Biblioteca da Madeira website at <https://arquivo-abm.madeira.gov.pt/details?id=2824253> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

148 TT, Morgados e Capelas, Vínculos, Coimbra, n.º 4.

149 As can be seen from the exemplification of João Rodrigues’ will, “entered” in this tomb on 25 April 1578. Exemplification of a will (1578–04–25) – VINC001997JRCS EA/001a; TT-MC-V-CBR-4, fls. 10–13.

150 Transl.: “In this book, the Bishop orders that all the masses that are said in this church of Our Lady of Góis be recorded, both as *fateusim* (leases) and as obligations for a certain period of time, as well as the properties that are obliged to the said masses in the places where they are and with whom they depart”. TT, Morgados e Capelas, Vínculos, Coimbra, n.º 4, fls. 8v–9.



specifically the parish church of Pinheiro, in the municipality of Penafiel, whose fonds are kept in Arquivo Distrital do Porto¹⁵¹. This fonds contains a book of legacies and mass obligations that copies an extract of the will of Lourenço Soares de Barbosa, a priest at the church of São Vicente de Pinheiro, who founded a *morgado* with pious obligations in that church, in the early years of the seventeenth century¹⁵². Although isolated, this example illuminates the prior analysis regarding both the obligations and information produced within the parishes, highlighting their role in the regulation of pious charges.

The regular ecclesial institutions, which incorporate the various forms of consecrated life, have, in turn, a much greater weight in the context of information regarding entailment. Like cathedrals and parish churches, monastic churches could also house chapels of lay administration within their walls. In this sense, whilst taking into account that traditional monastic orders did not facilitate the institution of chapels within their churches, lay chapels founded mainly in monasteries of the mendicant and canonical orders can be found, usually located in urban areas. The monastic communities were then obliged to supervise the fulfilment of the founders' testamentary dispositions and the respective pious charges¹⁵³.

As part of these functions, the monasteries that housed entails recorded chapels' *tombos* and books recording wills, foundation deeds and donations deeds. In addition, original wills and donations were kept in their archives, as they were privileged beneficiaries¹⁵⁴. Today, the Torre do Tombo and the district archives house numerous collections from the monasteries and convents of the kingdom, which were incorporated after the abolition of the religious orders in 1834. Despite the possibility of losses due to the sometimes-disorganised incorporation, these fonds are in fact quite rich, including loose documents and various *tombos* organised

151 Fonds described at <https://pesquisa.adporto.arquivos.pt/details?id=751493> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

152 Will (extract) (1610-09-30) – VINCO04137 LSB EA/001a; ADPRT-PRQ-PP-E/20/4/6-23.3, fls. 156v-157.

153 On the regular institutions and their competences in entailment matters, see <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/regular-institutions/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

154 Rosa, 2012a, p. 344.



throughout the Early Modern Period. The research objectives of the VINCULUM project led to preference of consulting the *tombos* of chapels over the loose documents, which would include original wills and donations through which the testators/donors founded chapels. From one perspective, there is no consistent archival description of the documentary bundles that make up these fonds, yet, from another, the *tombos* were the result of new readings and an effort to retrieve information, which often led to the elimination of diplomas that had been copied in the meantime, thus presenting a coherent and fairly complete set of documents.

For this purpose, the fonds of the monasteries in the cities of Lisbon and Porto were searched, with a focus on the convents of the mendicant orders. These monasteries play a fundamental role in the study of the urban elites and the entails they founded as a means of social advancement, since they seem to have preferred to do so in these institutions, and with which they developed close relationships.

In the case of Lisbon, documents from the monasteries and convents of São Francisco, São Domingos, Santíssima Trindade, Nossa Senhora do Carmo and Nossa Senhora da Graça were collected and described¹⁵⁵. However, a large part of the documents copied from the *tombos* of these monasteries are also found in those of the Hospital de São José fonds, from which they were recorded in the database. For the city of Porto, in turn, the *tombos* of the convents of Madre de Deus de Monchique, São Bento da Vitória, São Domingos and São Francisco were consulted, all of which are now held in the Arquivo Distrital do Porto¹⁵⁶.

155 The archival description of these fonds can be found at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=1379965> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] (“Convento de São Francisco de Lisboa”), <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/DetailsForm.aspx?id=1457992> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] (“Mosteiro de São Domingos de Lisboa”), <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4380521> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] (“Convento da Santíssima Trindade de Lisboa”), <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=1375656> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] (“Convento de Nossa Senhora do Carmo de Lisboa”) and <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=1375727> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] (“Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa”).

156 The fonds of these monasteries are described in the database of the Arquivo Distrital do Porto. For each one, see, respectively, <https://pesquisa.adporto.arquivos.pt/details?id=510039> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] (“Convento de Madre de Deus de Monchique – Porto”); <https://pesquisa.adporto.arquivos.pt/details?id=782031> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] (“Convento de São Bento da Vitória – Porto”); <https://pesquisa.adporto.arquivos.pt/details?id=485543> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] (“Convento de São Domingos – Porto”); <https://pesquisa.adporto.arquivos.pt/details?id=779636> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] (“Convento de São Francisco – Porto”).



Given the importance of the urban elite in Porto – many of whom belonged to the municipal oligarchy – and the comprehensive survey of these monastic collections, the city can be taken as an example for the exploration of the documentation produced by regular institutions. The convents of Madre de Deus de Monchique and São Bento da Vitória have a less significant sample of documents than the other convents of São Domingos and São Francisco. For Madre de Deus de Monchique, there are only documents relating to two chapels, and São Bento da Vitória there is information on merely four chapels, two of which, however, belonged to members of one of the city's most important families in the city, the Aranhas¹⁵⁷. The fonds of São Domingos and São Francisco are more prolific, holding documents relating to 12 and 28 chapels¹⁵⁸ respectively. In these two cases, there are also a small number of documents that were collated in the database from other fonds, especially the *provedoria da comarca do Porto*, demonstrating how the circulation of information flowed between the originating institutions and the different recording and functions of control that each of them took on.

As seen in other previously analysed fonds, the monastic registry books mainly copy documents relating to foundation of chapels and the management of property, but there are also some sentences and other, less common, types. These documents are particularly relevant for studying the foundation of entails by families belonging to Porto's urban elite, along with the relationships they established with the city's mendicant monasteries: preferential locations for their chapels. Once again, it is apparent that the members of the most important families opted for these institutions, and documents relating to chapels founded by, for example, Baldaias, Aranhas, Brandões and Carneiros, can be located, to be examined in more detail in the chapter relating to Porto¹⁵⁹.

157 Reference is made to the chapels of Violante Aranha and Baltasar Pinto Aranha, whose documents are described in the database under the reference code VINC004133 VAT EA and VINC004135 BPA EA, respectively. On this family, see Brito, 1997, pp. 114–115 and 369.

158 In addition to these, there is one other chapel at the fonds of the convent of São Francisco, but it was not located in the city of Porto. This chapel, located in Paços de Ferreira, is recorded in the database under the identifier VINC004077.

159 These families were studied by Brito, 1997.



2.2.3. Family and entail archives

In November 1696, Luís Machado Freire had written his will, in which he founded two *morgados*, one for each of his sisters, with the intention that these institutions would be united into one with the marriage of his nephews¹⁶⁰. In a very detailed document, leaving nothing to chance, the testator presents us with a rare description of an entail archive that we find in modern documentation:

“Item mando que se faça uma arca chapeada com suas chapas e cintas de ferro, em a qual estará metido este meu testamento e o livro em que tenho escripto toda a minha fazenda, e estarão tambem nela todos os mais livros em que se fôr carregando e escrevendo toda a mais fazenda que ao dito morgado se fôr vinculando, e nella estarão tambem todas as escripturas das fazendas que eu tenho comprado e das que pelo tempo adiante se fôr comprando, e todos os mais títulos de fazendas annexas ao dito morgado e todos os tombos que das fazendas delle se fizerem, e assim mais estará tambem na dita arca e archivo todos os mais papeis e instrumentos que forem de utilidade para aumento do dito morgado e das pessoas que nelle succederem (...)”¹⁶¹ (fl. 129).

Luís Machado Freire’s concerns went a little deeper, and he ordered an inventory to be created, listing all the properties and establishments that each administrator had to have “bem arrecadado e guardado”¹⁶² in the archive, with those individuals under penalty of paying double for anything that might be missing and rebuilding everything at their own expense.

160 Document described in the fonds of both entails. Will ([before 1696-11-24]) – VINC002063 LMFMM EA/001; TT-MC-V-CTB-27, fls. 120-135v; Will ([before 1696-11-24]) – VINC002470 LM-FIMC EA/001; TT-MC-V-CTB-27, fls. 120-135v.

161 Transl.: “Item: I order that a chest be made, plated with its iron plates and straps, in which this will of mine and the book in which I have written down my entire estate will be placed, and in it will also be all the other books in which all the other estates entailed to the said *morgado* will be carried and written down, and in it will also be all the deeds of the estates that I have bought and those that will be bought over time, and all the other titles of estates annexed to the said *morgado* and all the *tombos* that will be made of its estates, and also in the said chest and archive will be all the other papers and instruments that will be useful for the increase of the said *morgado* and of the people who will succeed to it (...)”.

162 Transl.: “well stocked and guarded”.



This description shows the process of setting up a family archive which, over time, will have produced, received and accumulated even more information from the various institutions with which it has been in contact throughout its existence. It was here, in these archives belonging to entails and maintained by their successive administrators, that all the information and documentation described throughout this chapter flowed and which the VINCULUM project aims to reconstitute (at least in part) through its database.

Some have been preserved via the archives of families who founded and administrated entails in the medieval and early modern periods. In fact, as Maria de Lurdes Rosa showed, entails played a fundamental role in the creation and maintenance of family archives, in the sense that their holders were faced with the problem of how to organise these archives to make the best use of them, retrieving necessary information most easily¹⁶³. In this respect, the inventories of family archives provide clues about the organisation of these archives and documentation they held at one time, much of it directly related to the institution and administration of entails¹⁶⁴. Their preparation and consequent organisation based on genealogical criteria, following the rules of primogeniture and masculinity, allowed for the rapid retrieval of documents that would serve to substantiate succession rights in the *morgados* claimed by the descendants (or otherwise) of the founders¹⁶⁵.

Whether it is through these inventories, still kept in the respective family archives today or the archival institutions where they were deposited, or through research and consultation of the documents in the family archives themselves, it is clear that they held a wide variety of documents from inception. These collections include the wills of the founders and administrators of *morgados* and chapels, their codicils, dowry deeds and countless documents on the acquisition and management of property

163 Rosa, 2019, p. 265.

164 Family archive inventories were the object of study for the project “INVENT.ARQ. Inventários de arquivos de família, sécs. XV–XIX: de gestão e prova a memórias perdidas. Repensando o arquivo pré-moderno” (EXPL/EPH-HIS/0178/2013), coordinated by Maria de Lurdes Rosa, which resulted in a database of archival descriptions of the inventories it was possible to locate, available at <https://inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

165 Rosa, 2019, pp. 268–270.



that was already entailed or that, after a period of accumulation, would be so, as well as copies of documents produced by other institutions, such as the Crown and the Church. As Rita Nóvoa states, based on her study of the “Arquivo Gama Lobo Salema”, the set of documents related to the *morgados* and chapels had to be, in parallel, preserved “until the end of the world”, in a clear link to the founder’s will, which functioned as an “internal law” and determined how the documents should be transmitted¹⁶⁶. Although the existence of a family archive did not depend on the institution and administration of entails, the truth is that most of the documents they preserve are linked to entails and perpetual rights and are largely responsible for the survival of family archives as a coherent whole to this day¹⁶⁷.

The way this information is organised and analysed together allows one to see the social ascension strategies of the families who preserved them and the ways in which they managed to reach the upper social classes, often by entailing the property they acquired over time. In fact, as stated by Alice Gago, the process of social ascension of the families whose archives make up the “Arquivo Almada e Lencastre Bastos”, deposited in the National Library of Portugal, led to an increase in the volume of documents, which required the creation of information control mechanisms, as the documents were used as proof in the management of the estate and house¹⁶⁸.

Family archives are therefore one of the axes on which the heuristics of the VINCULUM project is based, proving fundamental for studying the phenomenon of entailment in Ancien Régime Portugal and the entailment component of power, on which the social ascension strategies of elite local families were based. For this reason, the research carried out as part of the project includes an exhaustive survey and documentary description of multiple family archives, both held in public and private archives, some of which are still in the hands of the families that produced and preserved them over the centuries.

166 Nóvoa, 2016, pp. 254–255.

167 Nóvoa, 2016, pp. 255–256. See also Gago, 2019, vol. 1, pp. 255–256.

168 Gago, 2018, p. 107. The “Arquivo Almada e Lencastre Bastos” was the subject of the author’s doctoral thesis, defended in 2019, in which she discusses the role of archival practices in structuring and consolidating pre-modern families. Gago, 2019, vol. 1, pp. 249–265.



Particular emphasis was placed on collecting documents from family archives held by public bodies. Some of these collections, now kept in district archives, were analysed to find items produced by, and for, the entails that these families founded and administered. In the Arquivo Distrital de Vila Real, the fonds of the Cunha Pimentel¹⁶⁹, Teixeira Homem¹⁷⁰ and Costa Vasconcelos¹⁷¹ families include, albeit in small numbers, the wills and entail and chapel foundation deeds of their members in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries¹⁷². In turn, the fonds of “Casa de Souto d’El Rei”¹⁷³, “Família Guedes”¹⁷⁴ and “Morgado de Loureiro”¹⁷⁵ in the Arquivo Distrital de Viseu were analysed, the title of which is quite revealing in terms of the documentation held. These three fonds include a substantial set of documents, accounting for almost 80 records in the database. As such, the documentation relating to entails that was produced and preserved in these collections is more varied, including, in addition to wills and foundation deeds, annexation deeds, petitions and dispatches, sentences and a rare instrument of lineage, an *inquisitio* (inquisition), in the case of the fonds of “Família Guedes”. This document, dated 1646, is a clear example of the evidential value of documents kept in family archives, bringing together a set of testimonies that confirmed that Pedro Guedes de Magalhães, the petitioner, was the legitimate son of Pedro Guedes da Fonseca Alcoforado and therefore a descendant of the Guedes, lords of Murça¹⁷⁶.

There are also a significant number of family archives that are now in the custody of the Torre do Tombo and the National Library of Portugal. This is thanks to their donation or deposit by representatives of the families that produced and preserved them, in an effort to make available and preserve what they consider a public asset¹⁷⁷. Among the fonds held

169 Fonds described at <https://digitarq.advrl.arquivos.pt/details?id=1289489> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

170 Fonds described at <https://digitarq.advrl.arquivos.pt/details?id=1191098> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

171 Fonds described at <https://digitarq.advrl.arquivos.pt/details?id=1297659> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

172 See, for example, the entail foundation deed by Francisco Pereira de Miranda and Guiomar Pereira, in 1565, kept in the fonds “Cunha Pimentel”. Entail foundation deed (1565–09–04) – VINC003528 FPMGP EA/003; ADVRL-FCP-06–01.

173 Fonds described at <https://digitarq.advis.arquivos.pt/details?id=1047785> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

174 Fonds described at <https://digitarq.advis.arquivos.pt/details?id=1048086> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

175 Fonds described at <https://digitarq.advis.arquivos.pt/details?id=1048198> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

176 Document described in the fonds of the entail founded by Pedro Vaz Guedes in 1462. Inquisitio (1646–06–13) – VINC004487 PVG EA/007; ADVIS-FG–2, fls. 106v–112v.

177 This idea was conveyed by the last owner of the “Arquivo Gama Lobo Salema” in his presentation at the ceremony to donate this archive to the Torre do Tombo in 2008, published in Nóvoa, 2016, p. 355.



in Torre do Tombo are those of “Casa de Abrantes”¹⁷⁸, “Família Sinel de Cordes”¹⁷⁹, “Família Siqueira, Condes de São Martinho”¹⁸⁰ and “Família Gama Lobo Salema”¹⁸¹. The “Arquivo Almada e Lencastre Bastos”, among others, is housed at the National Library of Portugal. It contains numerous documents relating to families from the city of Porto, which are of particular interest for studying the entailment component of power¹⁸². When consulting these archives, particular attention was paid to documents relating to the institution of *morgados* and chapels, such as wills, codicils, dowry deeds and foundation deeds. Analysing and describing these documents allows very similar conclusions to those that have been described thus far to be drawn, and are essential for understanding the mechanisms of ascension and social consolidation of the members of the concerned families.

Finally, as a result of the efforts made by Maria de Lurdes Rosa during her projects and research, it has been possible to consult archives that are still in the possession of the families who produced and preserved them over the centuries, or from those who acquired them and realised their value, making them available for historical research purposes. These include, for example, the archives of the “condes da Lapa”, “Casa do Armeiro-Mor”, “Casa de Belmonte” and the collection of Jorge de Brito e Abreu, which includes different family’s archives¹⁸³. The consultation of these archives, some of which have been kept in the same places for several decades, if not centuries, allows a comprehension of the organisation of a pre-modern family archive and contributes to a clearer reconstruction of these archives in the context of the VINCULUM project. This is, moreover, one of the project’s main objectives and serves as a basis for the study of the various themes and components of entailment, in particular its relationship with power, as a manifestation of its social agency.

178 Fonds described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=3908153> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

179 Fonds described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4185741> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

180 Fonds described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=7578882> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].

181 Fonds described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=7584331> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024] and studied in Nóvoa, 2016.

182 As already mentioned, this archive was the subject of study and archival description in Alice Gago’s doctoral thesis. Gago, 2019.

183 These archives are listed in the “About” section of the VINCULUM project database at <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/about> [Accessed 04 Oct. 2024].



The elites of Santarém between the proximity to the royal court and the distant India

CHAPTER 3

3





The elites of Santarém between the proximity to the royal court and the distant India

3.1. Why Santarém? The town in Medieval and Early Modern times

Of the four selected cities, Santarém was the smallest¹ and the only one that was not the seat of a diocese. As such, technically it was not a city, it, however, had the equivalent status of a “notable town” and the same prerogatives as cities². In fact, since the Muslim occupation and throughout the Middle Ages, it was an urban centre of great importance, located centrally in the kingdom, relatively close to Lisbon where, from King Afonso III onwards, the royal court frequented often.

If the aforementioned facts contributed to the selection of Santarém as a case study, the social composition of its urban population, in conjunction with its geographical position – and thus proximity to Lisbon and the royal court – and municipal administration, proved even more decisive. The organisation of Santarém’s society is reflected in the *foral* (municipal charter) granted by King Afonso Henriques in 1179. It clearly favours the

¹ According to *Numeramento* (census) of 1527-1532, which is used here as a reference, these four cities were the most populous in the country, with Santarém in fourth place with 1988 dwellings, corresponding to a total of around 9145 inhabitants. Dias, 1998, pp. 18-19. Data for the previous period is very scarce, although the few sources available prove that Santarém was among the most populous cities in the kingdom. Beirante, 1980, pp. 192-194.

² Dias, 1998, p. 34.



cavalaria vilã, made up of men of the people, demonstrating the importance of war and the defence of the town during the *Reconquista*³. Knights continued to be present in Santarém, but over time it became increasingly difficult to distinguish between those who were knights by birth or lineage and those who were *vilãos*. As such, over the course of the thirteenth century the *cavaleiros vilãos*⁴ became part of an “elite urbana dedicada ao controlo do poder local, da qual participam também cavaleiros de linhagem, clérigos e mercadores”⁵, as Mário Viana highlighted⁶. With the end of the *Reconquista*, the *cavaleiros vilãos* channelled their efforts into the accumulation of both wealth and land⁷, with the formation of an elite or oligarchy in Santarém, which would later ensconce the institution and administration of entails as a means of ascension and social promotion. This group included the knights, who developed a close relationship with power from at least the thirteenth century onwards. Many of them settled in Santarém to serve the king and the local authorities, where they acted as *alvazil*⁸. According to Mário Viana, whom this work has been referencing, these positions were held by *cavaleiros vilãos* in a clear imitation of the behaviour of hereditary knights⁹, a common characteristic of this demographic, which aimed to ascend socially.

The society of Santarém was also made up of other elements that are similarly important for the study and understanding of the exercise and awareness of power by the founders and administrators of entails. This privileged class included the nobility, and knights, as already mentioned. This group began to settle in Santarém from the thirteenth century onwards, due to its proximity to Lisbon, the lead city of the kingdom and the increasingly frequent seat of the royal court¹⁰, with the phenomenon

3 Beirante, 1980, pp. 44–45.

4 Lit. villain knights, from the French villein – free horsemen who, whilst not noble, offered military service to the king, achieving a social level similar to minor nobility.

5 Transl.: “an urban elite dedicated to the control of local power, which also included knights of lineage, clerics and merchants”.

6 Viana, 2012, p. 64. From the fourteenth century onwards, however, the *cavalaria vilã* entered a phase of limited growth and, consequently, a reduction in numbers.

7 Coelho, 1996, pp. 258–259.

8 Viana, 2012, p. 69.

9 Viana, 2012, p. 69. Previously, Ângela Beirante, although not referring directly to the *cavaleiros vilãos*, presented a similar conclusion. Beirante, 1980, p. 230.

10 Reis, 2022, p. 32.



becoming particularly commonplace from the fifteenth- and throughout the sixteenth century in the context of Portuguese expansion. During this period, nobles became conspicuously concentrated in the town, namely squires from the house of Prince Henry the Navigator and members of the high nobility, such as the Count and later Marquis of Vila Real, the Count of Marialva and Loulé, the Coutinhos and the Meneses families¹¹. Similarly, and related to the presence of nobles in Santarém, there was a notable population of men with positions or functions at the royal court, as well as local and royal officials, recruited from among both the nobility and the educated class, as such generally belonging to the bourgeoisie¹².

Considered from a social point of view, the presence of merchants in Santarém is also notable, providing an indicator of the town's economic vitality. As this social class accumulated wealth, it invested it in land, which, like the landed nobility, it would entail. While in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the merchants formed a "consistent body", in fifteenth century they were already socially diverse – trade was practised by the various classes, including the nobility. For this reason, as Ângela Beirante points out, there was a certain "mixing" between different levels of society, with the nobleman who traded and the merchant who became the squire or servant of an important individual¹³. This dynamic continued into the sixteenth century, during which available documentation records few men identified as merchants¹⁴. In fact, this socio-economic group gradually moved up the ladder, linking themselves by marriage to squires and literates¹⁵ and even occupying the position of *alvazil*¹⁶, which confirms their integration into the urban elite, the main object of study of the sub-project dedicated to power.

Finally, the choice of Santarém was driven by another factor: the presence of the mendicant orders, whose convents were frequently chosen by

11 Beirante, 1981, pp. 110–112 and 210–211.

12 Beirante, 1980, pp. 198 and 205–207; Beirante, 1981, p. 211.

13 Beirante, 1980, p. 202.

14 Beirante, 1981, p. 130.

15 Beirante, 1980, p. 211.

16 Beirante, 1980, p. 237.



the urban elite to found their chapels¹⁷. In fact, the movement to found these male and female monasteries was vigorous in Santarém during the first half of the thirteenth century. This resulted in the construction of the convent of Santíssima Trindade, the monasteries of São Domingos dos Frades and São Domingos das Donas and those of São Francisco and Santa Clara, both of the same order¹⁸. In the fourteenth century, the monastery of Santo Agostinho – generally referred to as the church of Graça de Santarém – was founded by an important member of the Santarém nobility, João Afonso Teles de Meneses, Count of Ourém¹⁹. Built very close to the urban centre, these houses were generally well received by the population, protected by Portuguese kings and closely linked to the lower nobility and urban and rural bourgeoisie²⁰.

3.2. The sample of entails: characterisation

Given this justification of Santarém as an example for the study of the entailment component of power, it is important to characterise the sample of entails selected from among those established in the town between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, and, furthermore, the corresponding documentation described in the VINCULUM project database, which serves as a basis for analysing issues of social mobility and power.

First of all, the criteria which determined the choice of some entails over others should be defined. In this regard, a common questionnaire was applied to all the cities, selecting the entails for study according to the socio-professional status of the founders and administrators. Those who belonged to the social category of urban elites, but also those who, coming from lower or higher classes, aspired, respectively, to social ascension or the maintenance of a status already achieved were favoured. Similarly, particular attention to the family names of the founders and administrators

17 Rosa, 2012a, pp. 374–375.

18 Beirante, 1980, pp. 121–125.

19 Beirante, 1980, p. 198.

20 Although this is mainly a work of dissemination and less of a scientific-academic nature, a brief and clear summary of the establishment of the mendicant orders in Santarém and their connection to those social classes can be read in Mattoso; Daveau; Belo, 2017, pp. 447–448.



was paid, choosing entails belonging to recognised families for which there is a greater abundance of documentary and bibliographical data, and who were involved in processes of social advancement such as the Costas and the Meneses. When there wasn't sufficient documentary evidence to determine socio-professional status or membership of a socially prominent family, the information in the database was used. In this sense, the entails with the greatest number of documents described and with the types of documents considered most relevant and complete – entail or chapel foundation deeds, wills, codicils, donation deeds, dowry deeds, among others were chosen. Focussed was also placed on the *morgados* and chapels with a greater variety of *subject access points*, especially those that most likely refer to an awareness of power on the part of the founders (or administrators), and the use of this power to achieve their goals of perpetuating the memory and conserving the heritage of the given lineage – such as, for example, “Inventory”, “Family Name”, “Coat of Arms”, “Crown”, “Church”, “Municipality”, “Accumulation”.

The application of these criteria resulted in the selection of 20 entails for analysis and case study from among the 63 *morgados* and chapels established in the current municipality of Santarém. In total, this sample consists of more than 230 documents²¹ of more than seven dozen different types. This *corpus* of documents is mainly made up of administration letters, but there are also a considerable number of royal confirmation letters²², *tombos*, administration warrants and sentences. Within the set of documents, the diplomas through which entails were often founded or pious charges and/or assets added are also quite significant, not only from a quantitative point of view, but above all from a qualitative point of view. This category includes wills²³, entail foundation deed, chapel foundation deeds and codicils.

21 This number corresponds to the total number of items, which includes both the main documents and the inserted documents.

22 In fact, directly after the administration letters, the type with the largest number of documents is the “chancery record of an administration letter”, with a total of 18 items. However, this type is of little relevance in the context of this study and has little autonomous value, so in the text we only highlight the most important types.

23 This type includes the terms or expressions “will”, “will (extract)” and “will chart”.



The documentation produced by the selected entails is somewhat unevenly distributed over the various centuries studied. The largest production of documents was during the sixteenth century (around 39%), closely followed by the fourteenth century (around 34%). About 22% of the total number of diplomas were issued in the sixteenth century, while the fourteenth century accounts for only 3%. The few remaining documents collected cannot be dated precisely or within a single century, so they have been given a critical date that spans two or more centuries, totalling 3%.

This work suggests that the figures can be explained, in part, by the fact that the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries correspond to two major moments of increasing royal intervention in the administration of entails, particularly chapels that became vacant for the Crown. In fact, in the fifteenth century – and especially since the reign of King Duarte – the monarchs, during disputes between the King and the Church over the management of pious property, entrusted the administration of chapels that had become vacant, usually due to the extinction of the institutor's lineage, to the Crown and assigned them to whoever was worthy of them²⁴. This resulted in the production of a significant number of documents, in particular administration letters and warrants, which reflect the royal effort to control the chapels founded in the form of a *morgado* and which, for various reasons, were without an administrator. The kings continued to intervene in this matter throughout the sixteenth century – although in the case of Santarém the total number of documents dating from this century has decreased somewhat – and reinforced this from the reign of King Filipe II of Portugal onwards. This monarch undertook the task of reorganising the Crown Chapels, seeking to regulate compliance with the pious legacies associated with these institutions, but also to make a profit from a sector that could generate important revenues for the State²⁵. To this end, the monarchs began to grant the administration of these chapels as a means of rewarding the services of their vassals, generating

24 On these conflicts between royal and ecclesiastical power and the increasing royal intervention in the administration of chapels, see Ventura, 1997, pp. 331-352 and Rosa, 2012a, pp. 168-291.

25 On the measures taken by the royal power with a view to greater control over the administration of vacant chapels, which eventually led to the creation of *Juízo das Capelas da Coroa* (Court of the Crown Chantries) (1643-1832), see <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/en/instituicoes/juizo-das-capelas-da-coroa-court-of-the-crown-chantries-1643-1832/> [Accessed 05 Oct. 2024].



a considerable flow of information which is reflected in the chancery records of the seventeenth century reigns, explaining the significant increase in documentation dating from that period.

The chronological distribution of the documentation analysed and, in particular, a certain concentration in the fifteenth century, also depends on another factor of equal importance, but of a heuristic nature. In accordance with the documentary research criteria within the scope of the VINCULUM project, explained and duly substantiated in the second chapter, important late-medieval documentary “repositories” relating to the city of Santarém were consulted, which grew the number of diplomas dating from the fifteenth century to a certain extent. This is a particular reference to the *Tombo das capelas, albergarias e hospitais de Santarém*²⁶, drawn up in the context of the campaign to make *tombos* of chapels, confraternities, hospitals and other similar establishments, supervised by *desembargadores com alçada* during the reign of King Manuel I and as part of the reform of pious institutions undertaken by this king²⁷. These records give us an important insight into the Santarém society in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, specifically with regard to their integration into the urban elite and the use they made of the foundation of entails as an essential stage in their social climb. However, it should be understood that the decision not to consult the fonds of Provedoria de Santarém e Tomar (kept in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo), for reasons already mentioned²⁸, may explain a certain scarcity of entail and chapel foundation deeds dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

3.3. The founders of entails: sociological characterisation

Despite some of the limitations mentioned above and others related to their content, the sources collected allow an assessment of the role of the *morgados* and chapels in the social paths taken by their founders and administrators in the area of the present city of Santarém.

26 TT, Feitos da Coroa, Tombos e Demarcações, Núcleo Antigo 274.

27 Rosa, 2012a, pp. 250–267.

28 As explained in chapter 2, which discusses the sources, the lack of description tools for this fonds would make it impractical to consult and analyse documentation kept in a fonds of this size.



Although the entailment of property was transversal to all social sectors, its use as a means of ascension and social promotion was particularly common among members of the lower nobility, elites and even individuals from the lower classes, such as wealthy merchants and farmers and/or landowners. While some sought to consolidate their prestige and place in society, others sought recognition and, if possible, to climb the social ladder, emulating the behaviour of the nobility.

For the town of Santarém, given the selected sample of documents, it was possible to identify the socio-professional status of the founders of 19 of the 20 entails analysed. All that remains is to understand who Vasco Gonçalves Teixeira was. He instituted a chapel in the church of Santo Estêvão de Santarém between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries²⁹, whose administration by a squire in 1500 suggests a possible link with the urban elite or even the lower nobility³⁰.

The entails analysed were generally due to the initiative of individuals from the small and middling nobility, such as squires and knights, as well as officials of the royal court and the educated classes. It can be seen that in Santarém, as in Lisbon, the foundation of chapels and other institutions of perpetual suffrage was largely due to the influence of the wealthiest and most cultured elites of urban society, particularly those in administrative, liberal (or intellectual) and mercantile positions, as observed by Maria de Lurdes Rosa³¹.

The sociological characterisation of the founders of Santarém depends, to a certain extent, on the period in which they lived, and in which they founded their respective *morgados* and/or chapels. However, there is a gap between some centuries and others. In this sense, the fifteenth century corresponds to the period for which the largest number of founding documents have been collected and likewise that which the largest number of founders lived, even though the entail or chapel foundation deed or will may not be present. In fact, half of the entails that make up the

29 Will (extract) ([13--]-[14--]) – VINC006267 VGT EA/001a; TT-FC-TD-274, fl. 94.

30 Tombo (1500-03-16) – VINC006267 VGT EA/001; TT-FC-TD-274, fl. 93v.

31 Rosa, 2012a, p. 360.



selected sample were established in this given century. It is also possible to add the chapel of Gil do Sem, Branca Eanes and Martinho do Sem to this number, although its foundation raises some questions which will be addressed later. Among the entails selected as case studies, three institutions are documented for the fourteenth century, while two foundations are known for the sixteenth century and two others for the seventeenth century. It should also be added that, although there are no specific founding documents, reading the documents or bibliography allowed the dating of two founders to the twelfth century, a time when entails did not exist as they are known from the fourteenth century onwards³². These individuals were D. Gaião and Pedro Escuro, identified as the founders of the *morgados* or chapels of the same name, with attached shelters, which deserve a more detailed reference because of the doubts they raise and the role that such a distant founder played in the memory and construction of the lineage.

Commencing with these two examples, D. Gaião and D. Pedro Escuro, construing their association with the urban elites of Santarém in the immediate period after its reconquest from the Muslims and the granting of the 1179 municipal charter seems self-evident. The first, in 1162, was *alcaide* (governor) of Santarém, therefore linked not only to the circle of municipal, but also royal power: he was the official who defended the town's castle on behalf of the king, whilst at the same time as intervening in municipal life³³. In turn, according to later information available in documents from the late fifteenth century, Pedro Escuro was a resident of Santarém, a knight³⁴, and took part in the conquest of the town in 1147³⁵. Although it is not possible to know whether he belonged to *cavalaria vilã* or nobility by blood, Ângela Beirante included this founder in the group of lords and privileged people with military functions, contributing to the defence of the town together with the *alcaide*³⁶. For both D. Gaião and D. Pedro Escuro, there is no extant information that would allow an understanding if they founded their entails with the intention of social

³² Rosa, 1995.

³³ Beirante, 1980, p. 43.

³⁴ Administration letter (1487-07-20) – VINCO02306 PE EA/002a; TT-C-J2-20, fl. 135.

³⁵ Warrant (1500-03-31) – VINCO02306 PE EA/010ab; TT-FC-CC-2, fl. 29v.

³⁶ Beirante, 1980, p. 195.



ascension. However, later documentation reveals that the future administrators of their *morgados* and chapels used their image and status retrospectively to support their own ascent of the social ladder and affirm the status they had achieved.

In the following centuries, the links between the founders and sphere of royal power – and the king’s servants – as well as municipal power, continued to be evident. Once again, the presence of *alcaldes-mores* of Santarém is noted among the founders of the fourteenth century, such as Lourenço Martins do Avelar³⁷ and Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo³⁸. However, the analysed documentation does not clarify this role, and as such bibliographical references must be used to identify their social status more precisely.

Regarding Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo, there is other, equally relevant data to socially characterise him. Firstly, according to the confirmation letter of his entail foundation deed, granted by King Fernando I, he was a vassal of the king³⁹, which indicates that he belonged to the nobility and was obliged to undertake military service whenever necessary, for which he received a sum from the Crown⁴⁰. Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo, however, stood out above all for his loyalty and support for Queen Leonor Teles⁴¹ and, later, Queen Beatriz. In this context, he fought alongside King João I of Castile in the Battle of Aljubarrota in 1385, along with his son, Álvaro Gonçalves, who was appointed as successor to his *morgado*⁴². They both lost their lives during this battle. These events could have determined the political end of his lineage and the loss of his property and, consequently,

37 Lourenço Martins do Avelar, who lived in Santarém, established a chapel in the monastery of Santa Clara in the same town before 1378-07-24 (the date of the exemplification of an extract of his will). Will (extract) ([before 1378-07-24]) – VINC001060 LMA EA/011aa; TT-FC-TD-274, fls. 68-69. We know that he was *alcaide-mor* of that town in 1367 from a reference in Beirante, 1980, p. 225.

38 Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo and his wife Inês Afonso founded a *morgado* in 1381-11-07, which was confirmed a few days later by King Fernando I. Confirmation letter (1381-11-15) – VINC000031 GVAIA EA/002a; TT-LN-30, fls. 103-104v. His identification as *alcaide-mor* of the town of Santarém in 1383 can be found in Beirante, 1980, p. 225.

39 Confirmation letter (1381-11-15) – VINC000031 GVAIA EA/002a; TT-LN-30, fl. 103.

40 Marques, 1987, pp. 249-251.

41 Beirante, 1980, pp. 69-70 and 179.

42 Confirmation letter (1381-11-15) – VINC000031 GVAIA EA/002a; TT-LN-30, fl. 103. GAIO (1938), vol. 2 (tomo 3), p. 111 (title of the Azevedos).



his *morgado*. However, the marriage of his daughter Leonor Gonçalves de Azevedo to Gonçalo Vasques Coutinho, who belonged to a family that supported João, Master of Avis⁴³, guaranteed the continuity of his familial position and the administration of the entail founded in 1381. In fact, this *morgado* was administered in 1497 by D. Francisco Coutinho, Count of Marialva and Loulé⁴⁴, and in 1530 by D. Guiomar, his daughter, who was married to Infante Fernando, brother of King João III⁴⁵, demonstrating the importance of matrimonial ties to families in the process of social ascension to guarantee the continuity of entailment administrations.

The majority of the other founders were members of the nobility and/or belonged to the upper echelons of royalty, holding corresponding positions at court. These include, for example, Afonso Guilherme, *procurador* (attorney) at the royal court during the reign of King Fernando I, as mentioned in a later administration letter⁴⁶, and D. Pedro de Meneses, Count of Vila Real, as well as his daughter, D. Leonor de Meneses⁴⁷. More frequent are the members of the King's Council or their wives or widows, whose social status depended largely on that of their husbands. Two cases from different centuries stand out in particular. These are Martinho do Sem and Gil Eanes da Costa. The former was a royal counsellor, *chanceler-mor* (chancellor) to King João I and belonged to an educated family – both he and his father, Gil do Sem, were doctors⁴⁸. Their descendants continued to invest in studies and the elevated professions, as can be seen in João do Sem, Martinho do Sem's nephew and also a doctor, as well as the king's *tesoureiro-mor* (king's chief treasurer) and member of his Council⁴⁹. Gil Eanes da Costa, who lived in the sixteenth century, was *vedor da fazenda do Rei* (overseer of the Treasury) and his counsellor⁵⁰.

43 On the Coutinhos, see Oliveira, 1999, *maxime* pp. 35–43.

44 Confirmation letter (1497–03–31) – VINC000031 GVAIA EA/002; TT-LN-30, fl. 103.

45 Confirmation letter (1530–09–14) – VINC000031 GVAIA EA/001a; TT-C-J3-D-39, fl. 117v.

46 Administration letter (1440–12–03) – VINC001397 AG EA/002a; TT-LN-20, fl. 238.

47 Dowry deed (1431–03–08) – VINC000061 PM EA/002; DORNELAS-1928, pp. 310–319 and Will (extract) (1446–06–14) – VINC001635 LMAV EA/004a; TT-CA-086-259-4843, fls. 5–28. On Pedro de Meneses, see Rosa, 1995, pp. 43–50 and Campos, 2004.

48 Will (1404–10–30) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/005aa; TT-FC-CC-5, fl. 458 and Confirmation letter (1487–05–17) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/002a; TT-C-J2-20, fl. 39.

49 Confirmation letter (1439–02–12) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/001a; TT-C-A5-18, fl. 39v.

50 Entail foundation deed (1560–07–05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002aa; TT-IMC-NA-190, fl. 1.



He was the son of Álvaro da Costa, a very important figure at the court of King Manuel I, and married to Joana da Silva, with whom he founded his *morgado* and chapel. D. Joana was also a member of one of the most influential noble families in the kingdom, being the niece of the second baron of Alvito, D. Diogo da Silveira⁵¹.

Among the founders of *morgados* and chapels in the town of Santarém, two other examples stand out due to their very specific characteristics. The first, João Gonçalves *Folga na Palha* does not fit into any of the categories mentioned so far. He could be considered a member of the ‘general public’. Although he didn’t occupy a place in the lower classes of this category, he neither amongst the higher echelons, to which the knights belonged, a position close to the nobility. In fact, João Gonçalves was a farmer who lived in the town of Santarém⁵². Everything leads us to believe that he owned a reasonable amount of real estate, which he entailed to a chapel, with the clear intention of emulating the behaviour of the nobility and the urban elites.

Finally, a *morgado* instituted by someone who was linked to the Portuguese expansion can be found – in other words, someone who enriched or consolidated his fortune and prestige thanks to the service he rendered to the king in the territories of the Portuguese empire, particularly in India. This was Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, who together with his wife, Mécia Mendes de Aguiar, founded a *morgado* with their *terças* (available portions of their inheritances) in 1507 through a joint will⁵³. Little is known about Gonçalo Gil Barbosa’s journey before he sailed to India on Pedro Álvares Cabral’s ship in 1500, but the available information allows his placement in the category of the lower nobility and the educated elite. According to Pedro Reis, this founder was *escudeiro-mor* (chief squire) of King João II in 1487 and, more significantly, *tabelião do rei* (king’s notary) in 1495⁵⁴.

51 On the Costa family and, in particular, on Álvaro da Costa and his son, Gil Eanes da Costa, see Leme, 2018, pp. 74–130.

52 Privilege letter (1481–10–25) – VINC001960 JGFP EA/001a; TT–C–A5–26, fl. 24v.

53 Will (1507–02–01) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/003; TT–MC–V–STR–17, fls. 39–42.

54 Reis, 2022, p. 33. This author dedicated his master’s dissertation to Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, so we closely followed his conclusions to characterise him sociologically.



His writing skills may have led to his selection for the position he took on in Pedro Álvares Cabral's fleet, where he served as *escrivão da despesa* (clerk of expenses).

When he arrived in India, Gonçalo Gil Barbosa was *feitor* (Portuguese "factor" or agent) in Cochin and Cananor until his return to Portugal in 1506⁵⁵. From then on, he made a rapid rise in social status as a result of his service in India, particularly in war. In 1507, a few months after founding his *morgado*, King Manuel I granted him the privilege of a nobleman, in which he is already referred to as a knight of the King's House and *Comendador da Ordem de Cristo* (Commander of the Order of Christ), joining the ranks of the high nobility⁵⁶. Following this upward trajectory, the strategy behind his marriage cannot be ignored. Before 1482, he married Mécia Mendes de Aguiar, daughter of Pedro Rodrigues Portocarreiro, linking himself to a well-known lineage of the local elites of Santarém, which favoured him socially, despite he himself belonging to those same elites⁵⁷. After her widowhood, Mécia Mendes de Aguiar showed the behaviour of the urban elites and continued her and her husband's plans, founding a new *morgado* and a chapel in the convent of Santo Agostinho in Santarém in 1532⁵⁸. In a codicil of 1540, this founder reinforced Gonçalo Gil Barbosa's connection to the expansion and the impact that his service in India had on the family's future. In fact, Mécia Mendes de Aguiar mentions that when her husband returned to Portugal, he wanted to build a chapel for their tombs, but the obligation to account for his expenses to the king held him back for the rest of his life, and he died without writing a new will⁵⁹. Although these are indirect references to the social status of this couple of founders, they are of the utmost importance as they allow them to be placed within the circles of royal power and service to the king, and even within the local elites of the sixteenth century town of Santarém.

55 Reis, 2022, pp. 36–44.

56 Reis, 2022, p. 47.

57 Reis, 2022, p. 35.

58 Will ([before 1532–09–27]) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/002aaa; TT-MC-V-STR-17, fls. 14v–26v.

59 Codicil (1540–02–10) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/002aab; TT-MC-V-STR-17, fls. 27–34.



3.4. Entails as a means of social advancement and power consolidation for the Santarém elite

All or almost all of the founders identified and selected for this study of the entailment component of power in Santarém went through a process of social ascension or began a journey that culminated in the social ascension of their descendants and administrators of their entails. Similarly, when an entail became vacant to the Crown and the administration was taken on by members of other lineages unrelated to the founder, the *morgado* or chapel took on an important role in *their* strategies for social ascension and consolidation, often becoming an asset for family and hereditary transmission. With these premises as a starting point, several cases for Santarém have been collected that allow many of the questions initially asked by this work to be answered, and which aim to illuminate how the social ascension of the families of the local elites took place and the use of entails therein as a means of achieving it.

The founding moment of a *morgado* or chapel could either be the starting or end point of a family's social evolution, reflecting the founder's awareness of the power he had achieved or was about to achieve, and his upward trajectory in the society in which he was integrated. These individuals' motivation for founding an entail may reveal their connection to the lineage, to the past, but also to the present and what they hoped for the future. Documentation, however, collected upon this wider subject is not necessarily forthcoming in describing the reasons that led to the foundation of a chapel or *morgado*, and it is understood that the founders were mainly motivated by the need to suffrage their souls or to guarantee the perpetuity of their memory and earthly possessions, even if they did not always explicitly state this in writing⁶⁰.

60 Although it was a common motivation for all or almost all of the founders, João de Sousa is the one in our sample who best described his intention to suffrage his soul, that of his wife and all those to whom he was obliged, saying that in order to do so it was necessary to “fazer tesouro no ceo” (transl.: “make treasure in heaven”). Entail foundation deed (1488-03-16) – VINCO03179 JS EA/002; TT-FC-CC-3, fl. 146v.



There are, however, exceptions. Gil Eanes da Costa and his wife, Joana da Silva, decided to found a *morgado* in Santarém in 1560, with a chapel in the convent of Almoester, because they wanted to remain “alguma memoria e fundamento de casa”⁶¹, emphasising that *morgados* were “muito necesarios e proveitosos asy pera proveito da casa como da sustentação da linhagem”⁶². The conscious use of the concept of “house” and the apparent understanding of its meaning reveals a consolidated social position. They also show the growing prevalence of the “house”, made up of the most restricted kinship, instead of the lineage, which encompassed an increasing breadth of branches of the family name, sometimes without direct ties of descent, however⁶³ – despite the simultaneous use of both terms in the entail foundation deed being analysed. As Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro points out, the foundation of an entail and the consequent adoption of the entailment model was “indissociavelmente ligado à preservação da casa e à ideia de casa”⁶⁴, and the interests of all descendants were subject to this entity⁶⁵.

In the case of the founders being analysed, attention must be drawn to the family background of both Gil Eanes da Costa and Joana da Silva. They both came from families that had been prominent in Portuguese society for around a century and, therefore, would also legitimately refer to “house” and lineage. It should be remembered that D. Joana was the niece of the Baron of Alvito, and therefore belonged to the titled nobility of the kingdom⁶⁶, and that D. Gil Eanes was the son of D. Álvaro da Costa, a figure close to King Manuel I, who ascended through the royal court⁶⁷. He himself held a position in the royal civil service and a seat on the King’s Council, as the entail foundation deed tells us.

61 Transl.: “some memory and foundation of the house”.

62 Transl.: “necessary and profitable for the benefit of the house as well as for the support of the lineage”. Entail foundation deed (1560-07-05) – VINCO01816 GECJS EA/002aa; TT-IMC-NA-190, fl. 1. 63 Monteiro, 2001, p. 28.

64 Transl.: “inextricably linked to the preservation of the house and the concept of the house”. 65 Monteiro, 2001, pp. 35-36. As the same author notes (p. 33) and as we will have the opportunity to see more closely, this was one of the strategies of Porto’s municipal elite, among whom the institution of *morgados* at the expense of the future of second sons was widespread throughout the sixteenth century.

66 Leme, 2018, p. 116.

67 Leme, 2018, pp. 74-111.



Maria de Vilhena also expressed what motivated her to found a *morgado* in Santarém in 1483, citing different reasons⁶⁸. In this case, the memory and will of the deceased prevailed, also expressing the desire for continuity in subsequent generations. Although the notions of power are not so clearly present, it can be seen that this is a case of social consolidation, characteristic of the nobility and the status achieved by the institutor, but above all by her husband, Fernando Teles⁶⁹. In fact, Maria de Vilhena founded this *morgado* in memory of her deceased husband, with whom she shared a “grande e singular amor”⁷⁰.

It was therefore from Fernando Teles’ death and the urgency of preserving and perpetuating his memory among his descendants that D. Maria de Vilhena set out to entail both their *terças* (available portions of their inheritances)⁷¹. As Maria de Lurdes Rosa states, this founder transformed her husband’s memory into a structuring factor of lineage⁷², which can be seen in the constant remembrance of not only his individual name, but also his collective name – the one passed down to him by his ancestors. In fact, almost at the end of the entail foundation deed, D. Maria de Vilhena stated that she did it so that Fernando Teles’ name would always remain in memory and remembrance. However, at an earlier stage, she made it clear that all future administrators should be called “d’allicunha Tellez”⁷³, implying they should adopt that surname, whether they were men or women, otherwise they would lose the *morgado*⁷⁴. In this way, lady Maria established a bridge between the present and the past, between nuclear family and ancestors, connecting her descendants to a wider group, that of the lineage and all those who had preceded them⁷⁵. This option is also linked to the recognition of the importance and social status of the Teles, the maternal line of the founder’s husband, whose wealth, despite being

68 Entail foundation deed (1483-04-29) – VINC000096 MVRT EA/001a; TT-LN-18, fls. 290–294v.

69 Fernando Teles was the son of Aires Gomes da Silva, lord of Vagos, and Mrs Brites de Meneses, *aia* (nurse) to King Afonso V. Rosa, 1995, p. 39.

70 Transl.: “great and symbolic love”. Entail foundation deed (1483-04-29) – VINC000096 MVRT EA/001a; TT-LN-18, fl. 290v.

71 Entail foundation deed (1483-04-29) – VINC000096 MVRT EA/001a; TT-LN-18, fl. 290v.

72 Rosa, 1995, p. 41.

73 Transl.: “by the appellation Tellez”.

74 Entail foundation deed (1483-04-29) – VINC000096 MVRT EA/001a; TT-LN-18, fls. 290v and 291.

75 Rosa, 1995, p. 42.



a second son, was due to the clear preference of his mother, who obtained a substantial part of the paternal inheritance for him⁷⁶.

Maria de Vilhena's attachment to the memory of her husband, for whose soul (in addition to her own) she ordered three annual perpetual Masses⁷⁷, allows a tracing of her profile as a founder, based on the main beneficiaries of her suffrages. Between suffraging the souls of her ancestors, the souls of members of her nuclear family (spouse and/or children) or the souls of individuals from both groups, in addition to her own⁷⁸, this founder opted for the second grouping, placing great weight on the memory and remembrance of her late husband, and for it to be ensured by their descendants. As shown above, Maria belonged to a group of founders who organised the present and future simultaneously, by focusing on the nuclear family⁷⁹. However, the widow of Fernando Teles did not fail to seek to link her descendants to a wider family, from which they came through her father's maternal line, the Teles, forcing all the administrators to use this surname. Maria de Vilhena was therefore trying to reinforce her family and lineage identity, linking her descendants to her husband's ancestors and, above all, to the social power they held. In fact, Maria's stance is also visible in the tomb she had erected for her husband in the monastery of São Marcos, near Tentúgal, where his father, Aires Gomes da Silva, and the entire first-born line were buried, showing that Fernando Teles, the second son, "subira o bastante para ser enterrado junto com a linha primogénita"⁸⁰.

Considering the rest of the documentation collected for Santarém, it is possible to assess the behaviour of other founders belonging to the city's urban elite in relation to the deceased, whom they included in their *suffrage groups*⁸¹ or in various references in the documents that they or their *morgados* and chapels, as corporate bodies, produced. Among the entails for which there is an extant foundation deed and among the founders

76 Rosa, 1995, pp. 39–40.

77 Entail foundation deed (1483–04–29) – VINC000096 MVRT EA/001a; TT-LN-18, fl. 292.

78 These three profiles of founders were defined by Maria de Lurdes Rosa, in Rosa, 2012a, p. 402.

79 Rosa, 2012a, p. 402.

80 Transl.: "had risen high enough to be buried along with the first-born line". Rosa, 1995, p. 41.

81 Rosa, 2012a, p. 400.



who indicate this information with some clarity, a certain balance between those who suffraged only their ancestors, in addition to themselves, and those who suffraged both their ancestors and members of the nuclear family, without any evidence of the latter suffraged alone can be seen. As such, in all the examples collected, the past takes centre stage, determining both the organisation of the present and the future. As Maria de Lurdes Rosa points out, this was a common behaviour among social groups with material and symbolic possessions, in which remembering ancestors was an important factor of social power and strong family/lineage identity⁸², including urban elites.

In the case of the first group, the mention of ascendants could appear either in the description of the pious charges and masses to be celebrated, or in the choice of burial place with relatives, which presupposed the celebration of suffrage ceremonies. The choice of the souls to be suffraged mostly fell to the parents of the institutor, either just one, usually the father, or in other cases both. For example, Martinho do Sem commissioned a perpetual chapel to be sung for his soul and that of his parents, Gil do Sem and Branca Eanes, co-founders of the chapel where they were buried and which his son also chose as his final resting place⁸³. Similarly, Inês Rodrigues de Góis, while not directly mentioning masses for her soul, ordered the clergy to pour holy water, with responses and prayers, on the graves of her parents and on hers⁸⁴. It should not be forgotten that, in both examples, these founders belonged to the royal civil service or had connections to the royal court⁸⁵, held important social positions, achieved in part thanks to their ancestors, and chose to consolidate it by founding a chapel.

82 Rosa, 2012a, p. 405.

83 Entail foundation deed (1438-08-03) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/001aa; TT-C-A5-18, fls. 18-39v and Confirmation letter (1487-05-17) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/002a; TT-C-J2-20, fls. 39-39v. Although the first document corresponds to a deed instituting the chapel, it was actually produced by King Duarte, who gave substance to the intention of Martinho do Sem, in whose will he left assets to establish an entail with his property and that which his parents attached to the chapel they had founded in Santarém. Both one document and the other reveal the idea of celebrating the masses commissioned for the souls of Martinho do Sem and his parents, which allowed tracing the profile of the former's founder.

84 Will (1478-05-15) – VINC002535 IRG EA/003aa; TT-FC-TD-274, fl. 21.

85 Inês Rodrigues de Góis belonged to this group through her husband, Gonçalo Vaz Pinto, who held a seat on the King's Council and was therefore a nobleman. Will (1478-05-15) – VINC002535 IRG EA/003aa; TT-FC-TD-274, fl. 19v.



The second group of founders includes those who, when considering suffraging of souls, added those of members of their nuclear family to those of their ascendants. In this respect, Lourenço Martins do Avelar, who made his foundation in the fourteenth century, is an example. Compared to the cases described above, he went even further back in both time and genealogical line, wishing to be buried in the chapel where his grandfather, great-grandfather and great-grandmother already lay, without even mentioning his parents. He also tried to take his wife, Maria Eanes, to this chapel, whose body or bones he ordered to be transferred from the monastery of São Francisco in Lisbon to the monastery of Santa Clara in Santarém, to the grave where he himself would be buried⁸⁶. This is clearly a founder who, in the contemporaneous present, organised the three periods – past, present and future – greatly extending the generational axis considered.

The founders of the two other entails in this group restricted the reference to ancestors to just one generation above, i.e. parents, in addition to their spouses, ordering masses for the souls of these relatives⁸⁷. This refers to João de Sousa, founder of a chapel in the monastery of São Francisco of Santarém, in 1488⁸⁸, and Isabel Valente, widow of Simão Vaz de Gamboa, founder, together with her husband, of a chapel in the monastery of Santo Agostinho of the same town, in the final decades of the fifteenth century⁸⁹. Both founders belonged to the nobility, although within different strata – João de Sousa was a knight of the King's Household and therefore a nobleman, while Isabel Valente was the widow of a knight of the Order of Santiago, placing her in an inferior, even subordinate, position relative to the other knights, who were noblemen⁹⁰. Although the nobility chose, above all, to only suffrage the souls of their ancestors, they also frequently

86 Will (extract) ([before 1378–07–24]) – VINC001060 LMA EA/011aa; TT-FC-TD-274, fls. 68–69.

87 João de Sousa, one of the founders considered here, also includes all the deceased he is obliged to in the masses he orders. However, there is no indication as to whether or not he was related to them, so it is more prudent not to consider them as ancestors. Entail foundation deed (1488–03–16) – VINC003179 JS EA/002; TT-FC-CC-3, fl. 146v.

88 Entail foundation deed (1488–03–16) – VINC003179 JS EA/002; TT-FC-CC-3, fls. 146v–147v.

89 Chapel foundation deed (1495–07–18) – VINC006266 SVGIV EA/001a; TT-FC-TD-274, fls. 79v–82v. Through this deed, Isabel Valente added assets to those that her husband had already entailed in a chapel in his will of 1488. Will chart (1488–08–05) – VINC006266 SVGIV EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-274, fls. 79v–80.

90 Pereira, 1998, pp. 299–300.



chose to suffrage their nuclear family⁹¹. The two examples presented lead toward considering the hypothesis that these cases are, in fact, outlining an “intermediate” founder profile. On the one hand, they didn’t exclude their antecedents, valuing the past, which could be the motto for organising the present and the future. On the other, they kept very limited the “group of suffraged souls”, which could show a position of some autonomy in relation to the more distant past, which would result from a process of social ascension and distance from the main branches of the lineage⁹².

D. Gil Eanes da Costa and D. Joana da Silva, in the foundation of their chapel in the monastery of Almoester in 1560 present a formula that stands out from all the others. These founders placed themselves at the confluence of the past, present and the future, as the true organisers of a lineage that had already achieved nobility but was continuing its journey of social ascension and consolidation. In fact, this couple justified the foundation of the chapel on the grounds that it was for the “serviço de Nosso Senhor e bem de nosas allmas e de nossos defuntos e socesores”⁹³. Although the expression “nossos defuntos”⁹⁴ doesn’t give a clear dimension to the line of ancestors included in the suffrage, the reference to successors points to an indefinite generational axis, possibly encompassing all direct descendants until the extinction of their lineage.

Decades or centuries after the establishment of the entails, the ancestors and their memory still continued to determine how the *morgados* and chapels in Santarém were run and administered. When, due to the extinction of the founder’s lineage or for any other reason, a chapel was integrated into the Crown and its administrators were appointed by the king, some potential candidates would use the argument that their ancestors had already administered it, seeking a certain heredity of the position. The chapel of Gil do Sem, Branca Eanes and Martinho do Sem proves to be a significant example of this.

91 Rosa, 2012a, pp. 403–405.

92 Rosa, 2012a, p. 405.

93 Transl.: “the service of Our Lord and the good of our souls and of our dead and successors”. Chapel foundation deed (1560–07–05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002ad; TT-IMC-NA-190, fl. 21v.

94 Transl.: “our dead”.



In 1630, around 200 years after its foundation in the monastery of São Domingos of Santarém, this chapel was declared vacant to the Crown because D. Francisco Coutinho do Sem, a nobleman of the King's Household and brother of D. Diogo Coutinho do Sem, the last administrator, was in India at the time the royal edict was published regarding the vacancy of the chapel after the death of D. Diogo⁹⁵. Nevertheless, D. Francisco took over the administration, as his grandparents, ancestors and, lastly, his brother had been administrators before him. Two years later, King Filipe III granted the chapel to Francisco Coutinho do Sem, in the same way as his brother had, sanctioning his right by hereditary transmission⁹⁶.

The question of ancestry and kinship ties with the founders arose again at the end of the seventeenth century, when the unnamed Count of Sarzedas, identified as D. Luís da Silveira, the 2nd Count of that title⁹⁷, sued João Rodrigues Carreira to claim the administration of the chapel. Luís da Silveira tried to prove, by means of genealogical certificates, that he was the successor of Pedro do Sem, grandfather of Gil do Sem, the founder⁹⁸. However, the judges ruled the author's kinship to be unproven, because he only showed certificates taken from genealogical manuscripts and witnesses, which could commonly show contradictions⁹⁹. The Count of Sarzedas did not accept the judgement and presented a motion, eventually seeing his lineage proven. The judges' reasoning is a bit long, but worthy of transcription here:

“Outrosim se mostra que o conde embargante he descendente de Dona Grimaneza Mascarenhas filha de Pedro Docem descendente da instituidora Branca Annes, e do sangue do instituidor o Doutor Martim Docem porque ainda que desta descendencia e parentesco não haja mais prova que as certidões tiradas dos livros nobiliarios comtudo a verdade dellas em parte se qualifica pellos documentos novamente juntos tirados do

95 Grace warrant of administration (1630-04-26) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/003aa; TT-C-F3-P-4, fls. 116-116v.

96 Administration letter (1632-11-05) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/003a; TT-C-F3-P-4, fls. 116-116v.

97 Freire, 1921-1930, vol. 2, pp. 105 and 400.

98 Acórdão (1691-07-28) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/006aaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fls. 177v-178.

99 Acórdão (1691-07-28) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/006aaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fl. 180.



Archivo da Meza da Consiencia, e da Torre do Tombo, e como assim em parte se justifique a verdade com que forão transcriptas em tudo o mais que referem se prezumem verdadeiras, e por se achar justificada esta descendencia por sentença de juizo das justificações em ditos de testemunhas que se refferem nam só a noticias de nobiliarios mas tambem a outros papeis e documentos que viram, e sendo aquellas certiões passadas e juradas por pessoas dignissimas de se lhe dar todo o credito e feê sendo corroboradas com os documentos refferidos fazem prova no cazo presente em descendencia tão antiga e illustre de que muitos escreveram termos em que bastão testemunhas de ouvida e fama publica em prova de parentesco antigo”¹⁰⁰.

This excerpt is a paradigmatic case of the importance of ancestry and the use of documents and nobiliaries to prove the kinship ties between an administrator and the founders. As can be seen here, the familial line was “so old and illustrious”, it led to one of the most significant processes of social ascension in medieval and modern Santarém, via the royal officialdom. Furthermore, the Count of Sarzedas himself, belonging to the high nobility and therefore with a consolidated social status, claimed the administration of this chapel, both for its prestige and as a consecration of his place in society, possibly achieved thanks to this branch of the family.

The elites’ attachment to the past and to their ancestors also manifested in the burial places they chose for themselves and their lineage. Their chapels thus became material places of family worship, full of symbolism and

100 Transl.: “It is also shown that the appellant Count is descended from Dona Grimaneza Mascarrenhas, daughter of Pedro Docem, descendant of the founder Branca Annes, and of the blood of the founder Doctor Martim Docem, because although there is no more proof of this descent and kinship than the certificates taken from the nobiliary books, the truth of them is in part qualified by the documents again together taken from the Archivo da Meza da Consiencia, and from the Torre do Tombo, and as this in part justifies the truth with which they were transcribed in everything else they refer to, they are presumed to be true, and since this descent is found to be justified by a judgement of the justifications in the sayings of witnesses who refer not only to notices of nobiliary but also to other papers and documents they have seen, and since those certificates have been passed and sworn by people worthy of being given full credit and honour, and since they are corroborated by the documents referred to, they are proof in the present case of such ancient and illustrious descent that many have written terms in which witnesses of public hearing and fame are enough to prove ancient kinship”. Acórdão (1692-08-20) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/006aab; TT-AA-RA-2, fl. 182.



an outward demonstration of their social power. According to Maria de Lurdes Rosa, there was an “consciência da ligação com os antepassados através do local de sepultura”¹⁰¹, both in high social strata and in those of lesser importance¹⁰², which could contribute to their affirmation. In the documentation from Santarém some very significant examples of family graves are found, in which the founder either chose to bury himself with his ancestors, or instead have a funeral chapel built for himself and all his descendants, becoming the aggregating link in the lineage. In either case, it seems clear that there was a full awareness of the social construction of the founder’s family.

Often, the founders of the town of Santarém chose to have their bodies buried next to their parents, in chapels or graves where their antecedents already lay. In this group, for example, the single squire Fernando Rodrigues Patarinho can be identified, who had his body buried in the church of São Salvador in the same town, where his father lay¹⁰³. Likewise, Martinho do Sem was buried in the chapel where his parents rested, in the monastery of São Domingos of Santarém¹⁰⁴. Before him, his mother, Branca Eanes, through her will, had her bones taken from the monastery of São Vicente de Fora of Lisbon to the funeral monument of Doctor Gil do Sem, her husband, located in a chapel in São Domingos of Santarém¹⁰⁵. Amongst this group who chose their parents’ graves for themselves, the case of Inês Rodrigues de Góis should be highlighted, who ordered her bones to be taken to her father’s chapel and laid to rest in her mother’s grave in the monastery of São Francisco of Santarém. In addition, she ordered a “well carved, best possible” monument to be placed over the grave, if the friars consented. If not, she ordered the placement of a grave of stone cut from the stone of Batalha, which should also be ‘the best and most finely carved’¹⁰⁶. Belonging to the urban elites of Santarém, Inês Rodrigues de Góis sought to invest her economic power in her grave, which would symbolise, beyond death, her social position.

101 Transl.: “awareness of the connection with ancestors through the site of the grave”.

102 Rosa, 1995, p. 116.

103 Will (1380-12-17) – VINC000113 FRP EA/001ab; TT-MC-V-STR-16, fls. 6-6v.

104 Entail foundation deed (1438-08-03) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/001aa; TT-C-A5-18, fl. 39v and Confirmation letter (1487-05-17) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/002a; TT-C-J2-20, fl. 39.

105 Will (1404-10-30) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/005aa; TT-FC-CC-5, fls. 458-458v.

106 Will (1478-05-15) – VINC002535 IRG EA/003aa; TT-FC-TD-274, fl. 20v.



Lourenço Martins do Avelar presents what is perhaps the most illustrative of the behaviour of the elites in preparing for death, whilst considering their ancestors, nonetheless aiming to guide the following generations. This testator chose the monastery of Santa Clara of Santarém to establish a chapel and bury his body in a chapel attached to that of his grandfather, great-grandfather and great-grandmother. Lourenço Martins sought to transform his institution into a true family chapel and burial place for the lineage, ordering the merging of the two funeral chapels. This was achieved by knocking down the wall separating them and erecting iron railings with doors so they could be enclosed as one. The founder also had Maria Eanes, his first wife, transferred from the monastery of São Francisco of Lisbon to the grave where he would be buried, in the monastery of Santa Clara of Santarém¹⁰⁷. The former *alcaide-mor* of the town managed to bring together his ancestors and part of his nuclear family in a single monument, inevitably to be joined by his second wife, Sancha Dias, who was still alive at that time. This chapel became a place of memory and perpetuation of the lineage, where his heirs would eventually be buried¹⁰⁸. Like the chapels of the nobility, it stood out inside the church thanks to the iron railings demarcating the private from public space.

Other founders, however, chose to start a new funerary cycle, reserving their chapels for their own burial and that of their nuclear family, as well as their descendants, regardless of whether or not they belonged to a socially and economically consolidated lineage. In this respect, the best examples date back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a period of consolidation of the entailment institution, during which families who had accumulated wealth and prestige in royal circles – and even in overseas territories – stand out. Gonçalo Gil Barbosa and his wife, Mécia Mendes de Aguiar, are precisely one of these families. Although they didn't elaborate upon their graves in their wills, it seems clear that they intended to be buried together and possibly with their descendants, creating a place of prayer and meditation for the survivors of their lineage¹⁰⁹.

107 Will (extract) ([before 1378-07-24]) – VINC001060 LMA EA/011aa; TT-FC-TD-274, fls. 68-69.

108 Roth, 2007, p. 234.

109 Sánchez Saus, 1991, p. 302.



In 1507, in a first joint will, they both ordered their bodies to be buried in the church of Santa Maria de Marvila, in Santarém, in a place that had already been agreed with the clerics of the church (“no logar que já está havido”)¹¹⁰. Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, who died in 1509, was indeed buried in that church. However, in 1532, his body had already been reburied in the monastery of Santo Agostinho of Santarém, where it was transferred for unspecified reasons¹¹¹. This transfer is known through the will of Mécia Mendes de Aguiar, in which the testator revoked the previous jointly written document regarding the couple’s burial. Mécia Mendes ordered that her body now be buried in the monastery of Santo Agostinho, in the chapel of Jesus, in the grave she had ordered, as she did not want a monument or a high grave to be made for her, in a clear gesture of humility and social equality¹¹².

In her codicil of 1540, Mécia Mendes de Aguiar informs that, after returning from India, her husband had the intention and will to build a chapel to bury them both but was unable to do so. For this reason, the testator built a chapel in the convent of Santo Agostinho, where her husband was already buried¹¹³. This chapel was also intended to house the tombs of their children and descendants, as the actual or planned transfer of the body or bones of Francisco Barbosa, the couple’s firstborn, confirms¹¹⁴. It seems that, according to information gathered by Pedro Reis, since the documents consulted don’t mention it, Mécia Mendes de Aguiar’s father, Pedro Rodrigues Portocarreiro, *aio* of a Count named Henrique and knight of the Order of Santiago, was also buried in the same chapel, reinforcing and consolidating this family’s membership of the elites of Santarém¹¹⁵. The truth is, however, that although the testator wanted to be buried next to her father, the initiative to create a family funeral chapel came from her – and her desire to fulfil a previous wish of her husband, not from her ancestors.

110 Transl.: “in the place that has already been agreed”. Will (1507-02-01) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/003; TT-MC-V-STR-17, fl. 39.

111 Will ([before 1532-09-27]) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/002aaa; TT-MC-V-STR-17, fl. 15v.

112 Will ([before 1532-09-27]) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/002aaa; TT-MC-V-STR-17, fl. 15v. On this issue, see REIS (2022), p. 58.

113 Codicil (1540-02-10) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/002aab; TT-MC-V-STR-17, fl. 28.

114 Reis, 2022, pp. 75–76.

115 Reis, 2022, p. 49.



Gil Eanes da Costa and Joana da Silva also built a familial funerary chapel for themselves and their descendants, but with better known dynamics and the clear intention of making it exclusive to their nuclear family and direct descendants. The data collected for this work reveals that this was a well-placed couple belonging to the elite of Santarém, both economically and socially. This status allowed them to invest some of their capital in the physical structure of the chapel and to negotiate with the abbess and other nuns to occupy the chancel of the monastery of Almoester, located in the outskirts of the town. Indeed, according to the entail foundation deed of 5th July 1560, on 13th February 1542, D. Gil Eanes and D. Joana signed a contract with the abbess and the convent of Almoester, in which they undertook to give 9800 *reais* as a perpetual *tença de juro*. They had also made the altarpiece of the chancel and other similar works, donating some pieces of silver toward the same chancel for both their burial and that of their successors, and for the celebration of suffrages¹¹⁶.

In the chapel foundation deed, dated the same day, they added that they had their perpetual burial place in the chancel of that monastery, for themselves and all their successors, “sem outra pesoa allgũa se poderem sepultar na dita capella”¹¹⁷, once again quoting the contract they had established with the institution, and which was confirmed by the Pope¹¹⁸. In this document it can be seen that Maria do Outeiro, Gil Eanes’ first wife, Catarina, their daughter, and Luísa, Catarina’s daughter, were already buried in the chapel¹¹⁹. Gil Eanes made a point of keeping his first wife and the descendants of his first marriage with him for eternity, but without going beyond the concept of a nuclear family. In the same way, together with his second wife, he excluded all those who didn’t belong to the lineage and who might have jeopardised his intentions of maintaining a funeral chapel of a purely familial nature, in which his socio-economic power would be expressed. This would be evident in the altarpiece they had made, the pieces of silver they gave and, undoubtedly, their coat of

116 Entail foundation deed (1560-07-05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002aa; TT-IMC-NA-190, fl. 12v.

117 Transl.: “without any other person being able to be buried in the said chapel”.

118 Chapel foundation deed (1560-07-05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002ad; TT-IMC-NA-190, fl. 21.

119 Chapel foundation deed (1560-07-05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002ad; TT-IMC-NA-190, fl. 21v. On this first marriage of Gil Eanes da Costa, see Leme, 2018, pp. 114-115.



arms, which would be placed on the wall, along with the respective sign, and would identify the patrons of the work¹²⁰.

The practice of founding similar burial chapels continued with the lineage of the Costas, as can be seen in the 1658 will of Maria da Costa Noronha, according to which her parents, D. Gil Eanes da Costa (son of D. Gil Eanes da Costa and D. Joana da Silva) and D. Margarida de Noronha, and their siblings were buried in the chapel of São Nicolau de Tolentino of the convent of Santo Agostinho in the town of Santarém¹²¹. This chapel was commissioned and contracted directly by Gil Eanes and Margarida de Noronha with the Augustinian monastery in 1594, i.e. a few years before the institution of their *morgado* in 1609¹²². If the previous chapel already appeared to show the wealth and honour of this family, this one is a true reflection of the social importance and status achieved by D. Gil Eanes da Costa (II), who was a high-profile figure in Lisbon's municipal administration, in the *Desembargo do Paço* and in the main welfare institutions in Lisbon and even in the kingdom (Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa and Hospital Real de Todos-os-Santos)¹²³. Gil Eanes and his wife had a large chapel built for the invocation of São Nicolau de Tolentino in the transept of the church of the monastery of Nossa Senhora da Graça of Santarém and undertook to pay for the stonework and painting of the altarpiece and iron railings that closed off the chapel, transforming it into a private and more intimate space¹²⁴. The work of painting the altarpiece was even commissioned from the painter Diogo Teixeira, one of the great artists of Portuguese late mannerism, for the princely sum of 160,000 reais¹²⁵. Gil Eanes and Margarida de Noronha devoted a large sum in a chapel with distinct physical characteristics to house their tombs and those of all their successors, creating a place of worship and remembrance not only for the founder, but also for his family, following in the footsteps of their ancestors.

120 The affixing of the coat of arms to the chapel wall is not mentioned in the foundation deed, but according to Margarida Leme, it was required in the contract established with the convent's abbess. Leme, 2018, p. 123.

121 Will (1658-01-20) – VINC004984 GECMN EA/001a; TT-GCL-RV-98, fl. 44.

122 Leme, 2018, pp. 159 and 375.

123 Leme, 2018, pp. 156-158.

124 Leme, 2018, p. 374.

125 On this chapel, especially from an aesthetic point of view and the patronage of Gil Eanes da Costa, see Serrão, 2013, pp. 301-317.



Indeed, investment in the physical features, decoration and ornamentation of the chapels was a clear manifestation of the economic ostentation of an institutor and his successors. Those with greater material resources spared no expense in donating pieces of silver, ecclesiastical vestments and patronising artistic works or renovating the chapels. Maria de Lurdes Rosa emphasises that this was a preponderant aspect in *capelas-morgadio* (chapels founded as a *morgado*), compared to the chapels of ecclesiastical administration or lay chapels of free succession administration¹²⁶. The presence of decorative elements points to a close link between the cohesion of the lineage and artistic language of the space, which was intended to externalise and constantly remind those surrounding of the power and social importance of the founders and owners of the chapel¹²⁷. However, there is a dearth references for the study of these aspects in Santarém. There were few founders or administrators who decorated their chapels. Nevertheless, the examples that have survived until the modern day contribute to a better understanding of the attitudes of the elites when it came to preparing for the salvation of the soul and the way in which they sought to assert themselves in the eyes of both their peers and the rest of society.

Donations of jewellery, vestments and other fabrics for use in liturgical ceremonies and to adorn the chapels were particularly frequent. In her will of 1532, Mécia Mendes de Aguiar, as well as trying to ensure the repair of her chapel and its various ornaments, both by the friars of the monastery of Santo Agostinho and by its administrators, donated various objects that were to be used in the masses said and sung there, such as vestments, frontals and curtain, chalice and cruets¹²⁸. However, among these ornaments, the “outros pannos de seda da India” stand out¹²⁹. It is hard not to associate this reference with the testator’s husband Gonçalo Gil Barbosa’s stay of around six years in India, a period during which – and where – he made his fortune. Eventually, he brought the cloths back with him and this donation would be a demonstration of the luxury that this

126 Rosa, 2012a, pp. 604–605.

127 Rosa, 2012a, p. 606.

128 Will ([before 1532–09–27]) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/002aaa; TT-MC-V-STR-17, fls. 22–23.

129 Transl.: “other silk panniers from India”. Will ([before 1532–09–27]) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/002aaa; TT-MC-V-STR-17, fl. 22.



family enjoyed and the place that it came to occupy, thanks very much to the service of the founder of the lineage in the territories of the empire¹³⁰.

Even more significant is the donation that the farmer João Gonçalves *Folga na Palha* or his executors made to his chapel, located in the church of Santa Cruz of Santarém. This legacy included a silver chalice, velvet vestments with “savastros dos melhores que se poderem achar na cidade de Lixboa”¹³¹, linen and a pair of pewter cruets¹³². Judging by this donation, whilst it is not one of the richest among the documentation, João Gonçalves was a wealthy farmer with plenty of capital, but whose socio-professional status kept him away from the town’s elites. To this end, he would have invested in decorating his chapel as an outward sign of his economic power and to get closer to the nobility and privileged non-noble social groups.

Finally, the founders could choose other artistic elements or elements of individual and lineal identification, usually together with other ornaments, to decorate their chapels. In some cases, the choice fell on images of the patron saints of these places of worship or of the founders’ greatest devotion. This is what Inês Rodrigues de Góis and João de Sousa did, in 1478 and 1488 respectively. The first left clothes and some pieces of jewellery to her chapel and had a “imagem de pedra bem lavrada de Sancta Maria” placed in it¹³³. Later, in 1492, Rui Garcia do Sobrado, stepfather of Inês Rodrigues de Góis and administrator of her chapel, ordered the carving of a new image of Santa Maria with child, painted like the previous one, which had been removed from the chapel¹³⁴. In the chapel foundation deed and contract that João de Sousa made with the monastery of São Francisco of Santarém, it is mentioned that the friars granted him the chapel that was next to the sacristy. The image of St Sebastian would be placed on its altar, which would become the invocation of this chapel, now belonging to the founder and his entire generation¹³⁵.

130 On the luxury objects that this family owned, listed in the inventory made on the death of Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, see Reis, 2022, pp. 120–130.

131 Transl.: “the best *savastros* that can be found in the city of Lisbon”.

132 Will (extract) ([c.1381]) – VINC001960 JGFP EA/004a; TT-FC-TD-274, fl. 43.

133 Transl.: “well carved stone image of Sancta Maria”. Will (1478–05–15) – VINC002535 IRG EA/003aa; TT-FC-TD-274, fl. 20v.

134 Will (1492–03–20) – VINC002535 IRG EA/003d; TT-FC-TD-274, fl. 26v.

135 Entail foundation deed (1488–03–16) – VINC003179 JS EA/002; TT-FC-CC-3, fl. 146v.



Signs identifying the founder, administrator or lineage are rare in Santarém. Only Rui Garcia do Sobrado, already mentioned, had his sign placed on his grave, as well as that of Sancha Gonçalves, his second wife, but nothing more is known about them, and in particular the text the symbols were supposed to bear¹³⁶. No references were found in the documents studied relating to the affixing of coats of arms to the chapels. This would be one of the most important and visually powerful elements of family identification, but none of the founders gave any clear indication of this, which may point to a predominance of elite families who did not (yet) have coat of arms, as a result of their origins in lower social groups and the process of social ascension.

The “information literacy” of the founders and administrators, reflected in the references to archives and the orders to record documents, is another indicator of the power and status of the urban elites. As Alice Gago states, the political, social, familial, lineal and economic power was reflected and reproduced in the families’ archives, because they had “consciência da importância do registo escrito, o qual constituía também uma forma de poder e de conhecimento”¹³⁷. In the documents consulted on the town of Santarém during the Ancien Régime, references to inventories, archives or the production of documents are mostly to be found in the administration letters granted by the royal power, so that their information does not reflect the thoughts or attitudes of the family members who instituted or administered the entail. These are mainly found in the documents produced directly by these actors, both at the time of the foundation of the *morgado* or chapel was founded and in the exercise of their functions as administrators of these institutions.

When the founders, in their wills or foundation deeds, laid down the rules to be observed in the administration of their entails, they often ordered the drawing up of a *tombo* or inventory of their assets. This document that was drafted was transcribed and served as the law of their *morgados* or chapels. This type of book served very clear purposes of information con-

136 Will (1492-03-20) – VINC002535 IRG EA/003d; TT-FC-TD-274, fl. 26v.

137 Transl.: “awareness of the importance of the written record, which was also a form of power and knowledge”. Gago, 2019, vol. 1, p. 277.



trol and proof of ownership, defence of rights, division of assets, among others, allowing for easy retrieval of information¹³⁸. As Alice Gago, previously referenced, states “a elaboração de inventários constituiu uma etapa fundamental na estruturação das famílias das elites”¹³⁹.

It is the principal families of the Santarém elite who offer the best examples of the elaboration of *tombos* in the sixteenth century. As such, particular reference is made to the couples Gonçalo Gil Barbosa and Mécia Mendes de Aguiar, in her person, and Gil Eanes da Costa and Joana da Silva. In the codicil to her will of 1540, after she had become a widow, Mécia Mendes de Aguiar ordered a *tombo* to be made of all the properties in her *terça* (available portion of the inheritance) and *morgado*, which should include the measurement and demarcation of land and a copy of her will¹⁴⁰. The founder also ordered the production of a public exemplification of this same *tombo* to be given to the priests of the monastery of Santo Agostinho where her chapel was located, for their deposit and, consequently, for consultation of the pious charges described in it – as well as the document itself being safeguarded with an extra copy. This was, moreover, a constant concern of Mécia Mendes de Aguiar, who also had her will and codicil transferred to parchment, with one copy going to the same clergymen and the other to the administrator of her *morgado*¹⁴¹. In the same way, Gil Eanes da Costa and Joana da Silva, in their entail foundation deed, dated 5th July 1560, ordered the inscription of a *tombo* of the entailed assets and those that might be acquired in the future, both through: the entailment of the daughters’ *legítimas* (reserved portions of the inheritance) and through purchase or annexation by the successors¹⁴². In the chapel foundation deed, written on the same day, they emphasised that their assets would be registered in the *tombos* of the *morgado*¹⁴³. But this couple didn’t limit themselves to simply order the *tombo*’s writing, like most of the founders. They, in fact, gave clear instructions on the procedures to be followed in its creation: it was to be drawn up by a public

138 Gago, 2018, p. 107.

139 Transl.: “the listing of inventories was a fundamental stage in the structuring of elite families”. Gago, 2018, p. 107.

140 Codicil (1540-02-10) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/002aab; TT-MC-V-STR-17, fl. 32.

141 Codicil (1540-02-10) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/002aab; TT-MC-V-STR-17, fls. 31-31v.

142 Entail foundation deed (1560-07-05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002aa; TT-IMC-NA-190, fl. 3v.

143 Chapel foundation deed (1560-07-05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002ad; TT-IMC-NA-190, fl. 26.



notary from Santarém and his office's successors, such that it would not be divested to others; the properties were to be measured according to the measurements of the municipality in which they were located; and it was to be drawn up within two years¹⁴⁴. These orders reveal a meticulous knowledge of the task of registering properties and a mastery of the archival practices of the time, visible throughout this document and characteristic of the literate families of the urban elites.

In fact, Gil Eanes da Costa and Joana da Silva were fully aware of the importance of written records and what they would mean for establishing their social power and prestige. These concerns are clearly visible in the number of authentic reproductions they had made of their entail foundation deed, four in total, and in the destinations of each: one to the administrator of the *morgado*; another to be kept by the *guarda-mor* of Torre do Tombo; another to the archive of the monastery of Almoester; and another to the archive of the town hall in Santarém¹⁴⁵. The reasons for this appear immediately afterwards in the document: “pera que em qualquer destas partes se posa sempre achar e aver lembrança do que asy ordenamos e se ajudar dele a quem comprir”¹⁴⁶. The founders also insisted that all the deeds for the purchase of property should be attached to the chapel foundation deed, so that they would not be lost and could be consulted more easily¹⁴⁷.

The two land measurement deeds of 1570, relating to Lisbon and Santarém, respectively, prove that the orders to draw up the *tombo* were applied and complied with, and that they were written by notaries in each town¹⁴⁸. Of all these documents, the extant document is the copy of the foundation deed and other deeds that was delivered and registered in Torre do Tombo by Damião de Góis at the beginning of

144 Entail foundation deed (1560-07-05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002aa; TT-IMC-NA-190, fls. 4-4v.

145 Entail foundation deed (1560-07-05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002aa; TT-IMC-NA-190, fl. 15.

146 Transl.: “so that in any of these parts we can always find and remember what we have ordered and help those who fulfil it”. Entail foundation deed (1560-07-05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002aa; TT-IMC-NA-190, fl. 15.

147 Chapel foundation deed (1560-07-05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002ad; TT-IMC-NA-190, fl. 26.

148 Land measurement deed (1570-07-06 - 1570-07-07) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002baa; TT-IMC-NA-190, fls. 38v-52v and Land measurement deed (1570-07-26 - 1570-08-04) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002ca; TT-IMC-NA-190, fls. 56-86.



September 1570¹⁴⁹. The documents considered here make up only a small part of D. Gil Eanes' archive, which, according to Margarida Leme and as evidenced by the testimonies collected in the documentation from Santarém, was well organised and a considerable percentage of which has survived to the present day, integrated into the archive of the Counts of Óbidos–Palma–Sabugal¹⁵⁰. This proves that this is an analysis of founders belonging to a lineage of educated people who recognised the importance of recording all in order to retrieve necessary information and affirm their socio-economic power more easily.

These were, in fact, the main objectives of such documentary records: the future retrieval of information proving ownership, rights, debts and even kinship. Once again, the will of Mécia Mendes de Aguiar of 1532 provides an example. In a rare documentary reference, the testator ordered her administrator to hand over the books, notebooks, letters and deeds of the affairs of her late son, Francisco Barbosa, which now belonged to her. Therein were recorded many debts that had not yet been settled and other “*cousas que tocam aos cargos e officios que elle teve e estam em minha mão [de Mécia Mendes de Aguiar]*”¹⁵¹. This case demonstrates, in an enlightening way, the literacy not only of the founder, but also of her son, as was common for sixteenth century merchants¹⁵².

Lastly, it is worth highlighting the use of documents by candidates for administrators of Santarém entails in order to prove their kinship ties to the founder, with particular relevance in the case of the chapel of Gil do Sem, Branca Eanes and Martinho do Sem. This text has already illustrated the details of this particular situation, yet brief mention is nonetheless worthwhile of the fact that the Count of Sarzedas presented certificates from genealogical manuscripts and even notices from nobiliaries as proof of

149 Torre do Tombo exemplified original (1570-08-20) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002; TT-IMC-NA-190.

150 Leme, 2018, pp. 127-130.

151 Transl.: “things that touch on the positions and offices that he had and are in my [Mécia Mendes de Aguiar’s] hand”. Will ([before 1532-09-27]) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/002aaa; TT-MC-V-STR-17, fls. 24-24v.

152 On Francisco Barbosa, his business and education, see Reis, 2022, pp. 64-76.



his descent from Gil do Sem¹⁵³. This case is all the more important because the logic of organising family archives often followed genealogical criteria, allowing quicker access to documents whenever one of the branches of the family aspired to succeed to the *morgado*¹⁵⁴. All the cases described undoubtedly reflect the importance of the written record for families in the process of social ascension, seeking to stabilise their position and approach the upper strata of society, for whom archiving practices were a consolidated reality.

The conclusions presented above allow a reflection upon the question of the rise and social consolidation of the families of those who instituted entails in Santarém, in close connection with the foundation of a *morgado* or chapel. In other words, it is possible to see, at least in some cases, that the entailment of heritage contributed to the consolidation and social promotion of a family and the consequent awareness of the power it held. The study of some of the lineages considered in the analysis reveals that they already occupied a prominent place in their contemporary society, utilising the foundation of a *morgado* or chapel as a manifestation of their socio-economic power, following what was already a common practice within the family. This is the case of the descendants of D. Álvaro da Costa, namely his son D. Gil Eanes da Costa (I) and his grandson, D. Gil Eanes da Costa (II), who, together with their wives, founded *morgados* and chapels in ecclesiastical institutions in the town of Santarém, which even today, more than five centuries later, are physical proof of the power achieved by the Costas¹⁵⁵.

For other, more recently formed families, thanks to their services to the Crown in overseas territories, were able to make fortunes and climb the social ladder. This was the case with Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, who founded an entail with his wife Mécia Mendes de Aguiar, which may have contributed

153 Acórdão (1691-07-28) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/006aaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fl. 180 and Acórdão (1692-08-20) – VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/006aab; TT-AA-RA-2, fl. 182.

154 Rosa, 2019.

155 See the example of the chapel of São Nicolau de Tolentino, founded and built in the convent of Santo Agostinho of Santarém and today in the church of the Hospital de Jesus Cristo in the same city, in Serrão, 2013.



to the Barbosa's growing influence, particularly in the business networks in which they operated, as Pedro Reis has noted¹⁵⁶.

Finally, emphasis must be drawn to the importance that the administration of entails came to have for some families who were already socially well positioned. In Santarém, the *morgado de Gaião* is the most illustrative example, since in the fifteenth century it was administered by the Ataídes, from whom, through Catarina de Ataíde, it passed to the viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira and later, in the seventeenth century, to the counts of Arcos¹⁵⁷. The various judicial documents that have survived concerning the inheritance rights of this entail show how important it was to these highly noble families. The administration of a *morgado* or chapel, sometimes in combination with others, was therefore a factor of social distinction, contributing to the affirmation of a family's power in relation to its counterparts.

¹⁵⁶ Reis, 2023, pp. 109–119.

¹⁵⁷ The documentation related to this *morgado* is described in the fonds of *morgado de Gaião*, under the reference code VINC000006 G EA. Among these documents, see, for example, Administration letter (1421-08-22) – VINC000006 G EA/003a; CP-J1-4-1, pp. 146–148; Confirmation letter (1434-03-21) – VINC000006 G EA/002a; CP-DU-1-1, pp. 258–259; Donation deed (1468-04-18) – VINC000006 G EA/011aa; TT-LN-25, fls. 2-2v; Confirmation letter (1482-06-13) – VINC000006 G EA/011a; TT-LN-25, fls. 2-3; Confirmation letter (1497-02-27) – VINC000006 G EA/011; TT-LN-25, fls. 2-3; Court proceedings (1670-04-21) – VINC000006 G EA/012aa; TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 40v-47.





The elites of Évora between service to the king and the exercise of local power

CHAPTER 4

4





The elites of Évora between service to the king and the exercise of local power

4.1. Why Évora? The city in Medieval and Early Modern times

Located in the heart of the Alentejo, Évora assumed a central role in the political strategies of Portuguese kings immediately from its conquest between 1165 and 1166, during the reign of King Afonso Henriques. The king's choices of settlement and defence would determine the political and social character of the city throughout the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. Initially, King Afonso Henriques, promoting the establishment of military orders in general in Alentejo, and Évora in particular, utilising large donations, aimed to halt the possible advance of the Muslims, but further to establish a social and political balance characterised by the non-concentration of different rights and/or jurisdictions¹. Furthermore, the first Portuguese king granted Évora a *foral* (municipal charter) in 1166, shortly after its conquest. This document, recognising the city's political and legislative autonomy, gave it the status of a royal municipality². It included clauses aimed at increasing the city's population, organising its defence and promoting economic activities³.

From this point on, private initiative began to occupy the land and a population began to settle, especially noble knights and *cavaleiros vilãos*⁴,

1 Beirante, 1995, p. 19 and Pardal, 2007, p. 28.

2 Coelho, 2017, p. 41.

3 Beirante, 1995, pp. 23–24.

4 Beirante, 1995, p. 24.



who were very present in the context of war, such as the *Reconquista*, and were highlighted in the city's municipal charter.

The demographic and social development of Évora after its conquest from the Muslims left it as the second city of the kingdom in terms of both importance and population at the end of the Middle Ages, remaining among the top positions throughout the Early Modern Period⁵. Several factors contributed to the city's significance in the period under study. From an ecclesiastical point of view, unlike Santarém, Évora was an episcopal seat. This diocese was restored soon after the conquest of the city, between the end of 1165 and the beginning of 1166⁶, and from that moment on, its see became its most powerful ruling body⁷. Nearly four centuries later in 1540, the diocese was elevated to the dignity of an archdiocese, with jurisdiction over the bishoprics of the Alentejo and Algarve, depending on the episcopal evolution of these territories⁸. The power and presence of the Church in the city was further strengthened by the establishment of religious orders, particularly the mendicants, from the thirteenth century onwards. Their monasteries contributed to urban development and became one of the main recipients of religious devotion from the laity⁹.

From a political standpoint, Évora held great prominence in the context of the kingdom, especially in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. Several *cortes* were held here between 1391 and 1535, and *procuradores* (attorneys) of its municipality sat on the first bench, along with those from Lisbon, Coimbra, Santarém and Porto – a clear hierarchical denomination of the kingdom's municipalities, which continued throughout the seventeenth century¹⁰. Furthermore, particularly between the

5 Until the fifteenth century, the second place in terms of population seems to have been disputed between Évora and Santarém, with the latter occupying the fourteenth century. Over the next century, however, Évora asserted itself a distance grew between itself and Santarém, appearing just below Lisbon. Marques, 1987, pp. 183–184. At the beginning of the Early Modern Period, the scenario changed and Évora was overtaken by Porto, dropping to third place, with an estimated population of 12940 inhabitants (spread over 2813 dwellings), according to *Numeramento* (census) of 1527–1532. Dias, 1998, pp. 16–19.

6 On the restoration of the Évora diocese, see Vilar, 1999, pp. 21–26.

7 Beirante, 1995, p. 229.

8 On the diocese and later archdiocese of Évora, see Lavajo, 2001.

9 Beirante, 1995, pp. 302–303 and 515.

10 Pardal, 2007, pp. 29–30 and Coelho, 2017, p. 44.



reigns of King João II and João III, the city was often chosen as a base for the royal court to occupy for many months – or even years – at a time when the crown and its apparatus was still itinerant.

These more frequent stays of the king and his entourage meant that, beyond these individuals, other administrative, political, legal, economic and social structures were also accommodated, contributing to the development of Évora, as Rute Pardal highlighted¹¹. In the same way, it led to the king's increasing direct involvement in, and control over the municipal administration, contributing significantly to the oligarchisation of municipal power, as Joaquim Bastos Serra concludes¹². In this case, the presence of the monarch and his officials influenced, among other things, the choice of municipal officials and even the composition of societal structure, promoting and sponsoring local lineages¹³, lineages that, along with other members of the urban elite, are also known as founders and administrators of entails in Évora.

The evolution of Évora after its reconquest from the Muslims and the various factors already identified that contributed to its importance in the context of the kingdom during the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period inherently shaped its social composition. The specific characteristics of this society largely determined the selection of this city as a case study in context of studying the component of power in entailment. Firstly, as in Santarém, an urban society structured by the context of war, the *cavaleiros vilãos* occupied a prominent position, despite the complexity of defining this category. As other authors have pointed out, these knights, owning a horse and weapons that allowed them to go into battle, differed in status from knights by birth, although their growing social prestige brought the two groups closer together, making boundaries between them more fluid¹⁴.

¹¹ Pardal, 2007, p. 30.

¹² Serra, 2018, chap. "Contexto: o rei, a cidade e o concelho".

¹³ Serra, 2008–2009, pp. 73–76 and Coelho, 2017, p. 41.

¹⁴ In this regard, the author refers back to the previous chapter on the city of Santarém, specifically to Mário Viana's study on *cavaleiros vilãos*. Viana, 2012. In the case of Évora, some authors have presented very similar conclusions. See, for example, Coelho, 2017, pp. 49–61, which also analyses the evolution of Évora's *cavaleiros vilãos* in the law, specifically in its municipal charter and customs granted later. Ângela Beirante also briefly discusses this category, integrating it into the people, but drawing attention to the fact that many *cavaleiros vilãos*, dedicated exclusively to warrior tasks, are at the origin of the small and medium urban nobility. Beirante, 1995, p. 569.



With the end of the Christian Reconquista during the reign of King Afonso III and first half of the thirteenth century, multiplied by the general pacification of the kingdom, the *cavaleiros vilãos* lost their *raison d'être* and had to find new ways of legitimising their status beyond battle. In this context of adapting to a new reality and benefiting from a bilateral relationship with royal power, the *cavaleiros vilãos* began to base their power on the acquisition of privileges and occupation of political offices, opening the doors of social mobility and access to the nobility. The Lobo lineage was one of the most significant examples of this process of ascension during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, reaching the barony and remaining in municipal power throughout the following centuries¹⁵.

However, Évora society was made up of other equally important categories which, along with the *cavaleiros vilãos*, formed elements of the urban elite and were the protagonists of social ascent and/or promotion – partly based on the institution of *morgados* and chapels. Beginning at the top of the social hierarchy, Évora's nobility included families of great importance, but some with origins, however distant, in lower social strata. As Ângela Beirante elucidated, the three levels of nobility (high, middle and low) have been represented in this city since the late Middle Ages¹⁶, and all have lineages that utilised the foundation of entails as a means of social ascension or consolidation.

According to Beirante, the high nobility included the *ricos-homens*, the great vassals of the king (royal court or nobility in service) and the holders of noble titles, including, for example, the Cogominho and Lobo clans, to whom reference has already been made. The middle nobility was made up of *cavaleiros fidalgos* and others who, although not yet *fidalgos*, enjoyed great influence in the city. This influence could be felt even at the royal court, and these individuals exercised their political power especially at local level – this was combined with considerable economic power, as seen in the case of the Oliveira, Espinho and Boto kin. Finally, the lower

¹⁵ The process of the Lobo's social ascent was studied in detail by André Madruga Coelho in his master's dissertation. Coelho (2017). On the presence of a branch of the Lobo family in municipal governance and in the administration of the *Misericórdia* (Holy House of Mercy) of Évora, see Pardal, 2007, pp. 120–121.

¹⁶ Beirante, 1995, p. 522.



nobility was made up of squires, vassals of the king and, very rarely, knights, who could occupy municipal positions and royal posts with less decisive functions, such as the Façanha, Gavião and Magro families¹⁷.

With regard to the nobility of Évora, it should be noted that the ‘old’ Portuguese nobility chose not to accompany King Afonso Henriques in the *Reconquista* movement southwards, remaining isolated in their northern domains and leaving the task of organising the Alentejo territory to the Crown and military Orders¹⁸. These circumstances help to explain why the nobility was not consolidated until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Évora. It was during this period that the great aristocratic domains began to emerge, the result of measures taken by Kings Pedro, Fernando and João I to consolidate the economic and political bases of the nobility¹⁹. In fact, according to José Augusto de Sottomayor-Pizarro, the absence of the oldest and most powerful nobility in these regions, as well as the royal patronage for the creation of urban elites, allows an understanding of the upward trajectory of certain families, such as the Lobos, from *cavalaria vilã* to middle or lower nobility and integration into the urban elite²⁰.

The characterisation of Évora’s urban society would not be complete without reference to the urban oligarchy, a very important group in this city under study. Its members could belong to any category of the nobility (although especially the middle and lower classes), including the highest classes of the people, such as the *cavaleiros vilãos*. This group can be defined as the “conjunto de habitantes da cidade que alia a riqueza e o prestígio ao exercício das funções públicas em íntima ligação com a monarquia”²¹. These are, in fact, the “elites”, those who hold power and the ability to make decisions. In Évora, in particular, these characteristics are combined with land ownership, forming the group’s economic base²².

17 Beirante, 1995, pp. 522–563.

18 Sottomayor-Pizarro, 2015, pp. 152–153.

19 Beirante, 1995, p. 522 Very recently, in his doctoral thesis, André Madruga Coelho analysed the process of manorialism in the Alentejo, particularly in the fifteenth century. Coelho, 2023.

20 Sottomayor-Pizarro, 2018, pp. 268–269.

21 Transl.: “a group of city dwellers who combine wealth and prestige with the exercise of public functions in close connection with the monarchy”. Beirante, 1995, p. 565.

22 Beirante, 1995, pp. 565–566. As the author points out, in other cases, especially when the term “urban patriciate” is used, the power of these elites was economically based on commerce.



Another aspect to consider is that these elites or municipal oligarchies often took the nobility as a reference or model to emulate, hoping for future nobility, as Luís Miguel Duarte pointed out²³. It was in this context that the institution of *morgados* and chapels by the urban oligarchy was largely integrated, imitating the typical behaviour of the nobility, whilst aspiring to ascend to that social category.

In Évora, the social and political importance of the men and families of the municipal oligarchy is particularly significant, and has been studied in depth for the Middle Ages by Joaquim Bastos Serra²⁴, but also by André Madruga Coelho, based on a specific family, the Lobos²⁵, and by Rute Pardal for the Early Modern Period²⁶. These three authors concluded that the men belonging to the “powerful elites” of Évora used the institution and administration of entails as a strategy for ascension and social consolidation, in some cases allowing them to achieve the desired nobility. The specific characteristics of the oligarchy of Évora and its members’ use of entailment institutions was a primary driver for choosing this city as a case study, examining the exercise and perception of power by these elites in the context of the foundation and administration of *morgados* and/or chapels.

4.2. The sample of entails: characterisation

With these objectives in mind, a sample of 84 entails was selected from the 162 *morgados* and chapels founded between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries in the city of Évora and which are included in the VINCULUM project database. The criteria used to choose this group of entails coincide to a great extent with those defined for the city of Santarém. Firstly, it was essential to identify the socio-professional status of the founders and their family origins. Naturally, members of the municipal oligarchy were selected, as well as a large number of individuals belonging to the three categories of nobility, especially those coming from families

23 Duarte, 2001.

24 Serra, 2008-2009 and Serra, 2018.

25 Coelho, 2017.

26 Pardal, 2007.



that were active in the processes of social ascension. In addition to these founders, others of humbler origins were picked: this grouping used the foundation of chapels as a means of achieving greater prestige and, ultimately, social promotion. Regarding Évora, the application of this criterion was somewhat easier than in the case of Santarém. The existence of several studies, not only on the city but also its elites and, in particular, the municipal oligarchy, even dealing with the foundation of entails by its members, facilitated the compilation of the documentary sample²⁷.

In addition, given the difficulty of identifying socio-professional status, we resorted to essentially heuristic criteria. In this sense, we selected *morgados* and chapels with the largest number of documents described in the project database and the most relevant typologies likely to contain information on the power component, such as entail and chapel foundation deeds, wills, donation deeds and dowry deeds, among others. Likewise, the *subject access points* associated with each founding document helped to compile the sample, as some of them point to issues of social ascension and consolidation (“Inventory”, “Family Name”, “Coat of Arms”, “Crown”, “Church”, “Municipality”, “Accumulation”).

This resulted in a sample of more than four hundred and fifty documents²⁸, spread across more than 90 different types²⁹. Considering these types, it is important to note that the majority of this *corpus* is made up of *tombos*, volumetrically quite different from other categories³⁰, followed

27 Above all, some of the studies already mentioned were fundamental, such as those by Ângela Beirante, Joaquim Bastos Serra, André Madruga Coelho and, for the Early Modern Period, Rute Pardal. Beirante, 1995, Serra, 2008–2009, Serra, 2018, Coelho, 2017 and Pardal, 2007.

28 As pointed out in the chapter on the city of Santarém, this number corresponds to the total number of items, which correspond to both “mother documents” (main documents) and inserted documents. It should also be noted that items that are repeated in the database for various reasons, such as the fact that they relate to more than one entail and have therefore been described in all of them have not been included in this or in following counts.

29 This is the total number of typologies identified in the VINCULUM project database. However, some are somewhat repetitious, with only slight differences in title. This is the case, for example, with “acórdão” and “acórdão (transcription)” and “will” and “will (extract)”. However, it was decided to consider them as separate categories, since they vary at least in form.

30 The *tombos* of entails located in the city of Évora totalled 113 items in the project’s database. However, these actually correspond to 63 different documents, since the *Tombo das capelas da cidade de Évora e das vilas de Montemor-o-Novo, Alcáçovas, Viana, Redondo, Cabeção, Mora e Lavre* was described 51 times in the database, as the “mother document” (main document) of the *tombos* of the various chapels included in it. TT, Feitos da Coroa, Tombos e Demarcações, Núcleo Antigo 276.



by wills³¹, *acórdãos*³², and both administration letters and administration warrants, documents of similar content. Although with more modest examples, the entail and chapel foundation deeds also occupy an important place in the set of documents, above all due to their content. Finally, codicils³³, sentences³⁴, donation deeds and dowry deeds³⁵ should be mentioned for the quality of the information they can contain. This relates to the social characterisation of the founders and administrators of entails and their perception of the power they possessed.

Overlooking the chronological distribution of the documents, as seen for Santarém, there is a discontinuity of the number of pieces produced across the different centuries. While about 39% of the total documents were written in the seventeenth century and about 38% in the sixteenth century, the documents produced in the fifteenth century do not exceed 15% and those from the fourteenth only make up around 8%.

The figures calculated for each of the centuries studied seem to depend in particular on heuristic factors – even on the dating and typology of the documents copied in the great documentary collections. First of all, by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the entails were already perfectly consolidated, some of them having existed for centuries. Their activities as corporate bodies resulted in more intensive production of recorded information, reflecting in a greater number of documents. Furthermore, it is clear that there was an increase in the total number of writings from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, largely due to the creation of the *Tombo das capelas da cidade de Évora e das vilas de Montemor-o-Novo, Alcáçovas, Viana, Redondo, Cabeção, Mora e Lavre* between 1533 and 1535, which includes the *tombos* of 51 chapels. As such, this book mainly copies documents from the sixteenth century, including the *tombos* themselves, totalling almost eight dozen documents, followed by some 34

31 The typologies “will”, “will chart”, “will (extract)” and “will chart (extract)” are included here because, despite the formal differences, they all refer to the same act of last will.

32 This generic category includes the typologies “acórdão”, “acórdão (transcription)”, “acórdão em relação” and “acórdão em relação (transcription)”.

33 Includes “codicil” and “codicil (extract)”.

34 Includes “court sentence” and “court sentence (transcription)”.

35 Includes “dowry deed” and “dowry deed (extract)”.



entries from the sixteenth century and only 17 from the fifteenth. The increase in documentation in the seventeenth century is primarily linked to the royal efforts to control the *Capelas da Coroa*, as seen in the city of Santarém. This growing intervention led not only to a greater number of administration letters being issued, but also to a more systematic production of records, particularly of the judicial requirements for the chapels. This situation is particularly evident in the *Livros de Registo do Arquivo* and in the *Livros das Capelas da Coroa*, most of which copy seventeenth century documents.

4.3. The founders of entails: sociological characterisation

These documentary sources contain the information required to understand the role of entails in the strategies of social ascension and promotion used by families belonging to the various strata of the nobility, urban oligarchy and other groups in medieval and early modern society in Évora. They utilised the institution and administration of *morgados* and chapels with the clear intention of gaining socio-political power in the communities where they were integrated – or consolidating what was already achieved.

Regarding the socio-professional status of the founders, it was possible to identify the category to which the founders of 42 of the 84 *morgados* and chapels³⁶ belonged, solely on the basis of the information contained in the documents consulted. For a large proportion of the remaining founders, however, the data is collected in the works and papers of authors who have dedicated themselves to the study of Évora and its elite. As such, it was possible to obtain a relatively complete picture of the social reality from which the founders of *morgados* and chapels came. However, in some cases it was impossible to identify the social status of the founders at all. This situation was particularly common among women, whose status depended mostly on their husbands or, if they were single, their fathers. The mention of their husbands' names and the reference to their socio-pro-

36 It should be noted that two of those 42 entails were founded by the same couple, Jerónimo Vieira da Maia and his wife Isabel, so there is some repetition of information. The documentation relating to both chapels is described under the reference codes VINC000920 JVMIA EA and VINC004705 JVMIPS EA.



fessional status can partly remedy this lack of knowledge, however. Furthermore, for both women and men, the surname can indicate of the social group to which they belonged, even if it is the only distinguishing feature³⁷.

In this sense, between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, Évora's entails were founded largely by nobles from the three sectors of this group (high, middle and low nobility) and members of the municipal oligarchy, who in many cases belonged to nobility. In addition, there were founders both from bourgeoisie and common backgrounds, traditionally seeking a way to access the highest positions in the social hierarchy. Finally, it is worth highlighting the identification of some clergymen, who, despite their small corporeal proportion of the whole, are of great qualitative importance, as, above all, they belonged to families of great importance in medieval and modern Évora society.

So, who were these men and women?

Firstly, founders who belonged to noble families of great importance in the city and whose social careers are well known have been identified, allowing a placement of the foundation of their entails in an extant upward trajectory that their members carefully outlined from the outset. This subset includes families such as the Cogominho, Lobo, Silveira, Melo and Castro, all belonging to the city's great nobility³⁸, all featuring in various *morgados* and chapels represented by both men and women. The founders from these lineages were mainly knights, noblemen, members of the King's Council and high royal officials, both in the central and peripheral administration. In turn, the female founders who belonged to these families married men from other equally important families, thus acquiring a status comparable to that of their relatives and to that which they themselves had enjoyed as single women, dependent on their fathers.

³⁷ The studies of Ângela Beirante, among others, were fundamental in identifying the social groups to which the surnames of some of some of the founders belonged. Beirante, 1995, pp. 523-560 and Beirante, 2011, p. 41.

³⁸ As a first approach, the three categories of nobility proposed by Ângela Beirante – high, middle and low nobility – are used. However, these categories are in fact “operational concepts”, since this social group had a much more complex hierarchy than that represented by these mere three ranks. Beirante, 1995, pp. 523-561.



The Cogominhos are one of the most significant examples of these families. Although only two entails founded by its members are known, both elaborate the examination stated above. Firstly, one of the oldest and most important *morgados* in Évora was founded in the fourteenth century by Fernando Gonçalves Cogominho, identified in the documents as *cavaleiro vassalo do rei* (knight vassal of the king) and lord of Oriola³⁹. This status cemented his membership of the high nobility and possession of manorial rights and powers, both contributing to his growing wealth and social prestige⁴⁰. It seems that Fernando Gonçalves Cogominho was also a *desembargador*, *procurador* (attorney) and member of King Afonso IV's Council, belonging to the monarch's closest circle⁴¹. In the foundation deed of the entail, the institutor, together with his wife Maria Eanes, appointed their son, João Fernandes Cogominho, as their successor. He naturally shared the same social status as his father, appearing in the document as a *cavaleiro vassalo do rei* (knight vassal of the king)⁴².

Around a century later in 1456, Maria Fernandes Cogominho made a joint will with her husband Vasco Martins de Paiva, in which she founded a chapel in the monastery of São Francisco of Évora⁴³. According to the document itself, she was the niece of Beatriz Fernandes Cogominho⁴⁴, who, in turn, was the granddaughter of Fernando Gonçalves Cogominho and administrator of his *morgado* in 1434⁴⁵. In this case, Maria, as well as belonging to the noble Cogominho family, married a Paiva (or Pavia), identified as a member of the middle nobility, possibly of bourgeois origin⁴⁶. What is more, Vasco Martins was related to his wife, perhaps confirming his origins in the 'old' northern nobility⁴⁷. This is, in fact, the

39 Entail foundation deed (1357-01-22) – VINC000025 FGCME EA/002aaa; CP-P1, p. 17 and Donation deed (1358-07-07) – VINC000025 FGCME EA/003a; CP-P1, pp. 108-109.

40 As well as being a knight, the fact that he was a vassal of the king made him a subject of the monarch, being obliged to render military service to him with a certain number of "lances" and in return received a sum of money for life, which was added to his patrimony. Marques, 1987, pp. 249-250.

41 Homem, 1990, pp. 301-302 and Beirante, 1995, pp. 523-524, n. 66.

42 Entail foundation deed (1357-01-22) – VINC000025 FGCME EA/002aaa; CP-P1, p. 17.

43 Will chart (extract) (1456-04-06) – VINC006289 VMPMFC EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 96-97.

44 Will chart (extract) (1456-04-06) – VINC006289 VMPMFC EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 96.

45 Confirmation letter (1434-04-14) – VINC000025 FGCME EA/004a; CP-DU-1-1, p. 295.

46 Beirante, 1995, pp. 538-539 and Beirante, 2011, p. 41.

47 Beirante, 1995, p. 539.



origin of the Cogominho family, already permanently settled in Évora in the fourteenth century. However, the family went into decline during the fifteenth century, apparently due to the lack of legitimate male descendants, but also thanks to its adherence to the Castilian cause in the context of the Crisis of 1383–1385, which led some of its members to leave the kingdom⁴⁸. Despite these constraints, their entails were maintained as a sign of the power achieved by this lineage in the fourteenth century. Even the *morgado* founded by Fernando Gonçalves Cogominho and Maria Eanes, after an initial period outside the family⁴⁹, ended up back in the hands of a Cogominho, João de Paiva, none other than the son of Vasco Martins de Paiva and Maria Fernandes Cogominho⁵⁰.

The Lobo family were even more important – coming from the *cavalaria vilã*, they undertook one of the most famous processes of social ascension in medieval Évora, achieving nobility and barony in the fifteenth century⁵¹. There are four known entails founded by some members of this family between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries: Gonçalo Eanes Lobo and Mécia Afonso (before 1362)⁵²; Fernando Lopes Lobo (1422)⁵³; Aldonça Martins Lobo (1510)⁵⁴; and Maria de Meira Lobo (1625)⁵⁵. The first two founders bring together the main characteristics of this family and represent, very clearly, their social path. While Gonçalo Eanes Lobo was the king's *corregedor* in Entre-Tejo-e-Guadiana and sites beyond the Guadiana in the fourteenth century⁵⁶, Fernando Lopes Lobo was, in compari-

48 Beirante, 1995, pp. 523–524.

49 In 1469, King Afonso V donated the *morgado* of Torre de Coelheiros, as this entail was known, to João de Sousa, a *fidalgo* of the King's Household, because the administrator, a lady known by the name of "Cogominha", died without heirs. Donation deed (1469-02-20) – VINC000025 FGCME EA/001a; TT-C-A5-31, fl. 33.

50 Information collected in Beirante, 1995, p. 524.

51 On the history of the Lobo family, in particular the branch of this lineage to which the lords of Alvito, future barons of Alvito, belonged, see Coelho, 2017.

52 Date attributed on the basis of the chapel foundation deed. Exemplification of a chapel foundation deed (1362-07-09) – VINC000117 GELMA EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 70–70v.

53 Will (extract) (1422-09-18) – VINC000056 FLL EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 101–102v.

54 Entail foundation deed (extract) (1510-09-02) – VINC006292 AML EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 113–114v.

55 Will chart (1625-04-04) – VINC000973 MML EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-9, fls. 4–4v.

56 Chapel foundation deed ([13--]) – VINC000117 GELMA EA/001aaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 70. There is also the possibility that this Gonçalo Eanes Lobo was, in an earlier period, *alcalde* of Lisbon, procurator of the municipality of Évora and/or even commander of the Order of Santiago in Samora Correia. However, the problems posed by homonymy do not allow one to definitively clarify whether it is a case of a single person or several with the same name. On the identification of Gonçalo Eanes Lobo,



son, a knight in the fifteenth century⁵⁷. It was, in fact, the active participation of Fernando and his three brothers, Diogo Lopes Lobo, Martim Lopes Lobo and Estêvão Fernandes Lobo, in the dynastic crisis of 1383–1385 to the aid of King João, Master of Avis, that allowed the lineage to make a decisive leap in the fifteenth century social hierarchy⁵⁸. After the victory of King João I, family members occupied the most important positions in Évora, such as that of *alcaide*, as well as receiving important land grants from the king himself. These were the villages of Alvito and Vila Nova, which in the case of the former would lend its name to the title that the descendants of Diogo Lopes Lobo would obtain⁵⁹.

The sociological identification of the women of the Lobo lineage who founded entails generate other questions, despite the use of the Lobo surname. As is usually the case with women, their characterisation falters at more than a reference to the town where they lived, their widowhood and, finally, the identification of their husbands. For Aldonça Martins Lobo, the data is a little more generous, including that, at the time she had her entail and chapel foundation deed inscribed in 1510, she was the widow of Álvaro Mendes de Vasconcelos, *alcaide* of the town of Monsaraz⁶⁰. This status positioned her in the circles of power in the municipality and even the kingdom, thanks to the duties her husband carried out on behalf of the king. Thus, not only belonging to the Lobo lineage – she was the daughter of the already mentioned Martim Lopes Lobo and niece of Fernando Lopes Lobo⁶¹ – she was also linked by marriage to the Vasconcelos family. This family also belonged to the great nobility of Évora and some of its members were defenders of the Master of Avis, earning Mem Rodrigues de Vasconcelos the donation of the town of Monsaraz, of which his grandson, Álvaro Mendes de Vasconcelos, would become *alcaide*⁶².

see Coelho, 2017, pp. 65–67.

57 Coelho, 2017, p. 135.

58 Fernando Lopes Lobo even declared in his will of 1422 that he had taken part in the battle of Aljubarrota at the age of 17 or 18, and therefore ordered a mass to be celebrated on the eve of St Mary's Day in August. Will (extract) (1422-09-18) – VINC000056 FLL EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 101.

59 Beirante, 1995, pp. 524–524; Coelho, 2017, pp. 75–80 and Serra, 2018, *maxime* annex “Os homens que governaram a cidade (1367–1433). Notas biográficas”.

60 Entail foundation deed (extract) (1510-09-02) – VINC006292 AML EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 113.

61 Coelho, 2017, pp. 112 and 152.

62 Beirante, 1995, p. 532.



The strategies of these families, connecting with other families of high status, can clearly be seen here. This, in some cases, provided the desired route to nobility and social promotion. The data for Maria de Meira Lobo, from a significantly later period, is scarcer: she may belong to another branch of the Lobo family, or may actually be a member of the Vilalobos, as she is named in the opening deed of her will of 1625⁶³. In any eventuality, it is clear that she belonged to one of Évora's elite families⁶⁴, and was married to Domingos de Sampaio, about whom there is, unfortunately, no further information⁶⁵.

Among the great noble families whose founders are known, the Silveira family should also be highlighted, to whom the Lobo were even linked by marriage. Although there is only one known entail founded by a member of this family, it is one of the most significant in the studied context, primarily because of the sociological characterisation of its founder, Nuno Martins da Silveira. He, together with his wife, Leonor Gonçalves de Abreu, founded the chapel of Salvador in the monastery of São Domingos of Évora in 1431⁶⁶.

Originating from the Aguiar lineage on his mother's side and the Pestanas on his father's – both from the middle nobility⁶⁷ – Nuno Martins da Silveira held different offices at the royal court and it was here, in close proximity to King Duarte, that he rose to the highest echelons. Beyond being a knight, he was also *escrivão da puridade* (personal clerk) of Prince

63 Opening deed of a will (1625-04-06) – VINC000973 MML EA/001; TT-AA-RA-9, fl. 4.

64 The Vilalobos belonged to the middle nobility of the city. Its members were knights and squires of the king or of the titled nobility of the kingdom, such as the Duke of Bragança, and held important positions in the city, both in the central and local administration. They were also closely linked to medieval and modern welfare organisations, particularly the *Misericórdia*. Beirante, 1995, p. 545 and Pardal, 2007, pp. 122-123.

65 Opening deed of a will (1625-04-06) – VINC000973 MML EA/001; TT-AA-RA-9, fl. 4.

66 Chapel foundation deed (1431-08-10) – VINC000062 NMSLGA EA/001aaaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 149v-156.

67 Beirante, 1995, pp. 526-527 and 547. In 1432, Nuno Martins da Silveira used the fact that he descended from the Aguiar lineage and was related to Catarina Gil de Aguiar to obtain the administration of her chapel from Bishop Álvaro of Évora, which was confirmed a few years later by King Duarte. Administration letter (1432-04-15) – VINC001994 CGA EA/002aa; CP-DU-1-1, p. 440 and Confirmation letter (1435-04-26) – VINC001994 CGA EA/002a; CP-DU-1-1, pp. 439-442.



Duarte⁶⁸ and, after Duarte ascended to the throne, Nuno was naturally a member of the King's Council. He was, however, removed from his office following the King's death – he favoured the regency of Queen Leonor over that of Prince Pedro.

He, however, returned to the royal court after the battle of Alfarrobeira in 1449 and was appointed *rico-homem* (a member of the highest nobility) and *coudel-mor* of the kingdom, in addition to other duties such as *vedor-mor das obras*⁶⁹. His closeness to the monarchs, especially King Duarte, earned him countless assets donated toward his benefit⁷⁰, of which he at least partially entailed in his chapel⁷¹. Through his marriage to Leonor Gonçalves de Abreu, he joined the lineage of the Abreu, lords of Castelo de Vide and members of the great nobility of Évora⁷². Their descendants continued to hold important offices in the royal bureaucracy, allowing them close proximity to the king and reaping the benefits that came with this trusted position, contributing to the rise and social consolidation of the family⁷³.

This was the case with his own son, Diogo da Silveira, the administrator of his chapel⁷⁴, who not only inherited most of his father's possessions, but also succeeded him as the *escrivão da puridade* and *vedor-mor das obras e resíduos*, and membership of the King's Council⁷⁵. The case of Nuno Martins da Silveira is one of the best examples of rapid social ascent through service at the royal court, holding the highest civil positions in royal service, and the consequent accumulation of prestige and property,

68 It is as a knight and *escrivão da puridade* (personal clerk) of Prince Duarte that he is mentioned in the chapel foundation deed. Chapel foundation deed (1431-08-10) – VINCO00062 NMSLGA EA/001aaaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 150.

69 Beirante, 1995, pp. 526-527 and Freitas, 1996, pp. 70-71 and 196-200. Nuno Martins da Silveira wrote his will in 1453 in his capacity as *vedor-mor das obras* of the regions of Estremadura and Entre Tejo e Guadiana, as well as knight, *rico-homem* (a member of the highest nobility) of the King's Council and king's *escrivão da puridade*. Will (1453-08-17) – VINCO00062 NMSLGA EA/006a; TT-CCSSG-L01, fls. 110-117v.

70 Freitas, 1996, p. 70.

71 These assets are described in the chapel foundation deed itself. Chapel foundation deed (1431-08-10) – VINCO00062 NMSLGA EA/001aaaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 151v-152.

72 Beirante, 1995, pp. 532-533.

73 Caetano, 2011, pp. 35-37.

74 Will chart (1463-10-29) – VINCO00062 NMSLGA EA/001abaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 157v-159v.

75 Information gathered in the document cited in the previous note and in Caetano, 2011, pp. 35-36.



which, by being entailed to a perpetual chapel, contributed to the same process of ascent in Évora society at the end of the Middle Ages.

The Melo and Castro families are worthy of mention as they also belonged to the great nobility of the city of Évora. The data provided by the documents does not offer much in the way of personal reportage, and even the entails founded by individuals from the two lineages do not seem to have had the same importance as those instituted by members of the previously mentioned families. However, one should not discount that both families occupied prominent places in the social and political scene in Évora, although it is curious that during the crisis of 1383–1385, they were on opposing sides, although the Castros, supporters of Queen Leonor Teles, managed to regain their former position throughout the fifteenth century⁷⁶.

Regarding the foundation of entails, it is worth emphasising that, in the cases where the social status of the institutors is known, these fundamental actors could have been members of the King's Council or noblemen from the King's Household, such as Rui de Melo, who founded a chapel with his wife, Helena de Mesquita, in 1527⁷⁷, and Heitor de Melo, who entailed assets to the chapel of his father, Garcia de Melo, together with his wife, Maria de Castro, in 1561⁷⁸. This last example points to the matrimonial links between the two families, ligatures which went beyond this singular betrothal. In fact, even in the fifteenth century, Constança de Castro, who founded a chapel in the monastery of São Francisco of Évora in 1484, had been married to Fernando de Melo, a member of King Afonso V's Council and *alcaide-mor* of the city of Évora⁷⁹. This reveals, once again, the frequency of these practices among the main lineages of a city or region as a means of ascension and social promotion.

The mid-level nobility of Évora also played a significant role in the foundation of numerous entails between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with some families having a great deal of sway in both the city's municipal administration and even the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

⁷⁶ Beirante, 1995, pp. 529–530.

⁷⁷ Entail foundation deed (1527-05-17) – VINCO01379 RMHM EA/001aa; TT-C-J3-D-17, fl. 123.

⁷⁸ Will (1561-12-14) – VINCO05653 GMHMMC EA/001ba; ADEVR-GCE-RV-1, fl. 18v.

⁷⁹ Chapel foundation deed (1484-08-20) – VINC006288 CC EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 88.



This category includes the *cavaleiros fidalgos* (noble knights), the service and royal court nobility, namely the king's vassals, and also the nobles who exercised their political power at local level, belonging to Évora's urban oligarchy⁸⁰.

Highlighting the Boto family amongst this class, their members founded three entails in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, reflecting the importance that these institutions acquired in the social environs and strategies of urban lineages. The family is also notable for its rather rapid social rise, despite its clearly 'every-day' origins among the city's artisans. The development of commercial activity, investment in study and service to the king allowed them to rise to the nobility of royal court or function, as Ângela Beirante categorises them⁸¹. The only known male member of this family, Gonçalo Boto, was a squire and citizen of Lisbon, residing in Rua da Ourivesaria⁸². In an earlier documentary reference, dated 1456, Boto was identified as a merchant⁸³, revealing his initial dedication to commerce and subsequent rise to the lower ranks of nobility. The successors and administrators of his chapel, at least those who are documented, were part of the same social reality. While Pedro Boto, his nephew and first appointee, was a servant of the prince, knight and *alcaide* of the shelter of Santo Antoninho⁸⁴, Aires Falcão Pereira Boto, an apparent administrator during the seventeenth century, held the title of doctor⁸⁵, confirming the Boto's integration into the intellectual elite.

The fact that two entails of this family were founded by women – Isabel Rodrigues Boto and Catarina Boto⁸⁶ – does not alter their importance and points to their marriage to other members of the middle and lower no-

80 Beirante, 1995, pp. 534–535.

81 Beirante, 1995, p. 543 and Beirante, 2011, p. 41.

82 Chapel foundation deed (1477-09-22) – VINC001831 GB EA/003aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 167 and Contract and bond deed (1470-06-13) – VINC001831 GB EA/003aaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 167.

83 Serra, 2018, annex “Os homens que governaram a cidade (1367-1433). Notas biográficas”, biographical note “74. João Boto, Escudeiro”.

84 Chapel foundation deed (1477-09-22) – VINC001831 GB EA/003aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 168 and Beirante, 1995, p. 544.

85 Court sentence (transcription) (1676-05-03) – VINC001831 GB EA/002a; PEGAS-1687-2, p. 704.

86 Chapel foundation deed (1525-04-11) – VINC000121 IRB EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 135-136 and Will chart (extract) ([1482]) – VINC003860 CB EA/002aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 161-162v, respectively.



bility. In fact, it is known that Catarina Boto, founder of a chapel in the monastery of São Domingos of Évora in 1482, was married in her first nuptials to Nuno Fernandes Gramaxo⁸⁷, a *vereador* (councillor) and *alcaide* of the confraternities of Santo Antão and Jerusalem, also belonging to an established lineage in the city with obvious economic power and local prestige⁸⁸. Her second husband, Doctor Vasco Fernandes de Luceña, held positions at both the royal court and in the central courts, being a diplomat, count palatine, chronicler and *guarda-mor* of the Torre do Tombo, *desembargador da Casa da Suplicação* and *chanceler* (chancellor) of Casa do Cível⁸⁹.

Families such as Falcão, Fuseiro, Aguiar and Zuzarte also belonged to the mid-nobility: some linked to the royal court, others of bourgeois origin. They founded a total of two *morgados* and/or chapels each between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is little information about the founders within the first two families. However, the simple fact that they belonged to them illuminates that they were part of a group of individuals strongly linked to municipal governance, holding various municipal positions, especially the family Fuseiro⁹⁰.

For example, Lopo Rodrigues Fuseiro, who founded a chapel in São Francisco in 1395⁹¹, was the son of Rodrigo Eanes Fuseiro, vassal of the king, knight, *juiz do cível* (civil judge) and wealthy landowner at the time of King Pedro I, having benefited from various royal privileges giving him a certain prestige⁹². As Joaquim Bastos Serra states, “diversos indícios demonstram que os «Fuseiros» de Évora foram merecendo algum grau de proteção por parte do rei e dos infantes”⁹³. Lopo Rodrigues, whilst the documentation within the project does not directly refer to it, appears to be one of the clerics named on a list sent to the Pope, requesting his

87 Will chart (extract) ([1482]) – VINC003860 CB EA/002aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 161.

88 Beirante, 1995, pp. 541–542.

89 Beirante, 2011, p. 60, n. 34.

90 Beirante, 1995, pp. 538 and 540–541 and Serra, 2018.

91 Will (extract) (1395–05–29) – VINC000064 LRF EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 86–86v.

92 Beirante, 1995, pp. 540–541 and Serra, 2018.

93 Transl.: “various indications show that the Fuseiros of Évora were deserving of some degree of protection from the king and princes”. Serra, 2018, chap. “A orgânica concelhia: principais cargos e funções”.



appointment to the prebendary canonicals and other positions in religious institutions⁹⁴. The fact that he appointed his sister and, after her death, his future nephew as successors to his chapel makes this hypothesis even more plausible, as it seems evident that he had not children of his own⁹⁵.

The investment in, and pursual of, an ecclesiastical career was also a means of social promotion and the consolidation of that already achieved. The Fuseiros were no strangers to this strategy – even capitalising on it – despite not holding any important positions in the Church hierarchy. In fact, the appointment of his future nephew, son of Maior Rodrigues Fuseiro and Álvaro Mendes de Oliveira, belonging to a group linked to the government of Évora, as administrator of his chapel was part of a common strategy of the clergy, who contributed to the process of social ascension and the splendour of their families as so⁹⁶. This could even be considered as a way of returning the investment that the family had made in their member’s ecclesiastical training, as some authors have suggested⁹⁷.

The Aguiar and Zuzarte families were particularly active at the royal court, close to the king and held positions in the high levels of royal civil service. The high status of the Aguiar family can be seen in the importance given to the fact that Catarina Gil, who founded a *morgado* and chapel in Évora in 1376⁹⁸, is identified in later documents as “hũa dona de linhagem dos d’Aguiar”⁹⁹. It’s also worth recalling that Nuno Martins da Silveira, himself a member of a family of great nobility from Évora, made a point of linking himself to this lineage, from which he was descended on his mother’s side, claiming the administration of the chapel of Catarina Gil, his relative¹⁰⁰. Furthermore, the founder was the wife of Nuno Fernandes de Chaves who had risen to knighthood¹⁰¹, and was a squire and vassal of

94 Serra, 2018, chap. “A orgânica concelhia: principais cargos e funções”.

95 Will (extract) (1395-05-29) – VINC000064 LRF EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 86.

96 See, for example, Irigoyen, 2004, pp. 124-125 and Díaz Rodríguez, 2014, pp. 87-88.

97 Díaz Rodríguez, 2014, pp. 75-76.

98 Confirmation letter (1435-04-26) – VINC001994 CGA EA/002a; CP-DU-1-1, pp. 439-442.

99 Transl.: “a lady of the d’Aguiar lineage”. Privilege letter (1439-09-09) – VINC001994 CGA EA/001a; TT-C-A5-20, fl. 28.

100 Confirmation letter (1435-04-26) – VINC001994 CGA EA/002a; CP-DU-1-1, pp. 439-442.

101 Privilege letter (1439-09-09) – VINC001994 CGA EA/001a; TT-C-A5-20, fl. 28.



Kings Pedro and Fernando¹⁰². The Aguiar's social distinction continued into the fifteenth century, in the person of João Afonso de Aguiar, founder, together with his wife, Maria Esteves, of a chapel in the monastery of São Francisco in 1485 and identified as a member of the King's Council and *provedor da fazenda do Rei na comarca e almoxarifados de Évora, Estremoz e Portalegre*¹⁰³.

The two founders with the surname Zuzarte, Rui Fernandes Zuzarte and Fernando de Andrade Zuzarte, from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively, were *fidalgos* of the King's Household, with the latter being titled "cavaleiro fidalgo"¹⁰⁴, affirming that he belonged to an elite family from Évora with a presence at the royal court.

Finally, this work has documented other families belonging to the mid-nobility, such as the Mascarenhas, Paiva, Espinho and Arnalho clans, where only one entail is known to have been founded by members of each family. These are very similar to the families described above, as they were knights or squires, holding positions in the municipal administration of Évora. Examples of these roles include Lopo Dias de Espinho: a squire who also served as a *juiz do cível* at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and as *alcaide* of the confraternity of Jerusalem, an honorary and representation position that conferred some prestige¹⁰⁵. Meanwhile, Vasco Arnalho, catalogued at the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, belonged to a family of bourgeois origin and was a knight¹⁰⁶.

102 Beirante, 1995, p. 541.

103 Contract and bond deed (1485-04-20) – VINC006280 JAAME EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 59-61.

104 Will chart (1507-09-15) – VINC006300 RFZVC EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 172 and Entail foundation deed (1647-01-31) – VINC001049 FAZ EA/001aa; TT-AA-RA-1, fl. 46.

105 Will chart (extract) ([c. 1460-07-13]) – VINC006275 LDE EA/001ba; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 91-92v; Beirante, 1995, p. 542 and Serra, 2018, chap. "O grupo dirigente: estratégias de promoção e de consolidação das posições sociais" and annex "Os homens que governaram a cidade (1367-1433). Notas biográficas", biographical note "92. Lopo Dias de Espinho, escudeiro". Regarding the date of the will, it should be mentioned that, according to the copy described in the project's database, it was approved in 1460, which allows a critical date to be applied to its writing that same year. However, according to Joaquim Bastos Serra, consulting another version – apparently the original itself – this will dates from 1422. Upon consideration, this may have been a copying error for the *Tombo das Capelas da Cidade de Évora*, perhaps resulting in the omission of the reference to the Age of Caesar, from which 38 years would have been subtracted.

106 Will ([15--]) – VINC002393 VA EA/004aa; TT-FC-CC-2, fl. 285v and Beirante, 1995, pp. 542-543.



Martinho Vaz Mascarenhas should be highlighted, as firstly he founded a *morgado* and chapel in 1477, together with his wife Isabel Correia¹⁰⁷, and moreover secondly for his very specific sociological characteristics: a profile that has not yet been identified in other founders in Évora. Martinho Vaz was, in fact, a *comendador* (commander) of the Order of Santiago in Aljustrel, thus manifesting a traditional family link to this military order. Fernando Mascarenhas, his eldest son and successor in the administration of the entail, continued this link, maintaining the family's relationship with the militia, as was customary for these lineages¹⁰⁸. In this family, it is clear that their strategies for social promotion involved associating with – and occupying positions within – a military order that had a strong presence in the Alentejo. Likewise, arranging marriages to people holding important positions, those who were close to royal power or had links to the military orders and belonged to the nobility¹⁰⁹. As Joaquim Bastos Serra shows, being close to the military orders brought not only profits and income resulting from the possession of a *comenda* and other rights, but also symbolic and social advantages, translating into prestige, a noble image and connections with the royal court and those moving in the circles of power¹¹⁰.

The low nobility of Évora is considerably less represented in the selected documentary sample in comparison to the other defined strata. This group included squires and vassals of the king and, much more rarely, knights, who could perform less important functions in the municipal administration and, as far as royal service was concerned, could reach the position of *corregedor*, albeit rarely¹¹¹.

107 Entail foundation deed (1477-03-03) – VINC000090 MVMIC EA/001a; TT-LN-12, fl. 111.

108 Entail foundation deed (1477-03-03) – VINC000090 MVMIC EA/001a; TT-LN-12, fls. 111-111v. António Pestana de Vasconcelos even notes that these lineages administered the assets of the military orders as if they were their own and family assets, passing them on hereditarily. Vasconcelos, 2008, p. 180. See also Beirante, 1995, p. 536 and Serra, 2018, chap. “O grupo dirigente: estratégias de promoção e de consolidação das posições sociais”.

109 See Vasconcelos, 2008, on this family and its social promotion strategies, particularly its connection to the Order of Santiago.

110 Serra, 2018, chap. “O grupo dirigente: estratégias de promoção e de consolidação das posições sociais”.

111 Beirante, 1995, p. 547.



Among the founders analysed, Estêvão Martins Gavião and Gil Gonçalves Magro belong to this social class. The former, who founded a chapel in São Francisco in 1348¹¹², belonged to the mercantile or landed bourgeoisie and owned large tracts of land, although his socio-professional status was not identified in the examined texts¹¹³. The Gavião family was also linked to the Fuseiro family by marriage and Estêvão Martins was the grandfather of Rodrigo Eanes Fuseiro, a king's vassal, who became a *juiz do cível* and *regedor* in the municipal government¹¹⁴. His son, Pedro Esteves Gavião, who annexed some properties to his father's chapel in 1362¹¹⁵, was also linked to municipal offices, having apparently held the position of *procurador* (attorney)¹¹⁶.

Regarding Gil Gonçalves Magro, documented in 1496, it is only known that he was a squire of the king¹¹⁷, illustrating his membership of the lower classes of the nobility. His son and successor, Rui Gil Magro, rose much more loftily than his father and showed a consolidated process of social ascension, having achieved the status of knight of the King's Household and the offices of *almoxarife* of Évora and, in the central administration, of *anadel-mor dos besteiros da câmara do rei*, *recebedor do tesouro régio* and *pagador das moradias*¹¹⁸. This promotion may have been due to the entailment institution of Gil Gonçalves, which gave status to his descendants and brought them closer to the great landed families of the nobility.

Despite the considerable weight of the nobility among the founders of entails in Évora, more common classes are also represented, among whom a mercantile and landowning bourgeoisie began to emerge. These families invested an ever-increasing amount of the proceeds of their trade and services into the acquisition and accumulation of real estate. It is not as

112 Declaration deed (1348-10-11) – VINC006284 EMG EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 76-76v.

113 Beirante, 2011, p. 41 and Serra, 2018, annex “Os homens que governaram a cidade (1367-1433). Notas biográficas”, biographical note “153. Rodrigo Eanes Fuseiro (I), vassalo do rei”.

114 Serra, 2018, annex “Os homens que governaram a cidade (1367-1433). Notas biográficas”, biographical note “153. Rodrigo Eanes Fuseiro (I), vassalo do rei”.

115 Declaration deed (1362-12-24) – VINC006284 EMG EA/001ab; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 76v-77v.

116 Serra, 2018, annex “Os homens que governaram a cidade (1367-1433). Notas biográficas”, biographical note “153. Rodrigo Eanes Fuseiro (I), vassalo do rei”.

117 Will (extract) (1496-11-10) – VINC006298 GGM EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 163.

118 Serra, 2018, annex “Os homens que governaram a cidade (1367-1433). Notas biográficas”, biographical note “106. Lourenço Eanes (Magro), criado do infante/escudeiro do rei”.



easy, however, to identify the people who belonged to this social group, unlike the nobility, as the sources very rarely give this indication. In this sense, we rely on the prior research carried out by Ângela Beirante to inform the presented conclusions. According to Beirante, who carried out a study on the chapels of Évora based on the previously mentioned *Tombo das capelas da cidade de Évora e das vilas de Montemor-o-Novo, Alcáçovas, Viana, Redondo, Cabeção, Mora e Lavre*, it is possible to include notable category founders such as Iria Pires¹¹⁹, Constança Salvado¹²⁰, the couple João Vogado and Mécia Lopes¹²¹, Afonso Eanes Maçarocas¹²² and Constança Afonso Borceira¹²³.

These men and women would have held prominent social positions amongst the people, existing in close proximity to the members of the lower nobility, mainly because of their ownership of land and indeed the wealth they had acquired¹²⁴. The social environment of these founders and their relative positions in a group with strong links to mercantile activity and/or some economic power can be seen in the foundations of the chapels of Iria Pires, and João Vogado and Mécia Lopes. While the first, in the fifteenth century, appointed a merchant married to his niece, João Domingues, as his successor (together with his wife)¹²⁵, the latter, forward to the 1530s, chose a freed slave as the first administrator of their chapel¹²⁶.

In concordance with the research carried out by Ângela Beirante, it is important to note that three other founders, Margarida Dinis, Filipa Rodrigues and Nuno Martins Biscainho and his wife Isabel Afonso, belonged to this quotidian class, occupying a lower position than the founders previously analysed. Indeed, the professions of the first administrators emphasise this conclusion: a barber¹²⁷, a shearer's widow¹²⁸ and a shoemaker¹²⁹.

119 VINC006273 IPBD EA.

120 VINC006703 CS EA.

121 VINC000727 JVML EA.

122 VINC006283 AEM EA.

123 VINC006287 CAB EA.

124 Beirante, 1995, pp. 568–569.

125 Will (extract) ([before 1467–09–01]) – VINC006273 IPBD EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD–276, fl. 39v.

126 Will chart (1532–09–30) – VINC000727 JVML EA/001; TT-AA-RA–3, fl. 232.

127 Donation deed (1520–03–06 – 1520–03–13) – VINC006282 MD EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD–276, fl. 68.

128 Tombo (1533–08–13) – VINC000370 FRMRID EA/004a; TT-FC-TD–276, fl. 138.

129 Will (extract) (1526–12–29) – VINC006281 NMBIA EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD–276, fl. 66v.



Curiously, the Filipa Rodrigues chapel, left vacant by the death of its first administrator, Isabel Dias, was given by King João III to the bachelor António Rodrigues Portugal, *rei de armas principal* (King of Arms) in 1540¹³⁰, and later, in 1573, to António Velho, his grandson and the king's *moço de câmara* (chamberlain)¹³¹. Whilst both were only given the administration for the duration of their lives, there is a clear indication that this chapel had a higher value than one might expect from a founder of the lower societal classes. It was, instead, considered an object of a favour from the monarch, who granted it for the benefit of their servants and royal court officials.

Finally, with regard to the sociological characterisation of the founders of the entails selected as a sample, Évora presents a novelty compared to Santarém: there are eight clergymen among them, and it is clear that, in some cases, they contributed to their families' strategies of social advancement and promotion by founding *morgados* and chapels. All were members of the secular clergy, working in both parish churches and dioceses. It is the latter, in fact, who draw the most attention: there is an archbishop and two bishops among the founders of entails in Évora.

The first, D. Martinho Pires de Oliveira, archbishop of Braga, instituted the *morgado* da Oliveira and a chapel in the Cathedral of Évora in 1306¹³². D. Martinho belonged to a family of Évora's mid-nobility, whose first representative was a *cavaleiro vilão* in the thirteenth century and may have started the process of social ascension of the lineage¹³³. Its members reached *fidalgua* (high nobility): the social status of Martinho de Oliveira and João Mendes de Oliveira – both administrators of the *morgado* in the second half of the fifteenth century – being identified as *fidalgos* of the King's Household, proves¹³⁴. João Mendes de Oliveira was even one of the six *fidalgos* who carried the pallium in processions and had the honour

130 Administration letter (1540-08-30 - 1540-09-01) – VINC000370 FRMRID EA/001a; TT-C-J3-D-50, fl. 193.

131 Administration letter (1573-01-14) – VINC000370 FRMRID EA/002a; TT-C-SH-P-9, fl. 356.

132 Will (1306-08-13) – VINC000004 MPO EA/004aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 22-24v.

133 Beirante, 1995, p. 535.

134 Privilege letter (1459-02-16) – VINC000004 MPO EA/002a; TT-LN-13, fl. 168v and Chancery record of a privilege letter (1497) – VINC000004 MPO EA/002; TT-LN-13, fl. 168v, respectively.



of leading the king's horse by the rein at solemn entrances¹³⁵, confirming and reinforcing the family's social power.

Another member of the Oliveira family managed to reach the highest positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and was also responsible for founding an entail in Évora. This individual was Bishop Rodrigo Pires de Oliveira of Lamego, who founded the *morgado* of Vale de Sobrados, apparently in the early decades of the fourteenth century¹³⁶. Rodrigo was the illegitimate son of Bishop Martinho Pires de Oliveira¹³⁷, and it was thanks to him and his familial connections that he owed his social career, utilising the recurrent and familiar practice of nepotism. In fact, the future bishop of Lamego held important ecclesiastical positions from a very young age, such as canon of the see of Évora from 1297, when he was less than 14 years old. This was followed a few years later by rising to the level of prior of the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria de Guimarães, which he held when he was appointed executor of the last will of his father, D. Martinho, written in 1306¹³⁸. Before ascending to the see of Lamego in 1311, Rodrigo presided over the chapter of the see of Évora, holding the position of dean in the city where his family both resided and weaved through the intricacies of local power dynamics¹³⁹.

The intercession of Archbishop Martinho Pires de Oliveira, a prominent figure in the Portuguese Church and of great influence at the highest ecclesiastical levels, was decisive in assigning these positions. In fact, this

135 Beirante, 1995, p. 535.

136 Court sentence (transcription) (1662-06-14) – VINC003894 RPO EA/001a; PEGAS-1687-2, pp. 68-69. This sentence and two other *acórdãos*, slightly later, are the only documents regarding this entail in the sample, without referring to its founding date. *Acórdão* (transcription) (1666-01-07) – VINC003894 RPO EA/001b; PEGAS-1687-2, pp. 70-71 and *Acórdão em Relação* (transcription) (1671-03-20) – VINC003894 RPO EA/001c; PEGAS-1687-2, pp. 104-105. According to Joaquim de Azevedo and Manuel Gonçalves da Costa, the *morgado* was established in 1312. This information was pointed out by Anísio Saraiva, who, however, found no documentary proof of this fact. Saraiva, 2003, p. 70, n. 140.

137 Saraiva, 2003, p. 66. The aforementioned sentence of 1662 also explicitly states that Rodrigo, Bishop of Lamego, was the son of Martinho, Archbishop of Braga, which is why the two *morgados* (Oliveira and Vale de Sobrados) were united in a single administration. Court sentence (transcription) (1662-06-14) – VINC003894 RPO EA/001a; PEGAS-1687-2, p. 68.

138 Will (1306-08-13) – VINC000004 MPO EA/004aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 24.

139 On the figure and career of Rodrigo Pires de Oliveira, see Saraiva, 2003, pp. 60-82, studied closely.



family was much more famous for its control of the capitular and episcopal clergy than for its prominence in the local civil service, vividly illustrated by Martinho de Oliveira, bishop of Évora and uncle of Archbishop Martinho¹⁴⁰. He took advantage of family dynamics and virtually monopolised the appointment of clerics and capitular dignitaries. Doing so, he would place the offspring of his lineage's noble marriages in prominent positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the most notable example being his own son¹⁴¹. Beyond catapulting him to the top of the clergy, Archbishop Martinho also appointed him executor of his will in 1306, entrusting the task of carrying out his last wishes, including the foundation of his *morgado* to him. The Archbishop of Braga's objectives are clear and quite explicitly illustrate the role of entails in the social ascension of families who held power in medieval and modern urban communities. Anísio Saraiva's statement makes this clear:

“Desta forma, D. Martinho Pires não só introduz, dissimuladamente, D. Rodrigo na rede familiar, como também faz depender dele a concretização do vínculo patrimonial que viabilizaria a continuidade da estratégia ascensional e a sustentação futura de uma linhagem, que teve no clero o seu mais importante sustentáculo de afirmação”¹⁴².

Martinho Pires de Oliveira's nepotistic endeavours naturally extended to other members of the family, especially his nephew João Afonso de Brito, bishop of Lisbon, who founded a *morgado* in Évora, Viana do Alentejo, Alvito and environs in 1336¹⁴³. The son of Ausenda Pires de Oliveira (the sister of Archbishop Martinho) and Afonso Eanes de Brito, João Afonso followed a similar path to his cousin, Rodrigo Pires de Oliveira, holding different clerical positions, such as canon and dean of Évora cathedral,

140 Saraiva, 2003, pp. 65–66 and Serra, 2018, chap. “O grupo dirigente: estratégias de promoção e de consolidação das posições sociais”.

141 Saraiva, 2003, p. 66.

142 Transl.: “In this way, D. Martinho Pires not only covertly introduces D. Rodrigo into the family network, but also makes the realisation of the patrimonial entail dependent on him, which would enable the continuity of the ascension strategy and the future support of a lineage, which had its most important support of affirmation in the clergy.” Saraiva, 2003, p. 70.

143 Entail foundation deed (1336-03-12) – VINC000012 JAB EA/001a; CP-A4-2, pp. 72–77.



becoming bishop of Lisbon in 1326¹⁴⁴. Once again, a high-ranking ecclesiastical dignitary is found among those who founded entails in the city of Évora... What's more, he came from the same family as the two previous founders, belonging to Évora's urban elite whilst playing a leading role in the city's local and ecclesiastical power. His paternal line, the Brito family, also wielded great power, basing their promotion and social ascension on the royal protection they enjoyed, especially after the end of King Dinis' reign¹⁴⁵. In fact, João Afonso himself was very close to King Afonso IV and frequented the royal court, allowing him to exercise a certain influence over the monarch, especially in ecclesiastical matters.

This quasi-dependence on royal aegis was recognised by the Bishop of Lisbon when he founded his *morgado*, stating that he and his lineage were "natural" and "made" by the kings of Portugal¹⁴⁶, declaring that his social prominence was a result of this proximity. As Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa and Mário Farelo point out, in the last years of his life, João Afonso de Brito's main concern was to manage his estate and ensure the survival of his family, an achievement partly thanks to him¹⁴⁷. In this respect, the *morgado* he founded in Évora was a key part of the bishop of Lisbon's strategy. In fact, Bishop João appointed Martinho Afonso, "seu criado" ([lit. created] in the sense that he was raised by him, not in servitude), in fact his illegitimate son, as successor and administrator of the entail¹⁴⁸. With the approval of the monarch, who confirmed the entail foundation deed a few months later, he thus secured a *morgado* and, with it, income and social prestige for his descendants¹⁴⁹. This is a clear example of an entail founded by a cleric, who saw a way of benefiting his direct or indirect family members in these institutions, even contributing to the social promotion of their lineages, as shown¹⁵⁰.

144 On the family origins and career of João Afonso de Brito, see Saraiva, 2003, p. 67; Sousa; Farelo, 2018, pp. 277-286; and Serra, 2018, chap. "O grupo dirigente: estratégias de promoção e de consolidação das posições sociais".

145 Sousa; Farelo, 2018, p. 277.

146 Entail foundation deed (1336-03-12) – VINC000012 JAB EA/001a; CP-A4-2, p. 73. This aspect is also emphasised in Sousa; Farelo, 2018, pp. 277-278.

147 Sousa; Farelo, 2018, p. 285.

148 Sousa; Farelo, 2018, p. 285.

149 Entail foundation deed (1336-03-12) – VINC000012 JAB EA/001a; CP-A4-2, p. 73 and Confirmation letter (1336-05-06) – VINC000012 JAB EA/001b; CP-A4-2, p. 77.

150 On this subject, see Irigoyen, 2004, pp. 124-125 and Díaz Rodríguez, 2014, pp. 87-88, cited above.



4.4. Entails as a means of social advancement and power consolidation for the Évora elite

These men and women founded chapels and *morgados* in order to perpetuate their memory and that of their families, contributing to the social ascension of the lineage or maintenance of status, whilst also affirming and consolidating the power they had achieved through their own means or those of their ascendants. The motives that were sometimes included in entail or chapel foundation deeds, wills or other documents clearly reflect these intentions, although they appear in only a small number of documents.

In the foundation deeds collected for Évora between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, questions of kinship linked to power are central. As Ângela Beirante points out, “ostentar grande número de parentes é sinónimo de proeminência social e atestado de poder”¹⁵¹. She emphasises that the chapels and anniversaries (soul suffrage), and also the *morgados*, provided continuity for the family, “projetando-a no passado (através de sufrágios por alma dos progenitores e sepultura junto deles) e perpetuando-a no futuro (através de um administrador do seu sangue)”¹⁵². This concept was also taken and expanded by Maria de Lurdes Rosa, who, as seen, outlined the profile of founders on the basis of the people whose souls they chose to suffrage, distinguishing founders more defined according to the past, organising the future, with others who organise the present and the future and, finally, founders who organise the past, the present and the future¹⁵³.

In the sample of entails founded in Évora, the foundation deeds of Bishop João Afonso de Brito in 1336, and of Fernando Gonçalves Cogominho with Maria Eanes in 1357 perfectly illustrate the importance of these institutions for the perpetuity and honour of families. First of all, they both warn of the damaging consequences of partitions, which is why noblemen “caerom e vivem em pobreza e desfalecem do estado e d’honrra

151 Transl.: “having a large number of relatives is synonymous with social prominence and attests to power”. Beirante, 1995, p. 584.

152 Transl.: “projecting into the past (through suffrage for the souls of their parents and burial beside them) and perpetuating in the future (through a trustee of their blood)”. Beirante, 1995, p. 584.

153 Rosa, 2012a, pp. 402–403.



en que foram postos aqueles onde eles descendem”¹⁵⁴ and their children could not “manteer a honrra dos padres e dos seus avoos e os linhageens ficavam em gram mingoa e cayam dos stados e honrras que antiigamente ouverom”¹⁵⁵. The solution was therefore to found a *morgado* that “nom solamente seRia en honrra e prol de nossa linhagem mays Aynda sse torna en sserviço grande dos Rex de Portugal”¹⁵⁶, as well, above all, to keep the “linhageens nos stados e honrras dos seus antecessores”¹⁵⁷, reinforcing the link between entails and social status.

To quote Ângela Beirante again, “através da sucessão varonil e da indivisibilidade dos patrimónios procura-se perpetuar o poder e a honra da linhagem”¹⁵⁸. The *morgado*’s successor, an administrator of the founder’s bloodline, who was responsible for protecting the lineage, now comparable to a clan, also contributed to this¹⁵⁹. João Afonso de Brito, in fact, entrusts this role to an “homem assinaado que possa manteer fazenda honrrada e que os outros da nossa linhagem aiam razom de sse colher”¹⁶⁰.

The same – or very similar – reasons can be found in the other entail foundation deeds that explain the reasons behind their institution. The founders uniformly lay claim to the perpetuation of memory, preserving the lineage and remembering ancestors, whilst including those yet to come. This allusion can be considered as a recognition of the origins and process that led, or would later lead, to the family’s social ascension. Some examples clearly demonstrate this awareness.

154 Transl.: “fall into poverty and fall away from the state and honour in which those from whom they descended were placed”. Entail foundation deed (1336-03-12) – VINC000012 JAB EA/001a; CP-A4-2, p. 73.

155 Transl.: “maintain the honour of the priests and their grandparents and the lineages were left in great pain and fell from the states and honours that they had unknowingly heard”. Entail foundation deed (1357-01-22) – VINC000025 FGCME EA/002aaa; CP-P1, p. 17.

156 Transl.: “would not only be in honour and for the benefit of our lineage but would also be of great service to the Kings of Portugal”. Entail foundation deed (1336-03-12) – VINC000012 JAB EA/001a; CP-A4-2, p. 73.

157 Transl.: “the lineages in the states and honours of their predecessors”. Entail foundation deed (1357-01-22) – VINC000025 FGCME EA/002aaa; CP-P1, p. 17.

158 Transl.: “through male succession and the indivisibility of estates, the aim is to perpetuate the power and honour of the lineage”. Beirante, 1995, p. 584.

159 Beirante, 1995, p. 585.

160 Transl.: “a signed man who can maintain an honourable estate and that the others of our lineage have a reason to reap”. Entail foundation deed (1336-03-12) – VINC000012 JAB EA/001a; CP-A4-2, p. 73.



In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Martinho Vaz Mascarenhas and his wife Isabel Correia, emphasised, as had previous founders, that the division of property always led to dispersion. Beyond this, they expressed the wish that their memories should be immortalised, adding that they were founding the *morgado* for the benefit of their souls and for those who had left them parts of what they possessed at that time¹⁶¹. This evocation of their ancestors, from whom they inherited their wealth, is part of the sense of continuity in this family, which, as seen, was closely linked to the Order of Santiago, passing on their positions almost hereditarily.

In turn, as early as the 1520s, Rui de Melo and Helena de Mesquita, when contracting the marriage of their daughter and son respectively, founded a *morgado* with the money from their dowries so that their generation and that of their children “seja sempre adiantada e vaa adiante e nam torne atras”¹⁶², foreseeing an upward social path for their successors. They also ensconced the presence and attention of an “avantajada” (superior) person, i.e., the administrator in whom their lineage would be preserved forever, guaranteeing its perpetuity.

The ancestors and heirs of the founders of chapels and *morgados* in the city of Évora and their souls, ever-needing suffrage, were always present by design. The aim was to ensure the continuity of these elite families, belonging to the social groups with greater economic and political power. In this respect, the compulsory use of the family name and/or coat of arms contributed greatly to the continuity of lineage¹⁶³, providing a constant reminder to the administrators that they belonged to a superior group, elevated in Évora’s society and able to achieve prominent positions in the social hierarchy. The use of coats of arms and family names was in fact more common among the families of middle and upper nobility, a group who were more acutely aware of the signs of social distinction¹⁶⁴. However, this project’s work affirms that it was also a strategy of families from lower strata.

161 Entail foundation deed (1477-03-03) – VINC000090 MVMIC EA/001a; TT-LN-12, fl. 111.

162 Transl.: “always go forward and don’t turn back”. Entail foundation deed (1527-05-17) – VINC001379 RMHM EA/001aa; TT-C-J3-D-17, fl. 123v.

163 Beirante, 1995, p. 585.

164 Rosa, 1995, p. 108.



Whilst they were perhaps wealthy and able to exercise certain economic and political power, they nonetheless adopted behaviours similar to those of the high nobility, trying to move closer to them societally. As Joaquim Bastos Serra states, the early adoption of family names or surnames in the city of Évora was the result of a growing aristocratisation of many local families¹⁶⁵.

Of the 84 *morgados* and chapels included in the sample, 20 founding documents contain the obligatory clause to use the family name and/or the coat of arms of the lineage, which, in some cases, presupposed the affirmation of the power of the founders and their successors. This obligation appears in documents from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, although most common in the sixteenth century, perhaps at a time when the families had already reached a higher and more stable social level.

Firstly, the presence of the surnames of some of the most prominent families in the city of Évora, belonging to the high and mid-nobility, is evident. This group includes the Lobos and the Botos. For each of these lineages, two founders were identified who imposed an obligation on their successors to use their family names, between 1422 and 1525¹⁶⁶. In general, the clauses are very simple and contribute to the continuity of both families in the social scene of Évora.

In the case of Aldonça Martins Lobo, this founder also added the possibility of one of the heirs in the line of succession having a different family name, perhaps due to her own status as a woman. Resolving this situation, the founder clarified that the successor would not lose the *morgado* for this reason but would be obliged to change their surname to Lobo¹⁶⁷.

165 Serra, 2018, chap. “O grupo dirigente: estratégias de promoção e de consolidação das posições sociais”.

166 Fernando Lopes Lobo: Will (extract) (1422-09-18) – VINC000056 FLL EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 102-102v; Gonçalo Boto: Chapel foundation deed (1477-09-22) – VINC001831 GB EA/003aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 168; Aldonça Martins Lobo: Entail foundation deed (extract) (1510-09-02) – VINC006292 AML EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 114v and Isabel Rodrigues Boto: Chapel foundation deed (1525-04-11) – VINC000121 IRB EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 135v.

167 Entail foundation deed (extract) (1510-09-02) – VINC006292 AML EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 114v.



Curiously, founders didn't always show this openness. Only ten years after Aldonça Martins Lobo, in 1520, Álvaro Cardoso, a cleric of holy Mass, demanded that the administrators be called Cardoso – and that they already had that name *before* the succession, prohibiting any subsequent changes, in order to be able to administer the chapel¹⁶⁸. This was a way of ensuring that the successor was of the founder's bloodline, since he was a cleric and therefore had no direct descendants.

Considering family names further, it should be noted that some founders considered the possibility of their administrators inheriting more than one *morgado* with the obligation to use a family name. To this end, the rules to be followed were defined, seeking the prevalence of their own surname over the other(s). Even Rui de Melo and Helena de Mesquita in 1527, and D. Violante Ribeiro, administrator of the *morgado* founded by her parents, António Gomes and Guiomar Ribeiro in 1645, imposed the condition of using Melo and Ribeiro, respectively, as their first surname¹⁶⁹. D. Violante Ribeiro also stipulated that, if the administrator had the same obligation in another *morgado*, relegating Ribeiro to second place, the entail would pass to the immediate successor, regardless of family name, as long as his first surname was Ribeiro.

Jerónimo Côrte-Real was even more detailed in describing this clause in his will of 1542, considering the possibility of the *morgado* being inherited by a woman married to a man who had another entail. He put forward all hypotheses, endeavouring to ensure that the successor to his *morgado* would be called only by his surname and would bear only the coat of arms of the Côrte-Real¹⁷⁰. These examples show the importance of the name as a distinguishing element of the family, guaranteeing identity and association with important social positions and power.

The coat of arms and other heraldic signs sent an even clearer message, making it possible to mark the most emblematic places for the family

168 Entail foundation deed (1520-08-30 - 1520-09-04) – VINC006277 AC EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 52.

169 Entail foundation deed (1527-05-17) – VINC001379 RMHM EA/001aa; TT-C-J3-D-17, fl. 123v and Dowry deed (1645-03-17) – VINC000931 AGGR EA/002; TT-AA-RA-16, fl. 58.

170 Will chart (1542-06-03) – VINC005652 JCR EA/001aa; ADEVR-GCE-RV-2, fls. 194-196.



with their symbolic identity. In themselves, they can be considered a way of displaying power and wealth. Although references to the obligation to use the family's coat of arms are not particularly numerous in the sample analysed, the few examples collected are in fact very rich in data. Among them, founders who chose to mark their chapels and graves can be earmarked – and also their residences.

Nuno Martins da Silveira ordered his administrators to use his coat of arms additionally, in the form it was carved on his chapel, on the arch through which one entered and next to his “moimento” (tomb)¹⁷¹. Constança de Castro, in turn, obliged her son, Cristóvão de Melo, to keep the flag, coat of arms and shield on the tomb of his father, Fernando de Melo¹⁷², using less common heraldic elements, at least in the descriptions that have been catalogued. Garcia de Resende, a nobleman from the King's Household, had his coat of arms made in marble in 1533, to be placed on the tower he ordered to be built¹⁷³. All found ways to manifest their power without having to resort to other, perhaps less obvious, means.

Jerónimo Côrte-Real proscribed that the owners of his *morgado* were to only use the Côrte-Real coat of arms. However, he is distinct amongst the other founders, demonstrating a clear awareness of his social position. This institutor indicated that he was not referring to the “generic” coat of arms of the lineage, but to that which had “aquella defferença que El Rey Nosso Senhor me deu”¹⁷⁴. Its specificity was maintained in the case of the inheritance of the entail by a woman and her son, the latter being obliged to exclusively use Côrte-Real's coat of arms, “estremes sem outra mistura”¹⁷⁵, thus angling toward reinforcing the superiority of his family. This would, moreover, be one of the main functions of the use of heraldic symbols by the descendants of the founders.

171 Chapel foundation deed (1431-08-10) – VINC000062 NMSLGA EA/001aaaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 153v. This is one of the examples in which the coat of arms placed in the grave are assumed to be the “correct coat of arms” or reference models for the rest. Rosa, 1995, pp. 110, n. 54, and 114-115.
172 Chapel foundation deed (1484-08-20) – VINC006288 CC EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 89-89v.
173 Will (extract) (1533-09-08) – VINC000729 GR EA/001b; TT-AA-RA-39, fls. 244-244v.

174 Transl.: “that difference the king gave me”. Will chart (1542-06-03) – VINC005652 JCR EA/001aa; ADEVR-GCE-RV-2, fl. 194.

175 Transl.: “genuine and without any other mixture”. Will chart (1542-06-03) – VINC005652 JCR EA/001aa; ADEVR-GCE-RV-2, fl. 194.



The connection to the family and, in particular, to ancestors also extended beyond death. The choice of burial place by the founders of entails, as with the elements analysed above, shows their indebtedness to their ancestors and desire to keep their memory alive as a socially distinct element. Diogo Gomes Barbosa, who founded a *morgado* in his final will, dated 1455, makes this very clear, stating that the tomb he ordered his heirs to build would be “per memoria de minha linhagem”¹⁷⁶. In addition to commemorating ancestors, the fact that they commissioned the construction of a private chapel – and the import they gave to the place where they wanted to be buried – shows that this is a subset of particularly wealthy and noble founders, or at least those who wanted to rise to nobility, imitating archetypal behaviour by demonstrating their economic power¹⁷⁷.

When founders expressed the wish to be buried with relatives, they most often chose to do so with their nuclear family (spouse and children) and/or with one or both parents¹⁷⁸. However, in some cases, they extended their family ties to the extent of being buried with their grandparents or siblings – usually together with their parents – or even uncle(s) and nephews¹⁷⁹.

The private chapels that some of these founders built for themselves and their descendants or had acquired through inheritance are even more significant, choosing to definitively mingle with their relatives after death. The chapel of Nuno Martins da Silveira and Leonor Gonçalves de Abreu sets an excellent example. This couple were very clear in their intentions to preserve the family’s memory and prestige, specifically that of their direct descendants, inaugurating a new stage in the lineage’s history and becoming its aggregating link¹⁸⁰. As such, Nuno and his wife had the

176 Transl.: “for the memory of my lineage”. Will (extract) (1455-07-07) – VINC006299 DGB EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 165.

177 Beirante, 2011, p. 55.

178 See, for example, Will chart (extract) (1533-04-07) – VINC006296 VP EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 144 and Will (extract) (1386-07-24) – VINC006269 VMV EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 26, respectively.

179 Examples of each situation are Dowry deed (1581-06-19) – VINC000821 CAS EA/002a; TT-AA-RA-29, fls. 43v-44; Will chart (1542-06-03) – VINC005652 JCR EA/001aa; ADEVR-GCE-RV-2, fl. 191v; Will (extract) (1482-08-26) – VINC006279 LC EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 57 and Will (1421-02-08) – VINC005654 GC EA/001a; ADEVR-GCE-RV-6, fl. 16.

180 Or “grande organizador” (transl.: “the great organizer”), in the words of Maria de Lurdes Rosa. Rosa, 2012a, p. 406.



chapel of Salvador built in the monastery of São Domingos of Évora in 1431, where, in addition to themselves, all their sons, daughters, grandchildren, great-grandchildren and all those who descended from them by direct line and wished to, would be buried, although not without condition. The descendants had to be interred in the ground, without any stone or wooden “moimento” (tomb) being erected like those of the founders¹⁸¹. The chapel foundation deed also states that the chapel’s entrance arch was crowned with the coat of arms of Nuno Martins da Silveira, and further, its administrators were obliged to decorate it with ornaments and any paintings or works that might be necessary, and finally that it had an iron railing and door¹⁸².

As Maria de Lurdes Rosa points out, in addition to the importance attached to the lineage, identified by the presence of its symbols, which delimited the space, this chapel stands out for being an “espaço hierarquizado, destinado em primeiro lugar a perpetuar a glória dos instituidores, e depois a pertença dos sucessores à linhagem, mas em posição de submissão”¹⁸³, as well as “um espaço de manifestação social do poder, corporizada pelo aspeto decorativo, artístico, do ritual”¹⁸⁴.

The son of the founders maintained the solemnity of the founding document, strictly complying with the clauses imposed by his parents. In fact, Diogo da Silveira, in his will of 1463, in which he annexed properties to the entail in order to increase the pious charges, expressed his wish to be buried in the chapel of Salvador. There, he would be buried at the feet of his father and mother and asked that a stone with his coat of arms be placed over him¹⁸⁵.

181 Chapel foundation deed (1431-08-10) – VINCO00062 NMSLGA EA/001aaaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 150v.

182 Chapel foundation deed (1431-08-10) – VINCO00062 NMSLGA EA/001aaaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 153v and 154v-155v.

183 Transl.: “a hierarchical space, designed firstly to perpetuate the glory of the founders, and then to ensure that the successors belong to the lineage, but in a position of submission”.

184 Transl.: “a space for the social manifestation of power, embodied by the decorative, artistic aspect of the ritual”. Rosa, 1995, p. 143.

185 Will chart (1463-10-29) – VINCO00062 NMSLGA EA/001abaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 158.



In 1507, Rui Fernandes Zuzarte and his wife Violante de Carvalhais also chose to build a private chapel in the monastery of São Domingos of Évora, separating it from the more public spaces of the monastic church¹⁸⁶. Coming from the mid-nobility and linked to the circles of the royal court, as seen, the couple embraced an opportunity to express their power and social status. It seems, however, that they did so with a certain humility and awareness of their intermediate position in the society of Évora. In fact, they chose a discreet, secluded space for their chapel – namely the building where the monastery’s main bell was located, between the sacristy and the cloister¹⁸⁷. This, however, does not mean that they eschewed the ostentation in their chapel to which a nobleman of the King’s Household would aspire. They were careful to indicate that it would be made vaulted, with a service arch and connection to the body of the monastery, secured with iron bars and with an altar and tomb inside. It therefore reflected the prestige and wealth of the commissioners, as would be expected of a chapel founded as an entail¹⁸⁸.

Naturally, these chapels were all located in parish or monastic churches across the city, in addition to the cathedral. According to Ângela Beirante, this reveals the social status of the founders and, consequently, their awareness of their power. She states, “as capelas menos aristocráticas quanto à situação social dos instituidores são as do mosteiro de S. Francisco e que as mais aristocráticas se encontram nas igrejas paroquiais”¹⁸⁹. These observations have also been put forward, in part, by other historians such as Maria de Lurdes Rosa, who concludes that the mendicant monasteries were the sites the urban elites most often founded their chapels within¹⁹⁰ – analysing the selection of documents and entails from Évora adds great weight to a proof of this.

186 Will chart (1507–09–15) – VINC006300 RFZVC EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 172.

187 Will chart (1507–09–15) – VINC006300 RFZVC EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 172.

188 Rosa, 2012a, p. 606.

189 Transl.: “the least aristocratic chapels in terms of the social situation of the founders are those of the monastery of São Francisco, the most aristocratic are found in parish churches”. Beirante, 2011, p. 41.

190 Rosa, 2012a, pp. 372–377. Maria dos Anjos Catatão draws similar conclusions regarding the founders of chapels in the monastery of São Domingos of Évora between 1440 and 1520, although she closely follows Ângela Beirante. Catatão (2010), pp. 64–68.



The majority of chapels founded between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries were located in mendicant monasteries, primarily São Francisco, followed by São Domingos. In São Francisco, 28 chapels were instituted, while in São Domingos, 12 were founded, to which must be added the chapel of Constança Eanes, whose liturgical ceremonies were spread across both convents¹⁹¹ Furthermore, Lopo Dias de Espinho, must be mentioned, as his Masses were sung one year in the church of São Pedro and the next in the monastery of São Francisco¹⁹². Less frequently, the founders chose other monastic houses to fulfil their pious charges, such as the monastery of São João Evangelista, from the congregation of the secular canons of São João Evangelista or Lóios (together with the monasteries of São Francisco and São Domingos), the monastery of Salvador de Évora of the Third Order, or the church of Nossa Senhora do Carmo from the eponymous order¹⁹³. Exceptionally, Jerónimo Côrte-Real had a daily Mass celebrated at the monastery of São Francisco of Lisbon, where he would be buried in his father's chapel¹⁹⁴. This choice can be explained by the geographical dispersion of the entailed patrimony across the islands of Terceira and São Jorge, and the outskirts of Évora where the estate of Palma, the head of the *morgado*, was located, and moreover, by the founder's family connections to the city of Lisbon.

The see of Évora and the parish churches are, in turn, considerably less prominent in the documentation analysed. Taken together, they total fewer chapels than the monastery of São Francisco individually. Among these temples, the churches of São Mamede and Santiago stand out, both home to five chapels, and the see of Évora, where four chapels were instituted out of the eighty-four entails analysed. The rest have an even less significant presence: São Pedro, with three chapels, including that of Lopo Dias de Espinho, and finally São João, São Vicente and Santo António, with one chapel each.

191 Codicil (1414-02-04) – VINC006286 CE EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 80v. It is important to remember that the figures presented here refer only to the 84 entails selected as a case study.

192 Lopo Dias de Espinho was a member of the church of São Pedro and had his body buried in the monastery of São Francisco. For this reason, he may have opted for alternate celebrations in both temples. Will chart (extract) ([c. 1460-07-13]) – VINC006275 LDE EA/001ba; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 91.

193 On these monasteries, see Sousa *et al.*, 2016, pp. 246-247, 361 and 416-417.

194 Will chart (1542-06-03) – VINC005652 JCR EA/001aa; ADEVR-GCE-RV-2, fl. 193.



In terms of social status, it can be seen that the founders belonging to the urban elite families who had risen up the social ladder – or were in the process of doing so – chose the monasteries of São Francisco and São Domingos to house their chapels and, frequently, to be buried. Examples include the four founders of the Lobo lineage: Gonçalo Eanes Lobo (with his wife, Mécia Afonso)¹⁹⁵, Fernando Lopes Lobo¹⁹⁶, Aldonça Martins Lobo¹⁹⁷, whose chapels were based at São Francisco of Évora, and Maria de Meira Lobo¹⁹⁸, who founded a chapel in São Domingos in the seventeenth century.

Similarly, the three members of the Boto family identified among the group of founders also chose these two monastic institutions to found chapels or celebrate the pious charges for their souls: while Gonçalo Boto and Catarina Boto opted for the convent of São Domingos, Isabel Rodrigues Boto chose to be buried, and ordered the celebration of Masses, in São Francisco¹⁹⁹. In June 1470, Gonçalo Boto also signed a contract with the Dominicans to sing Masses and other ceremonies of suffrage in the chapel of Espírito Santo, where some of the deceased, possibly members of the founder's family, were buried – and charges were made for their souls. Through this document, the squire contracted the ceremonies to suffrage his own soul and meanwhile increased the payment made to the friars. They were obliged not only to fulfil the charges, but also to repair the chapel when necessary²⁰⁰.

The Lobos and Botos are merely examples of the various founders and noble families of popular origin who showed particular devotion to the mendicant convents. The Fuseiro, Silveira or Arnalho families could be added to this list, represented by Lopo Rodrigues Fuseiro, Nuno Martins da Silveira and Vasco Arnalho²⁰¹. Others of more humble but wealthy or-

195 Chapel foundation deed ([13--]) – VINC000117 GELMA EA/001aaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 70.

196 Will (extract) (1422–09–18) – VINC000056 FLL EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 101.

197 Tombo ([1533]) – VINC006292 AML EA/001a; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 290v.

198 Will chart (1625–04–04) – VINC000973 MML EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-9, fl. 4v.

199 Chapel foundation deed (1477–09–22) – VINC001831 GB EA/003aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 167v;

Will chart (extract) ([1482]) – VINC003860 CB EA/002aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 161 and Chapel foundation deed (1525–04–11) – VINC000121 IRB EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 135–135v.

200 Contract and bond deed (1470–06–13) – VINC001831 GB EA/003aaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 167.

201 Will (extract) (1395–05–29) – VINC000064 LRF EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 86; Chapel foundation deed (1431–08–10) – VINC000062 NMSLGA EA/001aaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 150 and Will ([15--]) – VINC002393 VA EA/004aa; TT-FC-CC-2, fl. 285v.



igins who did not achieve nobility, such as Constança Afonso Borceira and João Vogado and Mécia Lopes, his wife²⁰², also chose this path, among others.

An analysis of the relationship between the social status of the founders and the location of their respective chapels in the see or parish churches does not, in fact, lead to wholly clear conclusions, nor does it allow to state with certainty that these temples were mostly chosen by the highest classes of society. In reality, among the founders of these chapels, members of families belonging to the various groups of nobility and the protagonists of processes of social ascent can be found together, similar to that which has been seen in the case of the mendicant monasteries. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this analysis is the apparent preference of the regular clergy to found their chapels in these temples, where they would eventually exercise priesthood. This is the case of Lourenço Vicente, who founded a chapel in the church of São Mamede, where, according to a sentence from 1380, he was a prior²⁰³. The example of Archbishop Martinho Pires de Oliveira, who ordered the celebration of masses in Évora Cathedral is also valuable to highlight²⁰⁴. This was a founder who, at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, chose the most important secular temple in the city, the place where he was canon and chanter, for the celebration of the pious charges for his soul, associated with a *morgado* centred in Oliveira, located in the outskirts of Évora.

The analysis of the different aspects related to the foundation of *morgados* and chapels in Évora – especially the sociological characterisation of the founders, the close ties they maintained with their lineage after death and the topography of their chapels – calls attention to the fact that this city is a privileged setting for studying the relationship between entails and power. In fact, Évora's society was largely made up of elite families

202 Will (extract) (1453-12-28) – VINC006287 CAB EA/001aaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 84 and Will chart (1532-09-30) – VINC000727 JVML EA/001; TT-AA-RA-3, fl. 180.

203 Will chart (1339-01-11) – VINC006271 LV EA/001aaaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 34v and Court sentence ([1380]) – VINC006271 LV EA/001aaaab; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 35. In the exemplification of his will, Lourenço Vicente is, however, referred to as prior of the church of São Pedro in the city of Évora.

Exemplification of a will chart (1380-03-29) – VINC006271 LV EA/001aaaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 34. 204 Will (1306-08-13) – VINC000004 MPO EA/004aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fl. 22v.



who were undergoing or had undergone a process of social ascension, joining the ranks of the high, middle and lower nobility. This mobility was largely based on military activity, service to the king, mercantile activity and, above all, holding municipal positions and offices. The result was a highly organised urban oligarchy, conscious of its power and able to maintain it throughout the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. As this work has shown, at this temporal juncture, many of the society's elite members founded *morgados* and chapels, entailing the heritage they had accumulated and helping to preserve, and enhance, the memory and honour of their lineage. The clear positioning of ascendants and descendants, and the awareness of their place in society and the family's genealogy is a clear indicator of the social power of the founders of entails in Évora. This power was often manifest in the chapels they had built in the city's most important ecclesiastical institutions.



The elites of Porto: from the mercantile bourgeoisie to the emergence of nobility

CHAPTER 5

5





The elites of Porto: from the mercantile bourgeoisie to the emergence of nobility

5.1. Why Porto? The city in Medieval and Early Modern times

Porto, generally considered as Portugal's second city, had a number of very specific political, social and economic characteristics in the medieval and early modern periods. These make it an excellent case study of the entailment practices of the urban elites and the role of the *morgados* and chapels in their strategies for social ascension and affirmation.

Firstly, for most of the Middle Ages – 1120 to 1406 – Porto was an episcopal dominion, a fact which impacted the capacity for royal intervention in the city. The *foral* (municipal charter) was granted to its residents in 1123 by Bishop Hugo, its lord, emphasising what would become one of the city's main characteristics: commercial development. From then on, thanks to the privileges granted by the bishop, the conquest of Lisbon from the Muslims a few years later in 1147, and the consequent stabilisation of the regions of Estremadura and Beiras, the city grew considerably towards the river, Porto's main communication route. In 1339, it was already “uma cidade importante, maior em arrabalde do que em aldeia, decididamente comercial e marítima, capital de vastíssima região económica”¹. Naturally, as will be seen, this near-exclusive specialisation

¹ Sousa, 1995, p. 134.



in trade informed the social organisation of Porto, with merchants of different backgrounds settling in the city. In 1406, the city ceased to be an episcopal *couto* (dominion) coming under royal jurisdiction from then on, leading to changes at a jurisdictional and administrative level, whilst not affecting its economic and social organisation².

In the first decades of the sixteenth century, according to the *Numera-mento* (census) of 1527–1532, Porto, with just over 3,000 dwellings (circa 13,828 inhabitants), ranked second among Portuguese cities, displacing Évora and Santarém, which had jostled for second place during the Middle Ages³. The urban population continued to grow, reaching 16,000 inhabitants in 1623, making Porto a small-to-medium sized city when compared to contemporary Lisbon and other large cities of the time⁴. Throughout these centuries, the city maintained its economic and commercial dynamism, thanks to its port and the intensive maritime activity that developed there, allowing it to maintain contact with other European ports, but also the territories of the Portuguese empire, contributing (although less extensively than Lisbon) to maritime expansion⁵. The departure of men from the city to the territories became frequent, including the sons of elite families, and even the poorest, making up military contingents, especially required in India⁶.

Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, whose synthesis of Porto in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has contributed significantly to this work, also draws attention to another emphatically important characteristic aspect of this city, distinguishing it from the other cities under study. Unlike Évora, Santarém and, above all Lisbon, Porto was not a city of the royal court, not receiving any kings during the Early Modern Period, other than a short visit by King Manuel I, in somewhat uncertain circumstances⁷.

2 The characterisation of the city of Porto throughout the medieval centuries was based essentially on Sousa, 1995, pp. 119–253.

3 Dias, 1998, pp. 16–19.

4 Silva, 1995, pp. 265–266; Sá, 2018, p. 37.

5 Sá, 2018, pp. 37–38. Francisco Ribeiro da Silva proved that trade was the primary economic activity of the city of Porto, confirming that the axiom that has been imposed over time did indeed make sense: “Porto, cidade de mercadores” (transl.: “Porto, city of merchants”). Silva, 1995, pp. 274–301.

6 Sá, 2018, pp. 38–39.

7 Sá, 2018, p. 39.



As seen with Évora and Santarém, both cities hosted the royal court for relatively long periods of time and/or benefited from their proximity to the kingdom's capital. Naturally, this situation was reflected in the social organisation of both cities, with the regular presence of high-ranking royal officials among their inhabitants or nobles linked to the royal court, who settled there and, in this context, also chose to found *morgados* and chapels. In Porto, the consequences of being a city without the presence of the royal court and geographically distant were the opposite. Although there were exceptions among its inhabitants, “as elites portuenses permaneceram relativamente longe do oficialato régio de corte e das hipóteses de ascensão social que este proporcionava”⁸.

These conclusions lead to one of the main reasons for selecting Porto as a case study city in terms of the entailment component of power: its social composition and organisation. Firstly, the presence of nobles (*fidalgos*) in the city is not something that may be taken for granted – unlike in the rest of the cities in the realm. In Porto, at least throughout the Middle Ages, *fidalgos* (noblemen) were forbidden from owning a house or to stay in the city for more than three days. This prerogative was systematically enforced until the reign of King Manuel I, protecting the interests of the city's bourgeois inhabitants, who wished to keep the nobility away from their centre of action to protect both their property and women⁹. However, from the sixteenth century onwards, the restrictions were removed from the *fidalgos*, and hence became increasingly numerous in the city. It is possible to distinguish between certain titled nobles, *nobres de toga* (nobles of the robe) – particularly after the installation of peripheral royal administration institutions or royal courts in the city – and local or ‘indigenous’ nobles from the mercantile bourgeoisie who, thanks to trade, had managed to rise socially¹⁰.

8 Transl.: “Porto’s elites remained relatively far from the royal officialdom and the chances of social advancement it offered”. Sá, 2018, p. 39.

9 Silva, 1988, vol. 1, pp. 281–282; Sousa, 1995, pp. 205–207.

10 António Ribeiro da Silva’s studies on the nobility in the Early Modern Period are a must read. Silva, 1988, vol. 1, pp. 282–290; Silva, 1995, pp. 317–322; Silva, 2001, pp. 7–11.



Forming another stratum amongst the upper echelons of Porto society, almost a type of local nobility, as Isabel dos Guimarães Sá¹¹ said, were the *cidadãos* (citizens). Although not necessarily actual *fidalgos* this group of residents enjoyed a series of privileges and freedoms that set them apart from the rest of society and, therefore, earned them the respect of the urban community. Their social importance was such that even *cidadãos* who were not noblemen had a status close to that of the nobility, even so that they may be considered as such. A resident of Porto could obtain the privilege of *cidadão* (citizen) through birth, marriage, merit, the exercise of certain functions or positions in the local government, such as *tesoureiro municipal* (municipal treasurer) and *almotacé*, and intellectual training¹².

These privileged groups were joined by others who made a decisive contribution to the city's development. Amongst these, the merchants played an important role in medieval and early modern Porto, due to the characteristics already detailed. Here, the reference is mainly to the wholesale merchants; those who traded in wine, silk and cloth and other equally lucrative products, especially those that were began to arrive from overseas territories. Their enrichment and investment of capital in the acquisition of real estate, as well as the adoption of an increasingly opulent lifestyle, brought these men and their families closer to the nobility, a societal position to which they aspired – and often succeeded in reaching, assimilating and imitating the class values and behaviour. There was a tendency to retire from trading and became owners of large estates, which they entailed to a *morgado* or chapel, usually near to the end of their lives¹³. Trade mainly came to be in the hands of New Christians, despite persecution from the *Santo Ofício* (the Portuguese Inquisition), and foreign merchants. Whilst this somewhat altered one of the main characteristics of the city of Porto, it highlighted another trend that was becoming more and more important: the emulation of the behaviour of the nobility by the

11 Sá, 2018, p. 39.

12 On the citizens of Porto, see also the studies of António Ribeiro da Silva. Silva, 1988, vol. 1, pp. 290–306; Silva, 1995, pp. 322–328; Silva, 2001, pp. 11–22.

13 Brito, 1997, pp. 417–419; Brito, 2010.



elite, and the growing importance that the institution of entails acquired for these families, contributing to their affirmation and social ascension¹⁴.

These were the main groups that made up the elites of the city of Porto in the medieval and early modern periods. They held principal positions in the local administration, forming the city's municipal oligarchy, and furthermore the main royal offices in the city. They were responsible for managing Porto's most prestigious institutions, generally associated with acts of charity, such as the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* (Holy House of Mercy), where the provision of services was an important stepping stone in the social ascent of these individuals. They were also the most educated men in the city and those who, at the beginning of their careers, were involved in large-scale national and international trade. Inevitably, those who were not *fidalgos* began to adopt behaviours traditionally associated with the nobility, seeking to achieve this social status by holding public office, displaying their wealth, acquiring property and even founding *morgados* and chapels. In this way, they adopted the model of social reproduction characteristic of the nobility, preventing the dispersion of property among several heirs, and in the manifestation of their political and social power. This was, moreover, one of their main objectives, to position themselves at the top of the social hierarchy of Porto.

5.2. The sample of entails: characterisation

Given the characteristics described above, and in order to answer the questions raised by the study of the entailment component of power in Porto, a sample of 60 *morgados* and chapels from among the 95 entails founded in the city between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries and described in the VINCULUM project database was selected. As in the cities of Santarém and Évora, this selection was initially based on the socio-professional status of the founders and administrators. Priority was given to those who were in some way linked to local and central power, who carried out activities related to commerce or the liberal professions,

¹⁴ On the merchants of Porto, especially in the Early Modern Period, see Silva, 1995, pp. 280–282; Sá, 2018, p. 38.



or even those who already belonged to the nobility but had risen through the ranks. In addition, family origins were considered, mainly through surnames, selecting those who came from families with power and social relevance in the city, i.e., those who belonged to the urban elite¹⁵. The impossibility of identifying the socio-professional status of all the founders – and the difficulty of recognising the level of social importance of some families – led to an application of other selection criteria relating to the archival description available in the project database. Thus, as stated for the other cities, particular attention was paid to the entails with a greater number of catalogued documents, including entail and chapel foundation deeds, wills, dowry deeds, donation deeds, composition deeds and contract and bond deeds, among others. These documents, especially those of foundation, are linked to various *subject access points* that give clues as to the processes of social mobility and the awareness of the founders and administrators had of the power they held (“Inventory”, “Family Name”, “Coat of Arms”, “Crown”, “Church”, “Municipality”, “Accumulation”).

As a whole, the 60 selected entails bring together a total of almost three hundred documents¹⁶, distributed over more than 80 different types. Of particular interest in this collection of documents are the wills, to which are added some codicils, and then, to a lesser extent, the entail and chapel foundation deeds. The diplomas through which kings granted the administration of chapels, such as administration letters and warrants, are proportionately significant in the sample. Less frequently, *acórdãos* and sentences have been collected, both handed down by the king and crown courts; letters of possession and leases, which are of added importance for understanding the patrimony that was entailed and how it was managed; and donation deeds and dowry deeds, through which *morgados* were sometimes founded. Many of these documents are recorded in

15 Pedro de Brito’s work on the urban patriciate of Porto and Alice Gago’s thesis on the archival practices of elite families, including some from Porto, were essential in this selection. Both works allowed an easier identification of the surnames of families from Porto’s elite who may have founded *morgados* and chapels in the city. Brito, 1997; Gago, 2019.

16 It should be remembered that this figure corresponds to the total number of items described in the database, including “mother documents” (main documents) and inserted documents. This figure does not include items that are repeated in the entails of the city of Porto, for different reasons, such as the fact that they refer to more than one *morgado* or chapel or were recorded from different documentary copies.



Provedoria records, and in the *tombos* of the chapels themselves, preserved in the monastic fonds of Porto.

Among the identified types of documents, however, the composition deeds stand out, even though they are relatively scarce. These documents correspond to contracts drawn up between a monastery and the founder(s) or administrator of a chapel, usually with a view to its foundation and construction within the monastery. In addition to the descriptions of the new institution of varying detail in terms of its location, architecture and ornamentation, these documents allow a view of a more intimate relationship between the founder and their chapel and the way they planned it during their lifetime, as opposed to the wills that were only written when they were he was close to death¹⁷. The greater number of composition deeds collected for Porto in comparison to Santarém and Évora is largely the result of consulting the monastic fonds kept in the Arquivo Distrital do Porto. These fonds belong, among others, to the monasteries of São Francisco and São Bento da Vitória, from which four and five documents of this type were recorded in the project database respectively¹⁸.

This is one of the aspects that distinguishes the research undertaken for Porto (and the consequent documentary sample of this study) from that carried out for Santarém and Évora. For these two other cities, no monastic fonds were consulted – in accordance with the substantiated heuristic options. Reading and cataloguing the documents from Porto preserved in those fonds opened up perspectives for analysing the relationships established between the urban elites and the monasteries of the city, especially the mendicant monasteries, where these individuals often founded their chapels and had their bodies buried¹⁹.

With regard to dating the documents, there is a considerable concentration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which almost 77% of the total diplomas were written, with the sixteenth century accounting

¹⁷ This issue was addressed by Maria de Lurdes Rosa in Rosa, 2012a, pp. 379–391.

¹⁸ In addition to these composition deeds, another was described from the fonds of “*Provedoria da Comarca do Porto*”, which is also copied in the books of the monastery of São Francisco. Composition deed (1478–11–03) – VINC000671 LFCE EA/002; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1–33, fls. 59–71v.

¹⁹ Rosa, 2012a, pp. 374–375.



for just over 45% of that proportion. In the sample collected for Porto, medieval documentation forms a smaller proportion, corresponding to less than a quarter of the total. Firstly, one must bear in mind that this is a documentary sample which makes the task of looking for patterns or explaining the reasons for this chronological distribution difficult, dependent on various factors. Secondly, regardless of this complication, the analysis of the documents can practically relate the higher sixteenth and seventeenth century concentration to the consolidation of the institution of entailment, the increase in documentary production and the growing royal intervention in this area, similar to that which was seen in the cities of Santarém and Évora.

Through the documentary sample selected for this study, it is possible to understand how the families of the Porto elite utilised *morgados* and chapels in the course of their social ascension, and affirmation, in the urban context in which they were integrated. Beyond contributing to their social mobility, allowing them to entail the wealth accumulated over time and then pass it on to the heir chosen for this purpose indivisibly, emulating the behaviour of the nobility, the entails reflected their power and their place in a distinctly bourgeois and mercantile society. The sociological characterisation of the founders and their families also highlights these characteristics that are so singular to the city under study.

5.3. The founders of entails: sociological characterisation

By analysing the socio-professional status of the founders and administrators of the selected entails, it was possible to identify the social group or category to which the founders of more than half of the total number of *morgados* or chapels belong. In fact, the socio-professional status of the founder (or at least one of the founders) of 37 entails is now known from a total of 60. In addition to these founders, there are others whose status has been established through their spouses or parents, as well as their surnames, allowing a relation to the relevant families in the city of Porto. This situation is particularly common among female founders, whose status is rarely independent of that of their husbands or fathers.



Furthermore, in the case of the chapel of São João Evangelista, located in the Cathedral of Porto, it is literally impossible to know the social category of its founder, since his name does not appear in the documents analysed and is *still* unknown²⁰. However, this chapel was included in the sample because the known administration letters and warrants show that its administration was systematically granted to members of the Ferreira family, naturally highlighting their special interest in this chapel²¹.

With regard to the sociological characterisation of the founders, the sample analysed includes entails founded by individuals from different social groups belonging to the urban elite of Porto. In fact, the prior selection of the entails to be studied on the basis of the socio-professional status of their founders presupposes this characterisation from the outset²². However, the diversity of social, economic and professional conditions within the elites, as well as some sociological peculiarities of the city of Porto, offer a different picture, partly reflecting the social mobility that these men and women have experienced.

Primarily, among the founders of *morgados* and chapels in Porto, members of the nobility are to be found, accounting for around 25% of all founders analysed and just under half of those whose socio-professional status is known. The presence of this social group illuminates its growing importance in the city during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This group, in fact, reached a level that had never been attained before, partly as a result of the social mobility of people from the lower classes of urban society, but furthermore as a result of the gradual abandonment of a tradition that dated back to the episcopal dominion. In fact, until the

²⁰ This chapel and its documentation are described respectively in VINC003801 and VINC003801 CSJE EA.

²¹ Grace warrant of administration (1688-06-05) – VINC003801 CSJE EA/001a; TT-C-P2-D-18, fls. 248v-249; Administration letter (1699-03-11) – VINC003801 CSJE EA/002a; TT-C-P2-D-25, fls. 242-243; Administration letter (1668-06-01) – VINC003801 CSJE EA/003a; TT-C-A6-D-26, fls. 349-349v; Grace warrant of administration (1668-05-18) – VINC003801 CSJE EA/003aa; TT-C-A6-D-26, fls. 349v-350; Grace warrant of administration (1624-09-05) – VINC003801 CSJE EA/003aaa; TT-C-A6-D-26, fls. 349v-350.

²² A brief analysis of the social status of the founders of the 35 entails that were left out of the sample, based on the information in the respective Authority records in the VINCULUM project database, shows that the elites apparently had a great deal of weight in the group of founders. In fact, the status of only a small number of founders among those 35 entails, most of whom are clerics, is known.



last centuries of the Middle Ages, *fidalgos* were forbidden to stay in the city for more than three days and did not own houses within the walls. However, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries onwards, there were more and more cases of *fidalgos* living in the city and environs²³.

Within this environment, there was a proliferation of the foundation of *morgados* and chapels by the *fidalgos* and knights of the King's Household and other noblemen of variable status, some living in Porto, as shown in the documents. This is the case for João Martins Ferreira, who, in the document founding a chapel in the monastery of São Domingos in 1492, appears as *moço fidalgo* (lit. servant, in reality a member of the lower nobility) of the Household of Prince Fernando, father of the future King Manuel I, resident in the city of Porto²⁴, and Francisco Pereira de Miranda, who founded a *morgado* in 1565, identified as a *fidalgo* of the King's Household and resident in Rua das Flores²⁵, one of the main streets where the city's bourgeois and noble elite settled²⁶. In fact, residency in the city of Porto was one of the requirements that João Martins Ferreira imposed on his entail's successors, also noblemen, in order to guarantee an efficient administration²⁷.

These two examples confirm the presence of different groups of nobles in Porto, from the *moços fildagos* (and others of lesser rank) to the *fidalgos* of the King's Household – those who were at the very top of the aristocratic hierarchy²⁸. Almost without exception, their noble status was displayed when they founded their chapels or *morgados*, revealing, in many cases, a process of social mobility propelled by themselves or their ancestors. In this respect, João Martins Ferreira is a prime example. In addition to the known documentation, the recovery of a considerable part of his

23 On the ban on the residence of *fidalgos* in the city of Porto, imposed in the Middle Ages, during the period of episcopal dominion, see Brito, 1997, pp. 414–415 and Silva, 2001, pp. 5–6.

24 Foundation deed (1492–09–10) – VINCO01981 JMF EA/002a; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/2–43, fl. 13v.

25 Entail foundation deed (1565–09–04) – VINCO03528 FPMGP EA/003; ADVRL-FCP-06–01, fl. 1.

26 Silva, 1995, p. 266.

27 Foundation deed (1492–09–10) – VINCO01981 JMF EA/002a; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/2–43, fl. 15v.

28 On the different nobiliary categories and social mobility within this group, see Pereira, 1998, pp. 289–324.



archive in the 1990s²⁹ made it possible to trace his path more effectively and understand how his ascent up the social ladder took place.

João Martins Ferreira was a merchant and the son of a boilermaker – also a merchant from the city of Porto, Martim Lourenço or Martim Ferreira. In addition to his commercial activities, this founder held various positions in the municipal administration, partly as a result of his status as a *cidadão* of Porto. Between 1486 and 1512, he was *procurador do concelho* (municipal attorney), *almotacé*, *vereador* (councillor), judge and even *chanceler* (chancellor), and his influence in the city's management extended far beyond these offices. He was linked to prestigious families in the city with large estates by marriage, contributing to his social affirmation and promotion.

However, this merchant's rise to *fidalgua* (nobility) is the subject of certain doubts, as there is a hypothesis that it was a forged title, even though some of the documents consulted explicitly mention his status³⁰. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that he amassed a vast fortune thanks to trade, which was the basis of his *morgado*³¹, and that his son, Pantaleão Ferreira, did achieve nobility. When his *morgado* and chapel were founded in 1566, he was already a *fidalgo* of the King's Household and a knight of the Order of Christ³², reaching the corollary of a social path traced at the royal court and in the service of the central administration³³. Although shrouded in some uncertainty, the journey of João Martins Ferreira and his descendants exemplifies the strategies developed by urban elites from the mercantile bourgeoisie to climb the social ladder and achieve nobility, utilising the foundation of important and wealthy *morgados*.

29 In 1995, the Arquivo Municipal do Porto acquired a set of 94 parchments relating to João Martins Ferreira, which make up the fonds of the same name held by the institution. The fonds, as well as the documents produced by this merchant, are described on the website of Arquivo Municipal do Porto, at <https://gisaweb.cm-porto.pt/creators/19116/> [Accessed 07 Oct. 2024]. See also Mouta, 2022, p. 28.

30 On the figure of João Martins Ferreira and the questions raised about his supposed nobility, see Brito, 1997, pp. 156–158 and Mouta, 2022, studied closely to outline the brief biography of this merchant from Porto.

31 The assets that made up this manor, which were quite numerous and mostly rural, were listed by Pedro de Brito and Fernando Mouta, in Brito, 1997, pp. 317–319 and Mouta, 2022, pp. 149–158.

32 Entail and chapel foundation deed (1566-09-11) – VINCO03877 PF EA/002; AD-PRT-PCP-K/21/2-43, fl. 3.

33 Mouta, 2022, p. 74.



Among the noble founders, it should be noted that many, naturally, belonged to the most influential and politically powerful families in the city of Porto, and in some cases held positions in the municipal administration. Of particular note are the Sás, represented by João Rodrigues de Sá in the fifteenth century, the Figueiroa (or Figueiró), in the form of João de Figueiró, documented in the sixteenth century, and the Carneiros, among whom Diogo Homem Carneiro and João de Valadares Carneiro can be named, both from the seventeenth century. The first, identified as a knight of Porto in his will of 22 July 1415 – before he boarded the king’s armada bound for Ceuta³⁴ – belonged to the family that held the hereditary position of *alcaide-mor* of Porto, and occupied an elevated social stratum, as members of the court nobility³⁵. As well as being *alcaide-mor* of Porto and lord of the land of Sever, João Rodrigues was also *cama-reiro-mor* (chief gentleman of the chamber) to King João I, whom he had supported during the Crisis of 1383–1385, which earned him social prestige and a large fortune.

His son, Gonçalo de Sá, married Inês Vasques, the founder of the *morgado* of Canidelo, from a family of slightly lower social status³⁶. In turn, João de Figueiró was a knight of the King’s Household, *cidadão* and *escrivão dos órfãos* (clerk of the orphans) in that city in 1525, when he annexed a house to his chapel, founded a few days earlier in the monastery of São Francisco of Porto³⁷. His family, which came from the mercantile bourgeoisie, managed to achieve nobility, while remaining closely linked to the Porto municipal administration and sparing no effort in the pursuit of marriage with families of equal or higher status³⁸.

Finally, in the sixteenth century, two entails instituted by the Carneiros are amongst the collated documents. They were already a part of the nobility of Porto, thus joining the other members of this family who had founded *morgados* and chapels in previous centuries. Diogo Homem Carneiro,

34 Will (1415–07–22) – VINC008272 JRS EA/001; BNP-ACVB-004-0004.

35 Brito, 1997, pp. 30–31.

36 Gago, 2019, vol. 2, pp. 45, 48 and 59.

37 Declaration deed (extract) (1525–02–23) – VINC004110 JF EA/001b; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-93, fl. 136.

38 Brito, 1997, pp. 104 and 397–398.



founder of a *morgado* and chapel in the monastery of São Francisco in 1622, was a *fidalgo* who lived in Rua Nova³⁹. He was a descendant, on the maternal side, of the Carneiro branch that acquired the title and a descendant, paternally, of the Homem, who were also prominent among the families of Porto and whose nobility was recognised from the fourth generation onwards⁴⁰. Diogo Homem was also involved in the municipal administration as a *vereador* in 1621⁴¹. João de Valadares Carneiro, founded a *morgado* in 1637 with his wife, Catarina Pereira, as a dowry for their son Luís de Valadares to marry Ana do Amaral⁴². He was a *cavaleiro fidalgo* (noble knight), also belonging to the Carneiro family through his mother's lineage⁴³. According to Alice Gago, he held various positions in Porto, linked to the House of Bragança, the municipal administration and the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* of that city⁴⁴. He was a fundamental link in the family, administering several chapels founded by his relatives, namely that of his paternal grandmother, Ana de Azeredo⁴⁵, amongst others⁴⁶. This, once again, confirms the importance and rise of the Carneiro lineage and their descendants, individuals who not only held the most important positions in the city administration, but also achieved nobility, to which the institution and administration of several *morgados* and chapels is likely to have contributed.

In addition to the entails founded by noblemen, others were the result of instructions in the wills of founders – these were people who stood out in medieval and early modern Portuguese society, holding different positions in the city, whether in the central administration or in the local or regional administration, primarily in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The prevalence of officials linked to the professions of law and of writing is also clear. In this respect, António Machuco (or Machucho), founder of a chapel in the Misericórdia church in Porto (documented from at

39 As identified in the text of the exemplification of his will. Will (1622-02-09) – VINC004122 DHC EA/001; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96, fl. 423. Like Rua das Flores, Rua Nova attracted the best people in the city. Silva, 1995, pp. 150-151 and 266.

40 Brito, 1997, pp. 34-37 and 94-95.

41 Brito, 1997, p. 94.

42 Dowry deed (1637-11-12) – VINC008045 JVCCP EA/001; TT-HSJ-076, fls. 253v-255v.

43 Brito, 1997, pp. 76-77.

44 Gago, 2019, vol. 2, pp. 10-11.

45 Chapel described in the project database under the identifier VINC008439.

46 Gago, 2019, vol. 2, p. 11.



least 1542⁴⁷) and João Carneiro de Moraes, founder of a chapel in the Quinta da Boavista, in the parish of Cedofeita, together with his wife Helena de Araújo, in 1665⁴⁸, stand out for the number of positions they both held and their family origins.

Machucho, who lived in the early decades of the sixteenth century, was a *desembargador* in the *Casa da Suplicação*, an *ouvidor na jurisdição dos cortesãos* and, as a cleric, abbot of the churches of São Tiago de Piães (Cinfães) and São Martinho de Soajo (Arcos de Valdevez)⁴⁹. His family is noted in Porto society for holding the position of *contador da cidade* (city accountant), which they passed on through a dowry, and for having a marital relationship with the important Carneiro lineage⁵⁰. He also catches the eye for having had recourse to ecclesiastical benefits thanks to his patrilineal connections, as the figure of António Machuco confirms⁵¹.

João Carneiro de Moraes, who held a doctorate, was a member of the King's Council and *chanceler-mor* (chancellor) of the *Relação* court in Porto in 1665⁵², and 11 years later, in 1676, he accumulated his place on the Royal Council with the office of *desembargador do Paço*⁵³. Still linked to the central administration, the founders include Lopo Fernandes, *almoxarife do rei* in the city of Porto, according to his will, dated 1431⁵⁴, and, later, doctor João de Figueiroa Pinto, widower of Maria Carneira de Barros, *contador da fazenda do rei*, in 1698⁵⁵. The latter was even the owner of the position of *contador da fazenda* for Porto, which had already

47 Public debt instrument (1542-01-21) – VINC003002 AM EA/001a; TT-C-J3-D-38, fls. 33-33v.

48 Foundation deed (1665-03-11) – VINC004030 JCHA EA/001a; ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/5-60.3, fls. 7-13.

49 Gago, 2018, p. 111; Gago, 2019, vol. 2, p. 40.

50 Brito, 1997, p. 81.

51 Brito, 1997, p. 81.

52 Foundation deed (1665-03-11) – VINC004030 JCHA EA/001a; ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/5-60.3, fl. 7.

53 Declaration deed (1676-05-03) – VINC004030 JCHA EA/002a; ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/5-60.3, fl. 278v.

54 Will (1431-06-16) – VINC000671 LFCE EA/002c; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-33, fls. 63-64. In the copies found in the books of the monastery of São Francisco, this will is dated 16 or 17 June 1423. See ADPRT, Convento de São Francisco do Porto, K-20-6-93, fls. 6-10v; K-20-6-93, fls. 76v-77v; K-20-6-98, fls. 40v-56.

55 Opening deed of a will (1698-08-04) – VINC004126 JFPMCB EA/001; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-99, fls. 292v-293.



belonged to his father-in-law, Rafael Carneiro, and was now passed to his son, Rafael de Figueiroa Pinto, as can be seen in the same document.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the official scribes of varying office documented among the founders of *morgados* and chapels in Porto. In the sixteenth century, Francisco de Figueiroa, who founded a chapel in the monastery of São Francisco, was a cloth merchant with businesses in several parts of Europe, but also a *tabelião* (public notary) and city's *procurador* (attorney)⁵⁶. This is a paradigmatic example of the Porto elite, who combined their commercial activities with the exercise of public power in the city, allowing them to amass great fortunes, which they entailed, and gain political and social power. Moreover, Francisco de Figueiroa was married to Inês Carneiro, demonstrating that even the sons-in-law of the large Carneiro family ended up working in the same sphere of municipal administration as their blood relatives⁵⁷. At the beginning of the next century, Manuel Cerveira Coutinho, who founded a *morgado* with his wife Catarina Garcês de Azevedo⁵⁸, was an *escrivão da provedoria* (*provedoria*'s clerk), as well as a *tabelião do Judicial* (public notary in the Judicial Court)⁵⁹. It is probable, as with other founders, his origins were among Porto's mercantile bourgeoisie, since, according to a hypothesis put forward by Pedro de Brito, his father, Duarte Cerveira Coutinho, could have been one of the city's great wine merchants⁶⁰.

This conclusion leads us to another group of founders who are very important in the sample group: the merchants of Porto. Although few in number – only four have been identified, in addition to the specific cases of João Martins Ferreira and Francisco de Figueiroa, as already mentioned – they reflect a distinctly bourgeois society dedicated to big business. Curiously, they are only documented in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is believed that this can be explained by the progressive distancing of the families of Porto's urban patriciate from international wholesale trade

56 Gago, 2019, vol. 2, pp. 20–21.

57 Brito, 1997, p. 34.

58 Will (1603–04–09) – VINC004078 MCCCCGA EA/001a; ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/3–4806, fls. 209v–212.

59 Brito, 1997, p. 124.

60 Brito, 1997, p. 124.



and growing investment in urban and rustic property. These individuals then began to found *morgados* with these invested properties, according to the conclusions presented by Pedro de Brito in some of his studies⁶¹.

Fernando Álvares Baldaia, married to Branca Luís, and João Domingues, husband of Maria Eanes da Rua, are noteworthy among the merchants because of the families they either came from, or were linked to, through marriage. Fernando Álvares Baldaia, who, together with Branca Luís, was given the chapel of Trindade in the monastery of São Domingos in Porto in 1469 to build their tombs⁶², came from an important family in Porto, linked to others of equal importance, such as the Beleágoas and Cerveiras⁶³. His status and social power were also confirmed by the fact that he enjoyed the privilege of being a *cidadão* of Porto, as evidenced by the aforementioned donation deed from the monastery of São Domingos to him and his wife⁶⁴. João Domingues, founder of a chapel in the monastery of São Francisco in 1525, together with his wife, to whom he left countless assets⁶⁵, shared the socio-professional status with Fernando Álvares Baldaia, also a *cidadão* of Porto and merchant⁶⁶. According to Pedro de Brito, he was also recorded as a *juiz dos órfãos* (judge of the orphans) in 1525 and was part of the city's local administration⁶⁷. This family's connection to commercial activity continued at least for the next generation, as Francisco da Rua, son of João Domingues and Maria Eanes da Rua, was a *feitor* (Portuguese 'factor', or contemporarily, acting agent) in Flanders between 1529 and 1532, after being appointed *escudeiro do rei* (King's squire)⁶⁸. His social and economic power was strengthened

61 Brito, 1997, pp. 417–419; Brito, 2010. Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro also draws attention to this aspect in Monteiro, 2001, p. 33.

62 Donation deed (1469-07-08) – VINC001709 FABBL EA/006a; ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/6-68, fls. 15–17.

63 Brito, 1997, pp. 183–184.

64 See Silva, 2001, pp. 11–22, on the privilege of being a *cidadão* and the benefits that came with it, as already referred above. This status was particularly important in Porto, the city in which the largest number of *cidadãos*' privileges were granted between the reigns of King Afonso V and King Filipe I. Brito, 2010.

65 Will (1525-12-02) – VINC004107 JDMER EA/003; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-93, fls. 90v-93.

66 Donation deed (1523-06-16) – VINC004107 JDMER EA/002; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-93, fl. 88v; Will (1525-12-02) – VINC004107 JDMER EA/003; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-93, fl. 90v.

67 Brito, 1997, p. 72.

68 Brito, 1997, pp. 73–74; Gago, 2019, vol. 2, pp. 44–45.



by his marriage into the powerful Carneiro family, specifically to Isabel Carneiro, daughter of Vasco Carneiro, *o Moço* (the Younger) and niece of João Carneiro, *mestre-escola* (schoolmaster) of the Braga Cathedral⁶⁹. Furthermore, he was the founder of one of the chapels considered in the study and to which this text will return⁷⁰. These founders and their socio-familial relationships illustrate very clearly who the urban elites of Porto were and, more generally, who founded *morgados* and chapels in this city between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.

As seen, many of these men and women, as well as their families, led processes of social ascension that were based on a concerted set of political and social strategies. As Alice Gago summarised, the means of social promotion and social mobility included serving at the royal court, in the great manor houses and the municipal authorities, marriages between families of the same social or geographical origin, the investment of income in the purchase of land, and also the foundation of entails that were seen as a reinforcement or corollary of these upward trajectories⁷¹. As she points out, the entailment reproductive model, replacing transmission of inheritance by all the members of the family group, was adopted by elite families “na sequência da evolução e posterior consolidação da posição social adquirida”⁷², at which point they “passaram a valorizar a transmissão do património em torno de um só sucessor”⁷³ – an emulative model in relation to that which was customary among the nobility. It is at this juncture that many of the entails analysed in this study can be found. In fact, the grouping of *morgados* and chapels by different families or branches of the same family⁷⁴ allows an understanding of how these institutions were used by their members for the clear purposes of social ascension or consolidation of power – and how they contributed to the affirmation of

69 Brito, 1997, Quadro Carneiros I; Gago, 2019, vol. 2, p. 44.

70 Chapel of João Carneiro, described under the identifier VINC002988.

71 Gago, 2018, pp. 106-107.

72 Transl.: “following the evolution and subsequent consolidation of the social position acquired”.

73 Transl.: “have come to value the transmission of assets to a single successor”. Gago, 2018, p. 107.

See also Monteiro, 1997, pp. 363-367; Monteiro, 2001, on the entailment reproduction model and its adoption by urban elites, specifically those in the city of Porto.

74 Compared to Santarém and Évora, the city of Porto had a greater number of entails that could be organised by family or lineage, and there was a very active involvement of the various members of these families in the foundation and administration of *morgados* and chapels.



these elites in the urban society (and beyond) in which they were integrated, reflecting their intentions, and awareness of their position.

To begin with the Carneiro family, given its importance in Porto, as Pedro de Brito points out, and because almost all the families of the city's elite and oligarchy married into it. However, in terms of this work, they form a perfect starting point because of the number of entails that its members founded or administered between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. In fact, this family forms a paradigm at local, regional and even national level, because it has incorporated the entailment as a fundamental element of its strategies for social ascension and consolidation.

Ten entails founded by men and women with the Carneiro surname have been recorded and analysed in the database between the first decades of the sixteenth century and 1679. These include members of different branches of the family and some who used the surname because they were matrilineal descendants of the Carneiro family – nevertheless, they were part of their social and family networks. They were even privileged links between the Carneiro family and their paternal family, usually belonging to the urban elite, administering *morgados* and chapels on both sides. These family unions included the Machucho and Valadares, who were also linked to each other⁷⁵. Through this proximity, the network of entails belonging to these families grew and were representative of the social power they accumulated, partly thanks to the marriages they cemented.

The earliest entail founded by a Carneiro for which information has been gathered as part of the VINCULUM project was instituted by João Carneiro in 1525 or 1532⁷⁶. It was a chapel that came to house a considerable number of pious charges from different – although related – families. The founder was the third son of Vasco Carneiro, *o Velho* (the Elder), a *vereador*, a judge in the city of Porto, and perhaps because he was a second-born son, he embarked on an ecclesiastical career, reaching the

75 For a better understanding of these family relationships, see the family tree published in Gago, 2019, vol. 1, p. 128.

76 Following other authors, Pedro de Brito states that João Carneiro's will was written on 20 March 1532, while Lúcia Rosas gives the date as 2 December 1525. Brito, 1997, p. 353; Rosas, 2013, p. 464.



position of *mestre-escola* at the Cathedral of Braga⁷⁷. The wealth and prestige of his family and the position he held in the ecclesiastical hierarchy enabled him to acquire and accumulate considerable, mainly rural, real estate located around Porto⁷⁸. These properties were then entailed in the chapel of São João Batista, or “dos Carneiros”, as it became known, in the monastery of São Francisco of Porto. There, António Carneiro, his nephew and son of Luís Carneiro, brother and executor of the institutor, succeeded as first administrator⁷⁹. This administrator’s social status already reflected the family’s social rise, since, as well as being a *vereador*, he became a *comendador* of the Order of Christ, like his father, and a *fidalg*o of the King’s Household⁸⁰. In fact, his generation even extended beyond the city limits, with cousins who reached the house of Prince Luís and the royal court and two who went to India. This contributed to the growing power of the lineage, following in the footsteps of João Carneiro himself who had a career in the archbishopric of Braga⁸¹.

This data is more than enough to identify and understand the prominence that the chapel of São João Batista eventually achieved, becoming a mirror and evident manifestation of this family’s journey and social power. João Carneiro’s initial institution was joined by the chapel of João Domingues and Maria Eanes da Rua, which had been established a few years earlier in 1523⁸². Furthermore, the intuition accrued the pious charges of Vasco Carneiro and his wife, Beatriz de Figueiroa (1541)⁸³, Ana Bravo and Manuel Carneiro, her husband and the son of Vasco and Beatriz (1558)⁸⁴, Luís Carneiro, João’s brother, and his wife at an uncertain date, likewise António Carneiro, Luís’ son and the founder’s nephew, as well as the first

77 Will (1575-04-23) – VINC002988 JC EA/002; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96, fl. 92. On João Carneiro’s family origins, see Brito, 1997, pp. 35-36.

78 Will (1575-04-23) – VINC002988 JC EA/002; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96, fls. 94v-96. See also Brito, 1997, p. 310.

79 Brito, 1997, p. 353.

80 Brito, 1997, p. 353 and table CARNEIROS I.

81 Brito, 1997, p. 35.

82 Donation deed (1523-06-16) – VINC004107 JDMER EA/002; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-93, fls. 88v-90. Brito, 1997, pp. 353 and 361.

83 Will (extract) (1603-02-28) – VINC004119 AB EA/002; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96, fls. 58v-60. The date in the database corresponds to that of the exemplification and not the will.

84 Entail foundation deed (1558-11-03 - 1558-11-10) – VINC004119 MCAB EA/001; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96, fls. 50-56v.



administrator (1575)⁸⁵, D. Milícia de Novais Carneiro, his daughter, D. Vitória Carneiro and D. Beatriz de Almeida, all at an unknown date⁸⁶. With this great accumulation of pious charges and burials that were accommodated henceforward in the chapel of São João Batista – the location in which various members of the same lineage added “algo de seu, contribuindo para uma tarefa familiar”⁸⁷ – the Carneiro’s memory and ostentatious social power they enjoyed in the city of Porto were assured.

The other founders of entails belonging to the Carneiro family display a very similar social model. Likewise, their *morgados* and chapels were established in the same context of consolidation and affirmation of power, reflecting the evolution of the family and place their founders occupied in society. They manifested their power through a set of symbols and attitudes that were present in the foundation deeds.

The figure of João de Valadares Carneiro, as mentioned in the sociological characterisation of the founders, is perhaps the best exemplification of the processes of social ascension, the exercise of power and close familial ties – and the very context in which his *morgado* was founded reveals all these aspects. Together with his wife, Catarina Pereira, in 1637 they granted a dowry deed to their son, Luís de Valadares, to marry Ana do Amaral, founding an entail with a third of their assets and the obligation to celebrate masses at *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* of Porto and the churches of São Bento, São Geraldo and Chagas⁸⁸. As a first step, the founding couple used a *morgado* to guarantee an economically advantageous marriage for their heir. Advantageously, Ana do Amaral, the daughter of João Soares do Amaral and Sebastiana Vieira, brought several entailed assets into the family. These included those of Roque Tavares do Amaral, *escrivão*

85 Will (1575-04-23) – VINC002988 JC EA/002; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96, fls. 89-107.

86 The charges and chapels annexed to the chapel of São João Batista are listed in ADPRT, Convento de São Francisco do Porto, K-20-6-96, fls. 1-12v. However, this list has some errors, namely the identification of Vasco Carneiro and Beatriz de Figueiró as the parents of João Carneiro, the founder (fl. 6), when in fact they were his brother and sister-in-law and the son of Vasco Carneiro, *o Velho* (the Elder). On these family relationships, see Brito, 1997, Quadro CARNEIROS I. An abbreviated list of these charges was presented by Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, who repeats this misidentification, in Sousa, 1982, pp. 54-55.

87 Transl.: “something of their own, contributing toward a family task”. Sousa, 1982, p. 55.

88 Dowry deed (1637-11-12) – VINC008045 JVCCP EA/001; TT-HSJ-076, fls. 253v-255v.



da câmara (clerk of the chamber) of the bishop of Coimbra, Gaspar Monteiro⁸⁹, and, most importantly, the entail established by her own parents and other properties. Ana do Amaral received these properties from her parents via the dowry deed they inscribed for her marriage in 1637⁹⁰. Through this marriage, Luís de Valadares also took possession of his father-in-law, João Soares do Amaral's, immovable assets upon his death in 1650⁹¹ – Luís was named his heir in the will of 1648⁹². He was also the executor and heir of the *desembargador* Luís Delgado de Abreu who died in 1667, and was Ana do Amaral's second cousin: she was the granddaughter of his aunt, Ana Delgada⁹³.

The family's economic power was also ensured by the administration of multiple family entails. Given various specific circumstances, João de Valadares Carneiro succeeded to administer chapels and *morgados* founded by several relatives, both on the Carneiro's maternal side and on the Valadares' paternal side. Thus, he was responsible for the chapels of Maria Carneiro [Pamplona], his maternal cousin, established in 1542⁹⁴; of Ana de Azeredo, his paternal grandmother, founded in 1575⁹⁵; of Inês Carneiro, his maternal great-aunt, dated 1585⁹⁶; of Ana Carneiro, his cousin and daughter of Inês Carneiro and Francisco de Figueiroa, instituted in 1592⁹⁷; and Beatriz de Azeredo, his paternal aunt, to whom he was also heir, founded in 1616⁹⁸.

89 Gago, 2019, vol. 1, pp. 126–127. These assets, or at least part of them, correspond to those donated by João Soares do Amaral to Ana do Amaral in 1644, as stated in a donation deed dated July of that year, in which he passed on ownership of all the assets located in Coimbra to his daughter, reserving the usufruct for himself. Gago, 2019, vol. 2, p. 1131.

90 Dowry deed (1637–11–12) – VINC008044 JSASM EA/001; TT-HSJ-076, fls. 252–253v.

91 Gago, 2019, vol. 2, p. 996.

92 Will (1648–02–26) – VINC008044 JSASM EA/002; BNP/ALB/ROMA/PAC113/N184/Cx113A/Cap2.

93 Brito, 1997, p. 206. The inventory of Luís Delgado de Abreu's assets is kept in the fonds of “Almada e Lencastre Bastos”. Gago, 2019, vol. 2, p. 281.

94 Entail foundation deed (1542–03–14) – VINC008311 MC EA/001a; BNP–ALB/ENC/Pac.1/Mç. 59/Cx. 1/ Cap. 5/Doc. 1724.

95 Will (1575–05–01) – VINC008439 AA EA/001a; BNP – ALB/ROMA/PAC. 83/Nº 99/Cx. 83 III/CAP 2/DOC. 27362/fls. 1–5v.

96 Will (1585–12–29) – VINC008187 IC EA/001a; BNP–ALB/ENC/P1/MÇ.59/Cx.1/Cap.4.

97 Although Ana Carneiro's chapel is not included in the project's database, her will is described in Will (1592–08–20) – VINC008187 IC EA/002; BNP–ALB/ENC/P1/MÇ.59/Cx.1/Cap.4.

98 Will ([before 1616–09–02]) – VINC008438 BA EA/001; BNP – ALB/ROMA/PAC. 83/Nº 99/Cx. 83 III/CAP 2/DOC. 27368. On the administration of these chapels, see Brito, 1997, pp. 76–77; Gago, 2019, vol. 2, p. 11.



In turn, Luís de Valadares Carneiro succeeded his father in the administration of, at minimum, the chapels of Maria, Inês and Ana Carneiro⁹⁹. In addition to these entails, there were also those that he came to administer thanks to his marriage to Ana do Amaral, as mentioned above. These included the *morgado* and chapel founded by Simão Vaz de Camões in Coimbra in 1574¹⁰⁰, of which Luís de Valadares and his wife were recognised as administrators in 1653¹⁰¹, and the *morgado* and chapel established by his in-laws, João Soares do Amaral and Sebastiana de Moura by a dowry deed dated 1637¹⁰². It was through this document that they donated all their properties located in Lisbon, Lousã, Rabaçal, Penela do Couto and Monte da Fonte to their daughter, Ana do Amaral, to marry Luís de Valadares. The accumulation of entails and, consequently, of their respective incomes helped to reinforce the importance of this family in the context of Porto, their seat of social and political power.

This power can be seen in the active participation of the founders and administrators of these *morgados* and chapels in municipal administration, the management of prestigious institutions and the public life of the city of Porto. João de Valadares Carneiro, *cavaleiro fidalgo*, was *al-motacé* in 1598, 1625 and 1634, *guarda-mor da saúde* at the end of 1598 and in 1634–1636, and, most importantly, *vereador* of Porto city council in 1624 and 1627–1628 – among other things. He also had close ties to the *Misericórdia* of Porto, where he was clerk between 1600 and 1601, and finally *provedor* in 1614–1615¹⁰³. His roles here justifies the choice of *Misericórdia* as one of the locations for the chapel he founded in 1637¹⁰⁴, reinforcing his relationship with the institution and the impact it may have on his social prestige. His son, Luís de Valadares Carneiro, followed a very similar path to his father. A *fidalg*o of the King’s Household and a *cavaleiro comendador* (knight commander) of the Order of Christ¹⁰⁵, this

99 Gago, 2019, vol. 2, p. 158.

100 Will chart (1574-07-13) – VINC003933 SVC EA/002a; AUC-CNSGC-Cx.2-doc.14.14, fls. 2-10.

101 Court sentence (1653-09-05) – VINC003933 SVC EA/005; AUC-CNSGC-Cx.2-doc.14.14, fls. 21-25.

102 Dowry deed (1637-11-12) – VINC008044 JSASM EA/001; TT-HSJ-076, fls. 252-253v.

103 Gago, 2019, vol. 2, p. 10.

104 Dowry deed (1637-11-12) – VINC008045 JVCCP EA/001; TT-HSJ-076, fls. 253v-255v.

105 As remembered in the sign that his son, João de Valadares Carneiro, asked to be engraved on his grave in Porto Cathedral. Gago, 2019, vol. 1, p. 253.



descendant of Carneiros and Valadares was, like his father and grandfather, a town *vereador*, in an uncertain year¹⁰⁶, and *provedor* of the *Misericórdia* in 1660–1661 and 1675–1676 – of which he was, of course, a brother¹⁰⁷. Furthermore, this was not the only institution of welfare to which Luís de Valadares was linked, and within which he held a management position. He was also *mordomo* (steward) of the confraternity of *Santíssimo Sacramento da Sé* (Blessed Sacrament of the Cathedral)¹⁰⁸, confirming the importance that belonging to large brotherhoods could have had on the routes of social climbing and affirmation taken by urban elites in the Ancien Régime.

Many other families and founders of *morgados* and chapels in the city of Porto had very similar social trajectories to the Carneiro family. Some also included direct participation and action in the Portuguese expansion in their strategies for political, economic and social ascension and consolidation, especially from the sixteenth century onwards. By serving in the administration of the empire and getting involved in overseas trade, the urban elites achieved social prestige and amassed fortunes. On their return to the homeland, they entailed these accrued assets in *morgados* and chapels, clearly reflecting their power.

This group of families and founders includes the descendants of João Martins Ferreira, who, as seen, was a merchant in the city of Porto, having become a city *vereador* and possibly a *fidalgão*. Although neither he nor his first-born son, Pantaleão Ferreira, journeyed to the more distant territories of the empire, his offspring sought to subsequently send his sons to India to bring honour and fortune¹⁰⁹. In fact, João Martins Ferreira himself, as a merchant, passed through Madeira, where he did business and where the sugar trade flourished¹¹⁰. It was these businesses amongst others that enabled him to accumulate enough capital to invest in real estate and found his *morgado* and chapel.

106 Silva, 1998, vol. 2, p. 1093.

107 Melo; Cardoso, 2017a, pp. 713–719; Melo; Cardoso, 2017b, pp. 795–802.

108 Sá, 2018, p. 267.

109 Sá, 2018, p. 108.

110 Mouta, 2022, pp. 46–51.



Focussing on Pantaleão Ferreira, it can be observed that his social status had been better consolidated, largely thanks to his father's commitment and upward mobility. Pantaleão, as a *fidalgo* of the King's Household and a knight of the Order of Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo (Our Lord Jesus Christ), founded his own *morgado* in 1566. It would be closely linked to his father's, since he clearly stated that both institutions would have a common administrator¹¹¹. In this entail and chapel foundation deed, he appointed João Martins Ferreira, his eldest son, as the first administrator. His descendants were, moreover, at the centre of this foundation, through which Pantaleão Ferreira intended to guarantee the “conservação da minha geração deste nome e daquelles que apos de mim vierem e descenderem”¹¹².

To the same end, he endeavoured to send some of his sons to India, a journey to accumulate wealth, social prestige and even experience in the use of weapons, all of which would help to advance the image of the heir, at least in the case of the eldest son and successor to the *morgado*. According to the information given in his will, dated 1568, Pantaleão Ferreira sent four of his five sons to India. These included João Martins Ferreira, the first-born, who returned to the kingdom in 1561, five years before the *morgado* was founded, Paio Correia, a Jesuit who was still overseas when his father's will was written, and Fernão de Mesquita, who died near Mozambique and whose forthcoming inheritance passed to his eldest brother¹¹³. On his return to Porto, João Martins Ferreira became dependent on his father. In fact, he owed him considerable sums of money and was living off his money and rents, suggesting that he was waiting for the moment when he would inherit the *morgado* to which he was destined. His father showed a certain fondness for this son, who was to become head of the family after his death¹¹⁴.

111 Entail and chapel foundation deed (1566-09-11) – VINC003877 PF EA/002; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/2-43, fls. 2-12v.

112 Transl.: “preservation of my generation of this name and those who come after me and descend from me”. Entail and chapel foundation deed (1566-09-11) – VINC003877 PF EA/002; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/2-43, fls. 3-3v.

113 Pantaleão Ferreira was also the father of Diogo Ferreira who, for reasons that are still unclear, was not mentioned in his father's will. The figure of Diogo is somewhat curious, since he made his fortune not in India, but in Spanish America, specifically in San Francisco de Quito, Peru, and settled in Seville, where he wrote his will in 1581, having destined an important legacy to the *Misericórdia* of Porto. On Diogo Ferreira and his donation to the *Misericórdia*, see Sá, 2018, pp. 100-103 and 113-116.

114 Sá, 2018, pp. 109-110.



The reasons that explaining Pantaleão Ferreira's decision to send almost all of his children to Asia, including young João Martins Ferreira, the successor to his *morgado* and that of his father, are somewhat unclear. However, it seems evident that there was a certain desire to benefit from the economic and social gains that would follow, contributing to the family's rise and social affirmation. This was a strategy common to other families, including that of Ana de Mesquita, Ferreira's wife, who also acted to send the family's children to the empire's territories, especially Africa and Asia¹¹⁵. Quoting Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, "o caso de Pantaleão e da sua família pode ser tomado como exemplo dos efeitos da expansão oceânica sobre as estruturas familiares: mobilidade geográfica amplificada; carreira militar para filhos segundos, juntamente com oportunidades de enriquecimento"¹¹⁶. Add to this the fact that Pantaleão also held the positions of *provedor* of the *Misericórdia* of Porto in 1545–1546 and 1547–1548¹¹⁷, and *vereador* in 1553¹¹⁸ – like his father – and all the necessary ingredients for the social affirmation and consolidation of this family in the city where it was established are present. The institution of the *morgado*, in 1566, crowned this journey and confirmed their place of prominence in Porto society in the 1500s.

Leveraging the distant territories of the empire was part of the social affirmation strategies of other men from Porto, particularly in the sixteenth century. Among the founders included in this study's sample, Francisco Pereira de Miranda and António Monteiro can be focussed on, having followed different but equally relevant, even curious, paths. On 4 September 1565, Pereira de Miranda founded a *morgado* together with his wife, D. Guiomar Pereira, to which they entailed 200,000 réis in interest and the farms of Vila Maior, in Feira, Monte Longo, in Fafe, and Vereá (or Versa),

115 Brito, 1997, pp. 152–153; Sá, 2018, p. 104.

116 Transl.: "the case of Pantaleon and his family can be taken as an example of the effects of overseas expansion on family structures: increased geographical mobility; military careers for second sons, together with opportunities for enrichment". Sá, 2018, pp. 116–117.

117 Melo, 2017a, pp. 247–249; Melo, 2017b, pp. 257–258. It should be noted, however, that this author states that Pantaleão Ferreira was the son of Martim Lourenço and Violante Correia and the half-brother of João Martins Ferreira, and not the latter's son, which seems to be the result of a misinterpretation of Pedro de Brito's text. Brito, 1997, pp. 156–157.

118 Brito, 1997, p. 157.



in Barcelos¹¹⁹. Later, at the end of November 1580, the same couple founded a chapel in the cloister of the convent of São Domingos of Porto, adding pious charges to their *morgado* and deciding on their burial location¹²⁰.

In the first of these documents, he identified himself as a *fidalgo* of the King's Household and lived in Rua das Flores, one of the streets where Porto's urban elites dwelt. His life, however, would be much broader in scope than simply that of a nobleman. In his hometown, he was a *ve-reador*, an *almoxarife*, a member of the *Conselho das coisas de guerra* (Council of War Affairs), a municipal body created in 1580, and a *provedor* of the *Misericórdia* of Porto for two terms (1551–1552 and 1561–1562)¹²¹. Even before he took on all these roles in the local administration, Pereira de Miranda was working his way through the overseas administration, with the certain aim of making his fortune and gaining the recognition that would allow him to reach the top of the social ladder more easily.

On 26 January 1541, King João III granted Pereira de Miranda the captaincy of Chaul, India, for a period of three years¹²². During his stay in India and the exercise of this office, Francisco Pereira de Miranda managed to accumulate a considerable fortune, a fact that is reflected in his will¹²³, as well as in the entail foundation deed and, indirectly, his chapel foundation deed. As Brito states, it is likely that the money invested in the public debt instrument of 200,000 réis, entailed to his *morgado*, was earned in India¹²⁴. This institutor navigated a route that took in the royal court, the administration of the empire's territories and finally local administration when he settled in Porto. His strategy of social affirmation was completed with the investment of his assets and wealth, accumulated thanks to his services to the king in Portugal and India and his public office, in a

119 Entail foundation deed (1565–09–04) – VINC003528 FPMGP EA/003; ADVRL–FCP–06–01. We identified the location of the first two farms and the alternative name of the third (Versa) from Brito, 1997, p. 351.

120 Entail and chapel foundation deed (1580–11–26) – VINC003528 FPMGP EA/002; ADPRT–PCP–K/21/1–34, fls. 103v–108v.

121 This information was gathered in Silva, 1998, vol. 2, p. 785; Melo, 2017c, pp. 267–270; Melo, 2017d, pp. 309–312.

122 TT, Chancelaria Régia, D. João III, Doações, Ofícios e Mercês, livro 31, fl. 18; Brito, 1997, p. 279.

123 Referred to in Brito, 1997, p. 279.

124 Brito, 1997, p. 322.



morgado and sumptuous chapel. These would be administered by Jorge Pereira de Miranda, his son, also a *fidalgo* of the King's Household¹²⁵, who was responsible for perpetuating the family memory and the place it occupied in Porto society.

Even more curious was the path of António Monteiro, the founder of a chapel in the monastery of São Francisco of Porto, invoking Nossa Senhora dos Anjos e da Porciúncula, through his will. This document was dictated in April 1580 in Macau, the location where he would pass away¹²⁶. António, illegitimate son of Gil Monteiro, belonged to a family of *fidalgos* enjoyed the privilege of being a *cidadão* of Porto. This was explicitly mentioned in a meeting of the city council in March 1548¹²⁷, and he referred to himself as 'squire' and *criado* of the Duke of Bragança¹²⁸. He spent most of his life in Asia, however, and made his fortune as a merchant, particularly in India and Macao. His will precisely reflects his ties to that continent and his dedication to commercial activities, taking advantage of the benefits of the empire's expansion to socially climb and achieve distinction in Porto society, despite the fact that he was an illegitimate son.

There are many references in this document to his business dealings in India, Timor, Siam and Japan, as well as the products that were loaded onto his ships, including silk from China. Likewise, António Monteiro owned countless slaves of great ethnic diversity, such as Chinese, Sundanese, Japanese, Siamese and Malay¹²⁹. If the constant movement of goods, money or silver prevented the accumulation of material wealth, the slaves made up for it. As Isabel dos Guimarães Sá says, the slaves

125 Entail foundation deed (1565-09-04) – VINCO03528 FPMGP EA/003; ADVRL-FCP-06-01; Entail and chapel foundation deed (1580-11-26) – VINCO03528 FPMGP EA/002; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-34, fl. 104.

126 Will (1580-04-10) – VINCO03382 AMGM EA/002aa; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-97, fls. 412v-433.

127 Brito, 1997, p. 216.

128 Exemplification of will and codicil (1595-12-20) – VINCO03382 AMGM EA/002a; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-97, fls. 412v-437v.

129 Will (1580-04-10) – VINCO03382 AMGM EA/002aa; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-97, fls. 412v-433. António Monteiro's will is described in detail in Sá (2018), pp. 175-184, based on the copy kept in the archives of the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* of Porto. It is important to mention that this analysis was used to overcome the reading difficulties posed by the copy held in the archives of the convent of São Francisco, kept in Arquivo Distrital de Porto.



“constituíam, à falta de terra cultivável, bens importantes, não só pela ostentação de riqueza que permitiam, mas também pelos serviços que prestavam”¹³⁰.

Nevertheless, Monteiro accumulated enough wealth to send a bill of exchange to Portugal. There, his nephew Gil Monteiro was to use it to buy a public debt instrument and found a chapel within the monastery of São Francisco under the supervision of the *Misericórdia* of Porto¹³¹. It was the culmination of a life dedicated to trading in the far-flung waters of Asia and a form of social affirmation for this Portuguese merchant who, even after his death – and despite his illegitimacy – remained linked to his father’s family. This was achieved by appointing Gil Monteiro as the first administrator of his chapel, because of the social importance it gave him and because it guaranteed him the status of a *fidalgo*¹³².

To conclude this analysis of the different paths and strategies of social ascension adopted by different family groups and founders, it is important to direct some attention to the families of the New Christians in Porto, who also utilised the institution and administration of entails in order to assert themselves socially in the city. The most prototypic case is that of the Paz family, some of whose members were traced by the project amongst the founders and administrators of entails included in the studied documents. These New Christians were notable for their considerable wealth and for marrying into some of the city’s most important families, such as the Leite and Mesquita¹³³. It is also important to note that some of their members were merchants¹³⁴, a likely source of the wealth they accumulated, inevitably giving them prestige and allowing them to found *morgados* and chapels.

130 Transl.: “in the absence of cultivable land, they were important assets, not only because of the ostentatious display of wealth they enabled, but also because of the services they provided”. Sá, 2018, p. 181.

131 Will (1580-04-10) – VINC003382 AMGM EA/002aa; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-97, fl. 421v.

132 Sá, 2018, p. 181.

133 Brito, 1997, p. 138.

134 Brito, 1997, pp. 305-306.



Among those who established entails in Porto, Master João da Paz can be found, the first member of this family to live in the city, coming from Mazagão. He had an early connection to the royal court as King João II's physician, a position which contributed to his affirmation and growing social status¹³⁵. In April 1536, he wrote his will, in which he founded a chapel in the monastery of São Francisco of Porto, a favoured location for the chapels of the city's elite, which would be administered by Diogo da Paz, his son¹³⁶. The memory and honour of the family would be guaranteed by the obligation to use the surname Paz, imposed by the founder on all of his successors. Later, in 1556, Diogo da Paz founded a chapel himself in the same convent and a *morgado*, which was succeeded by his grandson, Diogo Álvares Leite¹³⁷.

Other members of the family sought social distinction through the administration of Crown chapels, namely that of João Gordo, located in the Cathedral of Porto. This was a task undertaken by António da Paz, a knight of the Order of Avis, and then his daughter, Branca da Paz, who took over the administration of this chapel between the 1540s and 1570s¹³⁸. It is noteworthy that Branca da Paz inherited this administration, even though her father only received it during his lifetime. As Pedro de Brito put it, “é notável o esforço que esta família de cristãos-novos faz para se integrar socialmente, pelo casamento, e pela instituição [e administração] de capelas e obras de caridade”¹³⁹.

135 Brito, 1997, p. 138.

136 Will (1536-04-06) – VINC004125 JP EA/001; ADPRT-CSFP- K/21/5/1-684.1-19.

137 Brito, 1997, pp. 372-373.

138 These documents are described in the following items and their respective inserted documents: Administration letter (1553-07-17 - 1553-07-20) – VINC002460 JG EA/006a; TT-C-J3-P-1, fls. 337-338; Administration letter (1574-10-26) – VINC002460 JG EA/007a; TT-C-SH-P-11, fls. 62-63v; Administration letter (1577-07-10) – VINC002460 JG EA/008a; TT-C-SH-P-13, fls. 75-75v.

139 Transl.: “the effort made by this family of New Christians to integrate socially, through marriage and the institution [and administration] of chapels and charitable works, is remarkable”. Brito, 1997, p. 139.



5.4. Entails as a means of social advancement and power consolidation for the Porto elite

These institutors, all belonging to Porto's urban elite, founded their entails with common goals, seeking to perpetuate their memory and that of their families, and also their political, social and economic power, most evident through these institutions. It should be noted that the reasons given by founders for the creation of a *morgado* or chapel citing this aim is only present in a small number of foundation deeds, as seen in Santarém and Évora. The cases of Pantaleão Ferreira, as seen above, and abbot Baltasar Leite are perfect examples of such.

Ferreira declared in 1566 that he had founded his *morgado* in honour and praise of God, for the preservation of his generation and renown – and that of all those who would descend from him – beginning by being aware of the brevity of life and the need to provide for the salvation of the soul¹⁴⁰. Abbot Baltasar Leite, a *fidalgo* of the King's Household and therefore also a holder of an important social status, was more descriptive in a passage that Pedro de Brito described as a “barroca confusão do sagrado e do profano”¹⁴¹, included in his chapel foundation deed, dated 19 May 1585. The Abbot was quite clear in his intention to contribute to increasing the honour and status of his relatives, especially those of noble lineage and generation, adding that any living person should wish to:

“(...) servir a Deos Noso Senhor temdo beens temporais pera fazer o que comvem a sua alma e ynstetuir os semilhantes casos e pera que as pessoas despos elles melhor e mais homrradamente posão vyver representando memoravell pesoa e estado e renome daquelles de quem ouverão procedido comsyderando que as cousas devididas e partidas em breve tempo perecem sem memoria como a esperiencia nos mostra e cada dia vemos e pera que ynteira se permaneça sua memoria asy pera serviço de Deus Noso Senhor

140 Entail and chapel foundation deed (1566-09-11) – VINC003877 PF EA/002; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/2-43, fls. 3-3v.

141 Transl.: “baroque confusion of the sacred and profane”. Brito, 1997, p. 346.



como per defenza e onra de sua linhagem pera que todo aya bom premcipio e melhor fim queremdo ajuntar todos seus beens que hora tem d'erdade dizimo a Deos e avymculla-los em capella per vya d'estetuyção e morguado (...)”¹⁴².

Whilst the text is a little long, it eloquently demonstrates the importance of *morgados* and chapels in maintaining – and even improving – the social position of their founders and descendants, contributing to the defence and honour of the lineage. This was one of the most potent uses of the entails for the urban elite, utilising them to reinforce their family identity, a condition for exercising power¹⁴³. In their entail or chapel foundation deeds, the social and economic power of the elites was very clearly reflected in the investment they made in their chapels and *morgados*' properties, and also, significantly, in their desire to perpetuate the memory and identity of their lineage. The chapels that members of Porto's elite founded in the city's churches and monasteries, with particular emphasis on the monastery of São Francisco, became true symbols of their power, and the awareness that these men and women had of that same power was evident. A proportion of their wealth was even invested in the architecture and ornamentation of these chapels, which thus acquired a material dimension that reinforced the spiritual. In comparison to Santarém and Évora, Porto stands out for the richness of the descriptions of these institutions and the donation of works of art by their founders.

In the fourteenth century, for example, the alabaster image of Santa Maria that Catarina Eanes, wife of Lopo Fernandes, the *almojarife do rei* in the city of Porto, donated in 1388 to the chapel she had founded with her husband some time before can be highlighted¹⁴⁴. In 1478, in a

142 Transl.: “to serve God Our Lord, having temporal goods to do what is fitting for his soul and to institute the like cases and so that the people after them may better and more honourably live representing the memorable person and state and renown of those from whom they have proceeded considering that things divided and broken in a short time perish without memory as experience shows us and we see every day, and so that their memory may remain whole, both for the service of God Our Lord and for the defence and honour of their lineage, so that there may be a good beginning and a better end, wishing to gather all their goods, which they now tithe to God, and bind them in a chapel by means of institution and *morgado*”. Chapel foundation deed (1585-05-19) – VINC004099 BL EA/001; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96, fls. 276v-277.

143 Rosa, 2012a, p. 405.

144 Will (extract) (1388-06-03) – VINC000671 LFCE EA/002a; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-33, fls. 62-62v.



composition between João de Vitarães, the administrator, and the friars of the monastery of São Francisco, recorded following a conflict between the two parties, the chapel is described in some detail, proving its rich decoration and the permanence of the image of Santa Maria on its altar. The chapel also had an image of São Jorge, which was to be repainted by the administrators whenever necessary, an image and crucifix with the Passion of Christ and a tabernacle¹⁴⁵. A few years earlier, D. Filipa Coutinho, married to Luís Álvares de Sousa, made a relatively generous donation: it was essentially made up of rich vestments, pieces of jewellery and, even more curiously, a missal and a breviary, for the use of the friars and clerics of the monastery of São Francisco¹⁴⁶. Unfortunately, this information tells us nothing about D. Filipa's piety and culture, only revealing what may have been a requirement of the clerics themselves and confirming that missals were the most donated books¹⁴⁷.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are equally rich in descriptions of the ornaments of the elite's chapels and some of the objects they entailed to their *morgados*, allowing an understanding of the main devotions of their founders and how they used their fortunes to build their memorialisation and suffrage their souls.

Francisco Pereira de Miranda and his wife Guiomar Pereira left the administrator of their *morgado* a relic of the Holy Cross, held in a gold reliquary with golden chain, asking him to keep it with all veneration and esteem¹⁴⁸. Bárbara Pires de Figueiroa, the widow of Afonso Luís Ribeiro, a *cidadão* of Porto, was responsible for one of the most surprising artistic contributions found in the documents consulted. She donated an altarpiece depicting the Descent from the Cross and the Resurrection, commissioned at her bidding in Flanders, to the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, which she founded in 1568 in the church of São Pedro de Miragaia¹⁴⁹.

145 Composition deed (1478-11-03) – VINC000671 LFCE EA/002; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-33, fls. 59-71v.

146 Will (1470-09-10) – VINC004117 FCLAS EA/001a; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-95, fl. 404.

147 Rosa, 2012a, pp. 505-506.

148 Entail foundation deed (1565-09-04) – VINC003528 FPMGP EA/003; ADVRL-FCP-06-01, fl. 5v.

149 Will (1568-02-28) – VINC000779 BPF EA/001a; ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/5-60.3, fls. 27-32v.



The saints or scenes represented in images or altarpieces that adorned these private chapels were, for the most part, a personal choice of their founders, as was the case of Violante Aranha de Távora in the seventeenth century. In the composition deed that her attorney made with the monastery of São Bento da Vitória, it was agreed, among other things, that the founder would choose the saint to be represented in the image that would occupy the niche of the altarpiece commissioned by the friars, as well as the saints that would be painted¹⁵⁰. The result of agreements between the founders and the monasteries or churches in which they were located, these chapels contributed to the embellishment and enrichment of these temples, with great investment on both sides. The friars of São Domingos acknowledged this themselves in the contract for the foundation of the chapel of Francisco Pereira de Miranda and Guiomar Pereira in 1580, considering that the work that the founding couple planned to carry out on the house that served as a granary, would be for the benefit of that same house and the ennoblement of its works¹⁵¹.

These chapels could also bear the coat of arms of the founders' lineage – a way of identifying the patrons of the work and to whom they belonged, sometimes in association with their graves. The documents could, in some cases, refer to the coats of arms that were already carved on the tombs of the founders and their families and ancestors, either when the chapel was founded or at a later stage. These descriptions include the eagles of the lineage of Lopo Fernandes and Catarina Eanes, which identified their graves in the monastery of São Francisco in 1478¹⁵², and, in the same monastery, the Leites' coat of arms on the grave of the parents of Abbot Baltasar Leite, over which he founded a chapel in 1585¹⁵³.

In other situations, it was the clerics themselves who ordered the founders to place their coats of arms on their chapels or authorised them to

150 Composition deed (1621-05-21) – VINC004133 VAT EA/001; ADPRT-CSBV-K-25-6-6-498.2-1, fls. 4-5.

151 Entail and chapel foundation deed (1580-11-26) – VINC003528 FPMGP EA/002; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-34, fl. 104v.

152 Composition deed (1478-11-03) – VINC000671 LFCE EA/002; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-33, fls. 59-71v.

153 Chapel foundation deed (1585-05-19) – VINC004099 BL EA/001; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96, fl. 277.



identify themselves in this way. This was the case with Francisco Pereira de Miranda and Guiomar Pereira in 1580, when the friars of the monastery of São Domingos of Porto imposed the obligation to place their coat of arms and shields on the arch of the door of their chapel on them, which would open onto the cloister¹⁵⁴. Duarte Carneiro Rangel, moreover, received the chapel of Conceição in 1614, where his father Mateus Mendes de Carvalho was buried, as a donation from the friars of São Domingos, so that he and his descendants could be buried there, make their own *carneiros* (tombs) and place a coat of arms and other insignia, such that no-one else could be interred within¹⁵⁵. As well as clearly identifying the founders and patrons of the work, the coat of arms reveals the social status of those involved and their lineage, imposing themselves on all those who might aspire to occupy that space.

The social power of the elites also manifested in the documentary production of the founders, administrators and entails themselves as corporate bodies. It was the foundation of a *morgado* or chapel that necessarily triggered the need for organisation and control of information within a family. This was due to the amount of documentation that would be produced and the evidentiary function that the documents would assume. As Alice Gago observed, from the sixteenth century onwards, the heirs and successors of the *morgados* paid particular attention to the preservation of documents, with a singular commitment to recording inventories, which became fundamental in the structuring of elite families¹⁵⁶. Taking the families of Porto's elites as a case study, Gago concluded that the production of written records and their archiving was common among families of the elites, "conscientes do seu valor probatório, administrativo mas também de memória, constituindo um sinal identitário das elites, assim como o são a onomástica e a heráldica, ou a tumulária"¹⁵⁷.

154 Entail and chapel foundation deed (1580-11-26) – VINC003528 FPMGP EA/002; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-34, fl. 105.

155 Donation deed (1614-10-27) – VINC004128 MMCMRDCR EA/002; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-99, fl. 52v.

156 Gago, 2018, p. 107.

157 Transl.: "aware not only of its evidential and administrative value, but also its remembrance, constituting a sign of identity for the elites, just as onomastics and heraldry serve, or the tumular [sepulchral]". Gago, 2018, pp. 107-108.



The documents analysed in this study contain a small number of references to the writing, production and archiving of information. They point, in common, to the concern of the founders, administrators or even executors toward the preservation of the documents produced and their reproduction through exemplifications in books and *tombos*. These were kept by institutions of control or power, such as the *provedoria*¹⁵⁸, the monastery or church where the chapel was located, the town hall and even the *Misericórdia*¹⁵⁹. Likewise, it was ordered that *tombos* and inventories be listed for the assets of the *morgados* and chapels, allowing more effective control of the entailed property and, further, to avoid its alienation, a situation which could lead to royal intervention. In 1501, by means of a royal charter granting João de Baldaia the administration of the chapel founded by Fernando Álvares Baldaia and Branca Luís, King Manuel I ordered a book to be made to record all expenses and everything done for the souls of the dead. All goods that had been disposed of and were to be recovered, as well as those that were to be bought, were also to be added to this volume¹⁶⁰.

However, the most illustrative example of the importance of document management and the *tombos* of the *morgados*, both for the control of assets and for action on behalf of the given aims of the founder, is that of the *fidalgo* Francisco Pereira de Miranda and his wife, D. Guiomar Pereira. In their entail foundation deed of 1565, these founders described the documentary practices to be observed by their successors in detail. In addition to ordering the delivery of a copy of the institution to anyone of lineage who requested it, they ordered the creation of a *tombo* of the distribution of the entailed income and of the *casais* (farmhouses), “para que em nenhum tempo se perqua a memoria dellas”¹⁶¹, and of three books of the *morgado*’s assets. The entail foundation deed and the deeds of property were to be copied into these books, with one being kept by the

158 Entail foundation deed (1640-01-17) – VINC001037 ACMAC EA/001; TT-AA-RA-49, fl. 357.

159 These three institutions could appear individually in the clauses on the conservation of information or together. See, for example, Chapel foundation deed (1483-08-16) – VINC004097 SD EA/001aa; ADPRT-CSDP-K/19/6-1, fl. 8v; Will (1594-10-01-1596-08-05) – VINC004116 TR EA/001; TT-FSCSM-088-0011A.

160 Royal charter (1501-01-15) – VINC001709 FABBL EA/006ba; ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/6-68, fls. 18-21.

161 Transl.: “such their memory will never be lost”.



administrator, another by the monastery where they would be buried and another by the *Misericórdia*. These *tombos* reflected the social status of their authors and even their economic capacity to pay for books that could be considered, from a certain perspective, to be ostentatious in nature. In fact, these *tombos* had to be made of “purgaminho muito bom e emcadernados em taboas cubertas de couro com as armas do morgado”¹⁶², in order to immediately identify the owners¹⁶³.

The inventory of property, writing of documentary evidence and the preservation of documents over the centuries was the prerogative of Porto’s elites, especially *fidalgos*, *cidadãos*, *vereadores*, local government officials and merchants – in other words, all those who were linked to some form of power¹⁶⁴. As proof of this, archives of elite families can be found that have survived to the present day, more or less complete, concentrated in a single place or otherwise dispersed. The archive of the merchant and later *fidalgo* João Martins Ferreira is perhaps one of the most paradigmatic and curious cases, due to the circumstances under which it was recovered near the end of the twentieth century.

Mostly composed of lease deeds and deeds for the acquisition and management of property, the fonds provide some insight into how the merchant accrued his assets¹⁶⁵ and how these investments led to the establishment of the chapel and *morgado* in 1492¹⁶⁶ as an expression of personal wealth¹⁶⁷. Other archives of Porto’s elite families can be found in the fonds of “Almada e Lencastre Bastos”, kept in the National Library of Portugal. Many of its producers founded *morgados* and chapels, some of them in the city under study and identified by us, particularly members of the Valadares Carneiro family. Alice Gago’s study dedicated to this fonds demonstrates the role of entails as a catalyst for document

162 Transl.: “very good parchment and bound in leather-covered boards with the *morgados*’s coat of arms”.

163 Entail foundation deed (1565-09-04) – VINC003528 FPMGP EA/003; ADVRL-FCP-06-01, fls. 1 and 5-5v.

164 Gago, 2019, vol. 1, p. 277.

165 Fonds described on the website of Arquivo Municipal do Porto, at <https://gisaweb.cm-porto.pt/creators/19116/> [Accessed 07 Oct. 2024].

166 Foundation deed (1492-09-10) – VINC001981 JMF EA/002a; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/2-43, fls. 13-19.

167 Mouta, 2022, p. 59.



production and conservation practices within families¹⁶⁸. Given the importance that social ascension and the affirmation and maintenance of power had for these lineages, archives therefore had the “função de auxiliar à reprodução do poder de um grupo dominante, fosse ele nobre ou não”¹⁶⁹. They reflected and reproduced the political, social, familial, lineal, and economic power of the founders and administrators of *morgados* and chapels, “porque a família tinha consciência da importância do registo escrito, o qual constituía também uma forma de poder e de conhecimento”¹⁷⁰.

The reality for the elite of Porto is that they laid their paths to social ascension and consolidation based on a series of strategies that helped to increase and consolidate their political, social and economic power within their society. The members of these families usually held positions in local or central-peripheral administration and in the administration of the *Misericórdia*, provided service to the king or great families of the kingdom and sought their fortune across the territories of the empire, where they engaged in trade, military activity or overseas administration. In this way they built up their fortunes, invested in property and founded *morgados* and chapels, contributing to the consolidation of the power of the lineage and the social affirmation of their descendants.

168 Gago, 2019, vol. 1, pp. 63–219.

169 Transl.: “function of helping to reproduce the power of a dominant group, whether noble or not”. Gago, 2019, vol. 1, p. 250.

170 Transl.: “because the family was aware of the importance of the written record, which was also a form of power and knowledge”. Gago, 2019, vol. 1, p. 277.





The elites of Lisbon between the capital of the kingdom and the empire

CHAPTER 6

6





The elites of Lisbon between the capital of the kingdom and the empire

6.1. Why Lisbon? The city in Medieval and Early Modern times

From the reign of King Afonso III (1248–1279), Lisbon established itself as the capital of Portugal, a city where the royal court spent most of its time, although the court maintained its mainly itinerant character until the Middle Ages moved into the Early Modern Period. This aspect, combined with its strategically significant geographical location in the centre of the country, virtually on the sea, and excellent communications engraved a set of social, economic and political characteristics on Lisbon that favoured the settlement of the elite classes. This group assumed the governance of the city, held the main offices in the central administration and played a leading role in the intense commercial activity that flourished through the centuries. In this context, the institution of entails multiplied between 1300 and 1700, with the vigorous involvement of the elites. Lisbon shares similarities with the cities previously analysed – Santarém, Évora and Porto – but differs from them through specific characteristics, and proves to be an exceptional case for studying the entailment component of power and the importance of the foundation of *morgados* and chapels for the urban elite.

Lisbon was conquered by Christian forces in 1147, a moment followed by a period of uncertainty due to the constant threat of Muslim counterattack.



Lisbon, however, experienced economic and demographic growth from the mid-thirteenth century, thanks to the definitive conquest of the Alentejo. At this time, the royal chancery was transferred to the city and the king and court settled there semi-permanently, making Lisbon the de facto capital of the kingdom. Despite certain periods of sluggish growth, particularly during the epidemic of the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century, its population reached numerical heights far above the rest of Portugal's urban centres¹. According to calculations by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Lisbon had around 5,000 inhabitants in 1147, 14,000 in the thirteenth century and around 35,000 at the end of the fourteenth century². At the time of the *Numeramento* (census) of 1527–1532, a source of more reliable data, the city already had more than 59,800 inhabitants, making it a “grande metrópole à escala europeia e cidade enorme para o tamanho de Portugal”³.

By the middle of the century, the population was approaching 100,000 inhabitants and, by 1620, it had already exceeded 110,000 people⁴. The city's demographic growth from the thirteenth century onward was reflected in the multiplication of parishes in the urban perimeter, both within and without the walls, reaching a total of 23 of these ecclesiastical circumscriptions in the Middle Ages⁵. The foundation of so many churches is further evidence of the economic and human dynamism of Lisbon, as Gonçalo Silva pointed out, nuancing the demographic factors traditionally used to explain the creation of new parishes⁶. This growth was also reflected in the great social, professional, economic, ethnic and religious diversity of the population, with each parish taking on a distinctive appearance and character according to the types of people who lived there⁷.

1 Marques, 1988, pp. 81–82.

2 Marques, 1988, p. 85.

3 Transl.: “[a] major metropolis on a European scale and a huge city for the size of Portugal”. Dias, 1998, p. 18.

4 Rodrigues, 1970, p. 96.

5 Silva, 2008, pp. 201–266.

6 Silva, 2012, pp. 13–14.

7 José Albertino Rodrigues analysed precisely this population diversity, both from an ethnic point of view and from an economic and social point of view, observing it not at the level of parishes, but at the level of the city's neighbourhoods, as early as the sixteenth century. Rodrigues, 1970, pp. 96–115.



Lisbon becoming the “capital” of Portugal contributed decisively to the diversity of its population. The establishment of the court and its central administrative bodies in its urban environment attracted the nobles and bureaucrats who took over administrative functions, occupied several offices in the royal institutions and, indeed, settled. The most important families of the nobility, accompanying the king among his closest entourage, placed themselves at his service and built their residences in the city, despite owning rural property, sometimes far from Lisbon. In addition to the “higher” nobility, Lisbon’s society was also home to a smaller group of lower nobility, such as knights and squires, who nonetheless accumulated property and influence in the city⁸. In parallel, the needs of serving an increasingly bureaucratic royal administration, drew together a greater concentration of educated individuals, making the corps of senior royal officials, many even recruited from the various noble groups. Many invested in property in the city centre, building their houses (or even palaces) in useful locations, i.e., at the centre of power, close to the royal palaces and their offices. Although this population initially settled on castle hill, the original centre of the city, they later chose Ribeira, where King Manuel I moved the royal palace and main royal institutions⁹.

Similarly, Lisbon was home to a well-established municipal oligarchy from the late Middle Ages onwards, characterised by the pre-eminent status of its members. According to Mário Fareló, this grouping stood out in the urban environs because of its economic power, achieved through national and international trade and property speculation, and also socially, since many of these men had privileged access to the king, with clear links to the court nobility and aforementioned bureaucrats. In fact, Fareló points out, this proximity to the king “ajuda a explicar a real osmose que se verifica na cidade entre o serviço régio e participação na sua oligarquia camarária”¹⁰.

These officials were drawn from various social classes, although it was the most socially and economically privileged who predominated, regardless

8 Marques, 1988, p. 88.

9 Rodrigues, 1970, pp. 100–104; Rosa; Curto, 2021, p. 24.

10 Transl.: “helps to explain the veritable osmosis that occurred in the city between royal service and participation in the city council oligarchy”. Fareló, 2008, p. 7.



of their nobility or otherwise. In any case, some of the men in the council came from this group, with the presence of *fidalgos* (noblemen), knights and squires and a clear link to the king. The great volume of trade that emerged in the city was another means of accruing oligarchs in the last centuries of the Middle Ages. The merchants began to occupy the local administration of Lisbon, positions through which they hoped to rise socially. In addition to these sociological groups, there were also literates, a fact which testifies to the emergence of an oligarchy made up of holders of academic degrees and knowledge of the law and its application, a virtual guarantee of political and social promotion¹¹.

Some families were particularly important in the exercise of municipal power in Lisbon in this context. Among them, the Carregueiro, Palhavã and Nogueira families are notable for their leading role in the establishment of *morgados* and, primarily, chapels in Lisbon: important case studies of the entailment component of power. As shall be shown, among their members some institutors of entails who were the progenitors of important lineages of officials in the municipal administration can be located, demonstrating the close connection between these institutions and the exercise of power¹².

Since the Middle Ages, Lisbon benefited from the development of intense national and international trade, a factor that shaped its social composition and made a significant contribution to the city's diversity of population. With the city's proximity to the sea and the kingdom's best communication routes, aided by the monarchs' growing interest in Lisbon, these key drivers of its commercial growth led merchants to settle in the city. The city was already populated by merchants engaged in various commercial activities during the Middle Ages, from retail and resale merchants, occupying the numerous royal pitches, to middle and wholesale merchants, whose social status and economic power already allowed an aspiration to

11 For a more complete characterisation of the sociological profile of Lisbon's municipal oligarchs, see Farelo, 2008, pp. 169–224.

12 Miguel Gomes Martins, Mário Farelo and Gonçalo Silva, among others, have studied these families and their role in Lisbon's municipal power. Martins, 1997–1998; Martins, 2007; Farelo, 2007; Farelo, 2008; Silva, 2012.



nobility – at least for their children and successors¹³. Meanwhile, Lisbon’s connection to other ports on the Iberian Peninsula and across Europe fostered international maritime trade, resulting in the establishment of foreign merchants in the city such as Italians, the English, Germans and the French from the thirteenth-to-fourteenth centuries¹⁴.

It was Portugal’s overseas expansion from the fifteenth century onwards, however, that gave the greatest boost to Lisbon’s commerce, its urban development and growing national (and international) importance. Furthermore, Lisbon became not only the capital of the kingdom, but also of the empire that was built from there. The ships taking the Indian route and to all other overseas destinations departed from its port, and goods from the most diverse and exotic origins flowed in.

The Ribeira became the heart of the city, housing the royal palace built by King Manuel I, and *Terreiro do Paço*, a place for socialising and business, with various services linked to the city’s supplies and the imperial administration in situ¹⁵. This neighbourhood was home to Rua Nova dos Mercadores, where great trade took place, making it “o símbolo da potência comercial do país”¹⁶. The great merchants concentrated themselves here, owners of profitable trading companies and responsible for the transactions of the produce that flowed into Lisbon, both via import and export. Enriching further, the aristocratic residences of the great noble families of the kingdom were also located in its vicinity. In one way or another, they were also involved in the expansionist drive, either by providing services to the king at court or in the imperial administration, or by participating in overseas trade¹⁷.

In this context and following the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom by Manuel I, there was also an increasing presence of New Christians in the city. These former Jews, or descendants of Jews converted to Christianity, were particularly involved in large-scale trade and financial activities, playing an extremely important role in the economic and even

13 Silva, 2008, pp. 270–282; Pereira, 1998, pp. 288–289.

14 Silva, 2008, pp. 285–288.

15 Santana, 1994, pp. 516–517.

16 Transl.: “the national symbol of commercial potential”. Rodrigues, 1970, p. 103.

17 Santana, 1994, pp. 517; Rosa; Curto, 2021, p. 24.



political dynamics of the Portuguese empire. Large families of New Christian merchants emerged into the spotlight of Lisbon society in the 1500s and 1600s. The consequent accumulation of capital and the search for prestige and honour, as well as the need to be integrate into Christian society, led them to develop strategies for social advancement that largely involved emulating the behaviour of the nobility – as seen before across the other studied cities. Enrolment and progress in public offices, servitude to the king and, usually at the end of their lives, the foundation of *morgados* and chapels, to which they entailed the properties they had acquired with the capital from their commercial activities¹⁸. Despite the shadow of tainted blood that would always hang over them, some of these men managed to achieve nobility and occupied places in the highest spheres of Portuguese society of the Ancien Régime. For example, the Elvas, Coronel, Torres, Castro do Rio and Mendes de Brito families, among many others, embarked on paths of social ascent based largely on the foundation of entails as a manifestation of their socio-economic power¹⁹.

These diverse characteristics make Lisbon a privileged observatory for studying the foundation of *morgados* and chapels by urban elites, who used them as an essential rung on their climb to the top of the social ladder. These institutions became a reflection of the political, economic and social power that these families acquired over a number of generations, both as a result of investing their wealth in real estate and adopting the family succession models of the nobility – to which some of these lineages already belonged – in order to preserve their heritage, name and honour.

6.2. The sample of entails: characterisation

Given the description of Lisbon during the medieval and early modern periods, in particular its social composition, it was crucial to select a

¹⁸ Pereira, 1998, pp. 305–315.

¹⁹ Recently, in terms of the timing of this work, Francisco Bethencourt published a work entirely dedicated to the New Christians, in particular merchants, between the end of the fifteenth century and the 1870s. Bethencourt, 2024. Fernanda Olival has also dedicated some studies to families of New Christians and their paths of ascent. See, for example, Olival, 1998, pp. 111–129; Olival, 2002, pp. 7–53.



sample of entails that was representative of the socio-economic reality of the city and also capable of answering the questions initially posed by the sub-project on the entailment component of power. However, compared to the other case-studied cities, Lisbon is a much more complex prospect with much larger dimensions at all levels – including the number of entails catalogued in the project database, and volume of documents for each *morgado* or chapel, among others. In fact, the VINCULUM project database contains a total of 1831 entails, whose properties or chapels were located within the current boundaries of the municipality of Lisbon²⁰. For this reason, whilst the city’s potential sample is larger in absolute terms than the others, a proportionally smaller selection must be made in order to avoid an excess of data: data that could divert and dilute attention with reams of spurious information, jeopardising the analysis of the establishment of entails by its elites and the exercise of power in this context. Therefore, a total of 150 *morgados* and chapels founded by Lisbon’s elite between 1300 and 1700 was selected.

Choosing these entails involved a largely similar process to that used when collating the sets presented for the cities of Santarém, Évora and Porto. First of all, the selection was based on the socio-professional status of the founders of the entails, naturally favouring those who were among the Lisbon elite. Thus, particular attention was paid to senior royal officials or bureaucrats, both those who worked in the kingdom – at the royal court and in central administration organisations – and those who moved to peripheral governments in the territories of the empire, existing in the context of Portugal’s colonial expansion. These bureaucrats included many nobles who went through processes of social ascension. Approaching the level of local administration, a large number of members of the urban oligarchy – those who ran the municipal government of Lisbon – were also considered. Although the documents do not always

²⁰ The entails of Lisbon are listed at the following URL: <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/lisboa-1503> [Accessed 07 Oct. 2024]. To get a real sense of this figure, it should be mentioned that the second municipality (according to the current limits) with the highest number of entails described in the project database is Portalegre, with a total of 338 institutions, many fewer than Lisbon. It should be noted, however, that the total number of *morgados* and chapels entered into the database is highly dependent on the heuristic choices made – and duly substantiated – during the course of the project. For this reason, there are often discrepancies or values that could be considered less predictable for certain geographies.



explicitly identify them as such, their surnames or other names refer to men and families who were relatively well known and linked to Lisbon's local government²¹.

In addition to the men of power, there were also those who were involved in commercial activities in both medieval and modern centuries. It should be emphasised that many of them were wholesale merchants, owning important trading companies – as mentioned in their wills and other documents – and intertwining the trading routes of the empire. Finally, in constructing this sample, particular attention was paid to the maximum New Christians that it was possible to identify, in order to assess their involvement in the founding of entails and the importance of such in their journey of advancement and social affirmation, as well as their integration into the predominantly Christian society in which they existed²².

However, it is not always possible to use the criterion of socio-professional status, as it is often unknown, lacking from the written records. To make up for this deficit, the sample was complemented with other *morgados* and chapels that proved to be of interest to the study. In this sense, the same methodology already used in the other analysed cities was applied, obtaining a group of entails which were as exemplary as possible in relation to the founding of these institutions by the elites. Where the socio-professional status of the founders is unknown, those with a greater number of documents catalogued in the database – or with the most relevant types of documents for understanding the exercise of power by the elites and their awareness of the power they held – were selected. Wills, entail and chapel foundation deeds, dowry deeds, donation deeds, composition deeds and contracts are particularly important. It can also be added that thematic indexing through *subject access points* was also

21 In this respect, the studies by Miguel Gomes Martins, Mário Farelo and Gonçalo Melo da Silva were fundamental in identifying the main families and individuals of Lisbon's municipal oligarchy, which, however, resulted in a greater selection of members of the local administration in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries compared to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Martins, 2007; Farelo, 2007; Farelo, 2008; Silva, 2012.

22 In identifying the New Christians, it was essential to consult the most recent work by Francisco Bethencourt. Bethencourt, 2024.



considered, selecting the entails whose documents have a greater number of terms related to power issues, such as “Inventory”, “Family Name”, “Coat of Arms”, “Crown”, “Church”, “Municipality”, “Accumulation”.

This overall collation resulted in a total of more than 1220 documents (or items)²³, distributed unevenly among the 150 entails selected. All documents are included in one of the 211 types of documents identified in the *morgados* and chapels that make up the sample under study²⁴. Contextually, wills (including terminological variations such as “will (extract)” or “will chart”) correspond to the category with the largest number of records in this *corpus* of documents. It is also one of the most relevant, since through their final wills, members of the urban elite founded their *morgados* and, primarily, chapels.

Due to their similar content and because they complement the information transmitted by wills, codicils also play an important role, although they are less numerous. Of further importance are the entail and chapel foundation deeds, as they constitute the genealogical nascence of a chapel or *morgado*, establishing its rules of succession and administration whilst revealing details of the power achieved by its founders. The sentences, regardless of which court handed them down, also occupy a prominent place in this typological set. Attention should also be drawn to the documents through which the king granted the administration of a chapel, such as administration letters and warrants. Finally, amongst the other types, the contract and bond deeds are of value to highlight, which, as a rule, established commitments between the founders or administrators of an entail and the clerics of the monastery or church where the respective pious charges were celebrated.

23 It should be remembered, as illustrated in the chapters on the other cities, that this figure corresponds to the total number of items described in the database, including the “mother documents” (main documents) and their respective included documents. However, unlike the other cities, any repeated items were not removed from the count due to the sheer volume of documents collected for Lisbon.

24 It should once again be mentioned that this number of typologies includes some that are partially repeated, with slight variations in the title, and refer to the same type of document, such as “will” and “will (extract)”. However, all these distinctions were maintained, so as not to run the risk of misrepresenting the data collected in the database.



These documents were collected from a wide variety of fonds, series and documentary collections, mainly kept in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo. As in other regions of the country, fonds and series such as the “Chancelaria Régia”, the “Livros de Registo do Arquivo”, the “Capelas da Coroa” and the “Registo Vincular” are of significant importance within the analysis. However, as seen in each of the other sample cities, this documentary survey of Lisbon has some specificities that should be elucidated. It should be noted that a large swath of the documents from the entails located in Lisbon were analysed and recorded from the copies transferred in the eighteenth-century tombs of the *Hospital de Todos os Santos*, today preserved in the fonds of the “Hospital de São José”, also kept in the Torre do Tombo²⁵, the importance of which has already been emphasised in the chapter explaining sources.

Fewer in number, but also with a notable presence, are the documentary records derived from copies of the fonds of monastic institutions in Lisbon, in particular those of the “Mosteiro de São Domingos”, the “Convento de São Francisco” and the “Convento da Santíssima Trindade”²⁶. These inscriptions made it possible to fill gaps in the documentation found in other fonds, especially those of the “Hospital de São José”. As seen in similar regard in Porto, the monastic and conventual fonds in Lisbon also played a major role, bringing to light various texts relating to the foundation and subsequent administration of chapels based in these institutions such as wills, deeds of management and sale of the useful domain of properties and deeds of contract and obligation.

Examining the chronological distribution of the collected sample, there is a significant discrepancy between the centuries of the Early Modern Period and those at the end of the Middle Ages. While more than 56% of the total documents date from the seventeenth century and greater than 31% from the sixteenth, less than 4% of the total sample were from the fourteenth century and fewer than 8% from the fifteenth, with another five

25 Fonds described at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4192593> [Accessed 07 Oct. 2024].

26 Fonds described, respectively, at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=1457992> [Accessed 07 Oct. 2024] (“Mosteiro de São Domingos de Lisboa”), <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=1379965> [Accessed 07 Oct. 2024] (“Convento de São Francisco de Lisboa”) and <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4380521> [Accessed 07 Oct. 2024] (“Convento da Santíssima Trindade de Lisboa”).



documents dated to the fifteenth-to-sixteenth and sixteenth-to-seventeenth centuries through critical analysis. The proportional disparities between periods can be explained primarily by the choice of entails forming the sample under study. In fact, a much larger number of entails were initially selected that were established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, compared to the *morgados* and chapels founded in the two previous centuries, where the latter are actually more numerous in the database itself.

The aim was to gather a larger sample of entails from the Early Modern Period in order to answer certain the questions posed in this study, ones which find much more satisfactory answers in Lisbon than in the other locations. The topics referenced here are, specifically, an assessment of the impact of Portugal's colonial expansion on the foundation of entails by the elites, and further, the adoption of the entailment model by the New Christians during the 1500s and 1600s. These choices naturally resulted in an uneven distribution of documents over the four centuries considered by the VINCULUM project. Furthermore, it must be noted that – as mentioned at several previous points – there was a considerable increase in document production from the sixteenth century onwards. This may also be a contributing factor to the imbalance between the total number of documents dating from the Middle Ages and those from the Early Modern Period.

6.3. The founders of entails: sociological characterisation

This sample of documents produced by entails established in Lisbon between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries by members of the city's elite allows an insight into the importance that the *morgados* and chapels played in the social strategies of these men and women. These founders came from the most varied social categories within the aggregate 'elite' and could belong to either the nobility or the educated and/or mercantile bourgeoisie, occupying important positions of royal officialdom and municipal administration. All, including their families, were the protagonists of social ascension, moving between more than one of these groups. There are, in fact, numerous examples.



By sociologically characterising the founders of *morgados* and chapels in Lisbon, the presence of *fidalgos* and bureaucrats – both those who held positions in the kingdom’s central administration and the administration of the empire – municipal oligarchs, literates and merchants could all be conclusively identified. This also adds to the understanding of their social evolution and the means by which they overcame their initially (relatively) inferior status and achieved affirmation in the society in which they lived and, eventually, nobility.

Some of the founders came from the upper echelons of Lisbon society, especially the nobility, belonging anywhere between its highest or lowest strata. These were usually men who had managed to ascend socially, achieving nobility, or those whose ancestors had led a process of climbing from which their descendants benefited. In this sense, *fidalgos* of the King’s Household, *cavaleiros fidalgos* and knights are common²⁷. As might be expected, these categories predominated in the sixteenth century but decreased during the one following. Whilst these proportions are the result of the selection criteria for the documentary sample, it is felt that they reflect the social mobility that many of these founders. These were individuals who came from the mercantile bourgeoisie or other assumed lower social categories and promulgated their social rise. The ratios are also a consequences of the added impetus given to the nobility by King Manuel I: he supported them and pacified relations with this group after the turbulent reign of King João II²⁸. As Maria de Lurdes Rosa showed, these nobles were linked to overseas expansion, an advantage that enabled them to accumulate wealth and, in some cases, utilising founding entails as a method of consolidating their power and prestige²⁹.

Among this group, three cases can initially be highlighted; that of Lopo Mendes do Rio together with his wife Leonor Dias, founder of a *morgado* and chapel in the monastery of São Domingos of Benfica, in 1501³⁰; João da Fonseca, who established a chapel in the church of São Bartolomeu of

27 On these categories, see Pereira, 1998.

28 Rosa, 2012a, p. 365.

29 Rosa, 2012a, pp. 365–366; Rosa; Curto, 2021, pp. 24 and 26.

30 Will chart (1501-04-05) – VINC000288 LMRLD EA/003aa; TT-MC-V-LSB-4, fls. 1v-11v.



Lisbon together with his wife Margarida de Alcáçova, in 1515³¹; and Henrique Leme, who instituted a chapel in the convent of São Domingos of Lisbon, in 1521³². All are identified in the cited documents as *fidalgos* of the King's Household. However, their status went far beyond this social position, with it being common for them to also hold positions at the royal court. For example, while Lopo Mendes do Rio was *tesoureiro-mor da Casa de Ceuta*³³, João da Fonseca served as *escrivão da Fazenda do rei*³⁴ and was also lord of the island of Flores (Azores), which he left to his son³⁵.

Henrique Leme, grandson of Martim Leme, a Flemish merchant who settled in Portugal in the middle of the fifteenth century, came from a noble family of some importance but lacking resources: he was forced to seek honour and fortune in military service in India, as he himself declared in his will: “e por vyir muy pobre de Purtuguall e sem ajuda de pay e mai nem de outra nenhuma pesoa desta Imdia homde guanhey o que tenho em auto de guerra e armadas e aventuras de minha pesoa”³⁶. As Mafalda Soares da Cunha states, “para a fidalguia sem recursos a guerra permanecia, assim, como o principal espaço de serviço e, portanto, de promoção”³⁷, and that the expansion was “como o terreno preferencial para as estratégias e a competição entre a fidalguia pouco abastada”³⁸.

Although Henrique Leme did not return to Portugal – dying after an attack by the Sultan of Bintan against the Portuguese fleet in May 1523 – he endeavoured, through his will of 1521, to guarantee the salvation of his soul, affirmation of his power and his social consolidation as well as that

31 Chapel foundation deed (1515-06-06) – VINC000267 JFMA EA/005a; TT-HSJ-139, fls. 278-281v.

32 Will chart (1521-09-10 - 1521-09-20) – VINC000244 HL EA/002aa; TT-MC-V-LSB-5, fls. 137v-150.

33 Rosa; Curto, 2021, p. 24.

34 Pension letter (1517-04-20) – VINC000267 JFMA EA/001a; TT-C-M-10, fl. 27.

35 Chapel foundation deed (1515-06-06) – VINC000267 JFMA EA/005a; TT-HSJ-139, fls. 278-281v. See Rosa, 2012a, pp. 366, n. 67 and 392.

36 Transl.: “and because I came from Portugal very poor and without any help from my father or mother or from anyone else in India, where I earned what I have in warships and armadas and adventures of my own”. Will chart (1521-09-10 - 1521-09-20) – VINC000244 HL EA/002aa; TT-MC-V-LSB-5, fls. 138-138v. See ROSA (2012a), pp. 366, n. 67 and 606-607.

37 Transl.: “for the nobility without resources, war remained the main arena for service and, therefore, advancement”.

38 Transl.: “as the favoured ground for strategies and competition between the less well-heeled nobility”. Cunha, 2009, p. 241.



of his family in the kingdom. By founding his chapel in the monastery of São Domingos in Lisbon, Henrique, *fidalgo*, shows the path he followed from his departure from Portugal at the age of 18 to the moment he wrote his will at the age of 27 in Malacca, before leaving for Bintan³⁹. As seen, Leme was very clear about the origin of his fortune. The accumulation of capital allowed him to instruct his executors to buy property in Lisbon, of which 200,000 réis were to be spent on his chapel⁴⁰. A further justification for the foundation of his chapel may have been that he was single and childless, therefore investing his assets in the salvation of his soul. As such, he appointed his sister Ana Leme, also single, as unchallenged heir to all his assets and administrator of his chapel⁴¹.

Family continuity and the memory of the founder would be ensured by Ana Leme's male descendants, always to be called Henrique Leme⁴². In addition, the chapel would serve as a family pantheon, in which the bones of the founder's parents would be interred and where Ana Leme and all subsequent administrators and heirs would be buried, identified by Henrique Leme's coat of arms, placed on the portal⁴³. This serves as a prototypical example of the importance that Portugal's expansion. The pursuit of a military career or to trade in the overseas territories held the power of social ascension and affirmation of many Portuguese nobles in the sixteenth century, a process which culminated in the foundation of a *morgado* or chapel, with a territorially acquired fortune.

In addition to the *fidalgos* of the King's Household, there was a proliferation of *cavaleiros fidalgos* among those who established entails in Lisbon in the sixteenth century, naturally also linked to the royal court and King's Household. Whilst inferior in status to the *fidalgos*, these nobles

³⁹ In addition to those transmitted in his will, Henrique Leme's biographical details were collected in Leme, 2008.

⁴⁰ Will chart (1521-09-10 - 1521-09-20) - VINCO00244 HL EA/002aa; TT-MC-V-LSB-5, fls. 138v-139. Henrique Leme's accumulated assets are described in a 1529 *alvará de desembargo*, totaling 3,731,087 *reais*. Leme, 2008, pp. 57 and 82-83.

⁴¹ Will chart (1521-09-10 - 1521-09-20) - VINCO00244 HL EA/002aa; TT-MC-V-LSB-5, fls. 138v and 140v.

⁴² Will chart (1521-09-10 - 1521-09-20) - VINCO00244 HL EA/002aa; TT-MC-V-LSB-5, fl. 140v.

⁴³ Will chart (1521-09-10 - 1521-09-20) - VINCO00244 HL EA/002aa; TT-MC-V-LSB-5, fl. 139; Contract and bond deed (1547-12-15) - VINCO00244 HL EA/005; TT-MSDL-48, fls. 97v-98.



formed the upper echelon of the second order of nobles, as created by King Manuel I⁴⁴. This category included men such as Fernando Velho, who founded the chapel of the Madre de Deus in the church of São Nicolau in 1533⁴⁵, Belchior Barreto, founder of a chapel in the convent of São Domingos in 1568⁴⁶, and João Rodrigues de Leão, institutor of a chapel in the same convent in 1581–1582⁴⁷. These three founders had the fact that they owned trading companies and/or businesses in India in common, each mentioning such in their wills. It is thus likely that their status and possible social ascension was driven by their trading activity. Furthermore, with the continual expansion of Portugal's empire, it became increasingly common for the nobility to engage in wholesale trade⁴⁸.

Interestingly, there is an almost 'accountancy-like' concern with how their assets were managed and how the wealth they had accumulated would be converted into goods capable of generating sustainable income, a behaviour clearly observable in the documentary sample. While Fernando Velho had a considerable amount of ginger from India, 60,000 réis and another 2,000 cruzados in wages invested in immovable property⁴⁹, Belchior Barreto and João Rodrigues de Leão invested part of their capital not only in property, but also in public debt instruments, which they entailed to their chapels⁵⁰. From the sixteenth century onwards, this leverage of public debt instruments became one of the most recurrent practices of *fidalgos* and knights who travelled to the far corners of the empire to improve their status and socio-economic position⁵¹. It should also be

44 Pereira, 1998, pp. 292–293.

45 Will (1533–04–23) – VINC000728 FV EA/001a; TT-HSJ-1192, fls. 145–149.

46 Will chart (1568–08–30) – VINC000367 BB EA/001aaaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fls. 200–206.

47 Will chart (1581–06–01 - 1582–05–17) – VINC002658 JRL EA/004a; TT-MSDL-49, fls. 52–61.

48 Pereira, 1998, pp. 324–327.

49 Will (1533–04–23) – VINC000728 FV EA/001a; TT-HSJ-1192, fls. 147v–148.

50 Will chart (1568–08–30) – VINC000367 BB EA/001aaaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fl. 205; Will chart (1581–06–01 - 1582–05–17) – VINC002658 JRL EA/004a; TT-MSDL-49, fls. 52–61. In the case of João Rodrigues de Leão, in addition to his own will, that of his widow, Inês Lopes, also refers to the fact that the assets entailed to his *morgado* included a public debt instrument of 107,806 réis and houses in Lisbon. It should also be noted that his administrators continued to invest in these financial instruments throughout the seventeenth century, as can be seen from reading a public debt instrument from 1648, sold to the administrator Fernando Rodrigues Manuel, and the documents contained therein. Will (1610–08–30) – VINC002658 JRL EA/005a; TT-MSDL-49, fls. 61v–65v; Public debt instrument (1648–04–23) – VINC002658 JRL EA/002a; TT-C-J4-D-5, fls. 134–134v. 51 Magalhães, 2012.



noted that in the case of Belchior Barreto, there was very real social mobility, manifesting itself in his descendants. His son, Fernando Barreto, achieved the status of *fidalgo* of the King's Household⁵².

Focussing on João Rodrigues de Leão, his surname seems to indicate that he was a New Christian and belonged to the Leão family, who had businesses in Antwerp and also traded between West Africa and Spanish America⁵³, although no confirmation of this family connection has been found. Even so, it can be seen that João Rodrigues de Leão is one of several examples of New Christians who rose to nobility, partly through trade. This allowed these individuals to accumulate enough capital to adopt the customs of the ennobled and provide services to the king, which could, in itself, culminate in genuine nobility⁵⁴. One of the best-known cases is that of Diogo de Castro do Rio, who founded the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Conceição in the convent of São Francisco in 1575⁵⁵. Castro do Rio, a merchant wed to a New Christian, Beatriz Vaz, was granted a charter of *fidalgo de solar conhecido* by Queen Catarina in 1561 and later, in 1564, a charter of *fidalgo cavaleiro*, although he continued to be a very active trader⁵⁶.

The seventeenth century presents a novelty in terms of founders belonging to the nobility: the presence of knights from military orders, specifically the Order of Christ. Out of a total of seven noble founders, three were knights of the Order of Christ, which may indicate that they belonged to a lower group of the nobility, occupying a subordinate position to the *fidalgos*⁵⁷. These three knights are Gaspar Coelho, who founded a chapel at the convent of Nossa Senhora do Carmo with his sister, Catarina de Arvelos, in 1613, to be administered by his daughter and son-in-law⁵⁸; Miguel Leitão de Andrade, institutor of a *morgado* and chapel at the convent of

52 Fernando Barreto was the administrator of his father's chapel and founded a chapel of his own in the convent of São Domingos in 1578. For this reason, his will was described in both entails in the project database: Will chart (1578-06-02) – VINC000367 BB EA/001abaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fls. 210-212; Will chart (1578-06-02) – VINC000368 FB EA/002aaaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fls. 210-212.

53 Bethencourt, 2024, pp. 128 and 140.

54 Pereira, 1998, pp. 305-315.

55 Will (extract) (1575-07-23) – VINC007445 DCRDCR EA/001; TT-CNSCL-090, fls. 121-121v.

56 Olival, 2002, pp. 17-18 and 20-21.

57 Pereira, 1998, p. 300.

58 Dowry deed (1613-05-22 – 1613-05-25) – VINC007107 GCCA EA/001; TT-HSJ-081, fls. 199-209.



São Domingos in Lisbon and at the convent of Nossa Senhora da Luz in Pedrógão Grande in 1627⁵⁹; and finally Jorge de Albuquerque, founder of a *morgado* with a chapel in the monastery of Santíssima Trindade in Lisbon in 1649⁶⁰.

Among these founders, Jorge de Albuquerque is of note, as he held a seat on the *Conselho Ultramarino* (Overseas Council) and was the son of Fernando de Albuquerque, governor of the *Estado da Índia*, as indicated in his will. Gaspar Coelho was also associated with overseas expansion, particularly through mercantile activities. In the aforementioned dowry deed that he gave to his daughter, Helena de Andrade, this knight of the Order of Christ granted the future couple the captaincy of a ship of the Indian route that the king had granted him 30 years earlier⁶¹. These examples reinforce the idea of the importance of participation in expansionist activities – be they commercial, military or administrative – had for the elites and, amongst them, for a nobility that wanted to assert itself and gain even more power.

Consolidating social power also meant holding positions linked to the royal administration. For this reason, we find a considerable number of bureaucrats among the founders of Lisbon's *morgados* and chapels, many of them noble. As emphasised so far, the establishment of the court and central administrative bodies in the city, particularly effective during the transition from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period, led to the population of this urban environment with high-ranking royal officials, some of them educated. As early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, evidence of the involvement of these officials in founding entails as a means of social ascension and consolidation can be seen. In the fourteenth century, in addition to certain royal officials who also exercised their power in local administration, João Fernandes and João Esteves are noteworthy because of their roles. While João Fernandes, who founded a chapel in the church of Santa Cruz do Castelo in 1350, was the *tesoureiro*

59 Will (1627-09-28) – VINC005871 MLA EA/001; TT-HSJ-013, fls. 49v-60.

60 Will (1649-02-12) – VINC003127 JA EA/002a; TT-CSTRL-105, fls. 312-346v.

61 Dowry deed (1613-05-22 - 1613-05-25) – VINC007107 GCCA EA/001; TT-HSJ-081, fl. 203.



do rei (king's treasurer)⁶², and João Esteves, who established a chapel in the convent of São Salvador in 1372, was *alcaide-mor* of the city of Lisbon, as well as being a knight of the king and *privado* (a favourite) of King Fernando⁶³.

Contemporaneously, and within the context of the kingdom's central administration, members of the family group that came to be known as Nogueira also gained prominence. Their social rise was, in fact, largely due to their connection to the king at a time when they had already "freed" themselves from the municipal oligarchy. They nonetheless maintained their influence over their past ranks through collateral relatives or those associated by matrimonial alliances⁶⁴.

Among the founders of *morgados* and chapels in Lisbon documented in the fourteenth century, the family is represented by not only Constança Eanes Palhavã, wife of Lourenço Peres Júnior, but also *mestre* João das Leis and Gonçalo Miguéis. Constança founded the chapel of Santa Catarina in the church of São Lourenço in 1327⁶⁵. The daughter of João Eanes Palhavã and Sancha Pires, she came from a wealthy, bourgeois, mercantile family with strong links to the municipal administration. Her first marriage which ended in widowhood before February 1326 enabled her to raise her social status, which was further strengthened by her second marriage to Álvaro Gonçalves de Moura, a member of the lower nobility.

According to her second husband's will of 1340, Constança Eanes had accumulated enough wealth to establish a further chapel in the monastery of São Francisco, where she chose to be buried⁶⁶. The fact that Lourenço Peres Júnior was a member of the Nogueira family and had been a royal official – documented as the king's *almoxarife* in Lisbon and treasurer to King Dinis – most likely contributed to Eanes' greater status and socio-economic power. Her connection to the Nogueira family continued

62 Will (extract) (1360-11-20) – VINC001620 JFCD EA/005ba; TT-CA-105-0343.

63 Will (1372-09-16) – VINC004993 JEAE EA/002aa; TT-HSJ-1189, fls. 64v-68.

64 Farelo, 2007, pp. 153-154.

65 Will (1327-08-13) – VINC000653 CEP EA/005a; TT-AA-RA-7, fls. 95-96.

66 The information on Constança Eanes Palhavã's family origins and her marriages was collected in Silveira, 2007, p. 200.



even after she was widowed from Lourenço Peres. She firstly chose to institute her chapel in the church of São Lourenço, aligning herself with the family's patronage⁶⁷. Furthermore, in addition to her second husband, she appointed Miguel Vivas, a collateral relative of the Nogueira family, as the first administrator of her chapel⁶⁸. Moreover, despite having opted for administration by appointment rather than succession, her chapel was successively administered by members of the Nogueira family⁶⁹.

In the early 1380s, the chapel of *mestre* João das Leis⁷⁰, a member of the Nogueira family, albeit it illegitimately, and a royal official, was founded. The illegitimate son of Lourenço Peres Sênior and brother-in-law of Constança Eanes Palhavã, *mestre* João das Leis was a vassal, *privado* and member of the King's Council during the reigns of Kings Afonso IV and Fernando⁷¹. This founder followed a unique path of social ascension and projection within the family group, in which the foundation and administration of chapels and *morgados* played an important role.

Faced with an absence of legitimate descendants, *mestre* João das Leis ended up being “o melhor candidato para assegurar que os esforços de promoção socio-económica empreendidos pelos seus meios-irmãos fossem prosseguidos”⁷². As a result of various circumstances and a certain skill for avoiding his illegitimate birth, *mestre* João das Leis garnered the administration of the main entails of the Nogueira family, including the chapel of Constança Eanes Palhavã and that of Bishop Afonso Dinis, his half-brother⁷³. Thus, he became a very important member of the family, responsible for the patronage of the church of São Lourenço and for the patrimonial and testamentary management of the chapels and pious legacies of his relatives⁷⁴.

67 Silva, 2012, pp. 84–85.

68 Will (1327-08-13) – VINC000653 CEP EA/005a; TT-AA-RA-7, fls. 95–96.

69 Silva, 2012, pp. 92 and 168–169.

70 Will (1383-03-20) – VINC004970 JL EA/001a; TT-GCL-RV-94, fls. 157v–169.

71 Farelo, 2007, p. 151.

72 Transl.: “the best candidate to ensure that the socio-economic promotion efforts undertaken by his half-brothers were continued”. Farelo, 2007, p. 152.

73 Chapel described in the database under the identifier VINC004972.

74 Farelo, 2007, pp. 152–153.



As a member of the wider Nogueira clan in the fourteenth century, attention can be drawn to the founder Gonçalo Miguéis. This was a slightly more complex case, as there is no contemporary documentation in the project's database from the foundation of his chapel in the church of São Lourenço in 1391⁷⁵. A collateral relative of the Nogueira family – he was Afonso Dinis' nephew and the natural son of Lourenço Peres Sénior – Gonçalo Miguéis had a bachelor's degree in Canonical Law and was *ouvidor* of King Fernando⁷⁶.

In addition to this position at the court of Fernando, he married Inês Rodrigues, who was linked to the Almada family through her first marriage to Vasco Lourenço de Almada and also his son, Antão Vasques de Almada, both of whom had close ties to the municipal government⁷⁷. Gonçalo Miguéis's position in the royal administration and his family ties to the Nogueiras and Almadás gave him special prestige and social power. This was reflected in the establishment of a chapel in a church that served as an aggregator of the various branches of the family⁷⁸. In fact, it became a veritable pantheon of the Nogueira family, choosing it to house their tombs, as well as the seat of successive chapels founded by its members. This was a common strategy among Lisbon's urban elites, especially for those who were part of royal officialdom, with a view to their social ascension and the perpetuation of the memory of their lineage⁷⁹.

The influence and social importance of the Nogueira family and their connection to the royal court continued into the fifteenth century, represented by a woman, Teresa Nogueira, whose status depended, at first, on that of her father, Afonso Eanes Nogueira, and, once married, on that of her husband, Diogo Fernandes de Almeida. Afonso, son of *mestre* João das Leis and responsible for the family's nobility, was, among other things, a member of the King's Council and *alcaide-mor* of Lisbon in the

75 The documentary fonds of this entail is described in the database under the reference code VINC001016 GM EA. On Gonçalo Miguéis and the institution of his chapel, see Silva, 2012, pp. 105–106.

76 Silva, 2012, p. 105.

77 Farelo, 2008, pp. 368–372 and 663–666.

78 Silva, 2012, p. 105.

79 Silva, 2012, pp. 84–85.



first quarter of the fifteenth century⁸⁰. Diogo Fernandes de Almeida was a *rico-homem* (a member of the highest nobility) and a member of the King's Council, having also held the positions of *vedor da Fazenda* and *reposteiro-mor*⁸¹. When she founded her chapel in 1426, Teresa Nogueira had considerably elevated social and economic status, which allowed her to invest some of her capital in the acquisition of property to support a chaplain responsible for celebrating annual masses for her soul⁸².

Outside of the Nogueira family, in the fifteenth century, Gil Martins do Poço, *contador do rei* (king's accountant), founded a chapel in the churches of Santa Justa and the convent of São Domingos, in 1450⁸³, and D. Gonçalo Vaz de Castelo Branco, established a chapel together with his wife, D. Beatriz Valente, in the church of São Martinho, in 1485⁸⁴. When he donated to the convent of São Francisco de Xabregas with his second wife, D. Guiomar de Castro in 1491, D. Gonçalo identified himself as lord of the town of Portimão, a member of the King's Council and governor of the *Casa do Cível*⁸⁵, a position he had already held in 1485. He belonged to an upper-class family of courtiers who had been senior royal officials for two generations, for example his great-uncle, Nuno Vasques de Castelo Branco, *vedor da Fazenda* during the reign of King Duarte⁸⁶. However, despite his origins, Gonçalo Vaz de Castelo Branco adopted a number of strategies to consolidate his social standing, one of which was, of course, the founding of his chapel⁸⁷. The social inclination of this institution was upward, and he benefited not only from holding the positions mentioned, but also from his marriage to Beatriz Valente, daughter of the fifth administrator of the *morgado* of Póvoa, also founded and administered by men linked to the royal court and high officialdom⁸⁸.

80 Silva, 2012, pp. 102–103.

81 Rosa, 2012a, p. 779.

82 Will (1426–11–01) – VINC000334 TN EA/001aa; TT-HSJ-014, fls. 164v–166v.

83 Will chart (1450–06–03) – VINC000225 GMP EA/001aa; TT-MSDL-54, fls. 112v–114.

84 Chapel foundation deed (1485–04–22) – VINC000238 GVCBBV EA/003; BNP-ACVB-009–0011.

85 Donation letter (1491–10–20) – VINC000238 GVCBBV EA/002aa; TT-HSJ-156, fls. 276v–279.

86 Rosa, 2012a, pp. 530–531.

87 Rosa, 2012a, p. 531.

88 Morgado described in the database under the identifier VINC000015. On this entail, see Rosa, 1995, pp. 69–74.



This journey culminated in the granting of the title of Count of Vila Nova de Portimão to D. Martinho de Castelo Branco, the son of that couple and administrator of both entails⁸⁹.

It is the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, that provide the main examples of founders hailing from the royal bureaucracy established in Lisbon, a city already linked to the empire's territories. During these two centuries, there were many founders who were members of the King's Council and/or held positions such as *estribeiro-mor*, *tesoureiro-mor* of the kingdom, *escrivão da Fazenda régia*, *contador dos Contos do reino*, as well as *desembargador* or *chanceler da Casa da Suplicação*, among others. For example, consider Francisco Eanes, *estribeiro-mor*, who founded a *morgado* with a chapel in the convent of São Domingos in 1506⁹⁰, Fernando Álvares de Andrade, a member of the King's Council and *tesoureiro-mor do rei*, founder of a *morgado* with a chapel dated 1549⁹¹, Gaspar Rebelo de Abreu, *escrivão da Fazenda régia*, who established a chapel in the monastery of Santíssima Trindade, extant in May 1578⁹², Gaspar Lopes de Murga, *contador dos Contos do rei*, institutor of a chapel in the convent of São Francisco prior to 1600⁹³, and, lastly, doctor João Gomes Leitão, simultaneously a member of the King's Council, *fidalgo* of the King's Household and *chanceler da Casa da Suplicação*, who, together with his wife Helena de Moura, established a *morgado* in Lisbon in 1629⁹⁴.

The sociological characterisation of the founders who held positions in the upper echelons of the royal circle in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would not be complete without mentioning those who carried out their duties overseas or in institutions based in Lisbon, but responsible for the administration and government of the empire. For the sixteenth century, the catalogued documents reveal entails founded by Vasco

89 Rosa, 2012a, p. 531.

90 Will ([before 1506-05-13]) – VINC000223 FECF EA/002aa; TT-MSDL-49, fls. 121-123.

91 Will (1549-08-12) – VINC004978 FAAIP EA/001; TT-GCL-RV-97, fls. 41v-47v.

92 Will (1578-05-14) – VINC007844 GRAHB EA/001; TT-CSTRL-104, fls. 419-424.

93 Will (extract) ([before 1600-10-02]) – VINC005743 GLM EA/001a; TT-HSJ-004, fls. 180v-183; Will (extract) (1635-09-10) – VINC005743 GLM EA/003; TT-CSFL-001, fls. 51v-54.

94 Entail foundation deed (1629-07-03) – VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002ba; TT-IMC-NA-194, fls. 4-8.



Eanes Côrte-Real, who made additions to the *morgado* established by his wife, D. Joana da Silva, between 1517 and 1535⁹⁵, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, together with D. Guiomar de Eça, his wife, before 1545⁹⁶, and not least Vasco Fernandes César and Inês Gonçalves Batavias, his wife, in 1556⁹⁷. The first two founders exercised their offices of governance, at least for a part of their lives, in Portuguese territories overseas. In fact, Vasco Eanes Côrte-Real was, beyond his membership of the King's Council and role of *alcaide-mor* of Tavira, was captain of the islands of Terceira and São Jorge in the Azores⁹⁸. He would be succeeded by his son, Cristóvão Côrte-Real, as proscribed when D. Joana da Silva made her will and founded the *morgado*⁹⁹. Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, meanwhile, performed his duties in more distant territory, having been governor of India¹⁰⁰. Many Portuguese nobles went in search of honour and wealth on the subcontinent. Vasco Fernandes César, a *fidalgó* of the King's Household, was linked to the imperial administration, but from Lisbon, where he was *guarda-mor das naus da Índia, Mina e suas armadas*¹⁰¹.

In the seventeenth century, there are fewer founders who held positions related to the administration of overseas territories. However, there is a novelty among the founders in this study: two of them developed their careers in Brazil, not on the islands or in India, as had been common in the sixteenth century. These pioneers were, firstly, Diogo Cirne, founder of a *morgado* with a chapel in the church of São Julião, in 1616¹⁰² and, secondly, Duarte de Albuquerque Coelho, who, together with his wife Joana de Castro, received a chapel in the monastery of Santíssima

95 Will (1517-10-11) – VINC000263 JSVECR EA/003aa; TT-C-J3-D-10, fls. 175-175v; Confirmation letter (1535-12-16) – VINC000263 JSVECR EA/003b; TT-C-J3-D-10, fls. 177-177v.

96 Will ([1545]) – VINC001376 LVSGE EA/003; TT-CSTRL-105, fls. 116-119.

97 Entail foundation deed (1556-09-19) – VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001a; TT-C-J3-P-3, fls. 214-222.

98 Exemplification (1535-01-27) – VINC000263 JSVECR EA/003a; TT-C-J3-D-10, fl. 175.
99 Will (1517-10-11) – VINC000263 JSVECR EA/003aa; TT-C-J3-D-10, fl. 175. On this entail and the couple of founders, see Rosa, 2012a, pp. 392-397.

100 Lopo Vaz de Sampaio is mentioned as governor of India in the will of his wife, D. Guiomar de Eça, in 1545, when she was already a widow. Will ([1545]) – VINC001376 LVSGE EA/003; TT-CSTRL-105, fls. 116-119.

101 Entail foundation deed (1556-09-19) – VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001a; TT-C-J3-P-3, fls. 214-222.

102 Will (1616-11-11) – VINC000925 DC EA/001; TT-AA-RA-39, fls. 328v-331v.



Trindade for their burial and suffrage of their souls in 1625¹⁰³, the institution of which took place in 1627¹⁰⁴. Both men served in Pernambuco. While Diogo Cirne was *provedor da Fazenda* in that captaincy, according to his will of 1616, as mentioned, Duarte de Albuquerque Coelho was captain and governor, as indicated by the apostolic sentence of 1627. Like many of the other institutors listed to this point, these men found a way to increase and/or consolidate their social position and eventually accumulate wealth in the empire, later utilising the founding of entails in the homeland as a perpetual manifestation of that power.

The socio-professional status of the founders who exercised power in its many forms was not limited to positions in the royal administration. In context, the sample included founders linked to the municipal government, a place to spend a large part of one's social career, often with the aim of achieving nobility. In contrast to the other analysed groups, the members of the municipal oligarchy who established entails in Lisbon were predominantly active in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There are names generally associated with the exercise of municipal power belonging to families that had been prominent in the municipal government for generations: the Palhavã, Carregueiro and Almada families, and self-evidently the Nogueiras, with whom some members of these other families formed marital alliances¹⁰⁵.

At the very beginning of the fourteenth century, a Palhavã, João Eanes, and his wife, Sancha Pires, could have been found, in 1306, instructing masses at the monastery of São Domingos – they wished to be buried there, specifically in the chapel built by Maria Soares, who was interred with her husband, Martinho Pires Palhavã, and their daughter¹⁰⁶. Although he was not a Palhavã by blood, taking his surname from Martinho Pires Palhavã, by whom he was *criado* ([lit. created] in the sense that he was raised by the couple, not because he was their servant), João

103 Contract and bond deed (1625-09-26) – VINC007888 DACJC EA/001b; TT-CSTRL-104, fls. 107-113v.

104 Apostolic sentence (1627-12-01) – VINC007888 DACJC EA/001; TT-CSTRL-104, fls. 97-118v.

105 As mentioned above, studies on these families include those by Miguel Gomes Martins, Mário Farelo and Gonçalo Silva. Martins, 1997-1998; Martins, 2007; Farelo, 2007; Farelo, 2008; Silva, 2012.

106 Will (1306-08-23) – VINC000649 JEPSP EA/002aa; TT-FC-CC-4, fls. 76-77.



Eanes was a merchant and *cidadão* of Lisbon, and the progenitor of an important line of officials in the municipal administration¹⁰⁷. His connection to Martinho Pires Palhavã and Maria Soares, for whom he was executor, contributed to his rise and social affirmation and he continued to benefit from this couple's protection even after their death¹⁰⁸. His choice to refound the chapel of Martinho Pires and Maria Soares including his wife demonstrates how, in a certain sense, artificial kinship can imitate sanguine bonds, whilst still having the same value and functions both in life and in death. The possibility that João Eanes did this for the honour and reinforcement of his status that could have come from it must, however, also be considered. As Ana Cláudia Silveira pointed out, “a opção por um local comum para estabelecer as suas sepulturas afigura-se um factor de coesão da linhagem, traduzindo uma tentativa de afirmar a união, o prestígio e o poder da família”¹⁰⁹.

With a very similar sociological profile, Afonso Eanes Carregueiro, the founder of a chapel in the same monastery in 1347¹¹⁰, was also a merchant and oligarch, and likewise a royal official. Correspondingly, although he did not hold any municipal office, participating only as a *homem-bom* in the *vereação* (council) meetings, he was the origin of a significant family of subsequent municipal administrators¹¹¹.

Finally, in 1383, the institution of a chapel by the only founder considered in this study who actually held office in the city council is documented: that of Vasco Lourenço de Almada¹¹². As well as being a *cidadão*, Vasco Lourenço was a *vereador* (councillor) between 1365 and 1366, and *procurador do concelho* (council attorney) between 1381 and 1383. It is of value to add that, like the two previous founders, he originated within the city's commercial elite, having been a merchant of great economic importance¹¹³.

107 Martins, 1997–1998; Silveira, 2007; Farelo, 2008, pp. 481–487.

108 Martins, 1997–1998, pp. 62–63.

109 Transl.: “the choice of a common location for their graves appears to be a factor of lineage cohesion, reflecting an attempt to affirm the unity, prestige and power of the family”. Silveira, 2007, p. 198.

110 Will (1347–09–05) – VINCO00017 AECCG EA/001a; TT-HSJ–008, fls. 1v–5v.

111 Farelo, 2007, p. 151; Farelo, 2008, pp. 649–654.

112 Codicil (1383–05–29) – VINCO00033 VLA EA/001a; TT-HSJ–147, fls. 345–346v.

113 Farelo, 2008, pp. 663–666.



This simple fact explains his accumulation of wealth and interest in entailing part of the sum toward the perpetuation of his memory and display of his power.

In these last centuries of the Middle Ages, another particularly interesting entwinement occurs: the presence among the institutors of women married to, or widows of, members of the municipal administration – who *themselves* belonged to families with links to municipal power. This is the scenario encountered when considering both Sancha Eanes Palhavã, founder of a chapel in the church of Santa Justa prior to February 1393¹¹⁴, and Catarina Eanes Carreira, institutor of a chapel spread across the churches of Santa Justa, and the convents of São Francisco and Nossa Senhora da Graça in 1490¹¹⁵.

Sancha Eanes Palhavã was the daughter of João Eanes Palhavã and Sancha Pires, as featured, and the wife of Pedro Esteves, *tesoureiro* (treasurer) of the municipality of Lisbon, and also *alvazil-geral* and *vereador*, furthermore having held offices in the local royal administration, such as judge and city's *almoxarife*¹¹⁶. In turn, Catarina Eanes Carreira was the widow of Álvaro do Casal, a *cidadão*, *vereador* of the municipality and *provedor* of the *Hospital dos Meninos*¹¹⁷. Both Álvaro do Casal and João Carreiro, the founder's father, belonged to the city council's ruling elite. In fact, Álvaro do Casal may have inherited the position of *provedor* of the *Hospital dos Meninos* from the João Carreiro¹¹⁸. Both men thus contributed to the social status of wife and daughter, a part of the urban elites who found a way of demonstrating their power in their home city in the entailment institution.

This sociological characterisation between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries would not be complete without referring to merchants:

114 This date is indicated by Cláudia Silveira, in Silveira, 2007, p. 201. The oldest document relating to this chapel described in the project's database dates from 7 January 1420 and corresponds to an administration letter, at a time when the founder's lineage was already extinguished. Administration letter (1420-01-07) – VINC000052 SEP EA/001a; CP-J1-4-1, pp. 154-156.

115 Will chart (1490-11-26) – VINC000188 CEC EA/001aa; TT-HSJ-463, fls. 396-403.

116 Silveira, 2007, p. 201; Farelo, 2008, pp. 485-486 and 617-618.

117 Rosa, 2012a, pp. 282, n. 420 and 759.

118 Rosa, 2012a, p. 282, n. 420.



they also occupied prominent positions. Indeed, commercial activity was a catalyst for social mobility, sometimes leading to nobility for those who devoted themselves sufficiently¹¹⁹. Similarly, from the sixteenth century onwards, trading became a profession of the nobility, who found a world of new opportunities in overseas trade¹²⁰. As has been seen, many of King Manuel I's courtiers and royal officials were also involved in mercantile activities across the empire, accumulating wealth whilst furnishing their homes with oriental luxuries, "fundando morgados e capelas, e planeando para os seus descendentes um caminho de ascensão social"¹²¹.

This socio-economic tranche has been present among the studied founders from before the fourteenth century – and became even more numerous in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Consider, for example, that some oligarchs and municipal officials started out as merchants, as was the case with João Eanes de Palhavã, Afonso Eanes Carregueiro and Vasco Lourenço de Almada. However, the most forthcoming documentary references to the merchants who founded chapels and *morgados* in the city date back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a time when this activity played a major role in the social ascension of the Lisbon elite. In the sixteenth century, references can be found regarding chapels instituted by the merchants Vicente Pinto, in the convent of São Francisco prior to 1567¹²², and Luís Mendes, in the convent of São Domingos in 1594¹²³. In the following century, the founding documents describe wholesale merchants, owners of lucrative trading companies and/or dedicated to the luxury goods trade. Exemplifying this, Amador Rodrigues and his wife, Maria de Castanheda, founded a *morgado* with houses in Lisbon and a chapel in the church of São Julião in 1626 – he was a silk merchant¹²⁴. Amaro de Cerqueira, on the other hand, when he founded a chapel in the church of São Nicolau in 1674, identified himself as a merchant, referring to his commercial activities in various parts of the empire, such as

119 Pereira, 1998, pp. 288–289.

120 Pereira, 1998, pp.324–334.

121 Transl.: "founding *morgados* and chapels, whilst planning a path of social ascension for their descendants". Rosa; Curto, 2021, p. 26.

122 Will (extract) ([before 1567-04-05]) – VINC002561 VP EA/003a; TT-HSJ-059, fls. 322v-323.

123 Will chart (1594-04-16 - 1594-04-17) – VINC005857 LM EA/001a; TT-HSJ-012, fls. 25v-30v.

124 Entail foundation deed (1626-06-17) – VINC007170 ARMC EA/001aa; TT-HSJ-106, fls. 133-140v.



India and Brazil, and in Europe, especially in Italy and the north of Europe, as well as the archives of his “caza” (house), i.e. company, including his “Livro de Rezão” (general ledger)¹²⁵.

During these centuries, however, the New Christian merchants, as referred to throughout this text, are a case to themselves. Although the documents do not always clearly state that they were merchants, there are several men or families of New Christians who dedicated themselves to commercial activity, even achieving nobility through it. One of the best-known examples, already covered in this work, is that of Diogo de Castro do Rio, who became a *fidalgo cavaleiro* without ever abandoning his business¹²⁶. Heitor Mendes de Brito, founder of a *morgado* and chapel in the convent of São Bento de Xabregas between 1601 and 1621¹²⁷ was also a New Christian and merchant, or rather, a buyer of Indian pepper, according to a public debt instrument dated 1593, which came to be entailed unto his chapel¹²⁸. He and his family, including his ancestors, made their way up the social ladder, reaching the status of *fidalgo cavaleiro*¹²⁹.

Mendes de Brito based his social promotion on the spice trade and financial activities, even lending money to the king¹³⁰. His fortune enabled him, as utilised through his will, to guarantee favourable endogamous marriages for his descendants, strengthening economic connections in the case of his daughters and preserving his wealth within the family in the case of his sons. Moreover, he had accumulated significant assets suitable for the foundation of his *morgado* and chapel, a factor which contributed to the preservation of the family’s assets¹³¹. His will clearly shows an acute awareness of the importance of entails to secure the future of his descendants and to externalise his socio-economic power. In fact, he not only founded a chapel of his own, but also ordered his two sons, Fran-

125 Will (1674-01-31) – VINC002500 AC EA/006; TT-HSJ-031, fls. 18v-28v.

126 Olival, 2002, pp. 17-18 and 20-21.

127 Will (extract) (1621-10-25) – VINC002933 HMBGD EA/004; TT-HSJ-129, fls. 221v-223.

128 Public debt instrument (1593) – VINC002933 HMBGD EA/002aa; TT-C-J4-D-3, fls. 349-350v.

129 Olival, 1998; Hutz, 2014, p. 176.

130 He was considered the richest man in Lisbon between the 1580s and 1610s. Bethencourt, 2024, pp. 118-119.

131 Will (extract) (1621-10-25) – VINC002933 HMBGD EA/004; TT-HSJ-129, fls. 221v-223. Olival, 1998, pp. 112-113.



cisco Dias Mendes and Nuno Dias Mendes, to institute a *morgado* each with their own *terças* (available portions), within two years¹³². His sons followed their father's wishes, always considering him as the true founder of both entails¹³³.

Mendes de Brito's descendants consolidated his status and social promotion. His first-born son and main heir, Francisco Dias Mendes, dedicated himself to both commercial and financial activity, becoming linked by marriage to the Fernandes de Elvas family. Quoting Fernanda Olival once again, Francisco Dias Mendes was at the top of the Kingdom's mercantile elite, a position that was reinforced by royal appointment to his role as administrator of the *Companhia Portuguesa das Índias Orientais* (Portuguese East India Company)¹³⁴. Overshadowed by his New Christian origins, this son of Heitor Mendes de Brito was especially committed to consolidating the noble status that the family had already achieved and was still intended to amass. To this end, he resorted to founding a new *morgado* in 1624, whose foundation deed detailed the rules of succession and administration, in order to “perpetuar simultaneamente a memória de seu pai e da sua magnanimidade, o mesmo será dizer da sua riqueza e condição nobre”¹³⁵.

Heitor Mendes de Brito e Elvas, the son of Francisco Dias Mendes and grandson of Heitor Mendes de Brito, in turn, played an essential role in the family's social affirmation, arguably helping it reach its peak. Grandson of the first founder of the Brito family, he also received a *foro de fidalgo cavaleiro* (noble knight's charter) in 1642 and was the first of the family to receive the habit of the Order of Christ in 1657¹³⁶. Thanks to the efforts of both familial lines of ancestors, Heitor Mendes de Brito e Elvas inherited his grandparents' houses and *morgados*, making him a wealthy

132 Will (extract) (1621-10-25) – VINC002933 HMBGD EA/004; TT-HSJ-129, fls. 221v-223.

133 Olival, 1998, p. 114.

134 Olival, 1998, p. 115.

135 Transl.: “to perpetuate the memory of his father and his magnanimity, as well as his wealth and noble status”. Olival, 1998, pp. 116-119. This entail is not included in the VINCULUM project database, because its foundation deed is kept in the fonds “Mesa da Consciência e Ordens”, held in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo, which, in accordance with the criteria outlined in the project and duly substantiated, was not consulted during the course of the project.

136 Olival, 1998, p. 121.



heir. He was administrator of Heitor Mendes de Brito's *morgado* and chapel, in which he was very active, helping to increase assets by subrogating property and acquiring public debt instruments, guaranteeing a certain income for the entail¹³⁷. Moreover, he also became administrator of the chapel established by António Fernandes de Elvas and Maior Fernandes, his paternal grandparents, in the convent of Santíssima Trindade in 1583¹³⁸.

His journey of social advancement was also aided by military service during the Restoration War (1640–1668) and two marriages into the kingdom's Old Christian nobility, inaugurating the family's tactic of marrying at a social level above their own¹³⁹. His successor, Manuel Pereira Coutinho, the second son, took a further step towards the complete integration of the family with the highest nobility of the land, choosing to take his mother's surname, Pereira Coutinho, and abandoning the surname of Mendes de Brito¹⁴⁰.

The gradual withdrawal of Heitor Mendes de Brito's descendants from commercial activities combined with the ongoing and expanding need to support a large number of relatives in the luxurious, ostentatious lifestyle that their growing status demanded eventually led to significant changes in the family. The members of this elevated family, in the transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, went from being bankers and creditors to being dependent on loans. Throughout this period, Heitor Mendes' successors lived off the income from the entails they administered and the public debt instruments they held¹⁴¹ – as such, the family's *morgados* and chapels ensured the maintenance of their status and affirmation of their socio-economic power, a gamut which increasingly resembled that of the other nobles.

137 Public debt instrument (1649-03-26) – VINC002933 HMBGD EA/002a; TT-C-J4-D-3, fls. 349–350v; Subrogation warrant (1687-01-29) – VINC002933 HMBGD EA/003a; TT-C-P2-D-33, fls. 206v-207; Apostille on public debt instrument (1691-11-02) – VINC002933 HMBGD EA/001a; TT-C-P2-D-8, fl. 367.

138 Chapel described in the database under the identifier VINC007834.

139 Olival, 1998, pp. 121 and 125.

140 Olival, 1998, p. 127.

141 Olival, 1998, pp. 128-129.



Other New Christian founders and their families were also involved in the wholesale trade, trading in various parts of the empire and Europe, with examples such as the Ximenes, the Fernandes of Elvas, the Rodrigues of Lisbon, the Rodrigues of Elvas, and the Mata¹⁴². Fernando Rodrigues de Elvas was one of these merchants, wherein his activity is well documented in his will of 1613, through which he founded a *morgado* and a chapel in the church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição¹⁴³. According to his will, his business extended from Brazil to India, passing through Castile and Flanders.

But among the clans mentioned above, attention should be drawn to the Mata family, or Elvas Coronel, as they were originally known, before taking the name of their homestead as their surname. Luís Gomes Elvas Coronel, the future Luís Gomes da Mata, and his descendants took a unique path up the social ladder, reaching the higher nobiliary strata, closer to the king¹⁴⁴. As with other Portuguese New Christians, Luís Gomes came from an Aragonese family that settled in Portugal at the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was a wealthy merchant and venture capitalist who made his living from trading in oriental products and lending money¹⁴⁵. The income from his business enabled him to found a *morgado* and chapel in the convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça through his will, dated 1607, appointing his eldest son, Pedro António da Mata, as the first administrator¹⁴⁶.

Thanks to his services to the king in the prior year, he had taken the most important steps towards nobility. Firstly, in February 1606, King Filipe II made him a *fidalgão de solar* with a coat of arms and the surname Mata. Later, in August, the king made him a knight of his Household and his descendants *moços fidalgos*¹⁴⁷. Between these two events, King Filipe sold him the office of *correio-mor do reino* (postmaster-general of the

142 These families and their businesses were studied by Francisco Bethencourt, in Bethencourt, 2024. The Fernandes de Elvas and the families with whom they were related were the subject of a study by Ana Hutz. Hutz, 2014.

143 Will (1613-05-08) – VINCO08148 FRE EA/001; TT-HSJ-113, fls. 83v-90.

144 Ribeiro, 2005, p. 98.

145 Ribeiro, 2005, p. 100.

146 Will (1607-05-01 - 1607-11-20) – VINCO07647 LGM EA/001; Ferreira, 1964, pp. 11-27.

147 Ribeiro, 2005, pp. 100-101 and 115, n. 12.



kingdom) on 19 July 1606, allowing him closer contact with the institutions of the Crown¹⁴⁸. This acquisition was so important that the family kept the office for two centuries, in fact until its abolition, despite strong accusations regarding their Jewish origins, that threatened the maintenance and exercise of this job¹⁴⁹.

Luís Gomes Mata was not afraid to invest his capital in property, an essential tool to achieve his goals of social advancement. He acquired a palace and houses in Lisbon and the well-known Mata das Flores estate in Loures in this context, an act which ended up giving the family its new surname and is featured on their coat of arms¹⁵⁰. A large proportion of these assets, as well as the office of *correio-mor do reino* itself, were entailed to the *morgado* and chapel established in 1607, in line with the norm set by the kingdom's traditional nobility. The founding document itself reveals a set of behaviours typical of that social tier, of which Luís Gomes da Mata and his descendants were already a part.

One of these behaviours was the obligation to place the coat of arms of the Matas of his generation on the front of their houses, “para que assim possa constar melhor a todo o tempo que as ditas duas moradas de casas são do nosso morgado e apelido dos Matas”¹⁵¹. In the same document, the founder also obligated his sons, Pedro António da Mata and António Gomes da Mata, to establish a *morgado* with defined conditions of succession, demonstrating the importance of entails for this family and its social affirmation.

Following their self-evident success, these strategies were continued by his successors. In 1635, João Gomes da Mata, his third son, founded a *morgado* with the obligation to celebrate masses at the convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça, to which he entailed a two-thirds slice of the

148 Ribeiro, 2005, p. 100.

149 Bethencourt, 2024, pp. 201 and 226-227.

150 Ribeiro, 2005, pp. 100-101.

151 Transl.: “so that it may be better known at all times that the said two houses belong to our *morgado* and surname ‘Mata’”. Will (1607-05-01 - 1607-11-20) – VINCO07647 LGM EA/001; Ferreira, 1964, pp. 11-27.



proportional third of the total inheritances the sons received (his *terça*, or available portion). The remaining part of his *terça* was annexed to the *morgado* established by his father, Luís Gomes da Mata¹⁵². A few years later, in 1641, it was the turn of António Gomes da Mata, Luís Gomes da Mata's second son, to found four *morgados* through his will.

Whilst benefitting as his father's heir and successor in the office of *correio-mor*, António Gomes da Mata continued to his link to commerce, whilst simultaneously reinforcing the family's nobiliary way of life, as Ana Isabel Ribeiro remarked, calling him a "fidalgo mercador" (noble merchant)¹⁵³. As well as administrating his father's *morgado* with undeniable efficiency¹⁵⁴, he married into the nobility, although it was not a fruitful union. This sad eventuality led António Gomes da Mata to turn favour toward four of his nephews, founding a *morgado* for each of them: Luís Gomes da Mata (son of João Gomes da Mata), his main heir, including the office of *correio mor*, and to whom he left his primary entail¹⁵⁵; António Pereira de Lacerda¹⁵⁶; André de Azevedo de Vasconcelos¹⁵⁷; and António Gomes da Mata de Vasconcelos¹⁵⁸.

The first of these *morgados* reveals the capitalist spirit of this family quite clearly along with the growing investment of their money in public debt

152 For this reason, the will of João Gomes da Mata has been described in the database under both his and his father's entail. Will (extract) (1635-11-06) – VINCO07650JGME EA/001; TT-HSJ-152, fl. 65v; Will (extract) (1635-11-06) – VINCO07647 LGM EA/002; TT-HSJ-152, fl. 65v

153 Ribeiro, 2005, p. 102.

154 António Gomes da Mata succeeded his father due, it seems, to the premature death of his older brother, Pedro António da Mata, who was appointed the first administrator by Luís Gomes da Mata. In a contract drawn up with the priests of the convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça in 1609, António Gomes da Mata is already the administrator of his father's *morgado* and it mentions the will of Pedro António da Mata, his brother. Contract and bond deed (1609-09-17) – VINCO07647 LGM EA/004; TT-CNSGL-002, fls. 133-139v.

155 Will (1641-12-11) – VINCO01495 AGM EA/012; MATA, 1652, pp. 4, 28, 60, 67-68, 84-85, 92, 108, 111-113.

156 Will (1641-12-11) – VINCO06998 AGMAPL EA/001; MATA, 1652, pp. 90-92, 127.

157 Will (1641-12-11) – VINCO06999 AGMAAV EA/001; MATA, 1652, pp. 92, 127.

158 Will (1641-12-11) – VINCO06997 AGMAGMV EA/001; MATA, 1652, pp. 92, 101, 127, 54-58, 105.



instruments, ensuring a more effective income than from their immovable property¹⁵⁹.

From this point on, there was a change in behaviour within the Mata family. If António Gomes da Mata still combined the business world with typically noble behaviour, Luís Gomes da Mata, his nephew, concentrated on the “consolidação do seu estatuto e na ascensão à primeira nobreza da Corte”¹⁶⁰. This grandson of the first Luís Gomes da Mata almost completely distanced himself from his mercantile origins, dedicating himself to the administration of the family’s *morgados* and the exercise of the office of *correio-mor* – now including that of *correio-mor das cartas do mar* (postmaster-general of letters sent by sea)¹⁶¹. Both he and his descendants adopted all the other typical behaviour of the nobility, entrusting their second sons to higher education or military careers and their daughters to convents or making advantageous matrimonial alliances with titled nobles¹⁶².

In a similar situation as that which befell the descendants of Heitor Mendes de Brito, the Mata family faced financial problems from the 1690s onwards. This was multifaceted, but primarily due to the abandonment of activities that came with liquidity, in their case trade and money lending. Their wealth was also saddled with the maintenance of a luxurious standard of living that supported their membership of the kingdom’s nobility. It is vital to note that, once again, entails played an important role in

159 See the various apostilles on public debt instrument described in the fonds of this *morgado*, in the project database: Apostille on public debt instrument (1642-07-16) – VINC001495 AGM EA/001a; TT-C-J4-D-3, fl. 77v; Apostille on public debt instrument (1642-07-17) – VINC001495 AGM EA/002a; TT-C-J4-D-3, fl. 78; Apostille on public debt instrument (1642-07-19) – VINC001495 AGM EA/003a; TT-C-J4-D-3, fl. 78; Apostille on public debt instrument (1643-07-29) – VINC001495 AGM EA/004a; TT-C-J4-D-3, fl. 78; Apostille on public debt instrument (1642-07-26) – VINC001495 AGM EA/005a; TT-C-J4-D-3, fl. 78v; Apostille on public debt instrument (1642-07-14) – VINC001495 AGM EA/006a; TT-C-J4-D-3, fl. 79; Apostille on public debt instrument (1699-12-02) – VINC001495 AGM EA/007a; TT-C-P2-D-4, fls. 110-110v; Apostille on public debt instrument (1699-11-23) – VINC001495 AGM EA/008a; TT-C-P2-D-4, fls. 110-110v; Apostille on public debt instrument (1699-11-23) – VINC001495 AGM EA/009a; TT-C-P2-D-4, fls. 111v-112; Apostille on public debt instrument (1699-11-23) – VINC001495 AGM EA/010a; TT-C-P2-D-4, fls. 112-112v; Apostille on public debt instrument (1700-02-20) – VINC001495 AGM EA/011a; TT-C-P2-D-4, fls. 112-112v.

160 Transl.: “consolidation of their status and their rise to the primary nobility of the Court”. Ribeiro, 2005, p. 105.

161 Ribeiro, 2005, p. 105.

162 Ribeiro, 2005, pp. 105-108.



guaranteeing the economic salvation of the family through their pledges¹⁶³. This fact provides ample proof that the social and economic power of the Mata family was largely based on the foundation and administration of *morgados* and chapels. Once these obstacles had been overcome (and following the extinction of the office of *correio-mor*) towards the end of the eighteenth century, the family managed to obtain their much-desired noble title. The last *correio-mor*, Manuel José da Maternidade de Sousa Coutinho, was awarded the title of First Count of Penafiel, thanks to a charter from Queen Maria I in May 1799¹⁶⁴.

This family's commitment and investment in property and public debt instruments, which they soon entailed in *morgados* and chapels, was eventually rewarded with their inclusion in the great titled nobility of the kingdom, demonstrating the importance of these institutions for the elites and their paths up the social ladder.

6.4. Entails as a means of social advancement and power consolidation for the Lisbon elite

When founding a *morgado* or chapel, the members of Lisbon's urban elite precisely invoked the role that entails played in the processes of social mobility, those they underwent and in their own and their families' social affirmation. In fact, regarding the reasons that led these men and women to establish an entail, the documents collated for Lisbon are more extensive than those for Santarém, Évora or Porto. In this respect, the Lisbon founders reveal a greater awareness of their social power, of the importance of *morgados* and chapels for maintaining the status they had achieved, be it noble or otherwise, and for preserving the memory of their lineage. This trend became particularly common from the sixteenth, and throughout the seventeenth century – a time of growing documentary production, establishment of entails and even the social consolidation of many members of the urban elite.

163 Ribeiro, 2005, p. 109.

164 Ribeiro, 2005, p. 112.



Firstly, and foremost, the founders were concerned about their family and preserving its honour and status. One of the main reasons for the foundation of an entail was to perpetuate the lineage in memoriam, whilst also guaranteeing the maintenance of their lifestyle, one which had to be considered appropriate to the social group to which they belonged. Some founders are very clear about this.

At the end of the sixteenth century, D. Pedro de Castilho, bishop of Leiria, founded a *morgado* and chapel for his nephew Diogo de Castilho – whom he raised in his home – with the aim of “rewarding” him with income so that he and his descendants could live honourably according to their noble status and “foro” (privilege). In addition, the entail would allow him to both keep his name and Diogo de Castilho’s successors to serve the king and kingdom honourably¹⁶⁵. In the same year, Madalena de Almada, widow of Luís de Saldanha and daughter of Rui Fernandes de Almada, a *fidalgo* of the King’s Household and diplomat, argued that the *morgados* served the purpose of preserving the name and family, as well as the nobility of the people who established them. He added that entailing assets generated more income so that their owners could “ilustrar a familia de que descendião e servir a seu Rey na guerra e na paz”¹⁶⁶.

In 1676, António de Sousa de Macedo and his wife Mariana Lemercier justified the foundation of their *morgado*, stretching from Lisbon to Brazil, on the grounds that it would help serve in memoriam and for the better support of the nobility of its owners, who would also have more “cabedal para melhor servirem a Republica”¹⁶⁷. This desire to serve the state can be better understood if António de Sousa Macedo’s social status and the various public offices he held over the years are considered: *comendador* (commander) of Santiago de Souselas of the Order of Christ (1662)¹⁶⁸; *secretário de Estado* (secretary of State), *capitão-general* of Ilha Grande

165 Donation deed (1596-04-18) – VINC001993 PC EA/005aa; TT-HSJ-014, fls. 15-25.

166 Transl.: “illustrate the family from which they descended and serve their King in war and peace”. Entail foundation deed (1596-06-22 - 1596-06-28) – VINC004974 MA EA/001; TT-GCL-RV-94, fls. 219-219v.

167 Transl.: “money to better serve the Republic”. Entail foundation deed (1676-05-20 - 1676-05-22) – VINC003046 ASMML EA/003a; TT-HSJ-086, fl. 9v.

168 Dowry deed (1662-01-08) – VINC003046 ASMML EA/002b; TT-HSJ-093, fls. 62v-67.



de Joanes (Brazil), Lord of the *honra* of Frazão and *alcaide-mor* of the town of Castelo de Numão (1666); and *fidalgo* of the King's Household (1674)¹⁶⁹. This is an aspect that this pair of founders, Pedro de Castilho and Madalena de Almada have in common: their *morgados*, through the honour they conferred and the wealth they generated, allowed these nobles to better serve the king, both in times of peace and war.

From the information contained in a document written after the foundation of the *morgado*, it can be seen that Luís de Melo da Silva, like the previous founders, was fully aware of the social power of his family and the contribution that the *morgados* could make to the maintenance and manifestation of that same power and status. According to a letter of remission of pious charges from 1631, Luís de Melo da Silva, identified as a nobleman, founded his *morgado* with the assets acquired from the wealth he had accumulated in India, such that his successors would be able to maintain the dignity of the family “com ho respeito de tanta nobreza e aparentada com as principaes familias de Portugal e Castella”¹⁷⁰. He not only mentions his family's noble origins, but also links it to the most important lineages in the kingdoms of Portugal and neighbouring Castile, reinforcing their honour and the place they occupied in the Portuguese society of the Ancien Régime.

The family – past, present and future – had a very significant impact on the formation of entails. It is clear that the founders valued their ancestors, to whom they owed their origin and advantage. There was also a clear desire for continuity through the generations, foreseeing the growth of economic power among their descendants. In 1560, this was precisely the aim of Rui Gago de Andrade, a member of the King's Council and the *Desembargo do Paço*, and D. Catarina de Brito, his wife. The fact that they had no children made them aspire to elevate their descendants, such that their status could not fall – and it was up to the administrator to guarantee the family's preservation and sustenance – “que nossa geração

169 Deed of sale ([1674-05-02]) – VINCO03046 ASMML EA/002; TT-HSJ-093, fls. 53v-84v.

170 Transl.: “with the respect of such nobility and related to the principal families of Portugal and Castile”. Carta de remissão do encargo pio ([1631]-01-20) – VINCO04997 LMS EA/002; TT-GCLR-V-101, fls. 230.



seja aumentada e va em merecimento de honra para gloria de Deus e não torne atras”¹⁷¹. Although usually reserved for first-born sons, the *morgados* could compensate for a lack of progeny and ensure the perpetuation of the family’s accumulated heritage and memory by assigning them to a relative capable of assuming these duties.

In the following century, doctor João Gomes Leitão, a bureaucrat in the service of the king and his wife, D. Helena de Moura, had a similar motive for founding a *morgado* made up of properties and public debt instruments in Lisbon for their son, Baltasar Leitão da Silveira in 1629. As well as wanting to enrich their generation economically and socially, the founding couple wished to perpetuate their fame through their offspring, to prevent their career and prominent place in society from being forgotten¹⁷².

Many founders assumed that they had only achieved the status and socio-economic power they held at the time of founding an entail thanks to their ancestors. In some cases, a common formula showing gratitude for those who had left them their property was used in the process. For example, Isabel de Avelar, widow of Henrique Nunes de Leão, founder of a *morgado* and chapel in the convent of São Francisco de Xabregas in 1566, and António Cordovil, institutor of a *morgado* and a chapel in the convent of São Domingos in 1591, with assets in Lisbon and other locations, included the same ideological excerpt to justify their institutions.

Both chose to entail their wealth and appoint a person who, through their entailed assets, would both represent them and remember “dos troncos por que ficou rico e honrado”¹⁷³. Their duties also included commending the souls of the founders to God and keeping alive the memory of those who left them their property¹⁷⁴. This excerpt summarises some of the main motivations behind the entails, especially the chapels: the salvation of the soul and the memory of the lineage. As far as the urban elites were con-

171 Transl.: “that our generation be increased and go on in merit of honour for the glory of God and not fall back”. Will chart (1560-07-29) – VINC000785 RGACB EA/001aa; TT-AA-RA-29, fls. 127-131.

172 Entail foundation deed (1629-07-03) – VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002ba; TT-IMC-NA-194, fl. 4.

173 Transl.: “the trunks by which he became rich and honoured”.

174 Entail foundation deed (1566-04-18-1566-04-19) – VINC001880 IA EA/003a; TT-HSJ-157, fls. 141-141v; Will chart (1591-08-02) – VINC000848 AC EA/001; TT-AA-RA-46, fls. 334-334v.



cerned, remembering their ancestors, including them when their souls were suffraged and recognising their contribution to their rise and social consolidation, revealed the power achieved by the family or lineage, reinforcing their identity as a condition for exercising power¹⁷⁵.

By this juncture, the family chapels and graves were preponderant. Through them, the desire to honour the family, guarantee the perpetuation of its memory and commemorate the ancestors who had contributed to the social rise of the lineage found material expression. Founders invested part of their patrimony and accumulated wealth, – often accumulated in the exercise of their commercial, military or administrative activities throughout the empire – in the architecture and ornamentation of their chapels and the construction of their tombs and those of their relatives.

Uniformly across the cities under study, there are many references to jewellery, vestments, altarpieces, images of saints and other artistic details that enhanced not only the chapels, but also the churches and monasteries where they were located. These sites often took on the role of a family pantheon, containing existing tombs where the founders' ancestors rested, and/or others whom they commissioned to hold the remains of relatives, themselves and their descendants. The chapels thus became places of family worship, full of symbolism and external demonstration of their social and economic power, presenting themselves as one of the landmarks characterising the establishment of the elites within the urban patriciate¹⁷⁶.

As for the use of the chapels founded by members of Lisbon's elites as family pantheons, the documents produced by the city's entails show that it was quite common for the institutors to choose to be buried with their relatives, past, present and even future. Miguel Leitão de Andrade defined the meaning of these funeral chapels in 1627, determining that his tomb with a *carneiro* would be for “os que de minha parentella, e ademenistradores de meu morgado ahi se quizerem enterrar”¹⁷⁷. The family circle

175 Rosa, 2012a, p. 405.

176 Sánchez Saus, 1991, p. 299.

177 Transl.: “those of my kin, and administrators of my *morgado* who wish to be buried there”. Will (1627-09-28) – VINC005871 MLA EA/001; TT-HSJ-013, fls. 49v-60.



could, in fact, be rather broad – and even extend beyond a single lineage, as in the case of the chapel of the bachelor João Gil. In 1505, he ordered his body to be buried in the chapel of São João, in the monastery of Nossa Senhora do Carmo in Lisbon. This chapel belonged to his father-in-law, João Afonso, and his wife and heirs, but was also the spot where João Gil’s predecessors Jorge Lopes and Lourenço Mendes had decided to be buried¹⁷⁸. This example shows us how the representation of cohesion and power went beyond a single lineage, bringing together the members of both of a couple’s families in the same chapel, augmenting the social importance of the new founders.

In most cases, the founders chose to be buried with their closest ancestors, such as parents, siblings and grandparents, and/or their nuclear family (spouse and children) and direct descendants. The entails founded in the seventeenth century are particularly rich in this respect. In 1637, Diogo Mendes de Castro founded a chapel in the sacristy of the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz in Lisbon intended for the burial of himself, his wife and heirs, as well as all the people he would ordain. He also ordered his heirs to transfer the bones of his ancestors to the chapel, making the sacristy a “cauza nossa própria (...) na qual se não sepultara outra pessoa algua”¹⁷⁹. Jorge de Albuquerque, conversely, chose to limit the occupation of his tomb to his nuclear family and heirs. In his will of 1649, he expressed his wish to be buried in the chapel that he and his wife, D. Ana de Noronha, had purchased in the monastery of Santíssima Trindade. He was very clear, indicating that they had bought this chapel explicitly for his burial and that of their heirs¹⁸⁰. Francisco Velasco de Gouveia founded a *morgado* centred in a chapel located in the cloister of São Domingos in 1651, the site his father and mother already lay within, and where he and his brothers would also be buried¹⁸¹. While some founders chose to join their ancestors both physically and spiritually, others broke with the past and began a new pious and funerary cycle, choosing their nuclear family and their descendants as their eternal companions.

178 Will (1505–04–23) – VINC000276 JG EA/001a; TT-HSJ-1191, fls. 194–197v.

179 Transl.: “our own cause (...) in which no other person will be buried”. Chapel foundation deed (1637–07–21) – VINC002821 DMC EA/004; TT-HSJ-025, fls. 237–237v.

180 Will (1649–02–12) – VINC003127 JA EA/002a; TT-CSTRL-105, fls. 312v–313.

181 Will (extract) ([1651–12–04]) – VINC000630 FVG EA/001; TT-AA-RA-56, fl. 114.



In order to give these liturgical spaces greater solemnity and to demonstrate their power, the founders invested part of their wealth in the decoration of their chapels. Wills, foundation deeds, contracts with monasteries and other documents are rich in detailed descriptions of these places. There was an abundance of jewellery, vestments, artistic works and architectural details that distinguished a private chapel within a church, a clear display of the economic and social power of those who sponsored them¹⁸². References to liturgical implements, vestments and artistic works, majoritatively altarpieces and panels, are particularly abundant. These represented the saints of the chapel's invocation or of the greatest devotion of the founders or administrators. Chapels can be found with the image of the Holy Spirit¹⁸³ or St Anthony¹⁸⁴, even Queen St Elizabeth and Santo Amaro as decoration¹⁸⁵. However, among the many descriptions of paintings found in the documentation, the altarpiece for the chapel of Joana da Silva and Vasco Eanes Côrte-Real is a highlight. It was commissioned by Vasco Eanes, according to his will of 1523 where the testator ordered a “really good” altarpiece from Flanders, to be placed in the chapel. It was to depict the image of Our Lady of Consolation, another of Our Lady with the Angel and another of Our Lady of the Conception, “de que Dona Joanna hera muito devota”¹⁸⁶. Vasco Eanes' commitment is quite evident, investing in a piece of art produced in one of the most artistically dynamic locations of the time. This is something that “Nosso Senhor agradecerá”¹⁸⁷, as the testator himself said.

References to liturgical implements, such as jewellery and vestments, were even more common, probably due to their more utilitarian functions during liturgical celebrations where they conferred greater solemnity. Many founders bequeathed chalices, patens, cruets, frontals and altar cloths of the most varied fabrics to their chapels – the examples are numerous.

182 Rosa, 2012a, p. 606.

183 Will (extract) (1514-07-08) – VINC000250 IM EA/003b; TT-GCL-RV-103, fl. 249v.

184 Will (extract) ([before 1674]) – VINC002922 ALFF EA/006; TT-HSJ-051, fls. 274-274v.

185 Contract and bond deed (1629-02-05 - 1629-04-11) – VINC007048 NMB EA/002a; TT-HSJ-031, fls. 210v-211.

186 Transl.: “of whom Dona Joanna was very devoted”. Will (extract) (1523-01-26) – VINC000263 JSVECR EA/007; TT-CSFL-004, fl. 469.

187 Transl.: “Our Lord will surely be grateful for”.



Among them, the founders who played an active role in Portugal's expansion are clear, with the presence of objects from distant, exotic places or indeed others acquired with the fortunes they accumulated overseas being evident. This seems to have been the case with Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, governor of India, and his wife, Guiomar de Eça. In 1545, through her will, she endowed her chapel with various silver objects such as a cross, a chalice with paten, a holy water cauldron and cruets, as well as countless furnishings, including frontals, vestments, altarpiece curtains, carpets and hand towels, among others¹⁸⁸. It was even specified in the description of the altarpiece curtains that some were from Bengal, suggesting that they had been imported or brought from the Indian subcontinent, where Lopo Vaz de Sampaio served as governor.

Luís de Melo da Silva, who, as seen, also made his fortune in India, bequeathed a remarkable set of silver items for the celebration of the Mass for his soul, including a bell, candlesticks, a cauldron for holy water, scissors and cruets, as well as fabrics to make vestments, which would be delivered to the sacristy of the monastery of Madre de Deus in Xabregas¹⁸⁹. In fact, Luís de Melo da Silva had a special fondness for jewellery, as he attached various pieces of jewellery to his *morgado*, such as diamond, ruby and sapphire rings, signet rings with his coat of arms and some valuable weapons, including a sword from Japan¹⁹⁰. All of these pieces eloquently reflect the material power of these founders and even the identity of their own lineage, as embodied in the family coat of arms.

These heraldic elements, together with the signs, were used to identify the founders and their lineage. It was common for the founders to order the family arms to be affixed to the portals or entrance arches of their chapels. Sometimes, the obligation to place the coat of arms fell to the friars of the monastery where the chapel was located, and complete descriptions of these spaces can be found in the contracts drawn up between them and the founders or administrators of the entail.

188 Will ([1545]) – VINC001376 LVSGE EA/003; TT-CSTRL-105, fls. 117–117v.

189 Codicil (extract) (1573–01–24) – VINC004997 LMS EA/001; TT-GCL-RV-101, fl. 225v.

190 Codicil (extract) (1573–01–24) – VINC004997 LMS EA/001; TT-GCL-RV-101, fl. 228v.



In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the administrators of the *morgados* and chapels of Francisco Botelho and Beatriz de Castanheda, and also Gaspar Cardoso de Almeida, drew up contracts with the priests of the convent of São Domingos of Benfca and the monastery of Santíssima Trindade respectively, indicating how the coat of arms of the institutor was to be placed in both chapels. In 1576, the priests of São Domingos determined that Francisco Botelho's coat of arms should be placed on the arch of the chancel of their monastery, strictly specifying its size and the space it occupied¹⁹¹. It was determined in 1583 that the chapel of Gaspar Cardoso de Almeida, located in the cloister of the monastery of Santíssima Trindade and described in some detail in the records, should include his coat of arms, with its crest and foliage, just as the founder had them on his curtains¹⁹². This practice would avoid errors in heraldic representation and guarantee that the coats of arms placed in the chapel were the correct ones, becoming the customary reference point¹⁹³.

The signs were even more direct in their identification of the founders. They could even contain direct references to their social status or to episodes in their lives that were of primary significance in achieving the social status and power they held. In the sample of entails selected for this study, there are many cases of founders who used this means of identification. One of the most curious examples was Isidro de Almeida, a military man who specialised in explosive mines and fires. In 1572, he had his tomb constructed in the chapel he was then establishing in the convent of São Bento de Campolide (Lisbon), on which he would have had his name inscribed, the "good fortune" he had at the siege of Mazagan (1562) and his contemporary journey in Africa¹⁹⁴. Isidro de Almeida found a slightly more original way of signalling his social importance, standing out among his peers for his feats of arms. António Lopes, on the other hand, was quite clear in his will, dated at the end of August 1651, writing down the phrase that should appear on his sign which he had placed on

191 Declaration deed (1576-08-11) – VINC006437 FBBC EA/004a; TT-HSJ-016, fls. 97v-98v.

192 Contract and bond deed (1583-04-22) – VINC007853 GCA EA/002; TT-CSTR-105, fls. 262v-263.

193 Rosa, 1995, pp. 114-115.

194 Will (1572-08-30) – VINC007989 IA EA/001a; TT-GLS-016-0129, fls. 5-5v. On Isidro de Almeida, see Nóvoa, 2016, pp. 149-150.



his grave. As well as indicating his date of passing and that of his deceased wife, Inês Salvado, he also included his socio-professional status. It is thanks to this dissemination of funereal information that we know that António Lopes was a surgeon and a *familiar do Santo Ofício* (the Portuguese Inquisition)¹⁹⁵.

This broad panoply of examples show that the chapels in Lisbon, like those in Santarém, Évora and Porto, truly took on the dimensions of a place of memory and perpetuation of lineage¹⁹⁶. They brought together ascendants and descendants in a sacred space rich with symbols which the founders carefully chose and sponsored in order to represent themselves in the urban community in which they had lived, meanwhile displaying their economic and social power.

195 Will (1651-08-29) – VINC002922 ALFF EA/002; TT-HSJ-051, fl. 251.

196 Roth, 2007, p. 234.



CONCLUSION

Throughout this now concluded study, this author has endeavoured to understand the link between the institution of entails and the exercise of power, in its multiple aspects, between the beginning of the fourteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century. In order to prove the theory that the urban elite, as associated with various forms of power, founded *morgados* and chapels as a means of achieving longed-for social ascension or as a method of maintaining and demonstrating their status, a series of questions were posed. The fullest possible answers to these were generated using the documentation gathered during the VINCULUM project. In this way, it has been possible to understand who founded entails and what their social, professional and family context was; how the founders and their descendants evolved socially; what contribution the *morgados* and chapels made to both the social mobility of the studied groups and the preservation of their power and place in their communities; and how the founding documents, through their clauses, rules of operation and descriptions of chapels and other constructions, externalised the economic and social power of their authors.

In order to achieve these objectives, four cities were selected as case studies: Santarém, Évora, Porto and Lisbon. These proved to be suitable choices given their social characteristics, entails and volume of extant documentation. All have specific and generalised aspects that made it possible, across a broad perspective, to answer all the questions posed, or to further problematise certain aspects. It is, however, important to emphasise that as a result of various constraints, particularly of a heuristic nature, the



samples drawn for each city are somewhat varied. Firstly, the differences between the total number of entails located in each city and recorded in the database naturally resulted in a varied number of entails being selected. Further, these values also depend on the quality of the information collected on the entails in each city. This asymmetry between the samples led to different approaches being taken from one city to another, with these differences primarily seen in the type of information analysed and the time period most often considered. As found, records for Santarém and Évora dating from the medieval centuries are particularly common, whilst for Porto and Lisbon the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries predominate, allowing the opportunity of a broader perspective of the phenomena under study.

As for Santarém and Évora, the greater attention paid to entails established in the Middle Ages is explained through heuristic reasoning. In fact, for both cities, the *tombos* of chapels ordered by King Manuel I were catalogued and analysed, records which refer to chapels founded mostly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, for the already stated reasons, certain collections of documents produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not consulted, such as the fonds of the *provedorias*. These may have provided a greater amount of data and qualitative information regarding the entails established in those later centuries. The existence of a rich bibliography relating to these cities in the Middle Ages has contributed to an analysis that naturally tends to focus on that period. Even so, the importance of the entails founded in later centuries should not be overlooked, as some indeed had great importance. These records have also been accounted for in the approach to the two cities, offering a more complete picture of the foundation of *morgados* and chapels by the elite over time.

With regard to the cities of Porto and Lisbon, despite the considerable number of entails founded in the Middle Ages, those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries predominate. In addition to the continued rationale for documentary and bibliographical research, given that information is more abundant for the Early Modern Period, this work allotted greater importance to the institutions of those centuries in these locations.



Moreover, Porto and, even more so, Lisbon offer the ideal conditions for a more complete study of the impact of Portugal's expansion on the foundation of entails by the studied elite demographic: one of the central points of this work. For this reason, *morgados* and chapels founded by people who had made their fortunes and risen through the ranks of imperial administration, arms or overseas trade were selected.

As shown, each of the four cities has particular characteristics that make them excellent objects for studying the entailment practices of urban elites and their strategies for upward mobility. Santarém is the smallest city considered in this study and stands out for its proximity to Lisbon above all, where the royal court had been based since the late Middle Ages. Perhaps because of its size – but also because of the research options taken within the scope of the VINCULUM project – it is the city for which the smallest number of entails was collected and, consequently, the smallest sample for analysis. These characteristics and circumstances ended up conditioning the approach to the *morgados* and chapels founded by the elites of Santarém. Nevertheless, through the documents collected, it was possible to recognise the significant number of people linked to municipal and, ultimately, royal power among those who instituted entails. Many came from circles close to the king or had connections to the territories of the empire, choosing the town of Santarém to build their residences and found their *morgados* and chapels.

The cases of Gil do Sem, Branca Eanes and Martinho do Sem, literates, royal officials and members of the King's Council are particularly interesting; Gil Eanes da Costa and Joana da Silva, with their son and his wife, Gil Eanes da Costa and Margarida de Noronha, were descendants of D. Álvaro da Costa, whose social rise was due to their service to King Manuel I; meanwhile Gonçalo Gil Barbosa and his wife Mécia Mendes de Aguiar became rich, him serving the role of *feitor* in India, achieving prestige and social nobility thanks to his service to the king in the colonies.

Given many documents mainly relating to chapels, the relationship between the suffrage of the soul and the awareness of the power achieved by the founders and their families has been explored. The choice of relatives



to be suffraged after death and of burial sites reveals the importance of memorialising ancestors for social groups with greater material and symbolic wealth – reinforcing family/lineage identity and the social power achieved. However, during a process of social ascension, the founders could break with the past and present themselves as the new lynchpin in the lineage, inaugurating a fresh phase in the family’s history as a result of their own achievements. The power of the elites of Santarém is also reflected in the investment they made in the decoration of their chapels and in the management of the information produced by their entails, showing an awareness of the evidential value of the written record.

The city of Évora was the second most important city in the kingdom during the late Middle Ages and remained at the top of the urban hierarchy throughout the Early Modern Period. The presence of the royal court for long periods – between the reigns of King João II and King João III – led to the establishment of administrative, political, legal, economic and social structures in the city that served the king, contributing to his greater meddling in the mechanisms of municipal power, resulting in an increase of oligarchisation in the said same administration. These factors strongly conditioned the foundation of entails, largely resulting from the initiative of a “recent” nobility, originating from the local elites, and those who exercised political power in Évora or at the royal court, with proximity to the king. Families such as Cogominho, Lobo, Silveira and Oliveira, clearly demonstrate how the institution of *morgados* and chapels was easily integrated into their strategies for social ascension at a time when they had already achieved nobility, helping to increase and maintain the power they possessed. The presence of clergymen among the founders in Évora, some of whom belonged to the city’s most prominent families, is also noteworthy and is a novelty compared to Santarém.

It was possible to see how the ecclesiastics in Évora contributed to the social affirmation of their lineage by founding large *morgados* or chapels, entrusting their administration to a nephew or even a son, albeit in an ostentation-free manner. This was a way for the clerics to repay the investment the family had made in their education, but also serves as proof of the economic and social power that some had achieved in the



ecclesiastical hierarchy. An analysis of the reasons for the foundation of entails by Évora's elites reveals a preoccupation toward the perpetuation and honour of families, demonstrating that these institutions guaranteed the maintenance of their status and economic power. The perpetuity of the lineage was also guaranteed by the use of the family name and coat of arms, and even by the construction of private chapels, which were a clear manifestation of the social and economic power of these founders.

Among the sampled cities, Porto stands out for the role that trade played in its economy from an early stage. This role had a significant impact on the city's social composition, resulting in the emergence of a powerful bourgeoisie which managed to exclude the nobility from the city for much of the Middle Ages. Beyond this, the factor of Porto's distance from the Lisbon-based royal court, and therefore from the royal offices and the opportunities for social advancement that these offered is noteworthy. Thus, particular emphasis was placed on the city's mercantile elite and municipal oligarchy, who based their social mobility on commercial activities and the exercise of municipal power or the performance of the Crown's peripheral administrative jobs. Always striving to reach the upper echelons of the social hierarchy, these elites quickly adopted the traditional customs of the nobility and began to establish entails as a means of achieving their goals.

Among the families who founded *morgados* and chapels, and whose social rise was partly due to them, the Ferreira, Carneiro, Valadares and Figueiroa families stand out. The Carneiro family, for example, built its career through public offices, a close relationship with the *Misericórdia* (Holy House of Mercy) of Porto, marriages with families from the same socio-economic background and the foundation and administration of entails. The Carneiro chapel, in the monastery of S. Francisco, is particularly well known. It contained a large number of pious charges commissioned by various members of the family, reinforcing their power and emphasising the cohesion of their lineage. A highlight is also drawn to some of the founders and their descendants who spent part of their professionally active life in the territories of the empire – especially in India.



Here, they accumulated wealth and prestige, which they were able to combine with the foundation and administration of their *morgados* and chapels. The analysis of the entails established by Porto's elites confirmed the ideas put forward by Alice Gago, who concluded that the promotion and social mobility of Porto's elite families was based on service to the royal court, great manor houses and the municipal powers that be, on marriages between families of the same socio-economic origins and on the investment of their income in the acquisition of landed property, which, like the nobility, they entailed¹.

Finally, Lisbon is an exemplary case for studying the foundation of entails by urban elites as a means of social ascension. Its status as the notional capital of the kingdom since the end of the Middle Ages and, thus, of the empire (especially from the sixteenth century onwards) gave it unique social and economic characteristics. The city saw the settlement, along with the royal court, of nobles and bureaucrats, people who held the main administrative offices, gravitating around the monarch. In parallel and during the early part of the period in question, the development of national and international trade encouraged merchants to also settle in the city.

These men, thanks to their endeavours, accumulated enough wealth to aspire to the nobility. This process became even more evident with the ongoing expansion overseas. Meanwhile, a highly consolidated municipal oligarchy emerged, with origins in the mercantile bourgeoisie – and also in the nobility close to the king. In fact, the institutions of the central royal administration, those of the empire's territories, trade (especially overseas), and municipal offices offered the elites multiple routes for social ascension, to which the institution of *morgados* and chapels was often added as a corollary of these paths.

In a sample of entails far superior to those of the other cities, the noble founders are prominent, particularly those who were linked to the court of King Manuel I. They rose through the social ranks thanks to their service to the king and the positions they held in the royal administration, individuals such as Lopo Mendes do Rio and João da Fonseca.

¹ Gago, 2018, pp. 106-107.



Some of these members of the nobility made their fortunes in the territories of the empire, either through their feats of arms or their mercantile activities, as was the case with Henrique Leme and Belchior Barreto. Furthermore, many founders came from the municipal administration, which was often the launch pad into the central administration of the kingdom and, consequently, future nobility, as with the Nogueira family. There are also numerous founders who held administrative positions in overseas territories or institutions linked to the government of the empire to whom special attention was paid given the impact that expansion had on their upward trajectories. In terms of municipal power, members of the most important families of the municipality's oligarchy are found amongst the founders analysed, such as the Palhavã, Carregueiro and Almada.

In addition to all these groups, there were merchants, especially wholesale traders, who saw a means of emulating noble behaviour with a view to their social mobility in entailing their fortunes. Among the merchants, the New Christians deserve a prominent place in the context of Lisbon. Seeking to integrate themselves into a society that was mostly Old Christian, these men devoted themselves to overseas trade, allowing them to accumulate great wealth on which to base their social advancement, despite the shadow of 'impurity' that always hung over them.

Men such as Diogo de Castro do Rio, Heitor Mendes de Brito and Luís Gomes da Mata and their descendants led truly extraordinary social journeys and achieved nobility. Escaping their Jewish origins and the social stigma that always followed them, they founded entails to support their rise and lifestyle, to the point where, after abandoning commercial activities, they maintained their social status thanks to the administration of their *morgados* and chapels. Like the founders of entails in other cities, those in Lisbon used these institutions to maintain both their honour and status whilst better serving the king. Similarly, the *morgados* and chapels were a manifestation of socio-economic power, through the investments they made in architecture and ornamentation, financing important campaigns of works and artistic pieces that aggrandised the founders and all their descendants.



The thorough analysis of the four cities has enabled the project's initial objectives to be achieved, proving that in all locations the elites used the institution of *morgados* and chapels as a means of social ascension and consolidation. This was one of the basic stages of a pattern or model of a *cursus honorum* common to all families in the process of social advancement. Following similar strategies to achieve nobility, they began by enriching themselves through public office, military service or commercial activities. From here, the elites invested their capital in real estate, established advantageous matrimonial ties, acquired or obtained noble titles through royal favour, exercised power in its many forms. Furthermore, they made their presence felt in municipal offices, military orders, confraternities or brotherhoods, and also sought to represent this power through patronage, the use of family names and coats of arms, and the recognition and commemoration of ancestors. The foundation deeds of entails and wills reflect the elites' awareness of their power and how their *morgados* and chapels contributed to their social mobility, promotion and maintenance of their status. As corporate bodies, the entails were associated with various forms of power and were a privileged means of access to the highest groups in the social hierarchy.



Documents

The list of documents is organised into two categories: printed documents and manuscript documents. The first category shows the printed documents consulted, listed in alphabetical order of the author's surname. The second category lists the manuscript documents consulted, serialised according to the archival holding institution.

In both categories, part of the information contained in the VINCULUM project database is reproduced. Four elements are provided for each document:

- Document title. This corresponds to the type of document (e.g. 'Entail foundation deed');
- Date of production (year-month-day);
- Reference code assigned by the VINCULUM project. It consists of the acronym "VINC" followed by the number assigned to the document, the initials of the founder(s), and the code of the document within the entail archive (e.g. "VINC005782 DRLJL EA/001a");
- Archival reference. In the case of printed documents, this consists of the author's surname and the year of publication, followed by the volume number (if applicable) and the page range. In the case of manuscript documents, it consists of the abbreviation of the name of the archival holding institution (e.g. "TT"), the abbreviation of the title of the fonds (e.g. "HSJ"), the number or type of installation unit, where applicable (e.g. "003", "cx."), and the folio range (e.g. "134-141"). In the list of manuscript documents, each archival holding institution is identified by its full name, followed by its acronym. The acronyms and full titles of all the fonds in each archival holding institution are also shown.

Example:

TT-HSJ-003-134-141

Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Hospital de São José, livro 3, fls. 134-141.

- Digital identifier, when applicable. Corresponds to the reference code assigned by the archival holding institution.

To obtain further information on each document, a search can be made in the VINCULUM project database using the VINCULUM reference code, or in the database of the corresponding archival holding institution using the digital identifier¹.

¹ Some digital identifiers may be obsolete due to updates made by the archival holding institutions after the publication of this book.



a) Printed documents

DIAS, João José Alves, ed. lit. – *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. Duarte*, vol. I, tomo I (1433–1435). Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998. ISBN 972-667-133-7.

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
CP-DU-1-1-94-96	Confirmation letter	1434-01-10	VINC002466 LFMN EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/H/0001/234
CP-DU-1-1-258-259	Confirmation letter	1434-03-21	VINC000006 G EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/H/0001/450
CP-DU-1-1-295-296	Confirmation letter	1434-04-14	VINC000025 FGCME EA/004a	PT/TT/CHR/H/0001/496
CP-DU-1-1-439-442	Confirmation letter	1435-04-26	VINC001994 CGA EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/H/0001/658
CP-DU-1-1-439-442	Administration letter	1432-04-15	VINC001994 CGA EA/002aa	PT/TT/CHR/H/0001/658

DIAS, João José Alves, ed. lit. – *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. João I*, vol. I, tomo 1 (1384–1385). Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2004.

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
CP-J1-1-1-139	Donation deed	1384-09-05	VINC000034 JFP EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/G/0001

DIAS, João José Alves, ed. lit. – *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. João I*, vol. III, tomo 2 (1394–1427). Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2006.

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
CP-J1-3-2-27-28	Donation deed	1404-11-12	VINC000015 VAV EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/G/0003

DIAS, João José Alves, ed. lit. – *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. João I*, vol. IV, tomo 1 (1410–1425). Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2006.

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
CP-J1-4-1-146-148	Administration letter	1421-08-22	VINC000006 G EA/003a	PT/TT/CHR/G/0004
CP-J1-4-1-154-156	Administration letter	1420-01-07	VINC000052 SEP EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/G/0004



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DORNELAS-1928-310-319	Dowry deed	1431-03-08	VINC000061 PM EA/002	https://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/Periodicos/ElucidarioNobiliarchico/V1/N10/N10_master/ElucidarioNobiliarchico_Vol1_N10_Out1928.pdf

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Ferreira, 1964, 11-27	Will	1607-05-01 – 1607-11-20	VINC007647 LGM EA/001	n/a

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CP-P1-16-20	Confirmation and donation letter	1357-02-15	VINC000025 FG-CME EA/002aa	PT/TT/CHR/E/001/0001
CP-P1-17-19	Entail foundation deed	1357-01-22	VINC000025 FG-CME EA/002aaa	PT/TT/CHR/E/001/0001
CP-P1-108-110	Donation deed	1358-07-07	VINC000025 FG-CME EA/003a	PT/TT/CHR/E/001/0001

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Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
CP-A4-2-72-77	Entail foundation deed	1336-03-12	VINC000012 JAB EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/D/001/0002
CP-A4-2-77	Confirmation letter	1336-05-06	VINC000012 JAB EA/001b	PT/TT/CHR/D/001/0002



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Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
MATA, 1652: 4, 28, 60, 67-68, 84-85, 92, 108, 111-113	Will	1641-12-11	VINC001495 AGM EA/012	https://purl.pt/28969/4/hg-12317-p_PDF/hg-12317-p_PDF_24-C-R0150/hg-12317-p_0000_capa-cap_a_t24-C-R0150.pdf
MATA, 1652: 90-92, 127	Will	1641-12-11	VINC006998 AGMAPL EA/001	https://purl.pt/28969/4/hg-12317-p_PDF/hg-12317-p_PDF_24-C-R0150/hg-12317-p_0000_capa-cap_a_t24-C-R0150.pdf
MATA, 1652: 92, 101, 127, 54-58, 105	Will	1641-12-11	VINC006997 AGMAGMV EA/001	https://purl.pt/28969/4/hg-12317-p_PDF/hg-12317-p_PDF_24-C-R0150/hg-12317-p_0000_capa-cap_a_t24-C-R0150.pdf
MATA, 1652: 92, 127	Will	1641-12-11	VINC006999 AGMAAV EA/001	https://purl.pt/28969/4/hg-12317-p_PDF/hg-12317-p_PDF_24-C-R0150/hg-12317-p_0000_capa-cap_a_t24-C-R0150.pdf

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PEGAS-1687-2-66-70	Court sentence (transcription)	1662-06-14	VINC003894 RPO EA/001a	https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/fddigital/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5_item2/UCFD-H-D-19-5/UCFD-H-D-19-5_item2/index.html
PEGAS-1687-2-70-71	Acórdão (transcription)	1666-01-07	VINC003894 RPO EA/001b	https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/fddigital/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5_item2/UCFD-H-D-19-5/UCFD-H-D-19-5_item2/index.html
PEGAS-1687-2-104-105	Acórdão em Relação (transcription)	1671-03-20	VINC003894 RPO EA/001c	https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/fddigital/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5_item2/UCFD-H-D-19-5/UCFD-H-D-19-5_item2/index.html
PEGAS-1687-2-704-705	Court sentence (transcription)	1676-05-03	VINC001831 GB EA/002a	https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/fddigital/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5_item2/UCFD-H-D-19-5/UCFD-H-D-19-5_item2/index.html



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Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
PINTO, 2018	Will	1582-10-12	VINC007445 DCRDCR EA/002	http://hdl.handle.net/10362/119616

b) Manuscripts documents

Abbreviations:

ADEVR – Arquivo Distrital de Évora

ADPRT – Arquivo Distrital do Porto

ADPTG – Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre

ADVIS – Arquivo Distrital de Viseu

ADVRL – Arquivo Distrital de Vila Real

AMLSB – Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa

AUC – Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra

BNP – Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal

SGMAI – Secretaria Geral do Ministério da Administração Interna

TT – Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo

UM-ADB – Universidade do Minho – Arquivo Distrital de Braga

Arquivo Distrital de Évora (ADEVR)

Abbreviations:

GCE-RV – Governo Civil de Évora (1501-2013), Registo Vincular

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADEVR-GCE-RV-1-18v-23	Will	1561-12-14	VINC005653 GMHMMC EA/ 001ba	PT/ADEVR/AC/GCEVR
ADEVR-GCE-RV-2-190v-200	Will chart	1542-06-03	VINC005652JCR EA/001aa	PT/ADEVR/AC/GCEVR
ADEVR-GCE-RV-6-15v-17v	Will	1421-02-08	VINC005654 GC EA/001a	PT/ADEVR/AC/GCEVR
ADEVR-GCE-RV-6-17v-21	Codicil	1421-02-09	VINC000049 GRV EA/001a	PT/ADEVR/AC/GCEVR
ADEVR-GCE-RV-6-17v-21	Codicil	1421-02-09	VINC005654 GC EA/001b	PT/ADEVR/AC/GCEVR
ADEVR-GCE-RV-6-23v-33v	Will	1446-05-28	VINC005655 LGMC EA/001a	PT/ADEVR/AC/GCEVR



Arquivo Distrital do Porto (ADPRT)

Abbreviations:

CSBV – Convento de São Bento da Vitória – Porto

CSDP – Convento de São Domingos do Porto

CSFP – Convento de São Francisco do Porto

GCP-RV – Governo Civil do Porto, Registo Vincular

PCP – Provedoria da Comarca do Porto

PRQ-PP – Registo Paroquial, Paróquia do Pinheiro

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADPRT-CMDM-K-18-5-5-36-53	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1596-05-08	VINC004130 SMIG EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVMD-MPRT/008/0009
ADPRT-CMDM-K-18-5-5-60-64v	Will	1597-05-27	VINC004130 SMIG EA/002aaaa	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVMD-MPRT/008/0009
ADPRT-CSBV-K-25-6-6-498.2-1	Composition deed	1621-05-21	VINC004133 VATEA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSB-VTR/0010/00262
ADPRT-CSBV-K-25-6-6-498.2-3	Will (extract)	[162-]	VINC004133 VATEA/002	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSB-VTR/0010
ADPRT-CSBV-K-25-6-6-499.4-H	Composition deed	1608-04-28	VINC004135 BPAEA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSB-VTR/0014/00333
ADPRT-CSBV-K-25-6-7-500.2-1	Will	1620-03-18	VINC004132 SAEA/003a	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSB-VTR/0016
ADPRT-CSBV-K-25-6-7-500.2-6-11	Composition deed	1616-05-18	VINC004132 SAEA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSB-VTR/0016
ADPRT-CSDP-K/19/6-1-6	Chapel foundation deed	1450-06-26	VINC004095 FE-MAAGT EA/001aa	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSD-PRT/007/0039
ADPRT-CSDP-K/19/6-1-6v-7	Will	1464	VINC004096 DGA EA/001aaa	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSD-PRT/007/0039
ADPRT-CSDP-K/19/6-1-7v-8	Chapel foundation deed	1483-08-16	VINC004097 SDEA/001aa	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSD-PRT/007/0039
ADPRT-CSDP-K/19/6-1-8	Will (extract)	[after 1476-07-10]	VINC004097 SDEA/001aaa	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSD-PRT/007/0039
ADPRT-CSDP-K/19/7-36-57-64	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1535-11-10	VINC004106 LREA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSD-PRT/007/0045
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-93-88v-90	Donation deed	1523-06-16	VINC004107 JDMER EA/002	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6047/47041
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-93-90v-93	Will	1525-12-02	VINC004107 JDMER EA/003	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6047/47045
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-93-97v-98v	Donation deed	1513-10-10	VINC004112 IBEA/003	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6047/47027
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-93-116-118	Chapel foundation deed	1520-07-30	VINC004109 NAMDEA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6047/47037



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-93-135v-136	Will (extract)	1525-02-05	VINC004110 JF EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6047/47059
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-93-136-136v	Declaration deed (extract)	1525-02-23	VINC004110 JF EA/001b	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6047/47059
ADPRT-CS-FP-K-20-6-93-138-141	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1533-07-30	VINC004111 GAP EA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6047/47065
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-93-154v-155v	Will (extract)	1528	VINC004112 IB EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6047
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-94-341v-345	Chapel foundation deed	1541-07-05	VINC004113 SS EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6048/48341
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-95-81v-84v	Will	1563-07-12	VINC004067 JPMJP EA/002a	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6049/49086
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-95-160-161	Composition deed	1593-10-20	VINC004067 JPMJP EA/004	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6049
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-95-400v-405	Will	1470-09-10	VINC004117 FCLAS EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6049/49398
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96-50-56v	Entail foundation deed	1558-11-03 - 1558-11-10	VINC004119 MCAB EA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6050/50050
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96-53v-54v	Will chart	1557-07-04	VINC004119 MCAB EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6050/50050
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96-58v-60	Will (extract)	1603-02-28	VINC004119 MCAB EA/002	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6050/50058
ADPRT-CS-FP-K-20-6-96-89-107	Will	1575-04-23	VINC002988 JC EA/002	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6050/50088
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96-423v-427v	Will	1622-02-09	VINC004122 DHC EA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6050/50422
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96-276-283v	Chapel foundation deed	1585-05-19	VINC004099 BL EA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6050/50276
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96-336v-344v	Composition deed	1576-08-21	VINC004069 FC EA/002	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6050/50336
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-96-399-401v	Contract and bond deed	1539-04-23	VINC004121 DBHW EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6050/50403
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-97-35-49	Chapel foundation deed	1679-10-23 - 1679-10-27	VINC004123 DCSMSC EA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6051/51035
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-97-38-39	Will (extract)	1674-04-05	VINC004123 DCSMSC EA/001b	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6051/51035
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-97-412v-428v	Will	1580-04-10	VINC003382 AMGM EA/002aa	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6051/51412
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-97-412v-437v	Exemplification of will and codicil	1595-12-20	VINC003382 AMGM EA/002a	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6051/51412
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-98-241v-255v	Will	1612-04-20	VINC004129 DSMV EA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6052/52241
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-98-255v-267	Will	1625-05-03	VINC004129 DSMV EA/002	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF-PRT/002/6052/52241



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-99-46v-48	Will (extract)	1589-07-07	VINC004128 MMCMRDCR EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF- PRT/002/6053/53046
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-99-52-54	Donation deed	1614-10-27	VINC004128 MMCMRDCR EA/002	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF- PRT/002/6053/53055
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-99-74-78	Chapel foundation deed	1463-12-12	VINC004127 PAPCV EA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF- PRT/002/6053/53079
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-99-81-83v	Will	1470-02-04	VINC004127 PAPCV EA/002c	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF- PRT/002/6053
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-99-292v-322	Opening deed of a will	1698-08-04	VINC004126 JFPMCB EA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF- PRT/002/6053/53292
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-99-293v-318	Will	1697-12-17	VINC004126 JFP- MCB EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVSF- PRT/002/6053/53292
ADPRT-CSFP- K/21/5/1-684.1-19	Will	1536-04-06	VINC004125 JP EA/001	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVS- FPRT/002/6059A/00019
ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/3-4806-209v-212	Will	1603-04-09	VINC004078 MC- CCGA EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/AC/ GCPRT/J/078/4806
ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/3-4806-218v-220v	Will	1596-10-23	VINC004079 BF EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/AC/ GCPRT/J/078/4806
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-15-375-376v	Annexation deed	1688-05-26	VINC004068 BR EA/002a	PT/ADPRT/AC/ PRVCPRT/004/0017
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-32-20-23v	Will	1454-08-22	VINC004065 JPBM EA/001aaa	PT/ADPRT/AC/ PRVCPRT/004/0035
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-33-59-71v	Composition deed	1478-11-03	VINC000671 LFCE EA/002	PT/ADPRT/AC/ PRVCPRT/004/0036
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-33-62-62v	Will (extract)	1388-06-03	VINC000671 LFCE EA/002a	PT/ADPRT/AC/ PRVCPRT/004/0036
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-33-62v-63	Will (extract)	1399-10-05	VINC000671 LFCE EA/002b	PT/ADPRT/AC/ PRVCPRT/004/0036
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-33-63-64	Will	1431-06-16	VINC000671 LFCE EA/002c	PT/ADPRT/AC/ PRVCPRT/004/0036
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-34-103v-108v	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1580-11-26	VINC003528 FPMGP EA/002	PT/ADPRT/AC/ PRVCPRT/004/0039
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/2-43-2-12v	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1566-09-11	VINC003877 PF EA/002	PT/ADPRT/AC/ PRVCPRT/004/0031
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/2-43-13-19	Foundation deed	1492-09-10	VINC001981 JMF EA/002a	PT/ADPRT/AC/ PRVCPRT/004/0031
ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/5-60.3-7-13	Foundation deed	1665-03-11	VINC004030 JCHA EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/AC/ PRVCPRT/004/0014:3



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/5-60.3-14-14v	Will (extract)	1657-08-06	VINC004031 JCC EA/001aa	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRVCPRT/004/0014:3
ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/5-60.3-14-18	Bond	1665-07-09	VINC004031 JCC EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRVCPRT/004/0014:3
ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/5-60.3-27-32v	Will	1568-02-28	VINC000779 BPF EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRVCPRT/004/0014:3
ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/5-60.3-172-181v	Will	1673-10-14	VINC004068 BR EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRVCPRT/004/0014:3
ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/5-60.3-182-183	Bond	1675-03-22	VINC004068 BR EA/001b	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRVCPRT/004/0014:3
ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/5-60.3-278-279v	Declaration deed	1676-05-03	VINC004030 JCHA EA/002a	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRVCPRT/004/0014:3
ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/6-68-12v-13	Codicil	1640	VINC003937 MC EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRVCPRT/004/0013
ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/6-68-15-17	Donation deed	1469-07-08	VINC001709 FABBL EA/006a	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRVCPRT/004/0013
ADPRT-PCP-K/22/4/6-68-18-21	Royal charter	1501-01-15	VINC001709 FABBL EA/006ba	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRVCPRT/004/0013
ADPRT-PRQ-PP-E/20/4/6-23.3-156v-157	Will (extract)	1610-09-30	VINC004137 LSB EA/001a	PT/ADPRT/PRQ/PPNF26/021/0001

Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre (ADPTG)

Abbreviations:

PCP – Provedoria da Comarca de Portalegre

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADPTG-PCE-1-169-171	Will	1557-06-12	VINC004179 DARL EA/001b	PT/ADPTG/PCELV/4/1/88
ADPTG-PCE-1-242-244v	Will	1547-09-20	VINC004184 GSCB EA/001aa	PT/ADPTG/PCELV/4/1/112
ADPTG-PCP-001-9v-13	Opening deed of a will	1700-09-27	VINC004229 MVMG EA/001	PT/ADPTG/PCPTG/2/1/00003
ADPTG-PCP-001-9v-13	Opening deed of a will	1700-09-27	VINC004230 MVBV EA/001	PT/ADPTG/PCPTG/2/1/00003
ADPTG-PCP-009-45-47	Will	1569-06-02	VINC005947 ACMS EA/001	PT/ADPTG/PCPTG/2/9/00012



Arquivo Distrital de Viseu (ADVIS)

Abbreviations:

FG – Família Guedes

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADVIS-FG-2-106v-112v	Inquisitio	1646-06-13	VINC004487 PVG EA/007	n/a

Arquivo Distrital de Vila Real (ADVRL)

Abbreviations:

FCP – Família Cunha Pimentel (1548-1986)

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADVRL-FCP-06-01	Entail foundation deed	1565-09-04	VINC003528 FPMGP EA/003	PT/ADVRL/FAM/FCP/B-A/013/1

Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa (AMLSB)

Abbreviations:

CMLSBAH-CSA – Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, Casa de Santo António

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
AMLSB-CMLSBAH-CSA-002-01-01-1-30	Entail foundation deed	1561-12-30	VINC001306 AT-GTLA EA/003a	PT/AMLSB/CMLSBAH/CSA/002/01/01
AMLSB-CMLSBAH-CSA-002-01-01-19-27v	Donation deed	1548-10-05	VINC001306 AT-GTLA EA/003aa	PT/AMLSB/CMLSBAH/CSA/002/01/01

Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra (AUC)

Abbreviations:

CNSGC – Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
AUC-CNSGC-Cx.2-doc.14.14-2-10	Will chart	1574-07-13	VINC003933 SVC EA/002a	n/a
AUC-CNSGC-Cx.2-doc.14.14-21-25	Court sentence	1653-09-05	VINC003933 SVC EA/005	n/a



Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP)

Abbreviations:

ALB – Arquivo Almada e Lencastre Bastos

ACVB – Condes e Viscondes do (séc. XIV-XX)

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
BNP - ALB/ANNT/ PASTA 35/CX. 4/Doc. 678/Fls. 30v-33	Donation deed	1428-09-20	VINC004098 IV EA/001a	n/a
BNP - ALB/ANNT/ PASTA 35/CX. 4/Doc. 678/Fls. 34v-40v	Will	1457-06-18 - 1458-12-16	VINC004098 IV EA/001baa	n/a
BNP - ALB/ROMA/ PAC. 83/Nº 99/Cx. 83 III/CAP 2/DOC. 27362/fls. 1-5v	Will	1575-05-01	VINC008439 AA EA/001a	n/a
BNP - ALB/ROMA/ PAC. 83/Nº 99/Cx. 83 III/CAP 2/DOC. 27368	Will	[before 1616- 09-02]	VINC008438 BA EA/001	n/a
BNP - ALB/ROMA/ PAC. 83/Nº 99/Cx. 83 III/CAP 2/DOC. 27368	Will	[before 1616- 09-02]	VINC008439 AA EA/002	n/a
BNP/ALB/ROMA/ PAC113/N184/ Cx113A/Cap2	Will	1648-02-26	VINC008044 JSASM EA/002	n/a
BNP- ACVB-004-0004	Will	1415-07-22	VINC008272 JRS EA/001	n/a
BNP-ACVB- 009-0011	Chapel founda- tion deed	1485-04-22	VINC000238 GVCBBV EA/003	n/a
BNP-ALB/ENC/PI/ MÇ.59/Cx.1/Cap.4	Will	1585-12-29	VINC008187 IC EA/001a	n/a
BNP-ALB/ENC/PI/ MÇ.59/Cx.1/Cap.4	Will	1592-08-20	VINC008187 IC EA/002	n/a
BNP-ALB/ENC/PI/ MÇ.59/Cx.1/Cap.4	Will	1585-12-29	VINC008188 FFIC EA/001a	n/a
BNP-ALB/ENC/PI/ MÇ.59/Cx.1/Cap.4	Will	1592-08-20	VINC008188 FFIC EA/002	n/a
BNP-ALB/ENC/PI/ MÇ.59/Cx.1/Cap.4	Will	1587-04-25	VINC008189 AC EA/001	n/a
BNP-ALB/ENC/ Pac.1/Mç. 59/Cx. 1/ Cap. 5/Doc. 1724	Entail founda- tion deed	1542-03-14	VINC008311 MC EA/001a	n/a
BNP-ALB/ROMA/ PAC 58 /N.º 002/Cx. 58A/Doc. 16012	Will chart	1592-02-14	VINC008189 AC EA/002	n/a



Ministério da Administração Interna, Secretaria-Geral (SGMAI)

Abbreviations:

GCVC-RV – Governo Civil do Distrito de Viana do Castelo (1555–2013), Registo Vincular

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
SGMAI-GCVC-RV-9610-103-107v	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1689-11-01	VINC005230 AVMCCC EA/001	PT/SGMAI/GCVCT/N-A/001/9926
SGMAI-GCVC-RV-9610-138-319	Tombo	1636-01-26	VINC005232 AAGP EA/001	PT/SGMAI/GCVCT/N-A/001/9926
SGMAI-GCVC-RV-9610-141v-153v	Entail foundation deed	1547-07-04	VINC005232 AAGP EA/001g	PT/SGMAI/GCVCT/N-A/001/9926

Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (TT)

Abbreviations:

AA-RA – Arquivo do Arquivo, Livros de Registo

CA – Casa de Abrantes

C-A5 – Chancelaria Régia, D. Afonso V

C-A6-D – Chancelaria Régia, D. Afonso VI, Doações, Ofícios e Mercês

CCSSG – Casa dos Conde de Sortelha e Senhores de Góis

C-F3-D – Chancelaria Régia, D. Filipe III, Doações, Ofícios e Mercês

C-F3-P – Chancelaria Régia, D. Filipe III, Privilégios

C-J2 – Chancelaria Régia, D. João II

C-J3-D – Chancelaria Régia, D. João III, Doações, Ofícios e Mercês

C-J3-P – Chancelaria Régia, D. João III, Privilégios

C-J4-D – Chancelaria Régia, D. João IV, Doações, Ofícios e Mercês

C-M – Chancelaria régia, D. Manuel I

CNSCL – Convento de Nossa Senhora do Carmo de Lisboa

CNSGL – Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Lisboa

C-P2-D – Chancelaria Régia, D. Pedro II, Doações, Ofícios e Mercês

CSFL – Convento de São Francisco de Lisboa

C-SH-D – Chancelaria Régia, D. Sebastião e D. Henrique, Doações, Ofícios e Mercês

C-SH-P – Chancelaria Régia, D. Sebastião e D. Henrique, Privilégios

CSTRL – Convento da Santíssima Trindade de Lisboa

FC-CC – Feitos da Coroa, Capelas da Coroa

FC-TD – Feitos da Coroa, Tombos e Demarcações

FSCSM – Família Siqueira, Condes de São Martinho

GCL-RV – Governo Civil de Lisboa, Registo Vincular

GLS – Família Gama Lobo Salema

HSJ – Hospital de São José



HSJ-ESCR PON – Hospital de São José, autos de contas de capelas, escrivão Pontes
 IMC-NA – Morgados e Capelas, Instituição de Morgados e Capelas, Núcleo Antigo
 LN – Leitura Nova
 MC-V-CBR – Morgados e Capelas, Vínculos, Coimbra
 MC-V-CTB – Morgados e Capelas, Vínculos, Castelo Branco
 MC-V-LSB – Morgados e Capelas, Vínculos, Lisboa
 MC-V-PTG – Morgados e Capelas, Vínculos, Portalegre
 MC-V-STR – Morgados e Capelas, Vínculos, Santarém
 MSDL – Mosteiro de São Domingos de Lisboa
 VNC – Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira e Marquês de Ponte de Lima

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-AA-RA-1-46-49	Entail foundation deed	1647-01-31	VINC001049 FAZ EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0001
TT-AA-RA-1-49-50	Declaration deed	1643-05-06	VINC001049 FAZ EA/001ab	PT/TT/AA/002/0001
TT-AA-RA-1-50-51	Declaration deed	1644-01-08	VINC001049 FAZ EA/001ac	PT/TT/AA/002/0001
TT-AA-RA-2-57-57v	Certificate of court record	1692-03-19	VINC000344 CFJF EA/004a	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-2-169-170v	Will chart	1546-06-27	VINC000363 DF EA/002caa	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-2-171-172	Codicil	1546-06-30	VINC000363 DF EA/002cab	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-2-177v-181	Acórdão	1691-07-28	VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/006aaa	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-2-181-182v	Acórdão	1692-08-20	VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/006aab	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-2-197v-199	Will	1531-03-14	VINC000722 DP EA/003abaa	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-2-200-206	Will chart	1568-08-30	VINC000367 BB EA/001aaaa	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-2-207v-209	Will chart	1595-06-23	VINC000722 DP EA/003acaa	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-2-207v-209	Will chart	1595-06-23	VINC000856 GBC EA/003aaaa	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-2-210-212	Will chart	1578-06-02	VINC000367 BB EA/001abaa	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-2-210-212	Will chart	1578-06-02	VINC000368 FB EA/002aaaa	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-3-123v	Acórdão	1700-07-29	VINC001960 JGFP EA/003aa	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-143-144	Acórdão em Relação	1697-07-16	VINC000789 IFSF EA/002	PT/TT/AA/02



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-AA-RA-3-149-150	Will	1493-09-06	VINC000387 CESN EA/002aaa	PT/TT/AA/TT/002/0003
TT-AA-RA-3-231v-232v	Will chart	1532-09-30	VINC000727 JVML EA/001	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-236v-237	Will	1620-10-23	VINC000947 AD-MAM EA/004	PT/TT/AA/002/0003
TT-AA-RA-3-238	Land measurement deed	1620-01-18	VINC000947 AD-MAM EA/007	PT/TT/AA/002/0003
TT-AA-RA-3-250v-251	Acórdão em Relação	1700-05-13	VINC000439 IVSGBL EA/003	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-329v-332	Will	1325-10-22	VINC000652 AEL EA/004a	PT/TT/AA/TT/002/0003
TT-AA-RA-3-370v-374v	Sale, quittance and obligation deed	1689-09-06	VINC000947 AD-MAM EA/012	PT/TT/AA/002/0003
TT-AA-RA-3-40v-47	Court proceedings	1670-04-21	VINC000006 G EA/012aa	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-91v-92v	Will chart	1480-05-10	VINC000093 LM EA/003aaa	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-4-100-101v	Will chart	1648-10-14	VINC000639 LC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0004
TT-AA-RA-5-46v-47	Libel of accusation	[16--]	VINC000057 MV EA/003c	PT/TT/AA/002/0004
TT-AA-RA-5-61-70	Tombo	1692-07-30	VINC000344 CFJF EA/005	PT/TT/AA/002/0005
TT-AA-RA-7-90v-91v	Will chart	1615-10-20	VINC000920 JVMIA EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-7-90v-91v	Will chart	1615-10-20	VINC004705 JVMIPS EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-7-95-96	Will	1327-08-13	VINC000653 CEP EA/005a	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-7-158-159	Dowry deed	1614-10-27	VINC000899 FRMA EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-7-160-161	Chapel foundation deed	1610-09-11	VINC000899 FRMA EA/003a	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-7-255v-256	Will chart	1560-02-27	VINC000784 BT EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-8-7v-10	Will	1551-02-27	VINC000728 FV EA/002	PT/TT/AA/002/0008
TT-AA-RA-9-4-5	Opening deed of a will	1625-04-06	VINC000973 MML EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0009
TT-AA-RA-9-4-4v	Will chart	1625-04-04	VINC000973 MML EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0009



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-AA-RA-12-3v-5	Will chart	1622-01-17	VINC000955 GG EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0012
TT-AA-RA-12-5-5v	Codicil	1622-01-17	VINC000955 GG EA/001ab	PT/TT/AA/002/0012
TT-AA-RA-12-7-10v	Will chart	1635-08-17	VINC000955 GG EA/002aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0012
TT-AA-RA-12-12-14	Will chart	1664-12-04	VINC001120 IPAMPA EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0012
TT-AA-RA-16-40-44	Dowry deed	1617-09-05	VINC000931 AGGR EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0016
TT-AA-RA-16-50v-58v	Dowry deed	1645-03-17	VINC000931 AGGR EA/002	PT/TT/AA/002/0016
TT-AA-RA-26-354-357	Will	1648-10-31 – 1648-11-05	VINC001067 ADC EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0026
TT-AA-RA-29-43v-44v	Dowry deed	1581-06-19	VINC000821 CAS EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/002/0029
TT-AA-RA-29-46-51	Will chart	1639-04-27	VINC000821 CAS EA/003	PT/TT/AA/002/0029
TT-AA-RA-29-46-51	Will chart	1639-04-27	VINC001534 BMR EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0029
TT-AA-RA-29-127-131	Will chart	1560-07-29	VINC000785 RGACB EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0029
TT-AA-RA-29-203-206v	Will chart	1554-04-13	VINC000550 DLF EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0029
TT-AA-RA-39-243v-244	Will (extract)	1533-09-08	VINC000729 GR EA/001b	PT/TT/AA/002/0039
TT-AA-RA-39-328v-331v	Will	1616-11-11	VINC000925 DC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0039
TT-AA-RA-46-332-337	Will chart	1591-08-02	VINC000848 AC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0046
TT-AA-RA-49-355-358	Entail foundation deed	1640-01-17	VINC001037 ACMAC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0049
TT-AA-RA-51-32v-34	Will (extract)	[before 1574- 04-15]	VINC000614 HB EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0051
TT-AA-RA-51-32v-34	Will (extract)	[c. 1574-04- 15]	VINC005666 DCBC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0051
TT-AA-RA-51-34v-35	Codicil (extract)	[1628]	VINC005667 MCMBC EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0051
TT-AA-RA-51-35v-36	Codicil	1628-12-22	VINC000991 MBC EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0051
TT-AA-RA-54-83v-86	Will	1564-06-05	VINC005670 JDGD EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0054
TT-AA-RA-54-86v-87v	Will chart	1565-09-01	VINC005671 LFVCB EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0054



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-AA-RA-56-113-114v	Will (extract)	[1651-12-04]	VINC000630 FVG EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0056
TT-CA-075-232-4723	Donation deed	1550-10-30	VINC008272 JRS EA/003	PT/TT/CABT/001/0232/04723
TT-CA-086-259-4843-5-28	Will (extract)	1446-06-14	VINC001635 LMAV EA/004a	PT/TT/CABT/002/0259/004843
TT-CA-105-0343	Will (extract)	1360-11-20	VINC001620 JFCD EA/005ba	PT/TT/CABT/0105/00343
TT-CA-112-0658	Contract and bond deed	1576-08-21	VINC008272 JRS EA/002a	PT/TT/CABT/0112/00658
TT-C-A5-7-9v-10	Licence letter	1476-07-10	VINC004097 SD EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/I/0007/000170
TT-C-A5-9-100v	Administration letter	1463-06-28	VINC001016 GM EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/I/0009/000703
TT-C-A5-18-39v	Confirmation letter	1439-02-12	VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/I/0018
TT-C-A5-18-39v	Entail foundation deed	1438-08-03	VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/I/0018
TT-C-A5-20-28	Privilege letter	1439-09-09	VINC001994 CGA EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/I/0020
TT-C-A5-26-24v	Privilege letter	1481-10-25	VINC001960 JGFP EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/I/0026
TT-C-A5-28-82	Administration letter	1468-08-16	VINC001238 MPA EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/I/0028
TT-C-A5-31-33	Donation deed	1469-02-20	VINC000025 FGCME EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/I/0031
TT-C-A6-D-26-349-349v	Administration letter	1668-06-01	VINC003801 CSJE EA/003a	PT/TT/CHR/R/1/26
TT-C-A6-D-26-349v-350	Grace warrant of administration	1668-05-18	VINC003801 CSJE EA/003aa	PT/TT/CHR/R/1/26
TT-C-A6-D-26-349v-350	Grace warrant of administration	1624-09-05	VINC003801 CSJE EA/003aaa	PT/TT/CHR/R/1/26
TT-C-A6-D-44-128v	Denunciation warrant of administration	1680-10-19	VINC000025 FGCME EA/005a	PT/TT/CHR/R/1/44
TT-CCSSG-L01-110-117v	Will	1453-08-17	VINC000062 NMSL-GA EA/006a	PT/TT/CCSSG/L01
TT-C-F2-D-41-263-269	Declaration deed	1619-09-25	VINC003797 CM-CRMCR EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/O/001/0041
TT-C-F3-D-21-187-194	Entail foundation deed	1628-01-19	VINC002678 GBB-GAB EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/P/1/21
TT-C-F3-D-21-193	Petition	[1627]	VINC002678 GBB-GAB EA/002b	PT/TT/CHR/P/1/21



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-C-F3-D-21-193	Licence warrant	1627-11-20	VINC002678 GBB-GAB EA/002c	PT/TT/CHR/P/1/21
TT-C-F3-D-21-194v-196	Confirmation letter of an entail foundation deed	1630-04-10	VINC002678 GBB-GAB EA/003a	PT/TT/CHR/P/1/21
TT-C-F3-D-21-197	Legal report	1629-04-28	VINC002678 GBB-GAB EA/003f	PT/TT/CHR/P/1/21
TT-C-F3-D-26-23-23v	Confirmation warrant	1630-09-01	VINC002678 GBB-GAB EA/004a	PT/TT/CHR/P/1/26
TT-C-F3-D-40-100v	Confirmation warrant	1636-11-29	VINC002678 GBB-GAB EA/005a	PT/TT/CHR/P/1/40
TT-C-F3-P-3-132	Licence warrant	1627-11-20	VINC002678 GBB-GAB EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/P/3/3
TT-C-F3-P-4-116-116v	Administration letter	1632-11-05	VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/003a	PT/TT/CHR/P/3/4
TT-C-F3-P-4-116-116v	Grace warrant of administration	1630-04-26	VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/003aa	PT/TT/CHR/P/3/4
TT-C-J2-20-39-39v	Confirmation letter	1487-05-17	VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/J/0020/769
TT-C-J2-20-135-135v	Administration letter	1487-07-20	VINC002306 PE EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/J/0020/311
TT-C-J3-D-10-175-175v	Will	1517-10-11	VINC000263 JSVECR EA/003aa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/10
TT-C-J3-D-10-175-177	Exemplification	1535-01-27	VINC000263 JSVECR EA/003a	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/10
TT-C-J3-D-10-177-177v	Confirmation letter	1535-12-16	VINC000263 JSVECR EA/003b	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/10
TT-C-J3-D-17-123-124	Entail foundation deed	1527-05-17	VINC001379 RMHM EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/17
TT-C-J3-D-29-63-64	Will	1466-04-25	VINC000326 REFR EA/002aba	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/29
TT-C-J3-D-38-33-33v	Public debt instrument	1542-01-21	VINC003002 AM EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/38
TT-C-J3-D-39-117v-118	Confirmation letter	1530-09-14	VINC000031 GVAIA EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/39
TT-C-J3-D-50-193-193v	Administration letter	1540-08-30 - 1540-09-01	VINC000370 FRM-RID EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/50
TT-C-J3-D-52-58	Licence letter	1530-04-05	VINC001339 LSJA EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/52
TT-C-J3-P-1-337-338	Administration letter	1553-07-17 - 1553-07-20	VINC002460 JG EA/006a	PT/TT/CHR/L/3/1
TT-C-J3-P-3-214-222	Entail foundation deed	1556-09-19	VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/L/3/3



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-C-J3-P-3-214-253	Chancery record of an entail foundation deed	1595-05-06	VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001	PT/TT/CHR/L/3/3
TT-C-J3-P-3-222-226v	Contract and bond deed	1558-06-20	VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001b	PT/TT/CHR/L/3/3
TT-C-J3-P-3-233-235	Will	1570-06-09	VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001da	PT/TT/CHR/L/3/3
TT-C-J3-P-3-245-246v	Entail foundation deed	1578-06-12	VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001g	PT/TT/CHR/L/3/3
TT-C-J3-P-5-190v	Grace warrant of administration	1557-12-17	VINC001960 JGFP EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/L/3/5
TT-C-J4-D-3-77v	Apostille on public debt instrument	1642-07-16	VINC001495 AGM EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/3
TT-C-J4-D-3-78	Apostille on public debt instrument	1642-07-17	VINC001495 AGM EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/3
TT-C-J4-D-3-78	Apostille on public debt instrument	1642-07-19	VINC001495 AGM EA/003a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/3
TT-C-J4-D-3-78	Apostille on public debt instrument	1643-07-29	VINC001495 AGM EA/004a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/3
TT-C-J4-D-3-78v	Apostille on public debt instrument	1642-07-26	VINC001495 AGM EA/005a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/3
TT-C-J4-D-3-79	Apostille on public debt instrument	1642-07-14	VINC001495 AGM EA/006a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/3
TT-C-J4-D-3-349-350v	Public debt instrument	1649-03-26	VINC002933 HMB-GD EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/3
TT-C-J4-D-3-349-350v	Public debt instrument	1593	VINC002933 HMB-GD EA/002aa	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/3
TT-C-J4-D-5-134-134v	Public debt instrument	1648-04-23	VINC002658 JRL EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/0005
TT-C-J4-D-6-149v-151v	Donation deed	1656-06-23	VINC002396 VEG EA/007a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/6
TT-C-J4-D-12-241v-242	Administration letter	1642-08-20	VINC001684 EGSD EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/12
TT-C-J4-D-17-306v-307	Administration letter	1643-09-01	VINC001834 GERE EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/17
TT-C-J4-D-18-212v	Administration letter	1647-02-27	VINC001238 MPA EA/004a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/18



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-C-M-10-27	Pension letter	1517-04-20	VINC000267 JFMA EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/K/10/27-101
TT-CNSCL-090-42-42v	Contract and bond deed	1611-09-28	VINC007405 HRL EA/002	PT/TT/CN-SCRL/005/0001
TT-CNSCL-090-81v-82	Will (extract)	1640-09-26	VINC007407 GT EA/001	PT/TT/CN-SCRL/005/0001
TT-CNSCL-090-121-121v	Will (extract)	1575-07-23	VINC007445 DCRD-CR EA/001	PT/TT/CN-SCRL/005/0001
TT-CNSCL-090-125-125v	Chapel foundation deed (extract)	1562-01-17	VINC007381 ATVM EA/001	PT/TT/CN-SCRL/005/0001
TT-CNSCL-091-100-101v	Will	1624-05-23	VINC002776 CNLNC EA/004	PT/TT/CN-SCRL/005/0002
TT-CNSGL-002-133-139v	Contract and bond deed	1609-09-17	VINC007647 LGM EA/004	PT/TT/CNSGL/L002
TT-C-P2-D-4-110-110v	Apostille on public debt instrument	1699-12-02	VINC001495 AGM EA/007a	PT/TT/CHR/S/001/0004
TT-C-P2-D-4-110-110v	Apostille on public debt instrument	1699-11-23	VINC001495 AGM EA/008a	PT/TT/CHR/S/001/0004
TT-C-P2-D-4-111v-112	Apostille on public debt instrument	1699-11-23	VINC001495 AGM EA/009a	PT/TT/CHR/S/001/0004
TT-C-P2-D-4-112-112v	Apostille on public debt instrument	1699-11-23	VINC001495 AGM EA/010a	PT/TT/CHR/S/001/0004
TT-C-P2-D-4-112-112v	Apostille on public debt instrument	1700-02-20	VINC001495 AGM EA/011a	PT/TT/CHR/S/001/0004
TT-C-P2-D-8-367	Apostille on public debt instrument	1691-11-02	VINC002933 HMB-GD EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/S/001/0008
TT-C-P2-D-18-248v-249	Grace warrant of administration	1688-06-05	VINC003801 CSJE EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/S/001/0018
TT-C-P2-D-25-242-243	Administration letter	1699-03-11	VINC003801 CSJE EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/S/001/0025
TT-C-P2-D-33-206v-207	Subrogation warrant	1687-01-29	VINC002933 HMB-GD EA/003a	PT/TT/CHR/S/001/0033
TT-C-P2-D-53-215-215v	Subrogation warrant	1699-09-28	VINC003503 FC EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/S/001/0053
TT-CSFL-001-51v-54	Will (extract)	1635-09-10	VINC005743 GLM EA/003	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0001



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TT-CSFL-002-36-39	Will chart	1589-10-19	VINC005782 DRLJL EA/003a	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0002
TT-CSFL-002-177-177v	Will (extract)	1561-05-28	VINC004975 FTMH EA/005	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0002
TT-CSFL-003-69-73	Bond	1657-12-07	VINC006490 IMMJ-GA EA/002a	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0003
TT-CSFL-003-69v-70	Will (extract)	1655-07-23	VINC006490 IMMJ-GA EA/002aa	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0003
TT-CSFL-003-171-172	Will (extract)	1428-09-15	VINC000248 IPV EA/001	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0003
TT-CSFL-004-381v-389	Will	1609-01-17	VINC000263 JSVECR EA/004a	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0004
TT-CSFL-004-381v-389	Will	1609-01-17	VINC003797 CM-CRMCRA EA/002a	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0004
TT-CSFL-004-468-469v	Will (extract)	1523-01-26	VINC000263 JSVECR EA/007	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0004
TT-CSFL-004-469v-470	Codicil (extract)	1537-10-30	VINC000263 JSVECR EA/008	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0004
TT-CSFL-004-470v-472v	Donation deed	1545-06-13	VINC000263 JSVECR EA/009	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0004
TT-CSFL-004-473-476	Royal sentence	1560-06-12	VINC000263 JSVECR EA/010	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0004
TT-CSFL-005-9-14v	Will	1644-09-12	VINC007989 IA EA/002	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0005
TT-CSFL-m027-d002	Will	1477-08-30	VINC000264 JABP EA/001	PT/TT/CSFL/008/0021/00002
TT-C-SH-D-24-135v-136	Petition	[15--]	VINC001637 DCRB-VMCRA EA/004aa	PT/TT/CHR/M/1/24
TT-C-SH-D-24-135v-136v	Chancery record of a confirmation warrant	1568	VINC001637 DCRB-VMCRA EA/004	PT/TT/CHR/M/1/24
TT-C-SH-P-9-356-356v	Administration letter	1573-01-14	VINC000370 FRM-RID EA/002a	PT/TT/CHR/M/3/9
TT-C-SH-P-11-62-63v	Administration letter	1574-10-26	VINC002460 JG EA/007a	PT/TT/CHR/M/3/11
TT-C-SH-P-13-75-75v	Administration letter	1577-07-10	VINC002460 JG EA/008a	PT/TT/CHR/M/3/13
TT-CSTR-L-104-97-118v	Apostolic sentence	1627-12-01	VINC007888 DACJC EA/001	PT/TT/CSTR/L104
TT-CSTR-L-104-107-113v	Contract and bond deed	1625-09-26	VINC007888 DACJC EA/001b	PT/TT/CSTR/L104
TT-CSTR-L-104-419-424	Will	1578-05-14	VINC007844 GRAHB EA/001	PT/TT/CSTR/L104
TT-CSTR-L-105-60v-65	Contract and bond deed	1583-11-08	VINC007834 AFEMF EA/001	PT/TT/CSTR/L105



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TT-CSTRL-105-116-119	Will	[1545]	VINC001376 LVSGE EA/003	PT/TT/CSTRL/L105
TT-CSTRL-105-119v-127	Contract and bond deed	1572-03-31-1572-04-01	VINC001376 LVSGE EA/004	PT/TT/CSTRL/L105
TT-CSTRL-105-262-266	Contract and bond deed	1583-04-22	VINC007853 GCA EA/002	PT/TT/CSTRL/L105
TT-CSTRL-105-312-346v	Will	1649-02-12	VINC003127 JA EA/002a	PT/TT/CSTRL/L105
TT-FC-CC-1-13-14	Entail foundation deed	1352-09-15	VINC000134 CVMEL EA/001baa	PT/TT/FC/7/1
TT-FC-CC-1-234-234v	Will	1366-03-11	VINC001620 JFCD EA/003a	PT/TT/FC/007/00001
TT-FC-CC-1-244	Administration letter	1492-06-09	VINC001830 GER EA/006a	PT/TT/FC/7/1
TT-FC-CC-1-244-244v	Administration letter	1579-07-31	VINC001830 GER EA/006b	PT/TT/FC/7/1
TT-FC-CC-2-29v	Warrant	1500-03-31	VINC002306 PE EA/010ab	PT/TT/FC/7/2
TT-FC-CC-2-285v-286	Will	[15--]	VINC002393 VA EA/004aa	PT/TT/FC/7/2
TT-FC-CC-3-146v-147v	Entail foundation deed	1488-03-16	VINC003179 JS EA/002	PT/TT/FC/007/00003
TT-FC-CC-4-51-51v	Will	1409-07-08	VINC000234 GEME EA/001a	PT/TT/FC/007/00004
TT-FC-CC-4-63-64v	Will	1400-01-16	VINC000194 CLGRC EA/001a	PT/TT/FC/007/00004
TT-FC-CC-4-64v-66	Will chart	1450-05-02	VINC000194 CLGRC EA/001b	PT/TT/FC/007/00004
TT-FC-CC-4-66v-67	Will	1493-04-16	VINC000194 CLGRC EA/001da	PT/TT/FC/007/00004
TT-FC-CC-4-76-77	Will	1306-08-23	VINC000649 JEPSP EA/002aa	PT/TT/FC/007/00004
TT-FC-CC-4-76-79	Tombo	1503-04-28	VINC000649 JEPSP EA/002	PT/TT/FC/007/00004
TT-FC-CC-4-79v	Dowry deed	1475-03-20	VINC002028 LFJSBM EA/001a	PT/TT/FC/007/00004
TT-FC-CC-4-82-82v	Will chart	1500-08-07	VINC000387 CESN EA/003a	PT/TT/FC/007/00004
TT-FC-CC-4-121-122	Will	1580-08-27	VINC001531 BGF EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/7/4
TT-FC-CC-4-178-179	Will chart	1618-06-06	VINC001538 BTV EA/003a	PT/TT/FC/7/4
TT-FC-CC-5-337v	Chapel foundation deed	1320-11-08	VINC001684 EGSD EA/011ab	PT/TT/FC/007/00005



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TT-FC-CC-5-355-358	Will	1573-09-26	VINC001376 LVSGE EA/006a	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-CC-5-358v-359	Codicil	1580-05-25	VINC001376 LVSGE EA/006b	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-CC-5-458-460	Will	1404-10-30	VINC000028 GSBEMS EA/005aa	PT/TT/LN/0024
TT-FC-CC-6-109v-111v	Will	1390-08-13	VINC001716 FGS EA/012aa	PT/TT/FC/007/00006
TT-FC-CC-6-302v-304	Will	1412-08-18	VINC000186 CEPEMP EA/009aaa	PT/TT/FC/007/00006
TT-FC-TD-274-19v-21v	Will	1478-05-15	VINC002535 IRG EA/003aa	PT/TT/FC/005/274
TT-FC-TD-274-25-27v	Will	1492-03-20	VINC002535 IRG EA/003d	PT/TT/FC/005/274
TT-FC-TD-274-42-43v	Will (extract)	[c. 1381]	VINC001960 JGFP EA/004a	PT/TT/FC/005/274
TT-FC-TD-274-68-69	Will (extract)	[before 1378-07-24]	VINC001060 LMA EA/011aa	PT/TT/FC/005/274
TT-FC-TD-274-79v-80	Will chart	1488-08-05	VINC006266 SVGIV EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/274
TT-FC-TD-274-79v-82v	Chapel foundation deed	1495-07-18	VINC006266 SVGIV EA/001a	PT/TT/FC/005/274
TT-FC-TD-274-85-87v	Will	1489-07-06	VINC001894 IL EA/004a	PT/TT/FC/005/274
TT-FC-TD-274-93-95	Tombo	1500-03-16	VINC006267 VGT EA/001	PT/TT/FC/005/274
TT-FC-TD-274-94	Will (extract)	[13--]-[14--]	VINC006267 VGT EA/001a	PT/TT/FC/005/274
TT-FC-TD-276-22-24v	Tombo	1533-01-18	VINC000004 MPO EA/004a	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-22-24v	Will	1306-08-13	VINC000004 MPO EA/004aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-25	Will	1478-07-25	VINC006268 TECGP EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-26-26v	Will (extract)	1386-07-24	VINC006269 VMV EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-27-27v	Contract and bond deed	1487-10-01	VINC006270 FBIA EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-32-32v	Will (extract)	1449-05-23	VINC000070 JF EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-34-35	Exemplification of a will chart	1380-03-29	VINC006271 LV EA/001aaaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-34v-35	Will chart	1339-01-11	VINC006271 LV EA/001aaaaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-35	Court sentence	[1380]	VINC006271 LV EA/001aaaab	PT/TT/FC/005/276



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TT-FC-TD-276-37-37v	Will	1530-05-27	VINC006272 FV EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-37v-38	Codicil	1530-06-01	VINC006272 FV EA/001ac	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-39-40	Will (extract)	[before 1467-09-01]	VINC006273 IPBD EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-41-42	Chapel foundation deed	1319-05-20	VINC006274 LRPMP EA/001aaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-48-49	Will chart	1327-[-]-08	VINC006276 AD EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-49-49v	Codicil	1328-02-01	VINC006276 AD EA/001ab	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-51-53v	Entail foundation deed	1520-08-30 - 1520-09-04	VINC006277 AC EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-57-57v	Will (extract)	1482-08-26	VINC006279 LC EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-59-61	Contract and bond deed	1485-04-20	VINC006280 JAAME EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-66-66v	Will (extract)	1526-12-29	VINC006281 NMBIA EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-68-68v	Donation deed	1520-03-06 - 1520-03-13	VINC006282 MD EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-70-70v	Exemplification of a chapel foundation deed	1362-07-09	VINC000117 GELMA EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-70-70v	Chapel foundation deed	[13--]	VINC000117 GELMA EA/001aaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-72	Will (extract)	1355-04-09	VINC006283 AEM EA/001aaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-72-72v	Contract and bond deed	1362-08-29	VINC006283 AEM EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-76-76v	Declaration deed	1348-10-11	VINC006284 EMG EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-76v-77v	Declaration deed	1362-12-24	VINC006284 EMG EA/001ab	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-79	Will (extract)	1453-07-15	VINC006285 LGRG EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-80-81	Codicil	1414-02-04	VINC006286 CE EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-84	Will (extract)	1453-12-28	VINC006287 CAB EA/001aaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-86-86v	Will (extract)	1395-05-29	VINC000064 LRF EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-88-90	Chapel foundation deed	1484-08-20	VINC006288 CC EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276



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TT-FC-TD-276-91-92v	Will chart (extract)	[c. 1460-07-13]	VINC006275 LDE EA/001ba	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-96-97	Will chart (extract)	1456-04-06	VINC006289 VMPM-FC EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-99-99v	Will (extract)	1448-07-30	VINC000057 MV EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-101-102v	Will (extract)	1422-09-18	VINC000056 FLL EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-108	Will (extract)	1452-01-17	VINC006290 MC EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-112	Will (extract)	[before 1455-02-02]	VINC006291 RF EA/001aaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-113-114v	Tombo	[1533]	VINC006292 AML EA/001a	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-113-114v	Entail foundation deed (extract)	1510-09-02	VINC006292 AML EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-129-129v	Donation deed	1391-12-23	VINC006293 BEGC EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-133	Will chart (extract)	[1501]	VINC006294 FF EA/001aaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-133v	Codicil (extract)	1507-11-06	VINC006294 FF EA/001aab	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-135-136	Chapel foundation deed	1525-04-11	VINC000121 IRB EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-138-138v	Will (extract)	1521-12-31	VINC000370 FRM-RID EA/004aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-138-139	Tombo	1533-08-13	VINC000370 FRM-RID EA/004a	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-142-142v	Will (extract)	1515-02-02	VINC006295 FPB EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-144	Will chart (extract)	1533-04-07	VINC006296 VP EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-147-148	Will (extract)	1533-04-01	VINC006297 JLPFD EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-149v-156	Chapel foundation deed	1431-08-10	VINC000062 NMSL-GA EA/001aaaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-156-157	Contract and bond deed	1432-12-01	VINC000062 NMSL-GA EA/001aab	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-157v-159v	Will chart	1463-10-29	VINC000062 NMSL-GA EA/001abaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-161-162v	Will chart (extract)	[1482]	VINC003860 CB EA/002aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276



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TT-FC-TD-276-163	Will (extract)	1496-11-10	VINC006298 GGM EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-165	Will (extract)	1455-07-07	VINC006299 DGB EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-167-167v	Contract and bond deed	1470-06-13	VINC001831 GB EA/003aaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-167-169	Chapel foundation deed	1477-09-22	VINC001831 GB EA/003aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-170-171	Will chart (extract)	1495-10-15	VINC006278 BRAE-JM EA/001ca	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-172-172v	Will chart	1507-09-15	VINC006300 RFZVC EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-174-174v	Will (extract)	1514-10-30	VINC006701 IG EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-174v-175	Appointment letter (extract)	[15--]	VINC006701 IG EA/001ac	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-176-177	Will (extract)	1520-04-21	VINC006702 BV EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD-276-178-178v	Will (extract)	1522-11-01	VINC006703 CS EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FSCSM-088-0011A	Will	1594-10-01-1596-08-05	VINC004116 TR EA/001	PT/TT/FSCSM/020/0088/000011A
TT-FSCSM-088-0011A	Will	1594-10-01-1596-08-05	VINC004116 TR EA/001	PT/TT/FSCSM/020/0088/000011A
TT-GCL-RV-94-157v-169	Will	1383-03-20	VINC004970 JL EA/001a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-94-157v-169	Will	1383-03-20	VINC000653 CEP EA/003a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-94-157v-169	Will	1383-03-20	VINC004972 AD EA/001a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-94-219-232v	Entail foundation deed	1596-06-22 - 1596-06-28	VINC004974 MA EA/001	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-97-41v-47v	Will	1549-08-12	VINC004978 FAAIP EA/001	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-98-143v-157	Entail foundation deed	1568-05-19	VINC001637 DCRB-VMCR EA/005a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-98-33-54v	Will	1658-01-20	VINC004984 GECMN EA/001a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-100-15v-16	Will (extract)	[15--]	VINC004993 JEAE EA/001a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-101-225-229v	Codicil (extract)	1573-01-24	VINC004997 LMS EA/001	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-101-229v-233v	Carta de remissão do encargo pio	[1631]-01-20	VINC004997 LMS EA/002	PT/TT/AC/GCL



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TT-GCL-RV-103-247-310 - TT-GCL-RV-104-1-30	Tombo	1600 - 1608	VINC000250 IM EA/003	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-103-249v-252	Will (extract)	1514-07-08	VINC000250 IM EA/003b	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-103-255v-256	Will (extract)	1552-12-22	VINC000250 IM EA/003e	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-103-256v	Dowry deed (extract)	1585-12-11	VINC000250 IM EA/003f	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-104-96-113	Will chart	1520-09-06	VINC000176 BAC EA/001a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-104-126v-128	Will (extract)	1517-04-23	VINC000328 RFMC EA/001	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV-104-150-154	Will chart	1432-10-21	VINC000337 VLIA EA/001a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GLS-016-0129	Will	1572-08-30	VINC007989 IA EA/001a	PT/TT/FGLS
TT-HSJ-001-127v-129	Will (extract)	1698-09-02	VINC005716 ADMTS EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0001
TT-HSJ-002-222v-223	Will (extract)	1475-01	VINC000285 LAC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0002
TT-HSJ-003-134-141	Entail foundation deed	1586-06-10	VINC005782 DRLJL EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0003
TT-HSJ-003-141-145	Declaration deed	1589-05-14	VINC005782 DRLJL EA/001b	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0003
TT-HSJ-003-145-147	Declaration deed	1589-09-18	VINC005782 DRLJL EA/001c	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0003
TT-HSJ-003-164-164v	Will (extract)	1656-08-31	VINC003587 DLT EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0003
TT-HSJ-003-179v-180v	Will (extract)	1590-10-24	VINC006117 DSM EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0004
TT-HSJ-004-8v-9v	Will chart (extract)	1613-04-21	VINC005743 GLM EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0004
TT-HSJ-004-73-78v	Entail foundation deed	1334-04-09	VINC000013 FPCV EA/003a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0004
TT-HSJ-004-129-140	Will	1491-06-10	VINC000219 FME EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0004
TT-HSJ-004-180v-183	Will (extract)	[before 1600-10-02]	VINC005743 GLM EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0004
TT-HSJ-004-237-238v	Will chart	1480-05-25	VINC000227 GE EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0004
TT-HSJ-004-238v-239v	Contract and bond deed	1486-04-13	VINC000227 GE EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0004



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TT-HSJ-006-164v-165	Will (extract)	1637-11-15	VINC005743 GLM EA/005	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0006
TT-HSJ-006-182v-183	Sentence	1669-08-09	VINC006425 VCR EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0006
TT-HSJ-008-1v-5v	Will	1347-09-05	VINC000017 AECCG EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0008
TT-HSJ-008-174-181v	Will	1566-04-22	VINC005804 AAFC EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0008
TT-HSJ-010-276-283v	Contract and bond deed	1612-02-14	VINC005834 BN-GRENNE EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0010
TT-HSJ-010-285-287	Will	1665-10-02	VINC005835 FMGMT EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0010
TT-HSJ-011-313-317v	Will	1574-10-03	VINC005852 JBVCV EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0011
TT-HSJ-012-25v-30v	Will chart	1594-04-16 – 1594-04-17	VINC005857 LM EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0012
TT-HSJ-013-1v-15v	Will	1581-10-13	VINC005874 MC EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0013
TT-HSJ-013-16-18	Codicil	1581-10-29	VINC005874 MC EA/002aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0013
TT-HSJ-013-49v-60	Will	1627-09-28	VINC005871 MLA EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0013
TT-HSJ-013-145v-149v	Donation deed	1342-04-24	VINC000018 MPR EA/006a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0013
TT-HSJ-013-153v-159	Donation deed	1573-02-04	VINC002595 MT EA/002a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0013
TT-HSJ-013-159-164	Will	1583-03-02	VINC002595 MT EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0013
TT-HSJ-013-255-265v	Will	1647-07-10	VINC005834 BN-GRENNE EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0013
TT-HSJ-013-269-270v	Codicil	[before 1647-07-17]	VINC005834 BN-GRENNE EA/004	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0013
TT-HSJ-014-7-9	Will (extract)	1615-03-19	VINC001993 PC EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0014
TT-HSJ-014-15-25	Donation deed	1596-04-18	VINC001993 PC EA/005aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0014
TT-HSJ-014-26-32v	Bond	1634-08-07	VINC001993 PC EA/006a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0014
TT-HSJ-014-164v-166v	Will	1426-11-01	VINC000334 TN EA/001aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0014
TT-HSJ-015-1-35	Will	1578-06-10-1578-06-14	VINC006427 ACLC EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0015
TT-HSJ-015-35v-39	Bond	1576-10-08	VINC006427 ACLC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0015



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TT-HSJ-016-21v-36v	Will	1563-12-29	VINC006437 FBBC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0016
TT-HSJ-016-76v-95v	Bond	1563-01-03	VINC006437 FBBC EA/003a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0016
TT-HSJ-016-96v-99	Declaration deed	1576-08-11	VINC006437 FBBC EA/004a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0016
TT-HSJ-016-173v-178v	Will	1625-06-14	VINC006438 HMLL-PC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0016
TT-HSJ-016-178v-186	Will	1644-11-24	VINC006438 HMLL-PC EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0016
TT-HSJ-018-2-3	Will chart	[c. 1346-11-29]	VINC001409 AD EA/004a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0018
TT-HSJ-018-3v-4	Codicil	[c. 1346-11-29]	VINC001409 AD EA/004b	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0018
TT-HSJ-018-5-6v	Will (extract)	[after 1554-09-13]	VINC001409 AD EA/005	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0018
TT-HSJ-018-170v-185	Will	1565-04-12	VINC000785 RGACB EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0018
TT-HSJ-019-181-183v	Will (extract)	1475-11-02	VINC000286 LR EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0019
TT-HSJ-020-62-77v	Will (extract)	1662-05-19	VINC003581 MMIF EA/002a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0020
TT-HSJ-020-114-117	Will	1379-05-11	VINC000140 PEUCA EA/003aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0020
TT-HSJ-020-152v-157v	Will	[c. 1395-04-10]	VINC007257 PEH MV EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0020
TT-HSJ-020-157v-158	Will	1388-02-10	VINC007257 PEH MV EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0020
TT-HSJ-025-236v-237	Will (extract)	1639-05-18	VINC002821 DMC EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0025
TT-HSJ-025-237-239	Chapel foundation deed	1637-07-21	VINC002821 DMC EA/004	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0025
TT-HSJ-031-18v-28v	Will	1674-01-31	VINC002500 AC EA/006	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0031
TT-HSJ-031-208v-217v	Contract and bond deed	1629-02-05 - 1629-04-11	VINC007048 NMB EA/002a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0031
TT-HSJ-032-267v-272	Will	1645-02-08	VINC001041 MACFC EA/002a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0032
TT-HSJ-045-127v	Will (extract)	1593-09-08	VINC008132 DFEIL EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0045
TT-HSJ-045-128-140v	Contract and bond deed	1607-10-30 - 1607-11-09	VINC008132 DFEIL EA/004	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0045
TT-HSJ-045-149-156v	Will chart	1626-01-05	VINC007834 AFEMF EA/006	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0045



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TT-HSJ-045-149-156v	Will chart	1626-01-05	VINC007975 AFE EA/001ab	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0045
TT-HSJ-045-149-156v	Will chart	1626-01-05	VINC008132 DFEIL EA/005aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0045
TT-HSJ-050-16v-17	Will (extract)	1636-07-08	VINC004037 JREIG-FRE EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0050
TT-HSJ-051-249v-253	Will	1651-08-29	VINC002922 ALFF EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0051
TT-HSJ-051-273-275	Will (extract)	[before 1674]	VINC002922 ALFF EA/006	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0051
TT-HSJ-051-275-277v	Codicil	1674-12-18	VINC002922 ALFF EA/007	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0051
TT-HSJ-051-278-288v	Contract and bond deed	1653-11-20	VINC002922 ALFF EA/008	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0051
TT-HSJ-051-300-302	Will	1571-08-08	VINC008096 JAC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0051
TT-HSJ-059-185v-203	Will	1655-05-12	VINC000925 DC EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0059
TT-HSJ-059-322v-323	Will (extract)	[before 1567-04-05]	VINC002561 VP EA/003a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0059
TT-HSJ-65-63v-64	Will (extract)	1653-11-11	VINC007802 DRLA-GA EA/004	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0065
TT-HSJ-068-72v-87	Will	1636-06-13	VINC007751 FC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0068
TT-HSJ-076-252-253v	Dowry deed	1637-11-12	VINC008044 JSASM EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0076
TT-HSJ-076-253v-255v	Dowry deed	1637-11-12	VINC008045 JVCCP EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0076
TT-HSJ-079-11v-18v	Bond	1625-10-17-1625-10-21	VINC002776 CNLNC EA/005a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0079
TT-HSJ-079-155v-158	Will (extract)	1647-09-27	VINC007802 DRLA-GA EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0079
TT-HSJ-079-155v-158	Will (extract)	1647-09-27	VINC007803 DRLAT EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0079
TT-HSJ-080-1v	Will (extract)	1604-04-10	VINC007405 HRL EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0080
TT-HSJ-081-199-209	Dowry deed	1613-05-22 - 1613-05-25	VINC007107 GCCA EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0081
TT-HSJ-083-61-76v	Entail foundation deed	1603-12-20-1604-01-03	VINC007829 ACS EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0083
TT-HSJ-083-86-93v	Contract and bond deed	1618-02-26	VINC007829 ACS EA/003a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0083
TT-HSJ-083-160-165	Codicil	1588-12-10	VINC007834 AFEMF EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0083



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-HSJ-083-165-166v	Codicil	1589-07-19	VINC007834 AFEMF EA/004	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0083
TT-HSJ-083-379-379v	Will (extract)	1569-12-16	VINC007031 JFSMV-GA EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0083
TT-HSJ-084-307-307v	Will (extract)	1564-08-25	VINC007853 GCA EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0084
TT-HSJ-085-604v-608	Entail foundation deed	1657-06-16	VINC002423 VC EA/009	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0085
TT-HSJ-086-1v-24	Entail foundation deed	1676-05-20 – 1676-05-22	VINC003046 ASMML EA/003a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0086
TT-HSJ-087-227v-230v	Will (extract)	1642-05-20	VINC007902 MT EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0087
TT-HSJ-093-53v-84v	Deed of sale	[1674-05-02]	VINC003046 ASMML EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0093
TT-HSJ-093-62v-67	Dowry deed	1662-01-08	VINC003046 ASMML EA/002b	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0093
TT-HSJ-093-62v-67	Dowry deed	1662-01-08	VINC003046 ASMML EA/002b	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0093
TT-HSJ-093-75-80v	Dowry deed	1666-12-18	VINC003046 ASMML EA/002ca	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0093
TT-HSJ-098-395-397	Entail foundation deed	1542-10-18	VINC003497 PMMA EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0098
TT-HSJ-098-397-401	Will (extract)	1552-09-15	VINC003497 PMMA EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0098
TT-HSJ-098-402v	Will (extract)	[before 1552-09-15]	VINC003497 PMMA EA/004b	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0098
TT-HSJ-106-133-140v	Entail foundation deed	1626-06-17	VINC007170 ARMC EA/001aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0106
TT-HSJ-106-141v-143	Declaration deed	1629-02-01	VINC007170 ARMC EA/001ac	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0106
TT-HSJ-106-143-146v	Declaration deed	1631-02-23	VINC007170 ARMC EA/001ad	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0106
TT-HSJ-106-146v-148v	Declaration deed	1634-01-24	VINC007170 ARMC EA/001ae	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0106
TT-HSJ-106-148v-150v	Declaration deed	1638-01-27	VINC007170 ARMC EA/001af	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0106
TT-HSJ-113-67v-75v	Will	1636-05-02	VINC008147 DFEIM EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0113
TT-HSJ-113-75v-80	Will	1636-05-02	VINC008147 DFEIM EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0113
TT-HSJ-113-80-83v	Codicil	1636-05-02	VINC008147 DFEIM EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0113
TT-HSJ-113-83v-90	Will	1613-05-08	VINC008148 FRE EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0113



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-HSJ-129-221v-223	Will (extract)	1621-10-25	VINC002933 HMB-GD EA/004	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0129
TT-HSJ-139-278-281v	Chapel foundation deed	1515-06-06	VINC000267 JFMA EA/005a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0139
TT-HSJ-139-282-285	Chapel foundation deed	1528-10-19	VINC000267 JFMA EA/005ba	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0139
TT-HSJ-142-21v-22	Will (extract)	1653-04-25	VINC008268 DMBT EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0142
TT-HSJ-142-22-23	Revocation deed	1654-11-18	VINC008268 DMBT EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0142
TT-HSJ-142-145-145v	Will (extract)	1604-04-10	VINC008267 HRLDRL EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0142
TT-HSJ-147-345-346v	Codicil	1383-05-29	VINC000033 VLA EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0147
TT-HSJ-147-346v-348	Will (partial)	1410-05-03	VINC000033 VLA EA/001b	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0147
TT-HSJ-151-109v-112	Will (extract)	1493-11-21	VINC000286 LR EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0151
TT-HSJ-152-65v	Will (extract)	1635-11-06	VINC007650 JGM EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0152
TT-HJS-152-65v	Will (extract)	1635-11-06	VINC007647 LGM EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0152
TT-HSJ-153-22-32v	Contract and bond deed	1530-07-16	VINC001339 LSJA EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0153
TT-HSJ-153-160-175	Will	1681-01-10	VINC007627 MGB EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0153
TT-HSJ-153-175-176v	Codicil	[1681-01-10]	VINC007627 MGB EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0153
TT-HSJ-153-176v-186v	Chapel foundation deed	1656-11-20	VINC007627 MGB EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0153
TT-HSJ-156-236-243v	Will	1582-03-09	VINC007328 GFJC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0156
TT-HSJ-156-276v-279	Donation letter	1491-10-20	VINC000238 GVCB-BV EA/002aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0156
TT-HSJ-157-141-153v	Entail foundation deed	1566-04-18-1566-04-19	VINC001880 IA EA/003a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0157
TT-HSJ-157-154-158v	Will chart	1566-10-06	VINC001880 IA EA/004	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0157
TT-HSJ-159-84v-93v	Contract and bond deed	1638-01-20	VINC007349 MVBCM EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0159
TT-HSJ-463-396-403	Will chart	1490-11-26	VINC000188 CEC EA/001aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-011/463
TT-HSJ-463-408v-416v	Will chart	1520-11-02	VINC000188 CEC EA/002aaa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-011/463



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TT-HSJ-463-419v-424	Codicil	1520-12-19	VINC000188 CEC EA/002aba	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-011/463
TT-HSJ-1188-92-95v	Will chart	1447-11-04	VINC007031 JFSMV-GA EA/001aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1188
TT-HSJ-1188-165v-167v	Will chart	1460-11-24	VINC000232 GA EA/001aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1188
TT-HSJ-1188-174v-177	Will	1412-08-18	VINC007032 CECP EA/001aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1188
TT-HSJ-1189-42-46v	Will	1361-07-15	VINC000105 REAL EA/003a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1189
TT-HSJ-1189-46v-47v	Codicil	1361-07-27	VINC000105 REAL EA/003b	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1189
TT-HSJ-1189-64v-68	Will	1372-09-16	VINC004993 JEAE EA/002aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1189
TT-HSJ-1189-93v-98	Will chart	1447-11-04	VINC000269 JFVA EA/001aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1189
TT-HSJ-1190-171-176v	Will	1409-04-20	VINC004993 JEAE EA/003aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1190
TT-HSJ-1191-151v-155v	Will	1341-10-10	VINC000105 REAL EA/004a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1191
TT-HSJ-1191-194-197v	Will	1505-04-23	VINC000276 JG EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1191
TT-HSJ-1192-59-61v	Will	1345-09-22	VINC007366 MEP EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1192
TT-HSJ-1192-145-149	Will	1533-04-23	VINC000728 FV EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1192
TT-HSJ-ESCR PON-105-1-1214-MÇ1-1-344	Account of the administration	1699-09-10	VINC000382 EBFVA EA/006	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-C/020/0105/00001
TT-IMC-NA-189-1-61	Tombo	1574-09-04	VINC002382 TBJC EA/002a	PT/TT/MC/1/189
TT-IMC-NA-190	Torre do Tombo exemplified original	1570-08-20	VINC001816 GECJS EA/002	PT/TT/MC/1/190
TT-IMC-NA-190-1-16	Entail foundation deed	1560-07-05	VINC001816 GECJS EA/002aa	PT/TT/MC/1/190
TT-IMC-NA-190-21-29	Chapel foundation deed	1560-07-05	VINC001816 GECJS EA/002ad	PT/TT/MC/1/190
TT-IMC-NA-190-38v-52v	Land measurement deed	1570-07-06 - 1570-07-07	VINC001816 GECJS EA/002baa	PT/TT/MC/1/190
TT-IMC-NA-190-56-86	Land measurement deed	1570-07-26 - 1570-08-04	VINC001816 GECJS EA/002ca	PT/TT/MC/1/190
TT-IMC-NA-193-8-8v	Petition	[1621]	VINC002082 MS-FMSF EA/002c	PT/TT/MC/1/193
TT-IMC-NA-194-4-8	Entail foundation deed	1629-07-03	VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002ba	PT/TT/MC/1/194



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TT-IMC-NA-194-13-14	Tombo	[1630]	VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002d	PT/TT/MC/1/194
TT-IMC-NA-203-1	Petition	[1609]	VINC002086 ML EA/001a	PT/TT/MC/1/203
TT-IMC-NA-203-1v	Provision	1609-03-24	VINC002086 ML EA/001b	PT/TT/MC/1/203
TT-IMC-NA-204-1-14v	Will chart	1606-07-06	VINC002013 JSAMSA EA/001aa	PT/TT/MC/1/204
TT-IMC-NA-204-1-14v	Will chart	1606-07-06	VINC002014 JSASSA EA/001aa	PT/TT/MC/1/204
TT-IMC-NA-204-1-14v	Will chart	1606-07-06	VINC002015 JSAPMS EA/001aa	PT/TT/MC/1/204
TT-IMC-NA-204-1-14v	Will chart	1606-07-06	VINC005352 JSAHSA EA/001aa	PT/TT/MC/1/204
TT-IMC-NA-207-1-8	Exemplification of a will	1444-08-16	VINC002396 VEG EA/020aa	PT/TT/MC/1/207
TT-IMC-NA-208	Torre do Tombo exemplified original	1627-02-03	VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001	PT/TT/MC/1/208
TT-IMC-NA-208-1	Provision	1623-01-10	VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001a	PT/TT/MC/1/208
TT-IMC-NA-208-8-9	Will chart	1617-05-08	VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001ga	PT/TT/MC/1/208
TT-LN-12-110v-113	Entail foundation deed	1477-03-03	VINC000090 MVMIC EA/001a	PT/TT/LN/0012
TT-LN-13-168v	Privilege letter	1459-02-16	VINC000004 MPO EA/002a	PT/TT/LN/0013
TT-LN-13-168v-169	Chancery record of a privilege letter	1497	VINC000004 MPO EA/002	PT/TT/LN/0013
TT-LN-18-290-294v	Entail foundation deed	1483-04-29	VINC000096 MVRT EA/001a	PT/TT/LN/0018
TT-LN-18-290-295v	Confirmation letter	1504-07-14	VINC000096 MVRT EA/001	PT/TT/LN/0018
TT-LN-18-294v-295	Declaration deed	1492-01-10	VINC000096 MVRT EA/001b	PT/TT/LN/0018
TT-LN-20-238-239	Administration letter	1440-12-03	VINC001397 AG EA/002a	PT/TT/LN/0020
TT-LN-20-257v-258v	Confirmation letter	1458-04-23	VINC000061 PM EA/001	PT/TT/LN/0020
TT-LN-20-257v-258v	Confirmation letter	1458-04-23	VINC001635 LMAV EA/003	PT/TT/LN/0020
TT-LN-25-2-2v	Donation deed	1468-04-18	VINC000006 G EA/011aa	PT/TT/LN/0025



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-LN-25-2-3	Confirmation letter	1482-06-13	VINC000006 G EA/011a	PT/TT/LN/0025
TT-LN-25-2-3	Confirmation letter	1497-02-27	VINC000006 G EA/011	PT/TT/LN/0025
TT-LN-30-103-104v	Confirmation letter	1381-11-15	VINC000031 GVAIA EA/002a	PT/TT/LN/0030
TT-LN-30-103-105	Confirmation letter	1497-03-31	VINC000031 GVAIA EA/002	PT/TT/LN/0030
TT-MC-V-CBR-4-10-13	Exemplification of a will	1578-04-25	VINC001997 JRCS EA/001a	PT/TT/MC/3-004
TT-MC-V-CTB-27-120-135v	Will	[before 1696-11-24]	VINC002063 LM-FMM EA/001	PT/TT/MC/3-003
TT-MC-V-CTB-27-120-135v	Will	[before 1696-11-24]	VINC002470 LM-FIMC EA/001	PT/TT/MC/3-003
TT-MC-V-LSB-4-1v-11v	Will chart	1501-04-05	VINC000288 LMRLD EA/003aa	PT/TT/MC/3-007
TT-MC-V-LSB-4-12v-14	Codicil	1513-02-18	VINC000288 LMRLD EA/003ab	PT/TT/MC/3-007
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-137v-150	Will chart	1521-09-10 – 1521-09-20	VINC000244 HL EA/002aa	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-220-225	Dowry deed	1595-10-18	VINC000244 HL EA/003a	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-242v-262v	Will	1609-12-15	VINC004036 JREI-GAG EA/001a	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-242v-262v	Will	1609-12-15	VINC004037 JREIG-FRE EA/001a	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-242v-262v	Will	1609-12-15	VINC007946 JREIG EA/001a	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-242v-267	Will	1609-12-15	VINC004035 JREIG-BG EA/001a	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-262v-265	Declaration deed	1610-11-20	VINC004035 JREIG-BG EA/001b	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-262v-265	Declaration deed	1610-11-20	VINC004036 JREI-GAG EA/001b	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-262v-265	Declaration deed	1610-11-20	VINC004037 JREIG-FRE EA/001b	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-268-304	Will	1672-08-26	VINC002068 LRE EA/001a	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-306-311	Declaration deed	1673-04-06	VINC002068 LRE EA/001b	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-386v-389	Will	1661-08-11	VINC002423 VC EA/007	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-391-391v	Codicil	1661-08-12	VINC002423 VC EA/008	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-MC-V-LSB-18-13-21	Will	[before 1548-01-30]	VINC002292 PEMS EA/001aa	PT/TT/MC/3-007
TT-MC-V-PTG-1-6v-8v	Will	1574-09-03	VINC002233 MMS EA/001	PT/TT/MC/3-009
TT-MC-V-PTG-1-9-10	Codicil	1579-06-03	VINC002233 MMS EA/002	PT/TT/MC/3-009
TT-MC-V-STR-9-33-35v	Will	1672-07-25	VINC001915 JV EA/002a	PT/TT/MC/3-011
TT-MC-V-STR-16-3-58	Exemplification of a court sentence	1639-01-06	VINC000113 FRP EA/001	PT/TT/MC/3-011
TT-MC-V-STR-16-6-7v	Will	1380-12-17	VINC000113 FRP EA/001ab	PT/TT/MC/3-011
TT-MC-V-STR-17-14v-26v	Will	[before 1532-09-27]	VINC001836 GGMB-MA EA/002aaa	PT/TT/MC/3-011/00017
TT-MC-V-STR-17-27-34	Codicil	1540-02-10	VINC001836 GGMB-MA EA/002aab	PT/TT/MC/3-011/00017
TT-MC-V-STR-17-27-39-42	Will	1507-02-01	VINC001836 GGMB-MA EA/003	PT/TT/MC/3-011/00017
TT-MSDL-4-142	Agreement deed	1325-10-18	VINC005900 EEBDP EA/002aa	PT/TT/MSDL/L004
TT-MSDL-48-21v-22	Will (extract)	1654-12-26	VINC000630 FVG EA/002b	PT/TT/MSDL/L048
TT-MSDL-48-74v-78v	Will	1598-10-08	VINC004985 PSMS EA/002a	PT/TT/MSDL/L048
TT-MSDL-48-78v-81	Codicil	1598-10-22	VINC004985 PSMS EA/002b	PT/TT/MSDL/L048
TT-MSDL-48-87v-100v	Contract and bond deed	1547-12-15	VINC000244 HL EA/005	PT/TT/MSDL/L048
TT-MSDL-48-123-126	Will chart	1587-09-27	VINC005834 BN-GRENNE EA/007	PT/TT/MSDL/L048
TT-MSDL-48-126-127v	Codicil	1587-10-23	VINC005834 BN-GRENNE EA/008	PT/TT/MSDL/L048
TT-MSDL-48-189v-199	Will	1652-03-19	VINC002824 FBC EA/002aa	PT/TT/MSDL/L048
TT-MSDL-48-219-219v	Will (extract)	1359-03-21	VINC005900 EEBDP EA/001a	PT/TT/MSDL/L048
TT-MSDL-48-219v-220	Agreement deed	1359-06-06	VINC005900 EEBDP EA/001b	PT/TT/MSDL/L048
TT-MSDL-49-32-34v	Will	1648-01-21	VINC007001 DLU EA/001	PT/TT/MSDL/L049
TT-MSDL-49-42-45v	Will	1609-11-17	VINC007012 BMBSPP EA/001	PT/TT/MSDL/L049
TT-MSDL-49-52-60	Will chart	1581-06-01 - 1582-05-17	VINC002658 JRL EA/004a	PT/TT/MSDL/L049



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-MSDL-49-61v-65v	Will	1610-08-30	VINC002658 JRL EA/005a	PT/TT/MSDL/L049
TT-MSDL-49-96-98v	Will	1347-11-20	VINC000018 MPR EA/008aa	PT/TT/MSDL/L049
TT-MSDL-49-121-122v	Will	[before 1506-05-13]	VINC000223 FECF EA/002aa	PT/TT/MSDL/L049
TT-MSDL-49-192-196v	Will chart	1615-02-28	VINC007008 CR EA/001	PT/TT/MSDL/L049
TT-MSDL-49-197-199v	Codicil	1615-03-02	VINC007008 CR EA/002	PT/TT/MSDL/L049
TT-MSDL-50-207-210v	Will	1393-05-18	VINC000140 PEUCA EA/002a	PT/TT/MSDL/L050
TT-MSDL-54-64	Will (extract)	1507-09-14	VINC000255 IGCQ EA/001	PT/TT/MSDL/L054
TT-MSDL-54-110-111	Donation deed	1440-03-23	VINC000160 AXC-DAD EA/001a	PT/TT/MSDL/L054
TT-MSDL-54-110-111	Donation deed	1440-03-23	VINC005891 AXCDJD EA/001a	PT/TT/MSDL/L054
TT-MSDL-54-112v-114	Will chart	1450-06-03	VINC000225 GMP EA/001aa	PT/TT/MSDL/L054
TT-VNC-042-0002	Dowry deed	1515-03-28	VINC001339 LSJA EA/004	PT/TT/VNC/F/4202

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Abbreviations:

MAB-JR-B – Mitra Arquiepiscopal de Braga, Juízo dos Resíduos (1572-1897)

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-8-21-21v	Will	1309-05-15	VINC000994 GLUP EA/003aa	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-01/001/0008
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-743-38v-39	Will	1462-08-26	VINC004778 VFLF EA/001c	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0743
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-745-18-19	Tombo	1390-01-02	VINC004812 EAB EA/001ca	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0745
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-745-19-19v	Will	1433	VINC004812 EAB EA/001cb	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0745



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NOTES ON AUTHOR

Ana Rita Rocha

(IHC-NOVA FCSH / IN2PAST)

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4709-5927>

Email: anarita.srocha@fcs.unl.pt

Ana Rita Rocha is a PhD researcher in the ERC-funded project VINCULUM – Entailing Perpetuity: Family, Power, Identity. The Social Agency of a Corporate Body (Southern Europe, 14th–17th Centuries) (agreement ID 819734). She holds a PhD (2019) and a MA (2011) in Medieval History from the University of Coimbra. She is a full member of the Institute of Contemporary History and a contributor to the Institute for Medieval Studies, both of NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities. She has been an invited assistant teacher at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Coimbra. Has presented several papers in national and international congresses and seminars and has published several journal articles and book chapters. Her research is focused on medieval charity and poverty, assistance to the poor and sick in medieval Coimbra, medieval leprosy and lepers, and entailment in medieval and modern Portugal.

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