

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 3

**ENTAILMENT IDENTITY.
CONSTRUCTION, TRANSMISSION,
PERPETUATION
(14TH - 17TH CENTURIES)**

Rita Sampaio da Nóvoa



PROJETO VINCULUM

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Edição

Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra

Email: imprensa@uc.pt

URL: <https://www.uc.pt/imprensa>

Vendas online: <https://livrariadaimprensa.uc.pt>

Coordenação Editorial

Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra

Conceção gráfica

Rui Veríssimo Design

Infografia

Rui Veríssimo Design

ISBN digital

978-989-26-2669-7

DOI

<https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2669-7>

Apoio



VINCULUM project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement n° 891734).



The IHC is funded by National Funds through FCT - Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, I.P., under the projects UIDB/04209/2020, UIDP/04209/2020, and LA/P/0132/2020.

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Para os três Albertos





“Hoje, pelo contrário, ainda que o conteúdo do discurso historiográfico possa ser politicamente irrelevante – como, por exemplo, a reconstituição do mundo imaginário de um moleiro do vale do Pó ou da antiga nobreza centro-europeia –, o discurso torna-se eminentemente político pelo seu referente. Ou seja, ao dedicar-se à descrição das múltiplas formas de «pulverização» da Verdade, da Moral, da Consciência, do Homem, o historiador está a descrever-se a si mesmo e ao seu discurso como feridos por esse mesmo estilhaçamento e, com isto, a recursar qualquer cientismo ou essencialismo e a pôr automaticamente em discussão tudo quanto diga. Para além de que, ao pôr a nu tal estilhaçamento, está a abrir espaço para novas alternativas de organização social, política e cultural. Por outras palavras, para que o historiador faça política não é hoje preciso que se dedique a «transformar o mundo»; basta que se dedique a «explicá-lo»”

(António Manuel Hespanha, “A Emergência da História”)





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, be-



ginning 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 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

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

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/>.



drawn from the database materials, concentrating on the most relevant cities and applying a common questionnaire.

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 Geraledes 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 corporate identities: notes for a conceptualization of social practices

Contributing to a book of this depth, however modestly, is very difficult. Depth and ambition, it must be said, with declarations of principle expressed in António Manuel Hespanha's introductory quote: diversity and relativism are indeed structural conditions of historical interpretation but belong neither to its object nor to its nature. In a world dominated by the immediacy of our relationships, by the *ad nauseam* simplification of information, by the infantilisation of the interpretation of reality, the historian – and any other scientist in the field of the Humanities and Social Sciences – has no choice but to reinforce the rigour of their methods and refine their hermeneutical skills. This book by Rita Sampaio da Nóvoa stands out for both aspects; I will briefly mention why.

The study is part of a long-running research project led by Professor Lurdes Rosa, the origin of which can be found in her doctoral dissertation on *morgadio* in Portugal¹. There are occasions when a seminal work manages to develop to its full potential, as is evident today in the strength of the results of the VINCULUM project², to which this monograph belongs. This project has managed to combine the techniques of archival experts with those of social historians, looking in the mirror of the greatest

1 ROSA, Maria de Lurdes – *O morgadio em Portugal, séculos XIV-XV. Modelos e formas de comportamento linhagístico*. Lisboa: Estampa, 1995.

2 VINCULUM. Entailing Perpetuity: Family, Power, Identity. The Social Agency of a Corporate Body (Southern Europe, 14th-17th Centuries) ERC Consolidator grant [2019-2024]. <https://www.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/>



archival historians, without leaving Portugal: Mattoso, Reis Torgal, Serão, or the aforementioned Hespánha. I am not referring specifically to historiographical positions, but to the vindication of history as a profession, as some of those mentioned – and many others – have expressly done³. And all of them inspired by who, in my humble opinion, has been the best historian of the 20th century: Marc Bloch⁴. The fact that many of these historians, like Bloch, were expert palaeographers, archivists, and diplomatists should serve as an example for the new generations of historians, who face great academic pressure and demands for immediate academic results, in many cases leaving no time for theoretical study. Not everything is valid in science, and even less so when it comes to reconstructing and interpreting the evidence and testimonies of the past.

This is not the case with this monograph, where the object of research is approached through the concepts, practices, and institutions of the past, searching for the embedded meaning of the cultural parameters of the late Middle Ages and early Modernity. In order to do so, Nóvoa operationally develops the theoretical notion of “entailment identity” based on a detailed study of a large number of entails. This is the central contribution of the book, expressly defined by the author as “a type of corporate identity, created within family bodies”, delimited through the bonds of the entail, constructed, transmitted, and perpetuated through them. We must understand, then, that it is not a legal institution – at least not alone – but a particular form of social organisation, typical of the nobility, in which it is possible to identify several interwoven elements. On the one hand, emphasis is placed on how the image of the founder of the entail extends to the concrete or potential heir in a sort of material and symbolic continuation of their capacities and powers. Secondly, Nóvoa emphasises the centrality of social memory in sustaining the idea of lineage durability and transmission. Closely related to the above is the spiritual dimension of the entails, manifested ritually and symbolically but also materially, including strict legal obligations for heirs. Finally, the community

3 HESPANHA, António Manuel; SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo; REIS TORGAL, Luís; MÓNICA, Maria Filomena – O Ofício de Historiador. *Ler História*, 16 (1989) 137–146; VICENTE, António Pedro; MATTOSO, José; HALPERN PEREIRA, Miriam; MIRANDA, Sacuntala – O Ofício de Historiador. *Ler História*, 17 (1989) 137–152.

4 BLOCH, Marc – *Apologie pour l'histoire ou Métier d'historien*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1949.



dimension of this set of obligations tied to the inheritance is analysed – a dimension that affects both the familial bonds and other types of social relations, as these obligations often extend into broader social spaces.

In its strict literalness, the author seeks to reveal the social and contextual dimension of these “axes that structure entailment identity”. If we assume the dynamic and negotiated role of “entailment identity”, it is worth reflecting on the very notion of an “identity” that “no longer exists”, situating it as a product of a specific era and mentality. Nóvoa starts from a critical stance towards the notion of “identity”, an abstraction which, at present, appeals to very different types of ideological construct, particularly inserted in the contemporary social mentality as a result of the policies of national identification from the 19th century to the present. Identity points to some kind of essence, nature or “spirit” of things, of people and, better still, of social groups, a kind of teleological key to individuals in society. The author is fully aware of the problem of this notion in contemporary social theory and indeed raises it at the beginning of the monograph:

identity can be, is and has been many things, depending on whom you ask. Individual identity, collective identity, group identity, family identity, professional identity, political identity, religious identity, gender identity, ethnic identity, national identity, regional identity, local identity, football identity, association identity, corporate identity, to name but a few. The social sciences and humanities, which have endeavoured to understand and explain these different manifestations of identity in time and space, have developed multiple definitions of the concept, which do not always agree with each other. In fact, some authors have even abandoned the concept altogether, frustrated by the fact that “identity” means so many things that it effectively means nothing. This affective and conceptual plurality is an integral part of the term “identity” and of its history as a conceptual tool and must be considered when assessing the operationality of using the term to describe the historical realities being analysed.

In this sense, the author makes a theoretical “operationalisation” of the concept, necessary in the context of her research, under an essential



adjectivisation – “entailment identity” –, appealing to its strictly theoretical and contemporary nature. This is because two problematic dimensions have been observed around the notion of “identity”: the strictly theoretical, and the pragmatic or political. For the former, the relativist position offered by Brubaker and Cooper in a non-conclusive, but illuminating and stimulating work, remains recommended⁵. The final proposal of these authors was, in fact, to completely abandon this concept as hackneyed, polysemous and, therefore, useless, even though it is semantically powerful and understandable, as long as – I insist – it is suitably adjectivised⁶, as Nóvoa does in this book. The alternative is to understand “identity” not as a fact or substance, but as a set of discourses, meanings, and practices of *identification*, responsible for a group feeling part of an “us” that is differentiated – or (self-)perceived as different – from those who identify themselves as the “others”. This distinction of “identity” as a space of discursivity and negotiation, based on the principle of otherness already described by Bakhtin⁷, has made it possible to develop a critical notion of ethnicity in fields such as anthropology and sociology, far from the doubts raised in this respect by Max Weber⁸.

The other dimension I alluded to is the pragmatic or political one which, to a certain extent, is already pointed out by the author in her introduction: the “identity”, manifested in the formation of entails articulated by memory, power, and inheritance, contributes to organising social relations from the reflective gaze towards the past. To illustrate this, one need only refer to Stuart Hall’s stimulating posthumous contributions focusing on the fateful genealogy of three all-encompassing notions: *race*, *ethnicity*, and *nation*⁹. It is not surprising that they dominate our present if we accept, first of all, their retrospective character, i.e. how they construct

5 BRUBAKER, Rogers; COOPER, Frederick – Beyond “Identity”. *Theory and Society*, 29 (2000) 1–47.

6 BRUBAKER, Rogers – *Trans: Gender and Race in an Age of Unsettled Identities*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

7 BAKHTIN, Mikhail – *The Dialogic Imagination: four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.

8 JACKSON, Maurice – An analysis of Max Weber’s theory of ethnicity. *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, 10:1 (1982) 4–18; BANTON, Michael – The sociology of ethnic relations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31:7 (2008) 1267–1285.

9 HALL, Stuart – *The Fateful Triangle: Race, Ethnicity, Nation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017.



meanings and practices in the present on the basis of particular perceptions of the past. On the other hand, the three notions mentioned, apart from their long history and present utility, are articulated on the idea of a pre-existing and essential “identity¹⁰”. Unlike those three successful notions, the notion of “entailment identity” has become a thing of the past because the referentiality to which it referred, the noble lineage, has lost its referential value.

This is precisely the aim of Nóvoa's book, to illustrate how the elite of the late Middle Ages and the *Ancien Régime* organised themselves socially in terms of the transmission of values, goods, symbols, and powers. Instead of claiming, once again, the institutional shaping of these entails based on Clavero's decisive contributions and, more recently, Rosa's development of the notion of “corporate bodies¹¹”, the author goes further and offers a much more subtle tool – the “entailment identity” – to understand these social processes through detailed case studies. And she does so by drawing from concrete voices and practices a comprehensive and culturally adjusted notion of a specific past in which we can see ourselves remotely reflected.

Arsenio Dacosta

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10 LARRAÍN, Jorge – The Concept of Identity. In *National Identities and Socio-Political Changes in Latin America*. London: Routledge, 2013. p. 1-29.

11 CLAVERO, Bartolomé – *Mayorazgo. Propiedad feudal en Castilla 1369-1836*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1974; ROSA, Maria de Lurdes – Preventing Household Failure: Figures of Authority in Familial Corporate Bodies (The Portuguese *Morgadio* System from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century). *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques*, 22 (2020). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/acrh.11096>.





ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book owes its existence to many people.

Foremost, my sincere gratitude goes to Maria de Lurdes Rosa, who envisioned the VINCULUM project and brought it to life. Your guidance and expertise were instrumental in shaping the research direction of this book, as they have been for the scope of my academic career. VINCULUM was a singular learning experience, one that has undoubtedly made me a better historian.

I extend my gratitude to the VINCULUM team, past and present. One of the great privileges of being a part of a research project such as this is the opportunity to work as a team, constantly learning and being inspired by a group of people connected by intellectual camaraderie. To Abel, Arthur, Miguel R., Fábio, Teresa, Mafalda and Verónica, thank you for your help, your suggestions, and your time. To Miguel A. and Ana Rita, your insights and constructive feedback have significantly improved and enriched this book, and I am grateful that I got to share all these academic accomplishments with you.

I sincerely wish you all the best.

Special thanks to Eva, who carefully and meticulously revised every word, number, and punctuation mark in this book.

Lastly, I am grateful to my family and friends for their patience, kindness, and understanding during the long hours I spent immersed in this endeavour. To Tiago, for your encouragement and unwavering belief in me. To Alberto, as a reminder that the past, the present and the future are interconnected, and that the ones who once loved us will forever be with us, until the end of the world.





INTRODUCTION

This book is about identity. Talking about identity in the 21st century, even from a historical perspective, cannot be done without immediately coming up against problems of various kinds.

The first is the most problematic of all, if the pleonasm may be excused: what is identity?

The second problem comes from the answer to the first: identity can be, is and has been many things, depending on whom you ask. Individual identity, collective identity, group identity, family identity, professional identity, political identity, religious identity, gender identity, ethnic identity, national identity, regional identity, local identity, football identity, association identity, corporate identity, to name but a few. The social sciences and humanities, which have endeavoured to understand and explain these different manifestations of identity in time and space, have developed multiple definitions of the concept, which do not always agree with each other. In fact, some authors have even abandoned the concept altogether, frustrated by the fact that “identity” means so many things that it effectively means nothing. This affective and conceptual plurality is an integral part of the term “identity” and of its history as a conceptual tool and must be considered when assessing the operability of using the term to describe the historical realities being analysed.

The third problem is political. The political contortions to which the term “identity” can be subjected are no stranger to contemporary history, and



have become particularly evident in recent years. In some European and international political circuits, the term has increasingly been ideologically appropriated to identify something that is supposedly under threat and must be defended. It is no coincidence, for example, that the political group that brings together nationalist and far-right parties in the 2024 European Parliament has chosen to call itself “Identity and Democracy”. Nor was it by chance that a collection of texts recently published in Portugal under the patronage of the conservative right was entitled “Identity and Family”. Because this book will be talking precisely about identity and family, it is urgent to repudiate the anachronistic politicisation of academic works in order to justify nostalgic apologies for a return to a past that never really existed.

The fourth problem is paradoxical: the women and men who will be discussed, who were born and died between the 14th and 17th centuries, did not use the word “identity” in any of the approximately six hundred documents that were analysed to write this book on... identity. Strictly speaking, this problem is not exclusive to the term with which this work is concerned. Historians have long adopted historiographical concepts (many imported and adapted from other social and human sciences) that were not vernacular or, at the very least, did not have the same meanings at the historical contexts under study that History, as a science, has come to attribute to them. Some currents prefer to explain past societies through vernacular concepts and meanings. Others, to which this study belongs, see advantages in using concepts that were not used by these societies to facilitate the interpretation and communication of historical readings, on condition that they emphasise their “non-vernacularity” and explain what is meant by the concept. Which brings us back to the first problem.

What is entailment identity?

The identity discussed in this book no longer exists. It was created in a historical context very different from today's, so it cannot be understood without first inviting an exercise in historicisation and otherness. This identity was only possible because people conceived of the world through



religion, finding God in the most different aspects of their daily lives; because they believed that biological death was not the end, but only the beginning of the soul's life; because they trusted that the soul was eternal and conceived of their own existence in that same temporal horizon of eternity; because they dreaded the final judgement, without losing hope in salvation; because they feared being forgotten, perceiving erasure as another form of dying; because they thought they could convert earthly goods into spiritual benefits to speed up the process of salvation; because religious beliefs influenced the laws governing humanity; because, in legal terms, souls were subjects with legal personhood¹ and the will of the dead rivalled the will of kings, popes, and other sources of authority; because the individual was not the basic cell of society, but was integrated into bodies that imposed themselves on individual desires and destinies.

It is this combination of conceptions, beliefs, fears, hopes, and strategies, so far removed from those that prevail today, that gives meaning to the legal institutions known as entails (*morgadio*, chapels). Entails are at the centre of the historiographical research carried out by the VINCULUM project, funded by the European Research Council, and from which this book has stemmed. According to the definition put forward by the project, entails were, in general terms,

“a legal institution that framed kinship structures and organised heritage transmission, mainly by benefitting the eldest male son and by preventing lineage voids and breaks. Entails were created to assure power continuity, to grant social, political and legal autonomy to families, to allow control of wealth (both material and symbolic), to create social boundaries, to resist trends of central power strengthening. In Iberian kingdoms, they were also very important to organise colonial appropriation of land²”.

Thus, through the institution of an entail, its founder immobilised certain material assets, ordering that these assets should never be sold, exchanged, or alienated at any time. It was to remain in the family in per-

¹ Rosa, 2012b.

² See the VINCULUM project website: <https://www.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/>.



petuity, “until the end of the world”, “as long as the world lasted”, “as long as the world was a world”. At the same time, the founder established the order of transmission of this patrimony, generally within the kinship group through the line of descent of the eldest male son. As a rule, the income from the entailed patrimony was channelled towards the payment of certain pious charges for the salvation of the founder’s souls, which were celebrated year after year in perpetuity, with the remaining income going to the administrator of the entail. The founder could also stipulate a set of rules, norms, and codes of conduct for the heirs called upon to administer the entail, imposing family discipline. These codes included the regulation of the use and transmission of the family’s intangible and symbolic heritage, such as family names and arms, which, together with the pious obligations, remind us of the importance of not reducing the entail to the mere immobilisation of material heritage.

In line with what happened in several other kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula, entails gradually gained momentum among noble family groups in late-medieval Portugal, becoming fully consolidated in the mid-16th century. The use of entails was not exclusive to the nobility, and in fact proved to be an important steppingstone to social ascension. However, entails responded above all to the needs of privileged social groups, whose social and cultural influence spread the practice of entailment to the rest of society. Nor were they a phenomenon exclusive to the Iberian Peninsula, with the presence of similar foundations being detected in other geographical areas, both inside and outside Europe. However, the type of entails analysed in this book is characteristic of the Iberian kingdoms and is not found in the same form in other regions.

Entailment identity is associated, as the name suggests, with entails, and is constructed, transmitted, and perpetuated through them. It is a type of corporate identity, created within family bodies. As such, it is supra-individual, in the sense that the interests of the body take precedence over the interests of the individual. This does not mean that the individual, in the societies in question, is understood as an agent without free will, a mere passive reproducer of structural impositions. Individual choice was based on incorporating, adapting, or rejecting the identity established by



the body. But rejection came at a price, which, in the case of entails, the founders ensured that successors would be obliged to pay.

The power of the founder is precisely one of the specificities of the identity under study. The founder was the architect of the entailment identity, the source, whose will, formalised in writing in the deed founding the entail, had legal force. Their power as an authority figure is understood within the patriarchal societies where entails prevailed, based on the Christian *patria potestas*, paternalism, and the idea that the virtues of blood were passed down from Father to Son, an idea that explains the prevalence of primogeniture and the favouring of male children over others.

Based on this source, it is considered that the architecture of entailment identity was essentially manifested in five central dimensions, which remained relatively unchanged throughout the period of existence of the entails. Each of these dimensions will be explored throughout the book in their own chapter, but they can be summarised 1) in the immortalisation of memory, namely through the imposition that the administrators of the entails had to use certain family names and heraldic symbols, seen as an integral part of the family identity; 2) in the construction of the identity of the ideal heir, through the exclusion from the administration of the entail of successors who did not correspond to a certain physical, mental and moral image; 3) in the power of the archive, as a crucial tool for the life and health of the entails and for the transmission and perpetuation of memory and identity; 4) in the importance of the life of the soul and in the practices of managing the dead, carefully designed by the founders according to their devotional identities; and 5) in the community insertion of the entails, which illustrates how identity was built and affirmed in community.

It is important to note that it was possible to carry out similar processes of identity construction, transmission, and perpetuation without resorting to entails. In other words, family bodies could perpetuate memory through family names and arms, regulate the characteristics and behaviour of heirs, produce and manage archives, look after the life of the soul and manage the dead, and define themselves before and in community without resorting to entails.



However, when aggregated in the legal framework of an entail, these processes take on three particular characteristics. The first comes from the legal force of the founder's will, combined with the legal force of the deceased's wishes. A very diverse set of actions and behaviours by the administrators of the entail depended not on possible intra-family and intergenerational agreements, but on a legal imperative imposed by the founder through the entail. It follows – the second characteristic – that entailment identity was built under surveillance and threat of punishment. The overwhelming majority of entailment clauses include a certain imposition by the founder, followed by the punishment that awaited the heir who failed to comply. Also common were requests for the administrators to be monitored by institutions outside the family, who were responsible for disciplining them and applying the punishments. These punishments could include a curse or the loss of the founder's blessing, temporary deprivation of the entail's income or, ultimately, complete removal from administration. The consequences of these punishments were not only economic, political, legal, and social. They also had a profound moral and identity impact, associated with the role of representative of the ancestors that was expected of the administrators. This does not mean that the founders distrusted the administrators or that they assumed that they would be non-compliant. However, the urgency of the matters in question – avoiding oblivion, saving the soul, guaranteeing the continuity and survival of the family body – justified the use of contingency measures to ensure compliance. Finally, the third characteristic of the identity associated with entails is based on their perpetuity. Although the founding intentions were not always realised – not at all, or at least not in the way originally desired –, in the eyes of the founder this identity was expected to be perpetual and unchanging. Therefore, the identity that the founder constructed involved not only those who were alive at the time of the foundation, but a whole lineage of people who had not yet been born.

Throughout the book, the distance between the founding intentions set out in the documents establishing the entails and the actual experiences will be emphasised. The identity imagined by the founders is one thing, but the identity fulfilled by the successors is quite another. This is because the unchangeable has been changed several times over the course



of the centenary lives of the entails, whether due to carelessness, necessity, or force of circumstance. The system was therefore more flexible than a reading of the foundation documents might lead one to believe. This contradiction does not alter the relevance of imagined identities, which this book will focus on, because they are crucial to understanding the system.

In short, the major questions that guide this book stem from the greater challenge of analysing a specific form of corporate identity in a world that today focuses on the individual. Of the various inquiries that arise, the following are worth mentioning: how did the use of identity symbols, such as family names and arms, respond to the need to immortalise memory? What were the physical, mental, and moral identity traits that defined the perfect heir and, by default, the imperfect heir? What roles were assigned to writing and archives, and what was their relevance to the perpetuation of memory and identity, and the longevity of the entailment system itself? In what ways was identity prolonged beyond death? How was identity built in community, and how did the entails benefit the community and, conversely, were they benefited by it?

Why study entailment identity?

The relevance of these questions comes, first and foremost, from what is the main product of the work of historians: offering perspective, perspective with historical depth. The more the memory of women and men wears out or becomes corrupted, the more this perspective is needed. Presentism, when excessive, dilutes the temporal *continuum* which, in a constant renegotiation of permanence and rupture, has preserved past legacies and abandoned others to create new paths. The Middle Ages, for example, are successively victims of this presentism. The adjective *medieval* is now used, as a legacy of the Enlightenment, as a synonym for *barbaric*, *uncivilised*, and *backward*. The past is neither good nor bad, it is different. This difference, this otherness, allows us to understand today's societies in comparison to previous ones, because what they are or are not today is due to what they were or were not before.



Entails are one of the legacies that have since been abandoned, with the ruptures brought about by the liberal revolutions which dealt the final blow to a system that had been challenged for decades. However, entails remained relevant for almost six centuries and during this time they were a “cultural phenomenon, almost genetic to society³”. If entailment was central to the family bodies that resorted to it, its impact went far beyond the family. Contrary to what the Enlightenment and liberal opponents of the entailment system made it seem, entails benefited the community, particularly its most disadvantaged members, while at the same time reinforcing social inequalities by consolidating the wealth and power of the most favoured; the immobilisation of assets with the intention of passing them on within the family body was rarely done without distributing part of the founders' wealth in favour of people and institutions on which families have always depended, in every sense: economic, social, political, spiritual, moral, and affective. And in an identity sense, because identity was built in community.

One of the reasons (perhaps the main one?) that explains the longevity of the entailment system is precisely identity. Many entails survived until the definite extinction of the system in the 19th century despite having little or no economic value. They survived because of their identity role. The same is true of other institutions, practices, habits, cultures, which have remained or will remain even in the face of economic disadvantages, political opposition, social protest. Until they are abandoned. This explains why the (supposed) protection of identity has been, and still is, a powerful argument used by those who want to resist change. Identity is therefore one of the engines behind historical permanence. And entails are a privileged laboratory for dismantling the parts of this engine and understanding how it works, both in the past and in the present.

When change finally came, these new paths opened. The definitive extinction of entails in 1863 preceded the profound political and social changes that took place in Portugal in the following century. First with the estab-

3 “Few legal phenomena have been so relevant to premodern southern European societies as entails. The matrix of entailment organisation far surpassed social solutions. It constituted a cultural phenomenon, almost genetic to society, in the societies under consideration” (VINCULUM project website: <https://www.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/>).



lishment of the Republic in 1910, followed by the dictatorship of the *Estado Novo*, and then the democratic revolution of 25 April 1974. Something similar happened in Spain. It was no coincidence that the drives for resistance to the fall of the monarchy were sponsored by many of the descendants of the old entail founders. Nor was it fortuitous that farmsteads and manor houses, former entail heads, were occupied by the revolutionary movements following the Carnation Revolution. These and other aspects deserve to be explored in greater depth, based on the idea that the absence of entails made it possible for much more than unentailed assets to enter the free market and for inheritances to be shared equally.

Despite the disappearance of the entailment system, traces of it remain. After all, in the overall history of Portugal as a sovereign political formation, Portuguese societies have lived longer under the influence of entails than without it. To put it in perspective, it's only been just over 160 years since the extinction of a system that had been in force for almost 600 years. The traces that remain of the entails, and of the corporate organisation of the societies where they were born, can be subtle. Think, for example, of the influence of kinship and patronage networks on appointments to political or administrative posts, with relatives or friends being favoured over others (even when this preference is legally or morally dubious).

The most visible traces mark local landscapes with the presence of buildings commissioned by the founders of entails, which have survived the passage of time. As the “Cria vínculos com a História” (“Create links with history”) school contest, organised by the VINCULUM project in 2023 for 11th grade students from Portuguese schools in Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking African countries, has shown, studying this heritage makes it possible to (re)discover a local and community past, and effectively create links with history⁴. Many of the students who took part in the contest had recently arrived in Portugal from a wide variety of countries. Although this was not the initial expectation, the hope remained that the contest had also contributed to creating other types of

4 The school contest “Cria vínculos com a História” (“Create links with History”) resulted in the production of several texts on different entails in the science communication section “Entail of the Month”, which can be consulted on the VINCULUM project website (<https://www.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/entail-of-the-month/>).



links through history. A history used to cultivate unity and inclusion, rather than to promote division. In fact, the built heritage associated with entails, or the stories of illustrious founders, have been revived in several municipalities as an integral part of local identity. This sense of identity has inspired and promoted the preservation and valorisation of historical heritage and the production of historiographical knowledge, and may it continue to do so, combating the increasingly widespread disinterest of local and national authorities.

Finally, the most relevant traces for the work that is now being presented, those that offer the most information about the societies under study, are the written documents. Entails left a huge amount of documentary traces, due to their nature and longevity. Many of these documents, like the rest of the historical heritage, are at risk of destruction. Demonstrating their richness and importance through historiographical work is one way of defending their conservation. In this pursuit to protect a heritage at risk, both documental and built, historians are joining forces with private owners, many of them descendants of entail founders, who maintain historic houses and family archives. For these owners and descendants, the houses and archives are still places of memory and family identity, just as they were for the founders of the entails. Several owners of family archives collaborated with researchers to write texts for the “Entail of the Month” outreach initiative. They also opened their homes to host various projects organised by VINCULUM, proving the benefits of building knowledge in partnership with civil society⁵.

Perspective, exercising alterity, awareness of the present through different pasts, understanding the power of identity in permanence and resistance to change, reflection on what is possible because of rupture and what remains despite it, promoting links with and through history, defending historical heritage, and cultivating collaboration and partnership in the study of past societies are therefore some of the possible answers to why entailment identity should be studied. All that's left is to explain how to do it.

⁵ See the VINCULUM project website: <https://www.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/entail-of-the-month/>.



How to study entailment identity?

As stated above, the architecture of the study of entailment identity was designed within the framework of the VINCULUM project and, as such, is based on its heuristic structure. This structure will be presented in greater detail in a separate chapter, but its theoretical and methodological principles can be summarised in one sentence: before interpreting the textual content of the document, it is crucial to understand how and why it came to us. This idea seems simple, even obvious, but it's not always present in historiographical working methodologies. The document through which the foundation of an entail was formalised in writing is not only of interest because it allows us to know the name of its founder, the date of establishment, the composition of the entail's assets, the foundation clauses, among many other subjects that can be of interest to historiographical enquiry. It is also interesting to ask how and why this document was preserved, the custodial and archival history that explains its preservation up to the present day, the transformations it has undergone throughout this history, and how and why it was selected by the historian to build knowledge about past societies. A single document represents several stories, and the understanding of some impacts and conditions the understanding of others.

In the case of entails, and indeed many pre-modern institutions, the recovery of these custodial and archival histories was made more difficult by the effects of the ruptures that dictated the extinction of the entailment system and the subsequent social and political changes. The old archival landscape became atomised and the organic links that connected the pre-modern institutional archives were broken. The extinction of the entails and consequent distribution of the new free assets resulted in the dispersal of family archives, emptying them of an important function (preservation of the written memory of entails) that had hitherto been attributed to them. From then on, they were valued for their historical (and identity) value. The disaffiliation and nationalisation of the religious corporations' assets at the beginning of the 19th century led to the transfer of their archives to the Crown archives, which were later transformed into the national archives. The administrative changes that saw the birth



of the modern state redefined archival and custodial flows. Today's tripartite conception of cultural heritage, in which written records are kept in archives, books in libraries, and objects in museums, is foreign to the pre-modern world.

One of the most significant contributions of the VINCULUM project was precisely to reconstruct part of the custodial and archival histories of the documents produced by and about the entails, restoring meaning to the pre-modern archival landscape. This resulted in the production of a database with documents produced by and about more than 7,000 family administration entails founded in Portuguese territories between the 14th and 17th centuries. In total, the database hosts almost 34,000 archival descriptions of written records currently held by dozens of Portuguese and international public and private institutions. This database was the heuristic starting point for this study. In addition to all the issues related to identifying and accessing information, the existence of this tool and the way it was built made it possible to significantly increase the quantitative and qualitative scope (chronology, geography, founder profiles) of the analysis of entailment identity. The tool has its limits, which in turn condition the study itself, and these limits will be duly noted. However, the database's potential for examining entailment identity is not exhausted in the book that is now being presented, and deserves to be further explored in future research.

The first two chapters of this book are about the foundations on which any historiographical work rests: the existing historiography on the subject and the documentary traces. **Chapter 1**, centred on the historiography of entails, looks at the main historiographical production already published on the history of entails, with a focus on the subjects that help understand the identity dimension of these institutions. Works on Portugal and Spain are favoured, although important contributions on the French, Italian and English contexts have been incorporated, which are relevant because they offer complementary perspectives, suggestive readings, and/or useful data for establishing comparative examinations. It will be seen that, in the last decades of the 20th century, entails aroused interest above all in the history of law and the history of institutions, whose interpretations are essential



for understanding the legal, juridical, and institutional workings of entailment. At the same time, specific studies began to emerge that considered the influence of social history, family history, and anthropological history. It is precisely these currents that have marked a large part of the historiography on entailment developed throughout the 21st century and it is in their continuity that this book is inserted. Overall, the role of entails in the construction of identity has been unanimously recognised, although the topic has not yet merited its own dedicated study.

The starting point is therefore rich, suggestive, and diverse, opening up different possibilities for interpreting the documentary traces left by the entails, which are explored in **chapter 2**. The basic theoretical-methodological premises, aligned with the presuppositions of Historical Archivalistics, underline, however, the importance of deconstructing and reconstructing before interpreting. This is because, as mentioned above, understanding archives as mere repositories of information for a given historiographical enquiry impoverishes interpretations. Seeing them instead as objects of study in their own right broadens perspectives and allows us to assess how readings of past societies are conditioned by our knowledge (or lack thereof) on the documentary traces they left behind. *Ancien Régime* institutions produced institutional archives, and entails are no exception. These archives played a central role in the functioning of those institutions, as living organisms that organically accompanied the history and evolution of each entail. The same applies to the archives of the institutions of power with which the entails were related – the Crown and the Church. The intersection of the information production and archival practices of entails, families, Crown, and Church gave rise to what VINCULUM called the *entail information system*. It is not possible, therefore, to fully understand the entail phenomenon without first understanding this system. However, different obstacles had to be overcome to reconstruct what the information system would have been, including the profound changes wrought on the archival landscape by the extinction of the entails and the subsequent political developments that dictated the demise of the *Ancien Régime*. Thus, the study and knowledge of the entail information system in turn informed the production of the database, whose potential and limits should be reflected upon, since it was



from this that the sample for the study of entailment identity was constituted. Finally, the characterisation of the sample reveals its own limits, which permeate the remaining chapters, dedicated to analysing the five main dimensions of entailment identity.

Chapter 3 explores what historiography has identified as the identity symbols *par excellence* in the context of noble family groups: family names and arms. Entails were not the only mechanisms for transmitting and perpetuating these symbols. However, through the entails, the founders could force the administrators to use a certain family name, or family name and arms, thus guaranteeing the immortality of memory. This symbolic dimension draws attention to the profound nature of some entails, far beyond the immobilisation and transmission of property. It also helps explain the very longevity of the entailment system, since many foundations that held this symbolic charge survived even when they no longer had economic value. Within the framework of entailments in Portuguese territory, the entails that include clauses forcing the use of a family name or family name and arms are not very significant in quantitative terms. However, they reveal the dimension and extent of the power of the founders in the construction of the ideal heir, their affirmation as founders, and their ability, as such, to shape the Son in the image of the Father. They also illustrate one of the clearest ways in which corporate identity overlaps with individual identity. In the strictest cases, the administrators were forced, at least in theory, to change the first name and family name they had received at birth, in a complete identity overhaul. The founding intention didn't always correspond to the practices of the administrators, so the founders sought to ensure the survival of their symbols in other ways. The omnipresence of heraldry is such a case, used in different places and objects of memory and identity.

Chapter 4 continues to follow the process of construction of the heir by the founders, focusing on the clauses in the foundation documents that regulated the physical, moral, and behavioural characteristics of the successors. These clauses, despite being limited to a relatively restricted group of entails, are particularly interesting for understanding the extent of the founders' power as architects of the family body's identity. This power



included determining the physical and mental health requirements of the successors, as well as their morality and behaviour. The perfect heir would be a good Catholic and a good subject, loyal and obedient to God, to the king or lord, and to the Republic; a good son, a good brother, a good relative and a good administrator, a promoter of virtue, unity, friendship, and peace within the family; rigorous in the fulfilment of his obligations, without being clouded by emotions; honourable and with clean blood; and with full physical and mental capacities to manage the entailed properties, contract marriage, and generate offspring, adequately representing the ancestors. While some founders merely recommended that successors be or behave in a certain way, most exercised their *potestas* by threat. The threat of exclusion from the administration of the entail, with all the consequences that this implied. That's why it wasn't enough to qualify the perfect heir, but to also list all the characteristics that constituted, in the eyes of the founders, the imperfect heir, the one who, under no circumstances, should represent the person of the founder.

One of the most important tools for ensuring that the will of the founders would be fulfilled “until the end of the world” was the archive. The power of the archive (or, strictly speaking, the powers of the archive) is the subject of **Chapter 5**. As entities that produced information and created archives, entails defined and regulated the production, use, conservation, and organisation of information. In legal and informational terms, the epicentre of the entail (and its archive) was the foundation document. Thus, the power of the archive emanates from the power of the founder himself and is based, like the entail, on perpetuity. In fact, in several cases the archive was essential to the very act of establishing an entail. However, many founders showed no informational or archival awareness, which calls for reflection on the profiles and characteristics behind this awareness. Those who made use of the power(s) of the archive regulated certain informational and archival behaviours on the part of the administrators, ordering the production of documents, among which the copies of the foundation document and the inventories of entailed assets stand out. They also stipulated certain archival practices, such as the conservation of foundation documents and inventories, often entrusted to institutions outside the family group. This gave rise to another type of archival power, as a tool for surveillance and



punishment through writing. By holding copies of the structural documents of the entail, these external institutions could control the behaviour of the administrators, which was precisely one of the founders' objectives. On an internal level, the power of the archive also proved to be an important arsenal for defending and claiming rights, as well as a practical tool for the day-to-day management of entailed assets. Equally important was its social power, which was fundamental to the functioning of the family group. The same applies to the power of the archive as a repository, a place and a tool for perpetuating memory and identity, which extended not only to written documents, but also beyond writing.

The memory that was to be perpetuated had to be resistant to the biological death of the body because, as it will be seen in **Chapter 6**, it was not biological death itself but the life of the soul that was at the centre of the concerns of the founders of entails. In fact, one of the cultural keys to understanding the societies under study, in their general aspects and regarding the phenomenon of entailment in particular, is religion, which was inscribed in all dimensions of daily life. The laity developed their own mechanisms to guarantee the health of their souls, customising salvation through multiple resources such as prayer, charity, or the construction of funerary chapels. In fact, the founders weren't only concerned with their own souls, but also looked after a more or less extensive group of the dead, their "family of the dead", for whom they felt responsible. For salvation to be possible, the souls in Purgatory needed intercessory prayer by the voices of the community of the living, which created a structured system that involved not only the members of the family body, but also a wide network of intercessors. This network operated in the funeral spaces, the "material houses of the soul", where the remains of the founders and those with whom they chose to be buried rested. Identity was also perpetuated in the materiality of these spaces, often carefully planned in life by the founders. However, the plans were not always fulfilled, due to circumstances, necessity, or the actions of the heirs, resulting in the apparent contradiction of changing the will of the dead.

The salvation of souls was not the only community dimension of entails, as explored in **Chapter 7**. This dimension is, in fact, integral to entailment:



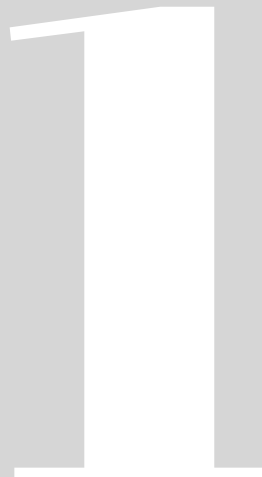
the salvation of souls depended on the community of the living; the preservation of memory was also done in community; the most important documents were kept in the archives of multiple institutions; and the belief that entails benefited “public” interests took several centuries to be challenged, socially, politically, and culturally. While entails tended to favour and benefit a restricted group of people linked by kinship, the community, made up of people and institutions, was rarely forgotten. Entailment was therefore a community phenomenon and the process of building, consolidating, transmitting, and perpetuating identity within the family was also done in community. This reflection requires dispelling the image of selfishness, oppression, and economic disadvantage constructed by the Enlightenment and liberal opponents of the entailment system. In fact, the analysis of the documentary traces left by entails reveals different images. It’s therefore considered that the community insertion of the entails is particularly visible in four distinct axes. The first is manifested in the death of the founder, understood as a social and community event that could involve a wide range of people and institutions that were called upon by the founders to ensure a good death. The second axis of community comes from the spiritual benefits that directly and indirectly accrued to the community because of the foundation of an entail. Thirdly, there were the various charitable and welfare activities envisaged by the founders, which were part of the identity of being a *morgado* in the community, aimed at the most socially and economically disadvantaged groups. Finally, the role attributed to the community in the functioning and preservation of the health of the entails is materialised in the clauses that stipulate the control, surveillance, and possible punishment of imperfect administrators by institutions outside the family.





The historiography on entails

CHAPTER 1







The historiography on entails

The historiography dedicated to the study of the entailment phenomenon, in particular, and the history of the pre-modern nobility and elites, in general, is unanimous in its observation that entails played a central role in the construction, transmission and perpetuation of identity within family groups. However, the interest shown in the identity component of entails has varied, as has the understanding of the elements that make it up and the concrete way in which they act.

The studies considered most relevant to understanding the identity dimension of entails are presented below. Priority has been given to the historiography produced on Portugal and Spain, taking into account the geographical scope of the analysis proposed in this book and the similarities that characterise the entailment phenomenon in the Iberian context. However, important contributions from the French, Italian, and English contexts have also been included, which offer complementary perspectives, suggestive readings and/or useful data for establishing comparative analyses. These different historiographical geographies, even within the confines of the Iberian Peninsula, do not always dialogue with each other, so connecting them is an advantageous exercise.

The following pages have been organised into two parts. The first sets out the most significant historiographical production of the last three decades of the 20th century. This period represented a renewal of previous approaches to entails, which were then strongly characterised by legal or institutional concerns. It was also in this timeline that the foundations were laid for the next century, suggesting many of the themes and



perspectives that would be explored and deepened throughout the 21st century. The second part is precisely dedicated to more recent historiography. Considering the abundance of works produced and the diversity of subjects covered, this second part has been organised into five thematic sections: “the founder and the substantification of the lineage”, “symbolic patrimony”, “genealogy and the archive”, “religion and devotion”, and “space, territory and community”. Without aiming to be exhaustive, these sections include the most important and current references within historiographical currents of various kinds, some of which are interdisciplinary. Despite this thematic division, the different sections should be understood as forming part of the same whole, whose key to reading is entailment identity.

1.1. Late 20th century historiography

The 1970s marked a turning point in historiographical knowledge about entails with the publication of Bartolomé Clavero's fundamental work, *Mayorazgo: Propiedad Feudal En Castilla (1369-1836)*, dedicated to the study of *mayorazgos* in Castile¹. Among other aspects, this book broke with the previous historiographical tradition by incorporating aspects of anthropology, religion, and family morality into the history of law, an approach that marked several of Clavero's later works².

From here, *mayorazgos* were successively studied in the Spanish context by different authors, such as Bermejo Cabrero, who made revisions to some of Clavero's proposals³; García Díaz, who analysed entails and the entailment of domanial property in Murcia at the end of the Middle Ages⁴; Pérez Martín, who examined one of the first treatises on *mayorazgos*, written in the 15th century by Diego Gómez Zamora⁵; or Marzal Rodríguez, who offered a legal view of Valencian entails⁶.

1 Clavero, 1974.

2 Clavero, 1992; Clavero, 1993-94.

3 Bermejo Cabrero, 1985.

4 García Díaz, 1989.

5 Pérez Martín, 1996.

6 Marzal Rodríguez, 1996.



In addition to these authors, some works by French Hispanists consolidated the incorporation of the perspectives of social history, family history, and anthropological history in the analysis of entails. One such work, authored by Jean-Pierre Dedieu, analysed families, entails and power networks in Extremadura from the 15th to the 18th centuries. Based on a case study of the transmission of *mayorazgos* within the Ovando de Cáceres family, Dedieu reveals that this transmission was governed by complex rules that went beyond their legal definition, necessarily causing disorder and the possibility of interference from external authorities, such as the royal power⁷.

For his part, Jean-Pierre Molénat discussed the foundation of entails in Toledo between the 13th and 15th centuries. More than economic concerns linked to the transmission of assets or the regulation of succession, Molénat identifies the core of the entailment practices in the will to endure and the search for family permanence. As the author states,

“Les éléments économiques des faux et vrais majorats eux-mêmes ne sont en définitive que des moyens destinés à soutenir la notoriété, la nobilitas, du lignage dont la permanence sera assurée par le maintien des descendants du fondateur sur la maison familiale, par l'obligation du port du nom et des armes. De même la "noblesse" du lignage sera appuyée par l'existence des chapellenies, messes et anniversaires perpétuant le souvenir du fondateur⁸”.

Guy Lemeunier was also interested in the mentality underlying the foundation of entails in an anthropological view of the Castilian *mayorazgo*. Drawing attention to the symbolic capital associated with entails, he wrote about the use of surnames, the organisation of a community of the living around the dead belonging to the lineage, the construction of the memory of the lineage by the founders – including genealogies, family histories,

⁷ Dedieu, 2002 (1998).

⁸ Molénat, 1986, p. 695. My translation: “The economic elements of both false and true *majorats* are ultimately just means intended to support the notoriety, the nobility, of the lineage, whose continuity will be ensured by keeping the descendants of the founder in the family home, by the obligation to bear the name and arms. Similarly, the “nobility” of the lineage will be reinforced by the existence of chaplaincies, masses, and anniversaries that perpetuate the founder's memory”.



and paternal instructions – and also about private archives, understanding them as mechanisms of cohesion and protection of the interests of family groups⁹.

Interested not in *mayorazgos*, but in sacralised forms of entailed property, Pro Ruiz published in 1989 a founding article on the “capellanías” during the *Ancien Régime*¹⁰. This article, which influenced subsequent historiographical production on the subject¹¹, emphasised the fundamental role played by the “capellanías” and other pious foundations in the functioning of aristocratic families, many of which were destined for their secondary branches. In this sense, the author considered that they helped strengthen the solidarity of the lineage, projecting it towards an ensured future¹².

Outside the Spanish sphere, Montroni's work on the so-called “strict settlement” should be mentioned, a mechanism for entailing assets that flourished in England¹³, as well as Maria de Lurdes Rosa's work on the Portuguese *morgadio*. Following previous smaller contributions on the subject¹⁴, in 1995 Lurdes Rosa published *O Morgadio em Portugal, séculos XIV–XV. Modelos e formas de comportamento linhagístico*, which constitutes the first extensive examination of *morgadios* in Portugal based on medieval entails documentation¹⁵. With the aim of studying the set of models and behavioral practices that entailment originated and enabled for the social groups that have adopted it¹⁶, the author understood the *morgadios* as models and practices of lineage behaviour based on the notion of genealogical perception of the world¹⁷:

9 Lemeunier, 1993.

10 Pro Ruiz, 1989.

11 See below, pp. 76–87.

12 Pro Ruiz, 1989, p. 591.

13 Montroni, 1989. On “strict settlement” see Lloyd Bonfield's later works: Bonfield, 2011; Bonfield, 2018.

14 Rosa, 1988; Rosa, 1991.

15 Rosa, 1995.

16 Rosa, 1995, p. 19.

17 Rosa, 1995, p. 20. On this genealogical perception of the world see below, pp. 68–76.



“...definimos a fundação de morgadio como um acto de regulamentação administrativo-jurídica de um património, no qual também se transmitem modelos de comportamento, regras de conduta social e formas de relacionamento com o mundo dos antepassados, destinados a vigorar durante gerações e condicionando tanto a posse dos bens como a chefia da linhagem¹⁸”.

This analysis included the social and historiographical images of the *morgadios*, the figure of the founder, the heirs and relatives and, finally, the relationship between the family, the Crown, and the Church. Because it remains current and because of its importance in the development of the readings presented in this book, this work will be revisited on several occasions throughout the following pages.

Alongside this historiography directly related to entails, the 1980s and 1990s also brought important contributions in other thematic areas that are crucial to understanding the identity dimension of entails. One of these contributions can be seen in the work of Clive Burgess, as exemplified in the article “‘Longing to be prayed for’: death and commemoration in an English parish in the later Middle Ages”, which examines the urban parish of All Saints’, in Bristol, at the end of the Middle Ages¹⁹. In this article, the author explains that religion made the past present through constant and vivid re-enactment that became clear to everyone in everyday life of the parish. In this sense, the past motivated a distinct and coordinated response on the part of the faithful, who sought salvation and the possibility of being remembered and celebrated in parallel with the liturgy. This response, resulting in the perpetuation of the identity of the dead, materialised in the “weaving of benefactions and requirements into the fabric of parish practice, juxtaposing their own presence with those who still lived within a small community²⁰”. In a powerful and structured devotional environment, the laity thus became part of the liturgy, making

18 Rosa, 1995, p. 20. My translation: “...we define the establishment of a *morgadio* as an act of administrative-legal regulation of an estate, in which models of behavior, rules of social conduct, and ways of relating to the world of ancestors are also transmitted, intended to endure for generations and to influence both the possession of the assets and the leadership of the lineage”.

19 Burgess, 1999.

20 Burgess, 1999, p. 51.



it possible for the dead to also enjoy special days and celebrations, side by side with the saints. Burgess emphasises the power of ceremony, words, sounds, and atmosphere to penetrate and shape the consciousness and experience of Christians in the late Middle Ages: “Any parishioner sitting or standing in the nave and looking towards the high altar in the chancel could be left in no doubt as to the core of the faith and the fate of his or her soul when time should end, as it would²¹”. He also emphasises the community dimension of these practices of intercession and collective memory, which encompassed the dead and the living of the parish in a structured way.

Another evident topic of analysis in the historiographical production of the late 20th century emerges from Italian historiography, specifically from the line of research dedicated to the history of archives and the information production of institutions. Contributions such as those by Elio Lodolini²² or Paolo Camarossano²³ demonstrated the interest and importance of a historicising archival approach, capable of combining the technical treatment of archives with the history of their producing entities. In this way, they emphasised the importance of archives and the role they played in the creation, consolidation, and functioning of institutions and social bodies.

From the early 1990s onwards, the methods and question matrices of this Italian school were applied with particular vitality to the study of pre-modern family archives, as evidenced by the texts published in the extensive proceedings of the international congress *Il futuro de la memoria*²⁴. Following in this inquiry is, for example, Elisabeta Insabato's work on the valences, uses, and transmission of the so-called *carte di famiglia* within the great houses of Tuscany between the 15th and 18th centuries²⁵. In this case study, the author made clear the daily writing endeavours of these families and their concern with transmitting a legacy of knowledge about the family's past²⁶. According to Insabato, the families saw the family

21 Burgess, 1999, p. 46.

22 Lodolini, 1991.

23 Camarossano, 1991.

24 Tascini, 1997.

25 Insabato, 1994.

26 Insabato, 1994, p. 885.



archive as a common asset, the use and consultation of which satisfied a dual cultural and practical–legal requirement. As will be seen below, this line of research has been echoed and continued in the historiographies of the Iberian Peninsula, with studies exclusively dedicated to the family archives of the pre–modern elites multiplying throughout the 21st century²⁷.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning the research that has focused on the political system of the *Ancien Régime*, classifying it as corporate. Of particular note in this context are the various works by António Manuel Hespanha²⁸ which revealed the main characteristics of these societies of bodies: legitimation of the constitution of the *polis* in nature and tradition; political and normative pluralism; reduction of the Crown's functions to a passive administration, administering justice while preserving acquired rights; and

“centralidade de um direito, garante desses direitos, decalcado das várias leis que o mundo conhecia – a lei divina, a lei da natureza externa das sociedades, mas também da lei interna das almas dos homens, tanto a natureza das instituições, como a geometria da alma dos homens, a tradição feita lei, o exemplo que fez fama (*façanha*), o estilo processual que amolda a prática dos tribunais, tudo isto posto em ordem, para os casos notáveis, por esse saber prático (praticável) dos juriconsultos a que se chamava *prudentia*, *prudentia iuris*, jurisprudência, que estes, nos seus pesados livros e nas sopesadas decisões, deviam ensinar (*doctrina*)²⁹”.

This approach has influenced many of the subsequent readings on *Ancien Régime* institutions, including families³⁰, and is essential for a correct understanding of the process of constructing, transmitting and perpetuating identity through entails.

²⁷ See below, pp. 68–76.

²⁸ Hespanha, 1994.

²⁹ Hespanha, 2007, p. 56. My translation: “centrality of a law, which guarantees these rights, derived from the various laws known to the world – divine law, the external natural law of societies, but also the internal law of the souls of men, both the nature of institutions and the geometry of the souls of men, the tradition made law, the example that gained fame (by deeds), the procedural style that shapes court practice; all this organized, for notable cases, by the practical (practicable) knowledge that jurists called *prudentia*, *prudentia iuris*, jurisprudence, which they, in their weighty books and weighed decisions, were to teach (*doctrina*)”.

³⁰ Hespanha, 1993.



1.2. 21st century historiography

Several of the ideas that emerged in the 70s, 80s and 90s of the 20th century were analysed in greater depth and expanded as the following century dawned. This period was characterised by a plurality of studies which, as stated above, confirmed and explored the complexity, scope and holistic nature of the identity system of the pre-modern nobility and elites and the role played by entails within this system.

1.2.1. The founder and the substantification of the lineage

One of the main contributions made by Portuguese historiography to the knowledge of entailment practices during the *Ancien Régime* was the study of the figure of the founder and their role as a source of identity, as shown by the various works by Maria de Lurdes Rosa³¹. In these, the author emphasises one of the most important specificities of Iberian entails, expressed in the fact that the will of the founder constitutes the internal law of entails³². This immutable law, made possible by particular legal-religious principles, had to be respected not only by the family group, but also by all external authorities, namely the Crown and the Church. Foundational clauses that revoked the law of the realm were therefore legitimate, and accepted by the royal power in view of their sacred nature. The foundation document, as well as being legal proof of the founder's will, immortalised the founding moment: “as documents, they were meant to rule forever. In a way, they were the “constitution” of the structure being created, representing but the final segment of a well-thought out, meticulously fashioned process³³”.

Thus, the founder, as an authority figure, is at the centre of the functioning of the entails³⁴. In the Portuguese context, the appearance of an authority figure structured around a social body – the lineage – was studied by medievalists such as José Augusto Sottomayor-Pizarro or Bernardo

31 Rosa, 1995, pp. 37–94; Rosa, 2012b, pp. 341–689; Rosa, 2020.

32 Rosa, 1995, pp. 221–222; Rosa, 2012b, pp. 428–430.

33 Rosa, 2020, p. 5.

34 Rosa, 2020, p. 3.



Vasconcelos e Sousa. According to these authors, before the middle or end of the 14th century, the lineage structure in Portugal was fluid, based on the equal sharing of assets between men and women, married and unmarried, laypeople and ecclesiastics, and denoting the absence of a clear and socially fixed lineage leadership³⁵. This resulted in an atomisation and dilution of the material base of wealth and power of the noble family groups, which led Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa to state that in Portugal, until the end of the 14th century, there was no noble lineage that possessed a materially profitable and solid estate or that held sufficient power to be able to establish itself as a House³⁶.

These authors argue that, from the mid-14th century onwards, there was a change in the behaviour of the Portuguese aristocracy, who were now aware that traditional models of kinship structuring were no longer sustainable in the face of continuous asset fragmentation³⁷. One of the hypotheses put forward to solidify this change was precisely the spread of the *morgadios*, which would have provided a legal instrument capable of establishing primacy in inheritance and enshrining the figure of authority in the person of the head of the lineage³⁸. In fact, as Sottomayor-Pizarro argues, only when the main block of the estate was entrusted to a single heir, preferably the eldest son, were the material conditions gathered for the family leadership to stand out clearly³⁹. Thus, as Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa concludes, the emergence, consolidation, and longevity of the great noble Houses were directly linked to the hierarchical organization of the family group and to the concentration of material wealth and of the fate of the lineage in the hands of its head⁴⁰. Both authors recognise that this explanatory hypothesis needs further investigation. Maria de Lurdes Rosa adds that that investigation should involve an analysis of the sociology of the first founders, among whom are several bishops and individuals related to high legal positions, as well as members of the middle nobility⁴¹.

35 Sottomayor-Pizarro, 2013.

36 Sousa, 2013, p. 52.

37 Sottomayor-Pizarro, 2016, p. 172.

38 Sousa, 2013, p. 54; Sottomayor-Pizarro, 2016, p. 172.

39 Sottomayor-Pizarro, 2013, p. 39-40.

40 Sousa, 2013, p. 53.

41 Rosa, 2020, pp. 20-21 and 37, n. 152.



With the affirmation of the founder as an authority figure, the foundational act unfolds, according to Lurdes Rosa, in three main components, starting with the founder's relationship with the past. Seeing the memory of the past as a factor that brought the family together and is essential to the foundational act, the author demonstrates how it was the founder's duty to prove themselves worthy of the inheritance they had received and to guarantee its continuity⁴². However, this link to the past was not an impediment to the second component, based on the affirmation of the founder as such and the exaltation of the foundational moment as an improvement on that past⁴³. Finally, the most definitive expression of the founder's authority and power lay in the construction of the image of the heir, the perfect heir, in a genealogical continuity between Father and Son. This construction included exclusion clauses, banning from the succession anyone who did not correspond to this image. It also included all the obligations and rules of conduct imposed on successors, such as those that defined their responsibility as representatives of the family (obligation to wear the founder's arms and family name, loyalty to the king, fear of God, among many others)⁴⁴.

In a broad and comprehensive framework, Maria de Lurdes Rosa also points out various avenues of analysis related to the functions and origins of the figure of the founder, which, according to the author, deserve in-depth investigation: the way in which religious principles informed the construction of the law; the role of jurists in co-creating the figure of the founder and the model of the heir; the influence of canon law; the weight of Christian cultural elements; the presence of lineage identity symbols; or the hypothetical relationship between lay founders and other groups who also acted as founders, such as ecclesiastical founders, benefactors, and patrons⁴⁵.

In this field, the contributions of French historiography should also be mentioned, exemplified by the special issue of the journal entitled "Fidéicommiss. Procédés juridiques et pratiques sociales (Italie-Europe,

42 Rosa, 1995, pp. 39, 50–51; Rosa, 2020, p. 6.

43 Rosa, 1995, pp. 55–68; Rosa, 2020, p. 7.

44 Rosa, 1995, pp. 96–160; Rosa, 2020, p. 7–13.

45 Rosa, 2020, pp. 17–23.



Bas Moyen Âge–XVIIIe siècle)”, published in 2012. The issue brings together texts by various authors on entailment in England, Italy, and France (with no article on the Iberian Peninsula) between the Lower Middle Ages and the 18th century. At the beginning, Jean-François Chauvard, Anna Bellavitis and Paola Lanaro present some of the main ideas that characterise the current state of knowledge about the use of *fidéicomis* in the modern period. They begin by emphasising that entails had a common conceptual and mental universe, with a conception of the family based on lineage. This conception also included property, in an intimate relationship between family property and family structure, which historiography has immortalised in the recovery of the late medieval maxim *familia id est substantia*:

“quand les légistes de la fin du Moyen Âge proclamaient que *familia id est substantia*, ils ne voyaient pas seulement dans les biens un moyen pour assurer la pérennité de l’existence collective de la famille, ils les assimilaient à la famille elle-même en établissant une équivalence entre l’essence et la substance. C’était le rôle assigné aux *familia*, cette catégorie de biens porteurs de l’identité familiale, destinés à être transmis de génération en génération, soustraits aux marchés – à la différence des *pecunia* –, jugés inestimables, sinon par la fiction de l’expertise, et donc quasi-sacrés⁴⁶”.

Thus, the authors add that the assets that the *fidéicomis* was responsible for transmitting formed, on a symbolic level, the unchanging backbone of the dynastic chain⁴⁷.

This process, which Robert Descimon, in his contribution to the same special issue, called “substantification des lignages”, contributed to the formation of a lineage consciousness and to the conception and functioning

46 Chauvard; Bellavitis; Lanaro, 2012, para. 9, note 9. See also Rosa, 2019, p. 266 and Haddad, 2012. My translation: “When the jurists of the late Middle Ages proclaimed that *familia id est substantia*, they did not merely see property as a means to ensure the continuity of the family’s collective existence; they equated it with the family itself by establishing an equivalence between essence and substance. This was the role assigned to the *familia*, this category of property that carried the family’s identity, meant to be passed down from generation to generation, kept out of the market—unlike *pecunia*—considered priceless except through the fiction of appraisal, and thus almost sacred”.

47 Chauvard; Bellavitis; Lanaro, 2012, para. 9.



of lineages as corporate entities⁴⁸. This author argues that, in this way, it is not so much the effectiveness of entailment practices that gives lineages social meaning, but rather the “*lien d'identité*” that these practices aim to create between generations who assume the same social roles⁴⁹. Inspired by the work of French sociologist and anthropologist Marcel Mauss on the gift, Descimon integrates the process of succession established by entails into the anthropological category of the “*donnant gardant*” through which “*la transmission de l'objet prétend créer une identité substantielle entre le donateur et le donataire qui, par la médiation de l'objet, sont censés devenir une même personne identifiée au lignage, entité supérieure et acteur transcendant*⁵⁰”. The author states that this characteristic gives family heritage, both material and immaterial, an inherent force – or “*mana*” – which metaphysically fulfills the desire not to die completely⁵¹.

1.2.2. Symbolic patrimony

Death was overcome through the perpetuation of symbols, which survived beyond the biological extinction of bodies. Anthroponyms – including first names and family names – and heraldry, part of the intangible heritage of families, were historiographically considered to be identity symbols *par excellence*⁵². In fact, even legal or institutional studies on entails include references to these elements, driven above all by the generalisation and dissemination of clauses requiring the use of names and arms in entail foundations. For the region of Castile, for example, Clavero shows that these clauses were so recurrent that they came to be considered obligatory even when they were not explicitly stated in the foundation documents⁵³. These clauses forced entails administrators to use a certain first name, family name and arms, or a combination of all three, under threat of losing their right to the administration.

48 Descimon, 2012, para. 1.1. See also Haddad, 2012.

49 Descimon, 2012, para. 1.

50 Descimon, 2006, para. 1. My translation: “The transmission of the object claims to create a substantial identity between the donor and the donee, who, through the mediation of the object, are supposed to become the same person identified with the lineage, a superior entity and a transcendent actor”.

51 Descimon, 2012, para. 1.

52 Melero Muñoz, 2021, p. 667.

53 Clavero, 1974, p. 256.



For the classical historians of law in Spain, such as Clavero or, reacting to the latter's work, Bermejo Cabrero, the obligation to use names and arms aroused particular interest due to the legal problem it created in cases of accumulation of two or more entails with identical requirements⁵⁴. The so-called incompatibility of entails was discussed, a topic that had already occupied various pre-modern treatises and “mayorazguistas”. When a founder determined the mandatory use of names and arms – especially in cases where they specified that neither symbolic patrimony should be mixed with the names and arms of other family groups – it made it incompatible, in theory, to attach other entails that implied the same obligation. In practice, historical reality, as Bermejo Cabrero insisted, showed the use of solutions to work around this incompatibility, such as mixing family names or quartered arms⁵⁵. It therefore revealed the dichotomy between the letter of the foundation and family life⁵⁶ – or, in other words, between an ideal identity, drawn up by the founder, and an identity negotiated and lived by the successors over the centuries – a theme little explored by later historiography.

In addition to the legal implications, the perspectives of family history, social history and anthropological history have enriched the readings on the function of names and arms in the construction and perpetuation of the identity of family groups. According to Melero Muñoz, who follows the proposals of Irigoyen López, Michel Nassiet, and Jean-Pierre Dedieu, these two elements allowed the symbolic or fictitious continuity of the memory of houses or lineages in the face of their biological exhaustion, thus responding to their expectations of perpetuity⁵⁷. They were also, as Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa points out for the Portuguese case at the end of the Middle Ages, important tools for the social affirmation of the nobility, for self-identification and for strengthening the solidarity and identity consciousness of noble family groups⁵⁸.

54 Clavero, 1974, pp. 257–259; Bermejo Cabrero, 1985, pp. 295–296.

55 Bermejo Cabrero, 1985, p. 295. The relationship between the compulsory use of names and arms was later taken up by other authors in the context of Spanish historiography, such as: Atienza Hernández, 1991, p. 25; Marzal Rodríguez, 1996, pp. 259–260; Soria Mesa, pp. 234–237; Catalá Sanz, 2011, pp. 72–73 (which refers, for example, to the Valencian custom of using the *olim* by the administrators of entails between their own family names and those adopted by obligation imposed in the foundation).

56 Rosa, 1995, p. 60.

57 Melero Muñoz, 2021, p. 668.

58 Sousa, 2013, pp. 41–55.



Using the entails, the founders selected the relevant symbolic heritage and set precise instructions for its use “until the end of the world”. In Dedieu's words, it is precisely the insistence on this symbolic component that demonstrates the “profound nature” of the entails, which cannot be reduced to the mere transmission of material assets⁵⁹. It also demonstrates the depth of the founders' role in building the perfect heir⁶⁰, whose identity is also defined, as seen above, through anthroponymy and heraldry.

Regarding anthroponymy, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa identifies the common practice of Portuguese nobles to choose first names from a restricted set, such as the baptismal names of previous generations, which explains the recurrent homonymy and the use of patronymics⁶¹. Family names, on the other hand, which represented a stable name that identified the collective, were initially associated with the area where the families settled or the territories over which they exercised domanial powers⁶². The same strategy can be seen in Castile, where lordships were used to design the family names and sometimes the nobiliary titles themselves⁶³.

The choice of first names and family names to be perpetuated could therefore involve various factors, always depending on the will of the founders. A first name or family name could, for example, revive the memory of certain predecessors⁶⁴, in a wider practice of ancestor worship and genealogical tradition⁶⁵; it could satisfy the founder's need for personal recognition and self-perpetuation⁶⁶; or it could express particular devotions⁶⁷. As Quintanilla Raso has shown for the Castilian context, the foundations of entails with clauses forcing the use of names, family names and/or arms could also fulfil the specific aim of safeguarding the memory and heritage of the maternal lineage⁶⁸. This happened in the case of multiple *morgadios* or *morgadios* for the secondborn, which were established in

59 Dedieu, 2002, p. 111.

60 Rosa, 1995, p. 108.

61 Sousa, 2013, p. 43.

62 Sousa, 2013, p. 42.

63 Quintanilla Raso, 2002, p. 251; Quintanilla Raso, 2006, p. 170.

64 Soria Mesa, 2007, pp. 283, 285.

65 See below, pp. 68–73.

66 Melero Muñoz, 2021, pp. 669.

67 Gutiérrez de Armas, 2019, p.117. On devotional identities, see below, pp. 76–87.

68 Quintanilla Raso, 2006, p. 162.



parallel and independently of the main entails, usually (but not exclusively) conceived for the firstborn male line. The maternal family name could then be used to designate the new lines created by these other *morgadios*⁶⁹, which, in the author's opinion, was not a sign of weakness in the main lineage nor did it result in identity fragmentation; on the contrary, Quintanilla Raso argues that multiple *morgadios* boosted the multiplication of the propagandistic bases of the group's social and symbolic power by creating new lines that safeguarded and projected the heritage, power, values, and dignity of the main line⁷⁰.

According to Hiroko Shiba, and following on from the hypotheses previously put forward by Beceiro Pita and Córdoba de La Llave, it was the co-existence of entails that required the use of paternal and maternal family names that gave rise to the double bilateral family names in the Hispanic context. The double family name would thus fulfil an economic and social function associated with entails, distinct, therefore, from the identifying or individualising function⁷¹. Underlining the irony behind the fact that it was the *morgadios*, agnatic systems *par excellence*, that promoted a bilateral anthroponymic system, this study also demonstrates the interest of the history of anthroponymy for understanding pre-modern nobiliary behaviour⁷². In fact, Pallares Méndez and Portela Silva have noted that the historiographical forms used to designate certain groups can hide misinterpretations about kinship relations or political connections. This is the case with the Galician family group historiographically identified as “the Traba”, “counts of Traba” or “house of Traba”, which, in the central Middle Ages, did not use the word “Traba” as a collective name applied to a group of people united by kinship⁷³.

Spanish historiography has also shown that this focus on the history of anthroponymy is particularly relevant given that there was an almost total lack of legislative regulation on the transmission of family name in Spain until the 18th century⁷⁴. This made it possible, on the one hand, for

69 Quintanilla Raso, 2006, p. 164.

70 Quintanilla Raso, 2006, p. 181.

71 Shiba, 2010, p. 66.

72 Shiba, 2010, p. 71.

73 Pallares Méndez, 1993, pp. 827-828.

74 Soria Mesa, 2007, p. 279.



family names to vary between brothers and sisters and, on the other, for certain groups to take advantage of them, legitimately or improperly, in order to increase their social, economic, or political power⁷⁵. One of the ways to ensure this increase was precisely by laying claim to the administration of entails. Within this claim framework, family names could be used to denounce non-compliance with mandatory use clauses or as a way of legitimising succession rights in the administration. For the 17th and 18th centuries, Melero Muñoz found, for example, that the family names of the founders were used by most litigants in the claims; observing the court proceedings, the author found that the candidates for succession began by presenting themselves with other family names, changing to the founder's family names after the litigation began, perhaps on the advice of their lawyers and solicitors⁷⁶.

Many of these functions attributed to anthroponymy extend to heraldry. Historians paid extra attention to heraldry as it became, during the 19th century, an auxiliary science of history and, after a thorough epistemological review, a specialised branch of historiographical knowledge⁷⁷. Since it is impossible to review this dense technical and historiographical legacy, it is useful to follow the guidelines of the Portuguese historian and heraldist Miguel Metelo de Seixas, who highlights some of the fundamental features of the current understanding of heraldry. The author states that

“...antes de corresponderem a qualquer tipo de abstracção, as armas preenchem sempre (e desde sempre) uma função primordial como emblemas visuais de identificação e, por conseguinte, funcionam como fenómeno comunicacional. As armas têm, assim, os seus emissores, receptores, as suas formas, os seus materiais, as suas localizações, os seus significados tendencialmente variáveis, sobreponíveis, intercambiáveis. Essa é a sua essência⁷⁸”.

75 Soria Mesa, 2007, pp. 280–281.

76 Melero Muñoz, 2021, p. 410; Melero Muñoz; Regalado González-Serna, 2017, p. 273.

77 Seixas, 2012, p. 450.

78 Seixas, 2012, p. 450. My translation: “...before corresponding to any kind of abstraction, coats of arms (have always, and) always fulfil a primary function as visual emblems of identification and, consequently, function as a communicational phenomenon. Coats of arms, therefore, have their emitters, receivers, forms, materials, locations, and their meanings, which tend to be variable, overlapping, and interchangeable. This is their essence.” See also Seixas, 2011, pp. 223–263.



Within family organisations, this function of identification was joined, from the 14th century onwards in the Portuguese context, by another equally important purpose, namely that of expressing the perpetuation of a certain social structure. Hence, through their fixed, hereditary and universally recognizable character, arms became one of the main tools for maintaining the memory of lineages⁷⁹.

Regarding the use of heraldry by family groups, historiography has focused above all on burial sites, as this is where the oldest and most numerous heraldic manifestations of the nobility can be found⁸⁰, and on family manor houses. The appropriation of sacred space by families was reflected, in visual terms, in the affixing of arms to funerary monuments, identifying the deceased and the group to which they belonged; in the heraldry of chapels, signalling the identity of the founder or patron and also delimiting the use of spaces reserved for the family; or even in the inscription of family arms on relics and other sacred and liturgical objects, recurrently recalling who had donated them to the religious institution. Complementing the heraldry, other elements – such as tombstones or evocative signs, portraits of benefactors, funeral ceremonies, or liturgical celebrations – reinforced, as will be seen in more detail below⁸¹, the strategy of using sacred space to affirm the power, piety, and devotion of the lineage⁸².

The manor houses or places of residence of the heads of lineage or administrators of entails were also privileged spaces for observing the role of heraldry as a symbol of family identity. Miguel Metelo de Seixas states that, more than just for identification purposes, the presence of a coat of arms on a particular building served to transform it into the symbolic seat of the lineage. In this way, regardless of its particular characteristics, the building was thus ennobled and became a place of memory⁸³.

79 Seixas, 2012, pp. 455–456.

80 Sousa, 2013, p. 48.

81 See below, pp. 89–92.

82 On the presence of heraldry in grave sites and sacred spaces see, for the Portuguese case, Seixas, 2012, pp. 454–455; Rosas, 2013, pp. 459–472; Rosa, 1995, pp. 194–196; Rosa, 2012b, pp. 652–656; and for the Spanish case, Carmona Carmona, 2019, pp. 196–202.

83 Seixas, 2012, p. 457.



These emblazoned houses, which functioned as spaces for representing and displaying family identity⁸⁴, were often linked to and transformed into “heads of the *morgadio*”, guaranteeing that they would remain in the possession of the family⁸⁵.

However, the “omnipresence of heraldry⁸⁶” was expressed far beyond grave sites and manor houses. Marcus Meer’s work on the heraldic representations of bourgeois families in urban houses and churches in England and Germany in the late Middle Ages is particularly illustrative in this respect: in addition to the exteriors and interiors of houses (stained glass windows, ceilings, walls) and grave sites, the author identified heraldic symbols on textiles, furniture, liturgical vestments, and objects of various kinds, also noting a general enthusiasm for heraldry as a generic decorative element⁸⁷. By incorporating heraldic elements, which became part of the assets, this movable heritage therefore acquired the character of a sign of identity for the family group⁸⁸. Hence the practice of entailing not only immovable property but also objects, with or without heraldry, reinforcing their importance as an integral part of the identity heritage and ensuring their perpetual transmission from generation to generation⁸⁹.

Finally, another medium in which this “heraldry in action” manifests itself, to use an expression by Maria de Lurdes Rosa, is written documents⁹⁰. In fact, based on her study of pre-modern family archives (which will be mentioned again further down⁹¹), the author emphasises the double importance of these sets of documents for the study of heraldry: on the one hand, they provide concrete data on the subject; on the other, they show that families produced diverse information on heraldry, which appears in

84 Melero Muñoz, 2021, p. 671.

85 Cobo Hernandez, 2017, p. 28. On the house as an element of identity, see below, pp. 95-97.

86 Soria Mesa, 2007, p. 268.

87 Meer, 2018, p. 149.

88 Seixas, 2012, p. 457.

89 See Raines, 2013, pp. 533-550, on the link between book collections and libraries in Venice between the 15th and 18th centuries and the role of culture in the family image; on sumptuous investments and the use of luxury objects as distinctive elements of the nobiliary *ethos* in Castile in the Lower Middle Ages, see Martínez Martínez; Lora Serrano, 2007, pp. 197-219; on the entailment of works of art, see Urquizar Herrera, 2016, pp. 203-211.

90 Rosa, 2012c, p. 333. This article includes a documentary appendix with 27 examples of the presence of heraldry in family documents. See also Seixas, 2012.

91 See below, pp. 73-76.



multiple documents that structured the life of the family body⁹². Heraldry is found in letters of arms, some with iconographic reproductions; in wills, with instructions about where the testator's arms should be affixed and how they should be represented; or in inventories, where objects identified with arms were described⁹³.

To this set two other central types of documents where the presence of heraldry is particularly relevant must be added, namely foundation documents and entails inventories. The former contain the aforementioned clauses forcing the administrators of the entails to use arms and family names. Sometimes these foundation documents were themselves decorated with the coats of arms of the founders, expressing, in Rosa's words, a textual and iconographic communion⁹⁴. From the perspective of Art History, Maria Teresa Chicote Pompanin and Ángel Fuentes Ortiz analysed some of these foundation documents illuminated at the request of Castilian nobles at the end of the Middle Ages⁹⁵. The authors concluded that the arms and other iconographic elements present in these records (such as portraits of the founders, their ancestors and their family, family mottos or images of particular devotions of the lineage), fulfilled certain objectives and carried specific messages. Often, these objectives and messages were associated with the social, economic, or political vicissitudes that the family groups were going through at the time the document was produced⁹⁶. Other times, they fulfilled the desire to pass on "vital maxims", including devotional preferences, ensuring that they survived in the memory of descendants as a kind of "spiritual inheritance"⁹⁷.

Some entail inventories also contained representations of the founders' arms, as noted by Miguel Metelo de Seixas and João Bernardo Galvão Telles in their case study on the heraldic patrimony of the Portuguese nobleman D. Álvaro da Costa and his descendants⁹⁸. In the inventory of

92 Rosa, 2012c, p. 334.

93 Rosa, 2012c, p. 335.

94 Rosa, 2012c, p. 339.

95 Fuentes Ortiz; Chicote Pompanin, 2017; Chicote Pompanin; Fuentes Ortiz, 2021. Some Portuguese examples are mentioned in Rosa, 2012c, p. 339.

96 Chicote Pompanin; Fuentes Ortiz, 2021, p. 271

97 Fuentes Ortiz; Chicote Pompanin, 2017, p. 198.

98 Seixas; Galvão-Telles, 2013, pp. 319–342.



D. Gil Eanes da Costa's *morgadio*, ordered by his son, there are two representations of the arms in a drawing, which, as the authors write, graphically corroborate the prominence assigned to them in the text, since the foundation required the use of arms and family name⁹⁹. These two examples are part of a wider set of 17 heraldic manifestations produced by the family between the 16th and 17th centuries, including two books of hours¹⁰⁰.

1.2.3. Genealogy and the archive

As elements that boosted the symbolic continuity of family groups and thus satisfied their drive for perpetuation, anthroponymy and heraldry help us understand the particular form of perception of reality that characterised pre-modern nobility, based on genealogy. Understanding this genealogical perception of the world¹⁰¹ as another identity mark of noble families, the historiography of the late 20th century and, above all, the 21st century contributed to deepening the subject, although, according to various authors, it has not yet received the attention it deserves given its centrality. Historiographical contributions have come in three central ways: through case studies on the production of genealogies, family chronicles, or nobiliaries, pointing out their functions and objectives and the role played by ancestors in affirming identity; through the analysis of entails, born of genealogical awareness¹⁰²; and, finally, through interdisciplinary research dedicated to family archives, which has demonstrated not only their importance for the conservation and transmission of genealogical knowledge, but also the way in which they have affirmed themselves as traces of identity.

In his work on the nobility in modern Spain, Enrique Soria Mesa clearly summarises the role that genealogy played in the societies under study, highlighting the profusion of this type of written production, which he characterised as a genealogical fever¹⁰³. In fact, the author explains that

99 Seixas; Galvão-Telles, 2013, p. 335.

100 Seixas; Galvão-Telles, 2013, pp. 321-322.

101 Rosa, 1995, pp. 20, 132.

102 Rosa, 2019, p. 256.

103 Soria Mesa, 2007, p. 301. This work summarises the main ideas previously analysed by the author in Soria Mesa, 2004.



genealogy was used by noble groups as an instrument of power capable of legitimising the existing political and social reality by shaping cultural ideals and creating imaginaries. In this sense, it functioned as one of the main levers of social ascension: for groups wishing to gain access to the noble strata, recourse to genealogy allowed them to hide or reinvent their social origins, justifying a nobility by blood that they did not possess; for established noble families, including the upper titled nobility, genealogical production offered the means to defend their primacy over other groups and maintain their social position. Soria Mesa insists on the central idea that genealogical writings were not, therefore, mere manifestations of nobiliary vanity, since they fulfilled a social function in the context of societies different from ours. Genealogy thus became one of the cultural keys of the time and therefore deserved greater historiographical attention¹⁰⁴.

The same idea is present in French historiography, such as the book *Incorporation des ancêtres: Généalogie, construction du présent (du Moyen Âge à nos jours)*, coordinated by Isabelle Luciani and Valérie Piétri¹⁰⁵. The aim of this collective and interdisciplinary work was to reflect on the nature of genealogical writings as narrative configurations of the identity of social actors, from the Middle Ages to the present. From a diachronic perspective, it sought to determine how the “incorporation of ancestors” participates in the process of individual and collective identity construction, and how these two levels of identity coexist and combine. Like Soria Mesa, the book's coordinators have drawn attention to the historical depth of Western genealogical culture, emphasising that genealogies were not a type of discourse, but rather a way of being in the world in deep connection with the past. Through genealogical narratives about ancestors, the subjects discovered themselves, reinforcing the relationship between family memory and the construction of the “self”. According to Luciani and Piétri, it is precisely from the recognition of the individual's belonging to a whole that the social and political potential of ancestry as a mechanism for affirming identity arises. This ancestry, reflected in genealogical writings, was not limited to a simple accumulation of individuals;

104 Soria Mesa, 2007, pp. 300–301.

105 Luciani; Piétri, 2016.



on the contrary, it resulted from a personal and social construction that, far from being exhaustive, was made up of choices, absences, forgetfulness, and imaginaries. Hence the historiographical interest in analysing who, when, why, and for what purpose a given family was associated with a given founding ancestor, whether real or fictitious. This is also why, due to their identity effectiveness, the genealogical narratives produced during the *Ancien Régime* must be understood as “true”, even when they are historically “false”¹⁰⁶.

In the context of this work, Anne-Valérie Solignat's chapter on the place of ancestors in the construction of nobiliary identity, based on the study of two 17th century French family genealogies, stands out. In this chapter, the objectives behind genealogical production can be seen: in one case, genealogy made it possible to re-found the legitimacy of the family's local power in the face of the advances of an absolute State, affirming, through the use of mythical ancestors, that the group's presence in its lands of origin predated the king himself¹⁰⁷; in the other, genealogical narratives made it possible for the family group to adapt to the new definition of nobility imposed by the Crown, transforming carefully chosen ancestors into family heroes and model servants of the monarch¹⁰⁸. Thus, the author considers that it is possible to understand the specific identity of each family from the way they individualised and personified the ancestors of the lineage¹⁰⁹.

Solignat also draws attention to the link between collective identity and individual identity, arguing that lineage identity was not a significant obstacle to individuation: “Le dilemme propre à chaque individu était d’être capable de reproduire la valeur familiale, tout en lui apportant une nuance personnelle. L’honneur lignager devait être conquis individuellement¹¹⁰”. In the logic of the genealogical perception of reality, being born into a lineage therefore meant inheriting a set of innate qualities passed

106 Luciani; Piétri, 2016.

107 On the use of genealogies as political weapons in the Spanish context, see Hermant, 2016.

108 Solignat, 2016, paras. 6–8.

109 Solignat, 2016, para. 4.

110 Solignat, 2016, para. 22. My translation: “The dilemma for each individual was to be able to reproduce the family's value while adding a personal touch to it. Lineage honour had to be individually earned.”



down from generation to generation – dignity, obedience to God, loyalty to the king, behaviour and convictions. These had to be respected by all individual members, otherwise they would tarnish the honour and virtue of the collective¹¹¹.

This explains the clauses excluding heirs in the foundation of entails, removing from the entail administration all those who did not correspond to the family *ethos*. Lasciviousness, heresy, disrespect for paternal authority, illness, or physical or mental disability were some of the most common reasons that justified exclusion, within a set of several other possible reasons, always depending on the will of the founder¹¹². This will, erected as a rule of conduct for the lineage, is also thought of in genealogical terms: it exists in the present through the updating of what was established by the founding father, as Maria de Lurdes Rosa writes¹¹³. In this sense, the founder reorganised the past, created the present and conditioned the future¹¹⁴. In her work on the funerary chapels founded in Portugal between the 15th and early 16th centuries, Rosa drew up two profiles of founders according to their relationship with the past as reflected in the suffrage of their ancestors. The first profile, the majority, corresponds to founders who organised the memory of their ancestors, fixing the present in relation to this role of organizer, while also using the capital of the past. The second profile is characterised by the severing of the link with the ancestors, with the founder constituting themselves as such, in an attempt at autonomy through social ascension or affirmation in relation to the main branches of the lineage¹¹⁵. Hernández Franco and Molina Puche describe the impetus behind this second type of founder as the desire to assert oneself as a reference individual for future genealogies¹¹⁶.

In any case, the transmission of memory and, with it, family identity, has always underpinned the foundation of entails. In fact, as Ferrer-Alòs explains through an analysis of inheritance systems and the transmission

111 Gómez de Valenzuela, 2013, p. 512; Pardo Molero, 2017.

112 On the exclusion of heirs, see Rosa, 1988; López Nevot, 2006; Llavona Serrano; Martín Rincón, 2012.

113 Rosa, 1995, p. 83.

114 Rosa, 2020, p. 17.

115 Rosa, 2012b, pp. 405–406.

116 Hernández Franco; Molina Puche, 2010, p. 14.



of property in 18th century Spain, the social groups that used memory as a mechanism of power and prestige opted preferentially for primogeniture. This was because if the egalitarian system of inheritance sharing allowed for the social reproduction of living conditions, it did so at the price of the loss of family and lineage memory¹¹⁷. An illustrative example of this relationship between memory and entails can be found in Eva Stoll's work on a "memoir" written by Juan Ruiz de Arce, a *conquistador* in America who, due to his deeds overseas, became a nobleman and founded a *morgadio*. In 1543, Juan Ruiz finished an account in which, in addition to information about his experiences in America and notes on chivalry, he explained to his descendants the reasons why he had established the entail, how much the foundation had cost him and the honourable values that were implicit in it. Stoll sees this account not only as a vehicle for passing on knowledge from father to son, but also as an instrument for defending the new social position he had recently achieved, capable of ensuring the legitimacy of the *morgadio*. Unlike the genealogies mentioned above, this memoir was not intended to be published, but was reserved for descendants, so that they could remember that the *morgadio* had an honourable origin, regardless of the critical attitude heard in the Spanish kingdom at the time about the *conquistadores*¹¹⁸.

In addition to these memorial and identity purposes, Maria de Lurdes Rosa states that genealogical knowledge was also particularly relevant in practical terms when it came to the transmission and administration of entails. By establishing precise rules of succession, entails often involved several family branches. It was common to refer to "the founder's closest relative", who could inherit the entail if the lines called upon for administration were exhausted, such as the first-born male line. Thus, mastery of the family genealogy was crucial, not only for the direct descendants of the founders, but also for all the branches that were potential heirs to the entailed estate¹¹⁹. Sound genealogical knowledge could be used to claim the administration of entails founded by distant ancestors, as evidenced by the many lawsuits filed to this end¹²⁰. In addition, from the 15th century

117 Ferrer-Alòs, 2007, p. 65.

118 Stoll, 2002 (the work includes an introductory study and a transcription of the "memoir").

119 Rosa, 2019, p. 263.

120 Rosa, 1995, p. 100.



onwards, the need to master genealogy in the societies of the Iberian Peninsula was also linked to the requirements of proving clean blood. Proving that one didn't descend from a Jewish ancestor became essential to maintain nobiliary status and to gain access to the kingdom's main institutions, such as military orders, municipal councils, or *misericórdias*. From the 16th century onwards, several founders of entails included clauses excluding heirs who married people of impure blood. In this sense, “genealogy was the method of knowledge to obey the law¹²¹”.

As “deposits of genealogical credit¹²²” and “historical legitimisation of the lineage¹²³”, family archives were essential for building, transmitting and proving family memory. In the case of Portugal, Maria de Lurdes Rosa points out that the proliferation of entails encouraged families to keep archives, which explains why a large part of the records currently kept in these documentary sets were produced and received in the context of the foundation and administration of entails¹²⁴. Entails also granted legal status to the archives created by the family bodies. All documentary production associated with the foundation document, the source of the internal law of the entails, was necessarily imbued with legality without the need for external validation¹²⁵. In the words of the Portuguese author, while it is true that the Roman notion of *ius archivi*, which considered only repositories authorised by public authorities to be archives, prevailed during the *Ancien Régime*, it is also clear that there were other types of archives with intrinsic legality, such as those born from entails. The legal, public, and authentic validity of archives created in private spheres was possible in a world characterised by jurisdictional plurality, the autonomy of social bodies, which kept their own archives, and the acceptance by public authorities of self-restrictions on the operation of these archives imposed by the will of the deceased or by the *patria potestas*. Family archives, through the legal weight of the entails, consequently enjoyed a “public-private” status¹²⁶.

121 Rosa, 2019, p. 264.

122 Iranzo Muñio, 2009, p. 88.

123 Gómez Vozmediano, 2019, para. 48.

124 Rosa, 2019, p. 265.

125 Rosa, 2019, pp. 267–268.

126 Rosa, 2019, pp. 267–268; Rosa, 2022.



The intrinsic relationship between entails and family archives was also expressed internally, in the organisation of the documents. Studies dedicated to these archives, particularly those focusing on document inventories¹²⁷, have shown that family archives were organised according to the nature of the house's assets and the constraints resulting from kinship and succession¹²⁸. In this way, the organisational logics that guided the archival practices of pre-modern families did not obey concerns of a technical nature or ease of information retrieval. On the contrary, they reflected the importance of knowing and preserving the relationship between documents and the source of their legal status and usefulness, subordinating practical needs to the institutional principles of the family body. It was precisely genealogy that made this relationship clear, clarifying the origin and nature of the patrimony and the documentation associated with it, as well as the transmission of both over time¹²⁹. This is why genealogical information of various types is commonly found in these archives, including in the preambles to inventories. In the latter case, the genealogy guided the users of the inventory, helping them to understand the logic behind the organisation of the inventoried archive and the correct ways of using the documents¹³⁰.

These aspects reveal that the archives functioned as key elements in the constitution, consolidation, and perpetuation of the premodern noble family groups. It is in this sense that they can also be seen as an integral part of family identity, as the Spanish historian Gómez Vozmediano argues. As a sign of families becoming historically aware, the author argues that archives fostered group cohesion by sharing a collective memory. As Gómez Vozmediano states, this reminded each member of the lineage of their belonging to a link in a chain that transcended their own existence and life experience, which favored the creation of a collective identity¹³¹.

127 For inventories of pre-modern family archives in Portugal, see Rosa; Head, 2015, a collective work that includes studies on the subject and a catalogue with archival descriptions of 35 specimens dating from the 15th to 19th centuries; Rosa, 2019b; Rosa, 2012d. For the Spanish and French contexts, see, for example, Iranzo Muñío, 2009; Guyotjeannin, 2010; Von Kaenel, 2003.

128 Rosa, 2021, p. 74.

129 Rosa, 2019, p. 269.

130 Rosa, 2019, p. 276; Rosa, 2021, pp. 64-65.

131 Gómez Vozmediano, 2019, para. 8.



Cornerstones of the nobiliary topos, the archives preserved “recuerdos *canonizados por los cabezas de linaje* o líderes familiares, a quienes se confía la construcción ideal del imaginario familiar y su conservación¹³²”. Keeping archives in a good state of preservation and organisation was, in fact, one of the main duties of the “good father of the family”, according to domestic economy manuals¹³³. Thus, the type of information production, the choices that justified the preservation of certain documents but not others, the management through writing, archival practices, documentary transmission, or the organisational logic of documentation are therefore privileged access routes for the study and knowledge of families and their institutional nature.

These issues have been widely studied in the Iberian context since the end of the 20th century, both by archivists interested in nobiliary archives and their archival treatment and, from a more recent interdisciplinary perspective, by historians dedicated to the social history of archives, information production, and family archival practices. Taking Portuguese historiography as an example, the production of the ARQFAM research group stands out, coordinated by Maria de Lurdes Rosa and based at NOVA FCSH. The main contributions of this group¹³⁴ include master’s and doctoral dissertations¹³⁵, the publication or co-edition of collective works entirely dedicated to family archives¹³⁶, the coordination and participation in research projects¹³⁷, and the publication of various articles and book chapters¹³⁸.

132 Gómez Vozmediano, 2019, para. 13. My translation: “memories *canonized by the heads of the lineage* or family leaders, who are entrusted with the ideal construction of the family’s imaginary and its preservation”.

133 Rosa, 2021, p. 72.

134 For a detailed description of this research path, see Nóvoa; Rosa, 2018; Rosa; Nóvoa, 2018; and website <https://arqfam.fcsh.unl.pt>. For an overview of the study of personal and family archives in Portugal, see Rodrigues, 2018.

135 Marques, 2013; Nóvoa, 2016; Câmara, 2017; Leme, 2018; Gago, 2019; Gutiérrez de Armas, 2019; Lopes, 2023.

136 Rosa, 2012; Rosa; Head, 2015; Rosa; Nóvoa; Gago; Sousa, 2019; Núñez Pestano; Rosa; Gutiérrez de Armas, 2020.

137 See the INVENTARQ projects (<https://arqfam.fcsh.unl.pt/?portfolio=inventarq>; <https://inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/>), coordinated by Maria de Lurdes Rosa and dedicated to family archive inventories, which resulted in the book Rosa; Head, 2015; and ARCHIFAM (<https://www.casadevelazquez.org/en/investigacao/programas-cientificos-ehehi/anciens-programmes/archifam/archifam/apresentacao-geral/>), the first international research project focused on family archives in the Iberian Peninsula, coordinated by Véronique Lamazou-Duplan, which resulted in the work Lamazou-Duplan, 2021.

138 See some examples at <https://arqfam.fcsh.unl.pt/?portfolio=publicacoes-da-equipa>.



As a whole, and in association with various other contributions from Spain, France, Italy, or England¹³⁹, this production has made it possible to understand the importance of archives for the success of pre-modern nobility and elites. Archives made it possible to maintain acquired social status and leveraged social ascension; they were tools for the defence of rights, proving their legitimacy, and weapons in the acquisition of goods and privileges; they were articulated as effective instruments for the management of patrimony, entailed and free, and of family life; and they preserved the structuring documents of the family body, “archival treasures” passed down from generation to generation, such as family names and heraldry.

1.2.4. Religion and devotion

If genealogy, anchored in family archives and translating a deep relationship with the past, was one of the cultural keys to understanding the societies under study, another was religion. Returning to Clive Burgess, “religion, and the unfolding of the Christian message, became part of life's pattern, symbolically and in reality, repeated year after year after year¹⁴⁰”. Maria de Lurdes Rosa's article on spirituality(ies) at the Portuguese court between the middle of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century concretises and updates this idea, offering theoretical and historiographical contributions to understanding the subject¹⁴¹. Following the proposals of French medieval historical anthropology, the author defines the concepts of religion, spirituality, and devotion or devotional practices, understanding the latter as

“um campo vasto de acções a meio caminho entre a religião e a vida social, que aliam uma postura religiosa afectiva a um sentimento de pertença a algo ou alguém divino, sendo-se protegido pelo objecto de devoção. As práticas devocionais incluem as orações, as leituras de textos religiosos, os diversos usos dos objectos sacros, as

139 The following collective works offer good overviews of the most recent historiographical production related to *Ancien Régime* family archives in these different geographical contexts: Sáez, 2002; Suárez González, 2017; *The family archives...*, 2021; Favier, 2006; Contamine; Vissière, 2010; Nazzari, 2000.

140 Burgess, 1999, p. 46; see above, pp. 53-54.

141 Rosa, 2017.



manifestações de caridade, as vivências específicas da liturgia, nomeadamente para celebração e intercessão dos parentes e amigos¹⁴²”.

It follows that religion, in the period under analysis, should be read as an “imbedded” phenomenon, that is, a phenomenon inscribed in other social spheres, which in turn are embedded in a totalizing religious view, including in these readings social, communal, and integrative religiosity, also inspired by the organizational models of laypeople¹⁴³. In fact, the author shows that the laity developed their own mechanisms to avoid dangers and to benefit from the intercession of the community and the closeness and devotion to the saints, customising their salvation through prayer, charitable practices, donations, including the dead in the annual liturgy, building funerary chapels, embellishing the cult or assisting the poor¹⁴⁴. In the same sense, there was a spiritual sense in the family values of honour, fidelity, and generosity, transmitted within the family groups and shown to the outside.

This explains why Maria de Lurdes Rosa criticises the idea of the privatisation or internalisation of religion, pointing out that

“o indivíduo foi uma realidade bem diferente da inaugurada pelo iluminismo setecentista e continuada pelos regimes liberais oitocentistas, que o erigiram em unidade fundamental da sociedade, estilhaçando outras formas de organização, nomeadamente as corporações e os estatutos de sangue e de função, pelas quais passava, precisamente, a vivência da religiosidade¹⁴⁵”.

142 Rosa, 2017, p. 224. My translation: “a broad field of actions halfway between religion and social life, combining an affective religious posture with a sense of belonging to something or someone divine, being protected by the object of devotion. Devotional practices include prayers, readings of religious texts, various uses of sacred objects, acts of charity, and specific liturgical experiences, notably for the celebration and intercession of relatives and friends”.

143 Rosa, 2017, p. 226.

144 Rosa, 2017, p. 229.

145 Rosa, 2017, pp. 251–252. My translation: “The individual was a reality very different from the one inaugurated by the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and continued by the nineteenth-century liberal regimes, which elevated the individual to the fundamental unit of society, shattering other forms of organization, particularly the corporations and the statutes of blood and function, through which religious experience was precisely expressed”. The same criticism is present in Peter Clarke’s article, in which he studies elements of the piety of 15th century elites of England and Wales, using as sources petitions to the Pope for access to portable altars, private confessors, and other favours linked to piety, such as the relaxation of personal vows (fasting, chastity, pilgrimage): Clarke, 2008.



It is useful, therefore, to think of the devotional practices of the laity in terms of “public privacy”, that is, “theoretically private” practices that were actually “able to be displayed as such¹⁴⁶”.

In another work, Maria de Lurdes continues to explore this idea, adding that the devotional practices of the laity should therefore be understood as a system of social cohesion where the emphasis is on concern not with death, but with the life of the soul. Thus, two conceptions of the world, ecclesiastical and lay, come together in the belief that matter had to be spiritualised in order to allow salvation¹⁴⁷. In the context of an economy of salvation, these practices were not manifestations of disinterested philanthropy or selfish mechanisms aimed at the salvation of souls, although they did reveal an eagerness for religious prominence; they were collective affairs that depended on intercession and the possibility of redeeming sins through the gift¹⁴⁸.

Analysing the sociology behind the practice of spiritualising property in Andalusia from the second half of the 17th century until the end of the *Ancien Régime*, Gómez Navarro sought to understand the forms and objectives of foundations and the entailment of property for spiritual purposes. Comparing these foundations to *morgadios* – referring to the former as “*morgadios* to the divine” – the author begins by identifying the similarities and differences between the two, and then categorises foundations into three distinct types according to their purpose and the degree of commitment, risk, or fate of the members of the families for whom they were designed: smaller foundations, which include memorials or anniversaries; medium-sized foundations, which include pious works, chaplaincies, or patronages; larger foundations, which encompass convents, monasteries, hospitals, or colleges. According to Gómez Navarro, all types share three legal elements, namely the duty-bearer (the founder) and the right-bearer (heir); the object, i.e. the assets; and the form, i.e. the purpose of the foundation¹⁴⁹.

146 Rosa, 2017, p. 250.

147 Rosa, 2016, p. 560.

148 Rosa, 2016, pp. 524-525.

149 Gómez Navarro, 2003, pp. 113-114.



Gómez Navarro focuses on smaller foundations, but the type of foundation that received the most historiographical attention was what the author called medium-sized foundations and, within these, “capellanías” in the Spanish context, “capelas fúnebres” in the Portuguese context, and “chantries” in the English context.

With regard to the former, one has to go back to the aforementioned work by Pro Ruiz¹⁵⁰, which marked subsequent historiography on the subject. He defined the concept of “capellanía” as a:

“fundación perpetua por la cual una persona segregaba de su patrimonio ciertos bienes —en vida o por testamento— y formaba con ellos un vínculo que se destinaría a la manutención o congrua sustentación de un clérigo, quien quedaba por ello obligado a rezar un cierto número de misas por el alma del fundador o de su familia (o a cumplir otras cargas de carácter litúrgico). La sucesión en el disfrute de este vínculo se regulaba generalmente, estableciendo en ciertas personas un derecho de patronato sobre la institución¹⁵¹”.

Pro Ruiz’s influence can be seen, for example, in Soria Mesa’s study of the secular “capellanías” in Castile during the modern period, which demonstrates their role in social promotion and strengthening family solidarity¹⁵². Candelaria Castro Pérez, Mercedes Calvo Cruz and Sonia Granado Suárez also looked at modern “capellanías”, starting by introducing the concept and the most relevant historiographical production, presenting their classification and the applicable regulations, and finally moving on to the study of the foundation’s documents integrated into the “libros de capellanía” held in parish archives¹⁵³. Alongside these broader studies, there are also several others with a local or regional focus, such

150 Pro Ruiz, 1989; see above, p. 52.

151 Pro Ruiz, 1989, p. 585. My translation: “A perpetual foundation by which a person allocated certain assets from their estate—either during their lifetime or through a will—and created an entail to be used for the maintenance or adequate support of a cleric, who was thereby obligated to say a certain number of masses for the soul of the founder or their family (or to fulfil other liturgical duties). The succession in the enjoyment of this endowment was generally regulated by establishing a patronage right over the institution for certain individuals”.

152 Soria Mesa, 2002.

153 Castro Pérez, 2007.



as the analyses by Ventura García¹⁵⁴ and Herreros Moya¹⁵⁵ on the case of Córdoba. The former focuses on ecclesiastical or collegiate, secular, and profane “capellanías” in a rural context, taking the town of Espejo as a case study. Herreros Moya, for his part, takes a more general approach to the kingdom of Córdoba, following the founding paths of some families. The author also puts forward an alternative definition of “capellanía” to that of Pro Ruiz, understanding it as

“un legado de bienes metálicos o inmuebles vinculados que el fundador instituye para mantener con su productividad el pago a uno o varios clérigos, quienes debían cumplir de forma perpetua las mandas religiosas establecidas en la fundación. Podemos añadir que a ella son inherentes dos figuras, la del patrón, cabeza decisoria y administradora de la capellanía tras la muerte del fundador, y la del capellán, clérigo de cualquier grado que en cada momento ha de cumplir dichas mandas; y ambos roles están determinados indefectiblemente de forma concienzuda en la institución de la capellanía¹⁵⁶”.

Adding that this overly juridical definition lacks “humanity”, he emphasises that it is necessary to take into account the role that this “pious entail” played in the family circle, in kinship and in caring for the lineage, an aspect that is demonstrated throughout the article.

In the Portuguese context, along with other smaller works¹⁵⁷, the most extensive effort on the study of “capelas fúnebres” is by Maria de Lurdes Rosa¹⁵⁸. The main theme of this study was, as the title suggests, the souls as heirs or, in other words, the affirmation of the soul as a subject of law. As the author explains, understanding this process of affirmation requires a

154 Ventura García, 2013.

155 Herreros Moya, 2012.

156 Herreros Moya, 2012, p. 116. My translation: “A bequest of metal or immovable assets that the founder establishes to maintain, through its productivity, the payment to one or more clerics, who are to perpetually fulfil the religious mandates set forth in the foundation. We can add that two figures are inherent to it: the patron, who is the decision-making head and administrator of the chantry after the founder’s death, and the chaplain, a cleric of any rank who must fulfil these mandates at each moment; both roles are invariably and conscientiously defined in the institution of the chantry”.

157 Rosas, 2013; Albergaria, 2017.

158 Rosa, 2012b.



prior observation of what she calls the “spiritualisation of bodies”, which is part of the preparation not for death, but for life after death, and the “corporeality of souls”, made up of material goods and humans. It also requires framing this phenomenon within the broader stances of the Church and its theological and canonical construction of the property of souls; and of the Crown, in imposing the image of the king as the saviour of souls. This highlights the institutional specificity of the pre-modern “capelas fúnebres”, which Maria de Lurdes Rosa explores on the basis of lay foundations in late medieval Lisbon. At the centre of these private institutions was an “immaterial reality, the soul”, which acquired “legal existence¹⁵⁹”. In order to fulfil its objective – the salvation of the soul through perpetual suffrage – it was necessary, as seen above, to impose the founder’s will as the foundation’s internal law. It also required, in Rosa’s words, a deep relationship with “informal social structures”, among which kinship stands out, which strengthened the *capela*’s resilience and ensured its prolonged reproduction. And finally, it had an inherent ritual character, in the continuity of religious ceremonies without which the salvation of the soul was not possible¹⁶⁰.

English historiography has also contributed to the knowledge of this type of foundation, as evidenced by Maria-Hélène Rousseau’s work on the perpetual chantries at St Paul’s Cathedral in London and their impact on the life, services and clerical community of that cathedral¹⁶¹. This study offers a term of comparison with the Iberian reality, taking into account the influence of the Reformation in the English kingdom, which led to the abolition of chantries in the mid-sixteenth century. Perfectly established in the 12th century, when London’s religious landscape was already shaped by the constant search for intercession for the living and the dead, St Paul’s chantries were mostly founded by clerics at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and other individuals associated with the cathedral. Along the same lines as Burgess, Rousseau draws attention to the fact that the motivation behind the foundations was not only a concern for the salvation of souls, but also the intention to embellish the cathedral and

159 Rosa, 2012b, p. 690.

160 Rosa, 2012b, pp. 690–691.

161 Rousseau, 2016. For a summary review of Anglo-Saxon historiographical production on chantries, see Lowe, 2021, pp. 43–49.



enrich its liturgy¹⁶². Suffering a decline after the Black Death, the chantries were finally abolished when reformist ideals questioned the belief in Purgatory and salvation through prayer, arguing that these foundations were born out of superstition¹⁶³.

Anne-Valérie Solignat's article looks not only at the chantries, but at all the pious foundations of the Auvergne nobility in the 16th century, and invites innovative readings on the subject, particularly relevant in terms of identity configurations. Her argument begins with the idea that the nobility's greatest fear was to disappear, and that aristocratic death could be multifaceted: biological extinction or more dishonourable deaths because they undermined the renown of the lineage as patrimonial death, political death – ending the local power of the house until then based on the ability of its members to dominate the space –, or social death, marking the return to commonality and the disappearance of the memory of belonging to the nobility. From this Solignat concludes that “cette opiniâtreté à vouloir se perpétuer à tout prix, en déjouant les risques de l’avenir et en se positionnant au-dessus des intérêts individuels, était au cœur de l’identité nobiliaire¹⁶⁴”.

In this context, the pious foundations played the central role of giving form to solidarity between the living and the dead, by establishing relationships of mutual help and fraternity between the founders and those who were called to honour them, and thus guaranteeing the health of the intangible heritage of the house¹⁶⁵. This is also where the ancestors and the weight of ancestry in defining the identity of family groups come into play:

“L’analyse du poids des fondations pieuses dans la création d’une identité familiale, garante de sa légitimité à exercer une autorité, permet de rééquilibrer la participation des formes diverses de la parenté en donnant une place reconnue aux figures ancestrales. Le coût

162 Rousseau, 2016, p. 13.

163 Rousseau, 2016, pp. 145, 150.

164 Solignat, 2012, p. 134. My translation: “This stubborn determination to perpetuate itself at all costs, by outwitting the risks of the future and placing itself above individual interests, was at the heart of the noble identity”.

165 Solignat, 2012, p. 134.



financier et les retombées patrimoniales du respect des fondations pieuses, qui se retranscrivaient dans la force du pouvoir local des siens, étaient compensés par les bénéfices que ces derniers en tiraient malgré des investissements matériels sans cesse réitérés¹⁶⁶”.

These elements help to contextualise the apparent paradox of pious foundations, which is at the epicentre of the problem that interests Solignat. This paradox stems from the fact that the foundations were necessary for the affirmation of nobiliary identity forged around the lordship, but at the same time affected the incomes of the successors. Despite the cost of the foundations, the Auvergne nobles preferred to risk indebtedness and sacrifice investment in the purchase of property or trades rather than break the intergenerational solidarity between members of the group¹⁶⁷. This was because “aristocratic memory was priceless”, and the investment in pious foundations was translated into symbolic compensation, ensuring the perpetuation of the house's identity. Given this symbolic importance, the ends justified the means. The author also noted that part of the funding for the pious expenses came from the *fidéicommiss*: “De la sorte, fidéicommiss et fondations pieuses contribuaient à inscrire la noblesse dans une domination du temps, participant ainsi de leur distinction sociale. Toutes deux se déjouaient de la frontière de la mort qu’elles proposaient de transcender¹⁶⁸”. The nobility's dilemma would then be whether to respect the contracts with their ancestors, assuming huge costs, or to break these agreements in the name of materially sustaining their social position, giving up family memory¹⁶⁹.

166 Solignat, 2012, p. 135. My translation: “The analysis of the importance of pious foundations in the creation of a family identity, which guarantees its legitimacy to exercise authority, allows for a rebalancing of the participation of various forms of kinship by giving a recognized place to ancestral figures. The financial cost and patrimonial benefits of respecting these pious foundations, which were reflected in the strength of the family's local power, were compensated by the benefits they gained, despite the continually repeated material investments”.

167 Solignat, 2012, p. 141.

168 Solignat, 2012, p. 153. My translation: “In this way, *fidéicommiss* and pious foundations contributed to inscribing the nobility within a domination of time, thereby participating in their social distinction. Both sought to transcend the boundary of death that they aimed to overcome”.

169 Solignat, 2012, p. 157.



Besides foundations, historiography has also focused on other forms of devotional experiences by the laity, particularly in the domestic sphere. This theme is present, for example, in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, housing and household in Medieval England*, edited by Maryanne Kowaleski and P. J. P. Goldberg¹⁷⁰. In the introduction to the collective work, the coordinators argue that the starting point for understanding medieval domesticity is the sense of familiarity, intimacy, emotional warmth, and security ensured by the home¹⁷¹. From here, they emphasise that the secular/sacred binary, which today's societies take for granted, functioned differently in the Middle Ages: “in a culture permeated by religion, people liked to make connections between this world and the next or to valorise their lives and their values by giving them devotional meaning¹⁷²”.

Analysing precisely this intercession between home and the sacred, Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane wrote about how people encountered the sacred in the domestic space during the Middle Ages, mentioning as examples prayer, the reading of devotional books and books of hours, or the use of objects in spiritual practice, such as relics, rosaries, or portable altars. From the observation that the laity adopted a wide range of Church languages, artefacts, and gestures, adapting or innovating according to their needs, the author draws attention to the wealth of research possibilities in this field, which historiographically has been even less explored than that involving official Church matters¹⁷³.

Caroline Anderson demonstrates these possibilities in a doctoral thesis dedicated to the material culture of domestic religion in Florence between the end of the 15th century and the middle of the 17th century¹⁷⁴. By studying the devotional belongings and spaces identified in Italian houses, the author aimed to provide empirical information on how people lived out their Christian vocation in the communion of their homes through material resources. This information made it possible to understand how

170 Kowaleski; Goldberg, 2008.

171 Kowaleski; Goldberg, 2008, p. 4.

172 Kowaleski; Goldberg, 2008, p. 9.

173 Deane, 2013.

174 Anderson, 2007. For the Spanish context, see Garrido Flores, 2014.



spiritual meaning was encoded in objects and spaces, revealing the importance of the domestic sphere in the construction of religious beliefs and practices, and the role of material culture in the construction of what Anderson called “corporate household identity¹⁷⁵”. One of the elements analysed by Anderson was religious images and art, which functioned not only as decorative objects, but also as instruments of Christian discipline. As such, they provided pedagogical visual texts that formed individual and collective identities within the everyday realities of the home, establishing a mediation between the ideal and the real, and compressing the past into the present and the sacred into the secular¹⁷⁶.

Devotion in and throughout the home was also expressed, according to Caroline Anderson, in domestic chapels and oratories, to which she devoted the last chapter of her dissertation¹⁷⁷. Like religious images and art, oratories and chapels helped to create and promote a sense of family virtue and personal identity, explicitly linking the domestic space and the religious sphere. Of particular interest here are the identity expressions identified in these oratories and chapels, such as heraldry, inscriptions, portraits of the chapel founders or other family members, sanctified in the close presence of portraits of saints, or other paintings expressing the domestication of sanctity¹⁷⁸.

Kent Rawlinson, working on the so-called “household chapels” in England between the 12th and 16th centuries, offers a different perspective, born of an institutional approach¹⁷⁹. Rawlinson prefers the term “household chapels” to “domestic chapels”, arguing that this type of chapel should be defined not by its maintenance within a house, but by its service to a family or household. In a similar sense, he also rejects the term “private chapels”, as it implies a degree of privacy and seclusion that is potentially contrary to the uses of these chapels, which were often open to the community¹⁸⁰.

175 Anderson, 2007, vol. I, p. 192.

176 Anderson, 2007, vol. I, pp. 62-110.

177 Anderson, 2007, vol. I, pp. 175-223.

178 Anderson, 2007, vol. I, pp. 187-192.

179 Rawlinson, 2008.

180 Rawlinson, 2008, p. 13.



The author's main argument is that household chapels should be analysed as ecclesiastical institutions, defending their existence as such regardless of the piety or will of their owners. Following an institutional approach capable of avoiding the “ambiguities of piety and personal devotions¹⁸¹”, he concludes that these chapels, rather than being thought of in terms of “private” or “voluntary” religious practices, should be considered the results of a pre-established social practice. They are therefore testimonies of that same social practice and of Orthodox religious routines, with defined canonical and legal statutes, and not as reflections of individual piety and a desire for social expression¹⁸².

For the Portuguese case, specifically in the Azores and Madeira archipelagos, Maria Isabel Albergaria found that the construction of domestic chapels in noble houses was not primarily motivated by functions linked to the liturgy of death or concerns related to personal salvation. The author found that domestic chapels were rarely chapel-mausoleums or family pantheons with obligations for funeral prayers and perpetual suffrages¹⁸³. The island's elite continued to be buried in parish, convent, or *Misericórdia* churches, particularly when they were associated with family patronage. The author therefore sees the foundation of domestic chapels as one of the aspects of the internalised piety and cultured devotion that characterised the behaviour of the elites¹⁸⁴. It is in this sense that she describes domestic chapels as one of the most powerful nobilitating signs of residential space¹⁸⁵. This nobility also came from the relationship between these chapels and the community. On the one hand, “a afirmação de um discurso arquitectónico que enuncia a proeminência material e simbólica das elites” led to the strengthening of the network of private family chapels, whose territorial expression in some cases even surpassed their “congêneres de fundação colectiva e de estatuto, por assim dizer, mais público¹⁸⁶”.

181 Rawlinson, 2008, p. 32.

182 Rawlinson, 2008, pp. 274–275.

183 Albergaria, 2017, p. 790.

184 Albergaria, 2017, p. 790.

185 Albergaria, 2017, p. 787.

186 Albergaria, 2017, p. 788. My translation: On the one hand, “the assertion of an architectural discourse that proclaims the material and symbolic prominence of the elites” led to the strengthening of the network of private family chapels, whose territorial presence in some cases even surpassed their “counterparts of collective foundation and, in that way, more public status”.



On the other hand, on a physical level, openness to the community was also expressed by the chapel's "relação privilegiada da capela com o espaço público, normalmente articulada com adros, largos e vias públicas e só muito raramente voltada para o interior de pátios ou recintos murados com acesso exclusivo pelo interior"¹⁸⁷.

1.2.5. Space, territory and community

This community connection and openness to the outside invites a final reflection on how the identity of family groups is constructed and affirmed through space and territory, in close connection with the local communities in which they operate. In fact, recent historiography dedicated to the religious practices of the laity, in their most diverse manifestations, agrees that these should also be read, on the one hand, as mechanisms for the social and political affirmation of the elites within the local communities where they are inserted. Foundations, pious works, patronages, donations, charitable practices, and other forms of contribution to community life, as well as ensuring the salvation of the soul, conferred on founders and benefactors nobilitating rights and privileges that distinguished them from the other members of their community. On the other hand, the idea that, despite this component of social distinction, such practices should be understood as individualistic reflections of the ambition or vanity of the lay elites was rejected. In the context of a Christianity that was essentially communitarian and corporate – as Eamon Duffy showed¹⁸⁸ – the religious practices of the laity cannot be fully understood if they are disconnected from this same communitarian and corporate dimension.

Middleton-Stewart's study on death and commemoration in the Dunwich countryside between the 14th and 16th centuries, which complemented others such as Burgess' on urban contexts, exemplifies these ideas¹⁸⁹.

187 Albergaria, 2017, p. 789. My translation: On the other hand, on a physical level, openness to the community was also expressed by the chapel's "privileged relationship with public spaces, usually connected to churchyards, squares, and public roads, and only very rarely oriented towards the interior of courtyards or walled enclosures with exclusive access from within".

188 Duffy, 2005.

189 Middleton-Stewart, 2001.



Analysing wills with the aim of understanding the material and spiritual forms of commemorating the dead, the author noted that this was often carried out by the poorest members of the community, to whom the testators left alms, food, clothing, or accommodation in exchange for intercession for their souls: “charitable deeds such as these fulfilled the Seven Corporal Acts of Mercy, which were the duty of all Christians, and the prayers of the poor – a valuable counter-balance – were especially sought in this reciprocal society¹⁹⁰”. Since it was up to the living to intercede for the dead, it was crucial that the former had at their disposal the material conditions necessary for a proper commemoration. This is why Middleton–Stewart has located various testamentary provisions that allocated certain sums for the repair and improvement of parish buildings and their contents, including liturgical implements, some of which were marked with the name or heraldic symbols of the donors. These provisions highlight, in the author’s words, that not all donations served individual commemoration, and were often used for somewhat mundane but essential purposes¹⁹¹. The same concern with the adequate provisioning of parishes is present, for example, in the foundations of “perpetual chantries” which commissioned the respective chaplains to offer their services to the parish, which had to be provided in parallel to those commissioned by the souls of the founders¹⁹².

Something similar was identified by Rachel Elizabeth Ward in her doctoral dissertation on the foundation and functions of perpetual chantries in the diocese of Norwich between the 13th and 16th centuries¹⁹³. Ward reacts to the historiography that tried to explain the religious changes of the 16th century in England on the basis of the supposed individualistic actions of the lay elite expressed in the foundations of chantries. Such historiography implied that these foundations would have resulted in the isolation of the parish, the exaltation of personal commemoration to the detriment of a “corporate worship” and, ultimately, the weakening of the position of the Church. Ward argues that the key to deconstructing this position lies in studying the beliefs and reactions of local communities to the chantries,

190 Middleton–Stewart, 2001, p. 2.

191 Middleton–Stewart, 2001, p. 110.

192 Middleton–Stewart, 2001, p. 141.

193 Ward, 1998.



from which it is possible to gauge their social usefulness¹⁹⁴. Focusing precisely on these beliefs and reactions, the author demonstrated that chantry chapels acted to benefit the community in various ways. Examples include the impact on the architecture of the churches, by motivating additions, reconstructions, and renovations¹⁹⁵; the enrichment of the liturgy, by increasing the number of masses and diversifying them according to the preferences of the founders¹⁹⁶; or the complementary services provided by the chantry priests to the parishes, including teaching and education or the development of liturgical music¹⁹⁷.

In the Portuguese context, the aforementioned study by Maria de Lurdes Rosa on funerary chapels follows a similar line and adds another important piece of information about the relationship between the religious practices of the laity and community integration, namely the predominance of the laity over the ecclesiastics in the management of their own dead¹⁹⁸. In fact, despite the Church's resistance to this predominance, the imposition of the laity was evident from the outset in the often meticulous instructions about funeral and intercessory ceremonies. These instructions, as well as showing a marked devotional literacy and demonstrating that this was not the preserve of ecclesiastics, reflect the search for a leading role in the context of the religious life of the institutions in which the chapels were located¹⁹⁹. This protagonism could be expressed, for example, in the requests for the names of the founders to be explicitly mentioned during the ceremonies²⁰⁰; in the demands for burial in the main chapel²⁰¹; or in the mechanisms for controlling and supervising ecclesiastical intervention²⁰².

Another manifestation of the imposition of the laity was the appropriation of sacred space, both by affixing heraldic symbols to the interior of

194 Ward, 1998, p. 5.

195 Ward, 1998, p. 62.

196 Ward, 1998, p. 68.

197 Ward, 1998, pp. 68-78.

198 Rosa, 2012b, pp. 576-580.

199 See above, p. 77.

200 ROSA, 2012b, p. 585.

201 ROSA, 2012b, p. 638.

202 ROSA, 2012b, pp. 579-580.



buildings and objects, and by reserving the use and delimitation of certain places²⁰³. In the words of Maria de Lurdes Rosa, the very architectural configuration of the chapels shows a concern with organising a dignified physical space for the suffrage of one's own souls, which also expresses the cohesion of the lineage through the artistic language of the space²⁰⁴. Hence the concern of many founders to leave more or less detailed instructions, depending on the case, on the form, layout and contents of these “material houses of the soul²⁰⁵”. As the author explains, these instructions could cover aspects as varied as

“a gestão das alaias sacras e objectos litúrgicos das capelas na esfera dos administradores leigos, que era muito comum; à colocação de letreiros de vária ordem no espaço físico das capelas (epitáfios, indicações do fundador e dos encargos, relação de bens); à aposição do símbolo heráldico; à organização estética dos espaços arquitectónicos das capelas segundo o gosto e a devoção pessoal; à delimitação destes locais por elementos como grades, portas, muros²⁰⁶”.

This is why Tamara González López classifies the church as an “advertising space” for the nobility when she analyses the disputes arising from conflicts over the use of sacred space in the diocese of Lugo between the 16th and 19th centuries²⁰⁷. Focusing on problems that the nobility considered an offence or that weakened their social position, the author mentions, for example, the conflicts that arose over non-compliance with the order of hand-kissing, over who could attend mass and where, or following what was perceived as abuses by the parish priest in unduly extending privileges to his own family, such as the right to sit in the main chapel²⁰⁸.

203 See above, pp. 64–68.

204 Rosa, 2012b, p. 606.

205 Rosa, 2012b, pp. 635–669.

206 Rosa, 2012b, p. 586. My translation: “the management of sacred furnishings and liturgical objects of the chapels by lay administrators, which was very common; the placement of various inscriptions in the physical space of the chapels (epitaphs, indications of the founder and responsibilities, inventory of assets); the display of heraldic symbols; the aesthetic organization of the architectural spaces of the chapels according to personal taste and devotion; the delimitation of these areas by elements such as grills, doors, and walls”.

207 González López, 2018, p. 971.

208 González López, 2018, p. 974.



This is also why, as Maria de Lurdes Rosa argues, each foundation should be understood as a “project with a history”, the object of great investment on the part of the founder throughout their life, and not a desperate and hasty decision at the deathbed to ensure salvation²⁰⁹. This project often began with the choice of the foundation site. Ventura García states that the location chosen for the foundation gave it its character²¹⁰. This choice, writes Maria de Lurdes Rosa, was not based on an objective appraisal of the “available market”, but rather depended on various factors, such as the location of ancestral tombs, devotional preferences, belonging to the parish, or other types of more subjective connections²¹¹. According to the author, the two most frequent options in the Portuguese context would be the reinforcement of old institutions or the foundation of new institutions around existing family funerary spaces, within an already established framework of institutional ties of kinship and parish; or foundations according to the devotional preferences of the founders, which could represent a break with traditional options²¹².

Francisco Manuel Carmona Carmona offers a good example of the type of rights and privileges reserved for founders, and of the local links created between lineages and religious institutions, in his examination of the Convent of Madre de Dios de Baena in Córdoba. Founded by the third Count of Cabra, this convent followed the tradition of the lineage's relationship with the Dominicans and its patronage was justified, in part, by the significant number of daughters that the house produced and who were unable or unwilling to marry. Following the strategy of benefiting the local patronage network and the relatives of the Counts of Cabra, the convent's statutes stipulated that only nuns of the Counts' relatives up to the fourth degree or natives of Baena, Cabra, and the lands of the county could be admitted. Initially, the position of prioress was monopolised by the daughters of the founding Count, and then passed to other relatives or members of the house's retinue. In addition to these privileges, the convent was also converted into a family pantheon, as evidenced by the signs

209 Rosa, 2012b, p. 280.

210 Ventura García, 2013, p. 68.

211 Rosa, 2012b, pp. 366–370.

212 Rosa, 2012b, p. 419.



and family arms affixed to various spaces and objects in the religious institution, demarcating the founding origin and the places of private use of the Counts and their family²¹³.

As well as safeguarding family honour through the female members who lived in the convent, the Cabra lineage also invested in the ecclesiastical careers of its male members, even producing several bishops. This was another strategy to reinforce the power and influence of the families through the Church, as Raúl Molina Recio explains in his study on nobiliary investment in the ecclesiastical world based on the example of the Fernández de Córdoba. Despite the cost associated with religious training, the benefits for the family group were, according to the author, of a varied order: the renunciation of *legítimas* (portion of the heritage) made it possible to concentrate wealth; family members were often beneficiaries of the testamentary dispositions of ecclesiastics; the accumulation of wealth through the ecclesiastical career made it possible to revert it in favour of the family; and it made it possible to create networks of influence in ecclesiastical matters not only at a local level but also at the court level, facilitating, for example, the granting of dispensations or the appointment of relatives to offices²¹⁴.

Another benefit was the establishment of entails by ecclesiastics, who often called upon relatives to administer them, as can be seen from Antonio Irigoyen's work on the relationship between the clergy and the *morgadíos* in Castile during the *Ancien Régime*²¹⁵. Although Irigoyen found that clergymen did not establish entails on a massive scale, many of those who opted for this solution did so in order to correct the contradictions that the *morgadíos* created within the lineages, appointing second-born children or children of women as administrators and thus favouring the secondary branches²¹⁶. This aspect is interesting in terms of the identity microcosm within the families since, as Irigoyen concludes, when they founded *morgadíos*, the clerics forgot that they were clerics because

213 Carmona Carmona, 2019.

214 Molina Recio, 2018.

215 Irigoyen López, 2008.

216 Irigoyen López, 2008, p. 124.



“antes de pertenecer a la Iglesia, pertenecían a una familia, a un linaje; y todos querían perdurar²¹⁷”.

Foundations and ecclesiastical careers were not, however, the only options available to the nobility for joining local religious organisations. Confraternities and lay brotherhoods were other ways of achieving this, as can be seen in the example analysed by Pablo Vázquez Bello in his case study of the Venerable Orden Tercera in Galicia between the 17th and 18th centuries. The author states that confraternities, created between the 14th and 15th centuries, heralded the transition from a belligerent nobility to a courtly nobility. In this sense, they responded to the ideological obligations of the nobles, including the defence of the purity of the liturgy and the Catholic faith. Reflecting the societies of bodies, the confraternities in the Spanish context fostered the birth of an urban patriciate around them, signaling an urban nobilisation. According to Vázquez Bello, their functional symbolism was essentially reflected in the activity of protection and patronage, with the spirit of nobility becoming embedded in the urban space. In the case of the Venerable Orden Tercera, the sociological profile of the brothers was mixed, bringing together the urban oligarchy, merchants, and nobles, the latter generally occupying the order's management positions. However, everyone benefited from membership of the organisation, not only in earthly life, but also in the afterlife through indulgences and other spiritual graces and privileges granted to the faithful who joined the confraternity²¹⁸.

The confraternities played another important role in organising the deaths of the elite, namely by being called upon to take part in the funeral processions that accompanied the bodies of the deceased or other funeral ceremonies. The ceremonial was, in fact, another mechanism for social and identity affirmation within the community. In his extensive study on the theory and administration of the house, lineage, extended family, life cycle, and aristocracy in Castile between the 16th and 19th centuries,

217 Irigoyen López, 2008, p. 130. My translation: “before belonging to the Church, they belonged to a family, to a lineage; and they all wanted to endure”. On the relationship between founders of funerary chapels in Lisbon and lay brotherhoods and confraternities, see Rosa, 2012b, pp. 428–436.

218 Vázquez Bello, 2018.



Atienza Hernández had already reflected, with the help of anthropology, on the role of ceremonies as instruments of power, representation and integration. Focusing on rites of passage according to Arnold Van Gennep's definition – birth, confirmation, marriage, and death – the author understands them as more than personal or private acts and reinforces their collective character by involving everyone who participates in the life of the house. The ceremonies were therefore opportunities to publicise the image of the house and its head, revealing the cohesion of the body and the authority of the *pater familias*. In this way, they functioned as ideal elements that acted within social relationships, enhancing the symbolic transmission of messages in a directed but participatory way, and reinforcing the integration and adherence of the participants²¹⁹.

Some of these aspects are analysed in greater depth by Guido Alfani in an article dedicated to family rituals in Northern Italy between the 15th and 17th centuries²²⁰. Following the method of “network analysis” – that is, the study of social interactions between individuals within the same community – the author proposes a revisit to baptismal and marriage books, *libri de famiglia*, family archives, and synodal statutes. From these, Alfani sought to learn about the role of the different actors in family rituals, as well as their public character particularly after the transformations imposed by the Council of Trent. These changes included, on the one hand, the prohibition of profane content in rituals and, on the other, the modification or standardisation of certain components that had previously been regulated by local customs. The author states that these innovations in the way rituals were performed and who could take part greatly influenced relational systems and society in general. As far as baptism was concerned, it marked the spiritual birth as a Christian but also a social birth, generating kinship relations and networks of relations similar to those of natural kinship. In Northern Italy, godparents were rarely relatives, and there was a tendency to use godparenthood to increase existing networks by creating new formal spiritual and *comparative* kinship ties, rather than to intensify pre-existing networks. Thus, it was vital that the new ties produced by baptism were publicised in order to become effective, particularly when the ritual linked

219 Atienza Hernández, pp. 26–37.

220 Alfani, 2013.



individuals from different social positions. Its public manifestation reinforced and made visible this bond of patronage. Marriage also had a public character, despite being a private matter regulated by relatives and families. By turning outwards, it made evident the connection between different lineages or families, or between different branches of the same lineage, while simultaneously announcing inter-generational changes in the transmission of property. The author emphasises that this last aspect had implications for the lives of many people, and not just the couple, hence the importance of publicising it. He concludes by stating that

“if we study family rituals from the point of view of their relational effectiveness (an increasingly relevant perspective given the recent developments of network studies), we have to identify the key element in their publicity. Only when known to others and when officially presented to the community were the new ties of spiritual kinship and *comparatico* opposable to third parties. Only when the bride was publicly transferred to the house of her groom was a marriage really complete, meaning that only then was the intention of lineages and kinship groups to ally, socially and economically, established beyond question²²¹”.

Still in this field of spatial, territorial and community identities, historiography, in association with architecture, has also favoured the analysis of the noble house as an essential space for imagining and demonstrating the identity, power and prestige of families. A good example of this historiographical production is a work by Maria Isabel Albergaria, namely a PhD dissertation dedicated to the noble house on the island of São Miguel, in the Azores, from the period when the Philippine dynasty ruled the Portuguese kingdom to the end of the *Ancien Régime*²²². By examining various cases of prestigious architecture in the rural and urban island context, the author concluded that the noble house acquired an organic institutional dimension by establishing itself, from an abstract point of view, in the model of the social and political order²²³:

221 Alfani, 2013, p. 157.

222 Albergaria, 2012.

223 Albergaria, 2012, vol. I, p. 16.



“A casa é, assim, sede administrativa de uma vasta propriedade fundiária e/ou comercial, espaço de identidade que agrega membros de uma família em torno de um nome e de memórias partilhadas, bem como palco de encenação do poder que lhe é reconhecido, cuja representação é encabeçada pelo *pater familias*”²²⁴.

The sense of the collective, benevolently governed by the father in the aspiration of the model that Hernández Franco called the “happy house”²²⁵, can also be found in Albergaria's description of the allocation of uses and functions to the spaces that made up the house. The author states that the house was not tailored to the users' particular aspirations, needs or lifestyles. Rather, it was subjugated to the collective, both in terms of the number and diversity of residents who lived under the same roof, and the sense of heritage and transmission to future generations, who would continue to live in the same space without significant displays of individualism²²⁶.

The idea of transmission and permanence is evident not only in the materials of noble houses, which attest to the triumph of stone architecture and the capitalisation of surplus production into a durable and prestigious asset²²⁷, but also in the act of building itself, which presupposes

“dinheiro, recursos tecnológicos e humanos e aquilo a que chamaria, à falta de melhor expressão, impulso de eternidade. (...) Construir é, nesse sentido, um gesto carregado de futuro, capaz de condicionar as gerações vindouras, impondo-lhes responsabilidades e encargos. É um acto de afirmação no espaço e uma acção prolongada no tempo”²²⁸.

224 Albergaria, 2012, vol. I, p. 64. My translation: “The house is thus the administrative center of a vast estate and/or commercial property, a space of identity that brings family members together around a name and shared memories, as well as a stage for the enactment of the power that is recognized to it, with its representation led by the *pater familias*”.

225 Hernández Franco, 2007, p. 229.

226 Albergaria, 2012, vol. I, p. 210.

227 Albergaria, 2012, vol. I, p. 16.

228 Albergaria, 2012, vol. I, p. 62. My translation: “Money, technological and human resources, and what I would call, for lack of a better term, the drive for eternity. (...) Building is, in this sense, an act imbued with future orientation, capable of shaping future generations by imposing responsibilities and burdens on them. It is an act of assertion in space and a prolonged action in time”.



This is how the presence of heraldry in these buildings²²⁹, the fact that they also function as deposits of family archives, and also their role as heads of *morgadio* or physical headquarters of the entails, and places of residence – sometimes mandatory – of the administrators of entails²³⁰ should be read.

This relationship between house and entail is emphasised by Antonio Urquizar Herrera, who reflected on the Andalusian reception of Italian architectural treatises and the concept of *masserizia*, bringing it closer to that of *morgadio*. The author explains that *masserizia* began as an economic idea of bourgeois origin that referred to the money collected by the family and the assets that made up the domestic space. Later, it acquired an ethical meaning, evolving into a procedure linked to enriching not only the family coffers, but also their reputation and honour. In this sense, it is similar to a *morgadio* in that it implies the projection of moral values and a desire to “treasurize” within a system of capital accumulation that allowed for social ascension. Like several other authors who have dedicated themselves to the study of domestic space, Urquizar Herrera emphasises the identification between architecture and the family, understanding domestic architecture as something endowed with a moral value linked to family virtues. This is why it is not possible to fully grasp the significance of the house in the period under study if it is assumed to be an individual property. According to the author, this can be achieved by interpreting the house as a transgenerational reference, as an element of the relationship between ancestors and descendants with ethical, legal, and ideological implications²³¹.

At the crossroads of all these historiographical legacies lay part of the foundations for analysing entailment identity between the 14th and 17th centuries. Although the subject has not yet merited its own monographic study, the role of entails in the construction, transmission, and perpetuation of identity has been partially demonstrated or suggested in multiple works. The starting point is therefore rich, suggestive and diverse. The next chapter will explore the remaining foundations on which this study is based, the documentary traces left by entails.

229 See above, pp. 65–66.

230 Rosa, 2020, p. 12.

231 Urquizar Herrera, 2004.





Information and documentation

CHAPTER 2







Information and documentation

The theoretical-methodological structure of the VINCULUM project is based, among other aspects, on the assumption that pre-modern institutions produced information and institutional archives¹. These archives played essential roles in the functioning and consolidation of these institutions, appearing as “living organisms” in constant mutation and adaptation according to the needs of their producers and the evolution of their history. There was therefore an organic link between the archives and their producing institutions. This organic link was broken when the archives ceased to fulfil the functions that had hitherto been assigned to them. Following historical events of varying magnitude and nature, the documentary sets produced by pre-modern institutions were transformed into what are now known as historical archives: primarily fossilised and immobile versions of what were then living organisms. Versions that are also substantially different from what they once were, transmuted by the passage of time and constant organisation, reorganisation and evaluation. Versions, too, because they are detached from the entities that presided over their creation.

It is these historical archives, these versions that remain, currently preserved by memory institutions, that serve as the basis for the work of historians. However, they don't always question where these archives came from, who produced them, how and why, how they were preserved, what was preserved and what was destroyed, and why, and how it is possible

¹ Rosa, 2017, p. 573.



to access the information they contain today. In other words, they don't always recognise the production and conservation of archives as complex social, cultural and political products. Nor do they recognise the long process that takes place between the time the documents were produced and the time they were selected to respond to a particular historiographical enquiry. This non-questioning is, in part, heir to the positivist illusion of the neutrality of historical "sources", which supposedly provide direct, crystal-clear and unproblematic access to the past. This conception of the presence of archives from the past in the present – like an archival *Jurassic Park*, to borrow a happy metaphor from French medievalist Jérôme Baschet² – which essentially cancels out the effects of the passage of time, has already been widely deconstructed³.

In this context, the archival footprint left on archives by their incorporation into memory institutions must also be taken into account. After all, if historians can identify and access the materials that are of interest to their historiographical enquiry, they owe it to the work of archivists. They are the ones who organise the archives and classify them, who describe the documentation and who develop the information retrieval tools that historians use. But all these stages of archival processing are also problematic, especially when they are willing to sacrifice the representation of the archives' organic links and neglect the study of the producing institutions in the name of a technical approach centred on easy information retrieval.

It follows that, in the case under study, any historiographical enquiry into entails must necessarily start with a comprehensive and x-rayed questioning of the archival material used to answer that same enquiry, of its producing institutions and of the way in which the information was accessed. Thus, the first section of this chapter is made up of a general characterisation of what was named the VINCULUM information system, i.e.

2 "Mais il n'existe nul *Jurassic Park* du Moyen Âge et tous les exemples accumulés ne sauraient former au mieux qu'une collection d'effets de médiévalité dont il y a tout lieu de se méfier. Pas d'intelligibilité du Moyen Âge au présent donc; toute juste quelques sensations comparatives qui ne sont cependant pas à dédaigner. Celles-ci peuvent être le point de départ d'une expérience d'altérité qui, en nous distanciant de nos propres habitudes, fore quelques minces ouvertures bien utiles dès lors qu'on s'efforce d'entrevoir les réalités d'un monde aussi différent du nôtre que le Moyen Âge" (Baschet, 2006, pp. 14-15).

3 Morsel, 2004, 2008, 2014; Gattinara & Anheim, 2007; Anheim & Poncet, 2004; Esch, 2002; Kuchenbuch, 2004.



“institutional, administrative, and information production system created by the practice of entailment⁴”, both internally and externally. The overall aim will be to present the main characteristics of the system and its evolution over time, as well as to understand the impact of more recent historical and archival transformations. The second section of the chapter concerns the documentary traces for the study of entailment identity and the process of selecting the documentary sample, which was based on the database built within the framework of the VINCULUM project⁵. After an overall presentation of this database and its potential and limits, the constitution of the sample and its main characteristics are described, namely in terms of chronology, geography, document types, holding institutions, and respective archival fonds and, finally, producing institutions. The chapter ends with a reflection on the limits of the sample, which condition the analyses presented in the following chapters.

The reading of this chapter benefits from the complementary consultation of other resources produced by the VINCULUM project, the first of which is the *Vinculum Information System Guide* (hereinafter referred to as VISG)⁶. This guide offers a reconstruction of the information system produced by entails, containing detailed information on the institutions that produced, received, and/or preserved information about entails; on the documents produced by entails; and on the civil and ecclesiastical legislation that regulated entailment. It also includes a section dedicated to critical apparatus, which contains the bibliographical references and working tools used in the preparation of the guide. In addition to the VISG, it is also important to consult the aforementioned database, including the “About” and “Information” tabs, which explain its principles, objectives, and mode of operation⁷.

4 VINCULUM information system guide (VISG): <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/about-visg/>.

5 VINCULUM database: <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/>.

6 VISG - <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/>.

7 VINCULUM database - <https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/>.



2.1. The VINCULUM information system

A full understanding of entailment between the 14th and 17th centuries implies starting from two central ideas. The first is that entailment generated a complex information system, made up of an institutional and administrative network that produced and preserved information related to entails. Which institutions were part of this network? How did the system work? How was information produced and preserved? The second idea concerns the fact that, in order to understand the VINCULUM information system in the aforementioned timeline, it is also necessary to take into account the transformations that have taken place since then until today. This is because these changes have significantly altered the archival landscape, especially since the definitive extinction of entails in Portugal in 1863. How has the system evolved? How can it be known today? What are the possibilities for reconstruction?

At the heart of the VINCULUM information system are the entails themselves, understood as institutions that produce and preserve information. The foundation of an entail necessarily implied the production of information, first and foremost in the form of written records. In addition to the foundation document, which set out the internal law of the entail in writing, there were countless other documents of various kinds. Some of this documentation was often specifically requested by the founders in the foundational documents. Another part arose from the need to manage the entails throughout their life, often at the request of the external institutions with which they interacted.

It was therefore necessary to correctly preserve the memory of the founding act and the will of the founders, thus ensuring that the obligations and pious legacies imposed in the foundation were fulfilled. In fact, several founders reminded their successors of the importance of this preservation, determining that they were obliged to guarantee the conservation and transmission of certain documents – in particular the foundation document – “until the end of the world”. This expression is paradigmatic in that it shows that the preservation of records had to be as long-lasting as the existence of the entails themselves, thought of in a “horizon



of perpetuity⁸". In the same sense, it was also necessary to preserve all the documents that would ensure the right of successors to the possession of the administration and the assets linked to it, should the need arise.

Entails thus fuelled the maintenance of archives by families, in line with the archival otherness of the pre-modern world, in which social bodies kept their own archives. Although these archives did not emanate from public authorities, they had legal, public and authentic validity, the result of the jurisdictional plurality of the pre-modern societies.

Family archives are thus the original informational habitat of the entails. Their evolution has thus responded to the organic link between written records, entails, and families. The need to manage entails has evolved over the centuries. The uses and functions that family groups have attributed to archives have also evolved over the centuries. And so did the way they were kept⁹.

But the production of information about the entails was not limited to written records. In fact, adopting an anthropological perspective, which leads to a broadening of the concept of "archive¹⁰", makes it possible to understand that entails encompassed a diverse set of non-written information: tombs and funeral spaces; buildings; movable objects of devotional and symbolic value, such as relics, objects decorated with heraldry, or liturgical implements linked to chapels; rituals or devotional and charitable acts. All these elements, commonly mentioned in the foundation documents, were part of the core of the entail and of the family experiences of the founders and successors¹¹. They were part of entailment identity.

Alongside the entail and the families, the Crown's production and conservation of information in the context of its different spheres of action in the life of the entails throughout the 14th to 17th centuries is also part of the VINCULUM information system. Some of these spheres involved matters

8 Rosa, 2020, p. 17.

9 On pre-modern family archives see Marques, 2013; Nóvoa, 2016; Câmara, 2017; Leme, 2018; Gago, 2019; Gutiérrez de Armas, 2019; Lopes, 2023.

10 Rosa, 2017b, pp. 557-561.

11 Rosa, 2022, para. 15; Rosa, 2017b, p. 573.



of a general and diverse nature within the realm of the kingdom, while others were specifically directed at matters relating to entails, following the Crown's growing concern with the health of souls and the fulfilment of the will of the deceased.

One of the general spheres of action involved the central courts, which were responsible for receiving and adjudicating appeals, conducting verifications, and issuing authorisations, including on matters related to entails. These courts encompassed the *Casa da Suplicação*¹², the *Casa do Cível*¹³, the *Casa da Relação do Porto*¹⁴ and the *Desembargo do Paço*¹⁵. As for the courts that dealt specifically with entailment matters, between the end of the 15th century and the middle of the following century, a court was set up in the city of Lisbon with specific powers over Lisbon chapels, called the *juízo dos hospitais, capelas, albergarias e confrarias da cidade de Lisboa e seu termo*¹⁶; in the 17th century, the *juízo das capelas da coroa* was created following the work carried out by the *comissão do tombo das capelas da coroa*¹⁷. This court was designed to regulate the chapels whose right to appoint administrators was held by the royal power due to the extinction of the founder's lineage, non-fulfilment of pious legacies, or the administrators' negligence in the management of the entailed assets¹⁸.

Another of the Crown's spheres of action in entailment matters, of an administrative nature, concerned the control and verification of the fulfilment of the will of the deceased, the supervision of administrators, and rectification, if necessary. This includes the *provedorias*, whose origins date back to the office of *provedor das capelas, hospitais, albergarias e confrarias de Lisboa e termo*, instituted during the reign of King João II¹⁹.

12 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/casa-da-suplicacao-1440s-1582/> and <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/casa-da-suplicacao-1582-1833/>.

13 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/casa-do-civel/>

14 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/casa-da-relacao-do-porto/>.

15 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/desembargo-do-paco/>.

16 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/juizo-dos-hospitais-capelas-albergarias-e-confrarias-da-cidade-de-lisboa-e-seu-termo-1493-1564/>.

17 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/comissao-do-tombo-das-capelas-da-coroa/>; see below, pp. 130–131.

18 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/juizo-das-capelas-da-coroa-1643-1832/>; see below, pp. 130–131.

19 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/provedor-das-capelas-hospitais-albergarias-e-confrarias-de-lisboa-e-termo-1493-1564/>; see below, pp. 128–130.



The *provedor* was responsible for controlling, verifying, and exercising jurisdiction over the chapels in Lisbon and its outskirts. In the middle of the 16th century, this *provedor*'s powers were transferred to the *provedoria das capelas e resíduos de Lisboa e termo*, an institution that remained in operation until the 19th century²⁰. The model of the Lisbon *provedoria* was then extended to the whole of the kingdom, forming the so-called *provedorias das comarcas*²¹. In addition to the *provedorias*, another institution that also exercised control and verification functions was the *Conselho Ultramarino*, in operation from the 17th century onwards, which was responsible for making enquiries on behalf of the monarch and maintaining communication between the institutions and royal officials about entails established in overseas territory²².

Some royal institutions also carried out entail administration functions, when specifically designated for this purpose by the founders or, in specific situations, by royal decree. This is the case with welfare institutions, such as hospitals²³ or *misericórdias*²⁴ (whose places of worship also served as chapels) and municipalities²⁵. Like the *provedorias*, the municipal entities could also be called upon by the founders to exercise vigilance over the administrators, ensuring that the wishes of the deceased were perpetually fulfilled.

In the context of the Crown's spheres of action in the life of the entails, the institutions that carried out the functions of registering and keeping documentation should also be mentioned. The first group included the royal chancellery, which was responsible for drawing up, validating, and issuing diplomas in the name of the king²⁶, and the notary offices, where the recording, validation, and registration of public documents such as wills and other foundation documents took place²⁷. For their part, royal

20 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/provedoria-das-capelas-residuos-de-lisboa-e-termo-1564-1832/>; see below, pp. 128–130.

21 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/provedorias-das-comarcas-final-sec-xv-1832/>; see below, pp. 128–130.

22 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/conselho-ultramarino/>.

23 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/hospitais/>.

24 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/misericordias/>.

25 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/municipios/>.

26 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/chancelaria-regia/>.

27 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/cartorios-notariais/>.



documentation or documentation of interest to the Crown, in general and on matters relating to entails, was kept in the Crown's archive, the *Torre do Tombo*²⁸. But it also served the interests of the founders as a custodial institution. In fact, in order to reinforce the security of the conservation of their last wills, many founders determined that the foundation documents, and other relevant documentation, should be registered and preserved in the *Torre do Tombo*. Some registries of other royal and ecclesiastical institutions were used for the same purpose.

As the VISG shows, the history of each of these institutions is complex and the functions they have performed in the life of the entails have also evolved over the centuries. As a result, the type and quantity of documentation they have produced and kept has accompanied this history and evolution, as well as the uses and meanings successively attributed to the documents.

The same principle applies to the institutions that make up the last group of the VINCULUM information system, the Church. The core of the ecclesiastical institutions' actions in entailment matters is located, on the one hand, in the central role they played in executing wills and managing funeral and pious charges, and, on the other, in hosting funerary chapels within their temples. Depending on the will of the founders, some ecclesiastical institutions could also administer chapels, participate in their management, appoint chaplains or supervise the administrators. Like the royal institutions, they also intervened in the life of the entails in terms of registration and custody of documentation. These include the dioceses²⁹, the cathedral chapters³⁰, the parishes³¹, and the regular institutions³². From another perspective, the confraternities should also be mentioned. Although they didn't have specific competences in relation to entails, the confraternities could be called upon to administer chapels, a task they combined with the important support they provided in the event of death, in funeral rituals, and in the salvation of souls³³. Last but not

28 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/torre-do-tombo/>.

29 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/dioceses/>.

30 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/cabidos-catedralicios/>.

31 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/paroquias/>.

32 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/instituicoes-regulares/>.

33 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/confrarias/>.



least was the work of the apostolic nunciature, which functioned as an official diplomatic representation of the Vatican State³⁴. The Holy See (or the bishop, by delegation) had, among other aspects, the prerogative to authorise a reduction in the number of perpetual masses for the souls in Purgatory. Administrators who, for whatever reason, found it impossible to fulfil the masses could request such authorization.

As stated above, a full understanding of the VINCULUM information system requires, however, going beyond the chronological period analysed in this study. This is because subsequent historical contexts have significantly affected the archival landscape associated with entails and, consequently, the way in which this information system is known today. It is therefore imperative to continue following the history of entailment, in association with that of the institutions related to it.

This history underwent a turning point in the 18th century, particularly with the publication of legislation that, for the first time, restricted and conditioned entailment, also abolishing low-income chapels and *morgadios*. This legislation should be understood as reflecting a progressive change in mentality in relation to entails and the economic and social system that underpinned it³⁵. This change culminated in the complete and definitive extinction of entails in Portugal in 1863³⁶. This event preceded the establishment of the Republic in 1910, which in turn declared the end of the nobility.

This description, although brief, is enough to make clear the profound archival transformations undergone by the archives of the families that administered entails. The extinction of entailment, followed by the disappearance of the nobility, meant that the archives of these families lost a large part of the functions assigned to them during the *Ancien Régime*. The archival links maintained by the *morgadios* and chapels disintegrated, which led to the fragmentation of many archives and the destruction of others³⁷. Some were and still are kept by family groups as private

34 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/nunciatura-apostolica/>.

35 Esteves, 2008, vol. I, pp. 32–38.

36 Esteves, 2008, vol. I, pp. 43–97.

37 Rosa, 2019, pp. 285.



property, valued for their historical, memorial, and affective interest, while others were totally or partially sold. Finally, some of these archives were donated to public memory institutions, but not all of them are accessible because they have not yet undergone archival treatment.

At the same time, the history of the archives of the royal and ecclesiastical institutions that interacted with the entails was also marked by significant changes. The advent of Liberalism in the 1820s led to the extinction of many of these institutions and the nationalisation of their assets, with their powers passing to entities created within what was then known as the Nation-State. As a result, the archives of the extinct institutions were successively transferred and incorporated into various repositories, including the *Torre do Tombo*, which progressively lost its Crown archive matrix to become a national archive of public utility. The process of transferring and incorporating large quantities of documents was complex and problematic, leading to the fragmentation of archives, divided according to their administrative, literary, or historical-cultural interest, and to losses of documentation. In fact, the *Torre do Tombo* soon proved to be insufficient for the custody of such a mass of documents, which eventually resulted in the distribution of documentary collections to other archival custody institutions that already existed or were created for the purpose (such as the district archives). Alongside the written records, the other elements that were part of the information systems of the defunct institutions (books, various objects, works of art, etc.) were disaggregated from the archival component and distributed to other repositories, depending on their characteristics. This consolidated the tripartite view of cultural heritage that prevails today, organised around archives, libraries, and museums³⁸.

The consequence of this archival history has been the atomisation of the pre-modern archival landscape, including that of the VINCULUM information system. This atomisation is one of the main obstacles to the task of reconstructing the system with a view to studying entails in the 14th to 17th centuries. In addition, there is also the final stage of the fate of many of these archives. Once they had been integrated into public memory institutions, their transformation continued with the archival treatment

³⁸ Ribeiro, 2016; Ribeiro, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 73–202; Malheiro, 2015. See Caballero García, 2015 for a description of a similar process in Spain.



(reorganisation, classification, description) to which they were subjected with the aim of making them accessible to users. An overall assessment shows that many of these documentary sets have not yet been described, in whole or in part, which makes it difficult or impossible to identify and retrieve relevant information. The same applies to collections that are incorrectly organised, classified, or described. In fact, there is frequent use of poor or anachronistic organisation and classification schemes, denoting a lack of study of the producing institution and a failure to recognise the institutional characteristics and particularities of pre-modern societies.

Historiographical production on entails has rarely taken into account the institutional nature of entails as entities that produce and preserve information, the origin of that information, and the effects of the long process of transformation, fragmentation, and archival dispersion. This raises the question of the extent to which this disregard has affected or distorted the historical knowledge produced about entailment.

Faced with these obstacles, how is it possible to reconstruct the VINCULUM information system in such a way as to obtain a solid starting point for the application of the historiographical enquiry that this book proposes? The VINCULUM project's approach, anchored in the basic theoretical and methodological assumptions set out at the beginning of this chapter, was centred on the proposals of Historical Archivistics³⁹, systematised by Maria de Lurdes Rosa in a five-step method. What distinguishes this method is the importance given to a whole set of prior tasks, which precede the historiographical enquiry into the subject to be explored: construction of a theoretical-methodological starting point; reconstruction of how the documentation reached the researcher, assessing the non-organisational reconfigurations of the archives; study of the processes of production, documentation, conservation, and use of organisational information; reconstitution of the organisational information production structure and construction of organic classification and archival description tools; and only then, finally, application of the historiographical survey⁴⁰. In short, what this approach proposes is a solidly informed attitude

39 Rosa, 2017; Rosa; Nóvoa, 2018.

40 Rosa, 2017, pp. 574-580.



towards the archive, understood not only as a repository of information for the historiographical analysis of a given topic, but also as an object of study in itself, in its own right⁴¹.

2.2. Documentary traces for the study of entailment identity

2.2.1. VINCULUM database

Following the proposals of Historical Archivistics, one of the main objectives of the VINCULUM project was to build a database capable of providing complete and correctly structured information on the family administration entails that existed in Portuguese territories (excluding India) between 1300 and 1700. It was intended that the database would make it possible to contextualise the production of documentation associated with entails, understand the chronological evolution of each foundation, know the type of property that was entailed and the sociological profile of the founders and administrators, and also identify the semantics of primogeniture, lineage, and entailment.

According to the method adopted, the construction of the database was preceded by a study of the producing institutions, an analysis of the archives' custodial history, a reconstruction of the production, documentation, and conservation of information, and finally the gathering of documents. Not only existing records were considered, but also those that were produced and are no longer preserved (which can be identified, for example, through the inventories of pre-modern archives). As has been stated above, the results of these processes, as well as the identification of all the archival fonds that currently contain information relevant to the project – including those that, for various reasons, could not be consulted – are described in the VISG.

41 Blouin, 2004; Cook, 2009.



It was only after these steps had been completed that the database was implemented. To do this, the open access software *Access to Memory* (AtoM) was used, following international archival description standards. AtoM has several interconnectable internal databases, three of which were used in the VINCULUM project. The first corresponds to archival institutions, which were renamed “entail / vínculo” and described using a simplified version of the *International Standard for Describing Institutions with Archival Holdings* (ISDIAH). In archival terms, the entail was therefore considered to be the only unit for entering and organising data. This option reflects the central idea that entails were institutions that produced and preserved information. It is therefore one of the main specificities – and, consequently, potentials – of this database. The second internal database is constituted by authority records. These are made up of prosopographies of two types – persons and institutions – related to entails, in accordance with the *International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families* (ISAAR-CPF). The authority records for persons include the founders and administrators of entails; those for institutions concern the entails themselves. The third and final internal database concerns the archival descriptions, at the fonds and item level. These were created in accordance with the *General International Standard Archival Description* (ISAD (G)), duly adapted to the objectives of the project, and with the general principles of diplomatic description (on the latter, see the “Documents” section of the VISG⁴²).

Finally, the database was completed with the geographical indexing of the fonds level of the archival descriptions (corresponding to the place where each entail was founded), and the thematic/semantic indexing of a set of documents through access points. Because of its relevance to this study, indexing will be analysed in more detail below⁴³. The database is thus the empirical seat of all the scientific production associated with the VINCULUM project, including this study. As well as offering the possibility of starting research from a historiographically and archivally informed empirical structure, it also has the potential to be interrogated in different ways.

42 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/documentos/> (Diplomatic analysis).

43 See below, pp. 118–121.



One of them departs from the entails' archives. As it was mentioned before, the entail was understood as the archival institution and as the unit for entering and organising the data. This option makes it possible, on the one hand, to return the information to its producing institution – the entail – regardless of where it comes from and the holding institutions where the documents are currently kept; on the other hand, it allows for an understanding of the production and conservation of information for each entail as a whole, thus encompassing the archive of the entail. This enables us to place each document in its respective information circuit and archival context.

The second way to question the database stems from the authority records. These records offer prosopographical information on people (founders and administrators) and institutions (entails). In addition, the database also allows for the visualization of relationships between the authority records, whether familial relationships between records of people or the connections between these and the respective records of institutions. From the authority records, it is therefore possible to trace the sociological profile of the founders and administrators, as well as to establish the kinship relations between the different participants in the life of the entails.

In parallel, the third avenue of enquiry is based on archival descriptions. Archival descriptions at fonds and item level provide a variety of information according to the main ISAD (G) fields, all of which can be searched using AtoM's advanced search options:

- *reference code* – code assigned by the VINCULUM project;
- *title* – documentary typology, according to VISG;
- *date* – date the document was produced;
- *level of description* – fonds or item;
- *name of the producer(s) / accumulator(s)* – linked to the respective authority record;
- *entail* – identified by the name(s) of the founder(s), linked to the respective archival institution;
- *scope and content*;
- *language of material*;



- *archival reference* – reference assigned by the holding institution;
- mandatory fields in the description control area.

As mentioned above, access points have also been added at fonds and item level, making up the fourth way of interrogating the database, which is also the most relevant to the study being presented here. At the fonds level, geographical indexing makes it possible to retrieve information on the places where the entails were founded. At item level, thematic/semantic indexing corresponds to the main themes and semantic expressions identified in a specific set of documents, following controlled terminology and a thesaurus. The index terms, particularly the thematic/semantic ones, were conceived, on the one hand, with the aim of characterising, in general, what entailment was between the 14th and 17th centuries; on the other hand, they were also designed with the specific aim of supporting the historical studies planned in the VINCULUM project, including this book⁴⁴.

The set of documents subject to indexing is mainly made up of foundation documents (which include various types, such as wills, codicils, entail or chapel foundation deeds, dowry deeds, etc.)⁴⁵. In the case of foundation documents, the indexed subjects and semantic expressions relate to the main clauses laid down in the foundation, such as, for example, the obligation to wear a coat of arms (index term “coat of arms”) or a family name (index term “family name”).⁴⁶.

Indexing also included judicial documents (*acórdãos*, court sentences, royal sentences, etc.). In this group, the subjects and semantic expressions indexed were divided into three categories according to the general reason for the dispute, namely “succession” (S), “estate” (E) and “pious legacies” (PL). Each category was then subdivided according to the specific subjects evoked in the judicial documents, such as, for example, exclusion from the administration of the entail for failure to use the founder's coat of arms in accordance with the clause expressed in the foundation

44 On the different historical studies envisaged in the VINCULUM project, see <https://www.vinculum.fesh.unl.pt/about/>.

45 On the most important document types for this study, see below, pp. 122–126.

46 On the most relevant index terms for this study, see below, pp. 118–121.



in this regard (“S – coat of arms”); alienation of entailed property (“E – alienation”); or failure to fulfil mass charges (“PL – masses”).

The access points therefore make it possible to browse part of the documentation compiled in the database according to the places where the entails were established, the main clauses stipulated by the founders in the foundation documents, and the general and specific reasons present in the judicial documents that justified the existence of disputes. It should be emphasised, however, that, in the case of subject indexing, this option is limited to the above-mentioned document types, which correspond to around 27% of the total item-level archival descriptions in the database.

Finally, the database can be interrogated by means of seriation based on information of a different nature, in addition to the geographical and thematic/semantic information provided by the access points. Examples include seriation by date, by type of document, by producer name, or by the archival holding institution.

Alongside all these potentials offered by the database, it is important to reflect briefly, in conclusion, on the limits of this tool, which necessarily correspond to the empirical limits of this study⁴⁷. The first aspect to consider is the notion that the database is the heir and a continuation of a long custodial and archival history of the documents produced and kept in the context of entailment. This history includes the production of the records; their different uses throughout the period under analysis; the profound reformulations that occurred with the extinction of the entails and the end of the *Ancien Régime*; the complex process of preserving the documentation in private custody or in memory institutions and the subsequent archival (re)organisation, classification, and description to which it may have been subjected; and, finally, the very process of integration into the database. As stated above, the current state of preservation of archival fonds, the availability of access to them, and their organisation, classification, and archival description have significantly conditioned the documentary survey behind the construction of the database. As such, the database is inevitably limited by the transformations brought about by that

⁴⁷ See below, p. 135.



custodial and archival history. That's why it can hardly be used, for example, to draw quantitative historical conclusions, since the information that was possible to integrate into the database for the different chronologies, geographical origins, producing institutions and the like, is not uniform. If, for example, a certain city records fewer entails in the database than the neighbouring urban centre, this does not necessarily mean that fewer entails were established there; the result could be linked to the fact that fewer documents, registry books, etc. were identified for that city during the documentary survey process compared to the neighbouring city. That's why it's also crucial to take account of absences, i.e. what was part of the entailment information system but which, for various reasons, is not included in the database.

In fact, the database does not represent, nor does it claim to represent, all the written information produced by each of the entails included in it. As it will be seen below, the entail archives included many more written documents of a different nature than those in the database. The documents not included were considered secondary to the project's historiographical enquiry. The quest for completeness would have jeopardised the overall vision. The entail archives revealed by the database also do not include another of their components – unwritten information. This unwritten information is particularly relevant to the study of entailment identity, as it reveals, for example, the identity dimensions inherent in the spaces, objects, or rituals associated with the entails. Knowledge of it is therefore limited to references to it in written records.

Thus, like any other description tool, the database is an “archival representation” and therefore mediates between the documents and the users⁴⁸. It is therefore imperative to understand in depth the theoretical-methodological criteria that guided this mediation, its technical procedures, what was chosen to be included in the representation, what was excluded, and why, without neglecting the existence of a margin of error. In the case of the database under analysis, this task is significantly facilitated by the multiple complementary resources made available, designed precisely to increase the transparency of the mediation.

48 Yakel, 2007.



2.2.2. Sample constitution, characterization and limitations

Of the different ways of interrogating the database that have been mentioned in the previous pages, the sample for the study of entailment identity was based predominantly on the access points of thematic/semantic indexing. This route was favoured because it allowed the most direct retrieval of the information considered relevant to the proposed analysis. The first step was to select the most significant index terms for understanding entailment identity, which can be grouped into four main categories.

The first category concerns symbolic elements, bringing together the index terms “family name”, “coat of arms”, “S – family name”, and “S – coat of arms”. Indexing with the term “family name” indicates, as previously stated, the existence of clauses in the foundation documents which make it compulsory for administrators to use one or more family names. The term “coat of arms” indicates the existence of clauses establishing the compulsory use of arms, and also the existence of references to signs or epitaphs ordered by the founders to be placed on their graves or funerary chapels. For their part, the terms “S – family name” and “S – coat of arms” point to disputes directly related to these clauses, both of which are very insignificant in quantitative terms. The documents indexed with these terms make it possible to assess, among other aspects, the way in which entailment identity was constructed through symbolic elements, the role they played in public practices of social distinction and community insertion, or the functions attributed to objects and spaces marked with heraldry.

The second category of index terms corresponds to the construction of the heir, including the terms “body”, “morals”, “lese-majeste”, “S – royal treason” and “S – morals”. Index terms “body” and “morals” indicate the presence of clauses that regulate various ideal characteristics of the heirs, namely physical and mental aspects (“body”) and behaviour and codes of conduct (“morals”). The term “lese-majeste” indexes the clauses that provide for the exclusion of heirs who commit crimes of *lèse-majesté*, which could give rise to disputes, marked with the term “S – royal treason” in the case of crimes against the king. The term “S – morals”, also very insignificant in quantitative terms, indicates disputes related to the



illegitimacy or non-compliance of heirs in this regard. The foundation documents indexed with these terms make it possible, among other aspects, to examine how the founders acted as creators and sources of identity, constructing the image of the (im)perfect heir.

In third place is the category relating to information production. The index term “inventory” indicates the existence of clauses establishing the obligation to produce, preserve, and/or transmit inventories or other types of written information related to the institutions. The foundation documents indexed with these terms point, among other issues, to the informational and archival dimension of entailment identity, which included the conservation and use of archives and management and control through writing.

The fourth category brings together information on various components linked to the founders' piety and devotion. The index term “pious” marks precisely the existence of general clauses related to this dimension. However, given the very nature of the entails, the frequency of this type of provision has meant that, in the database as a whole, the term “pious” is the one that returns the largest number of documents (over 5,800 occurrences). For this reason, as well as its general nature, this term was not considered to be operative and was excluded from the set of main index terms for the constitution of the sample. The term “pious special” was therefore favored, as it reflects the existence of clauses on specific components of piety and devotion, such as the founding of charitable institutions. The foundation documents indexed with this term make it possible to consider, for example, the devotional identities of the founders, the practices of piety and charity, or the artistic, architectural, and liturgical characteristics of the places of worship and burial.

Finally, the fifth category corresponds to the community dimension of entailment identity. The documents indexed with the terms “church”, “crown”, and “municipality” show the presence of clauses establishing the intervention of external authorities (Crown, Church and municipalities) in the resolution of possible conflicts or in the supervision of administrators, guaranteeing compliance with the determinations of the founders. From these clauses it is possible to analyse, by way of example,



the role played by extra-familial institutions in the life of the entail, in monitoring the administrators, or in arbitration and conflict resolution.

Throughout the book, the index terms used for the examinations corresponding to each of the chapters will be revisited, as well as some general conclusions that can be drawn from the indexing. However, it is important to emphasise that, in several cases, information was retrieved on each of the five categories listed – symbolic elements, construction of the heir, production of information, piety and devotion, and community dimension – in foundation documents or sentences indexed with terms other than those mentioned. References were identified, for example, to objects or spaces with heraldry in foundation documents that did not contain clauses forcing the use of arms and were therefore not indexed with the term “coat of arms”. There were also instructions on the production of information other than inventories, for which there is no index term. The same happened when analysing the community dimension of entails, which was not limited to the intervention of the three institutions represented in the index terms. In this sense, the index terms, despite their methodological usefulness, do not exhaust the quantity, multiplicity, and wealth of existing information on the subject of this work. This reinforces the problems of using these tools to support quantitative analyses.

The sample was then drawn up by selecting a set of documents indexed with one or more of the index terms considered to be the most relevant for studying entailment identity. In this selection, a geographical and chronological balance was sought in order to encompass different territorial realities and to identify any diachronic continuities or ruptures. Where relevant, other non-indexed documents belonging to the entail archives selected as case studies were also analysed. This option made it possible to assess the presence of relevant information for understanding entailment identity in documentation that cannot be accessed through thematic/semantic indexing which, as mentioned, only covers a restricted group of document types. It also made it possible to archivistically contextualise the documents that make up the sample, remembering that they are part of a much wider archival set and information circuit. Finally, the non-indexed documents belonging to the entail archives, together



with the judicial documents, also allowed to follow the concrete experiences in the continuity of the history of the entails. As has been said, these may or may not have corresponded to the founding intentions imagined by the founders, which the foundation documents make known.

The selected sample is made up of around 600 documents relating to approximately 500 entails. In chronological terms, most of the records were produced in the 16th and 17th centuries, with a small number of documents generated in the 14th and 15th centuries. The sample therefore mirrors the database as a whole, which contains significantly more documents dating from the 16th and 17th centuries compared to the 14th and 15th. This is a result not only of the historical evolution of the entails themselves – the number of entails and quantity of documents produced progressively increased from the 15th century onwards – but also of the archival material identified and used to build the database. As a result, this study focuses mainly on the realities that characterised the 16th and 17th centuries. However, whenever possible and relevant, previous realities were examined in order to determine lines of continuity and rupture. It was thus found that, as far as the different dimensions of entailment identity are concerned, chronological evolution is marked by structural continuity within the period under analysis. The differences are therefore quantitative rather than qualitative, and the variations identified do not alter the basic structural principles. From the 16th century onwards, for example, there was an increase in the number of requests for supervision of the administrators by the *provedores das comarcas*. As demonstrated above, the *provedorias das comarcas* were only extended to the whole of the kingdom from the end of the 15th century. However, the structural principle that administrators should be supervised by external institutions had been present since the 14th century, with only the type of institution used to ensure this supervision varying.

Regarding the geographical distribution of the entails included in the sample, around a third are split between three locations, namely Lisbon, the Azores archipelago, and Portalegre. The remaining two-thirds are spread over around 160 different locations. These results again mirror the overall database, as the three locations mentioned are the ones that return the highest number of associated entails. This does not mean that in



Lisbon, the Azores, and Portalegre there were more identity-laden entails than in the rest of the kingdom. In fact, the analysis of the sample did not reveal a clear correlation between the geographical limits of the foundations and the respective practices of building, consolidating, transmitting, and perpetuating identity, which are transversal to all the places analysed. The quantitative differences in the results are due, as stated, to the discrepancy in the amount of information identified for each of the places during the heuristic survey of the database.

In terms of document types, the constitution of the sample based on the index terms and the logic behind them explains the predominance of documents relating to the foundation of entails. This group includes various types of documents, which can be divided into three main categories according to the purpose for which they were produced: records produced exclusively to formalise the institution of a *morgadio* or chapel; records that do not formalise the foundation of an entail, but which affect an institution that has already been formalised or that is intended to be formalised; and records that formalise the foundation of a *morgadio* or a chapel in association with other legal acts.

In the first category – records produced exclusively to formalise the establishment of a *morgadio* and/or chapel – are the entail foundation deeds and the chapel foundation deeds. In both, the founders expressed their desire to establish a *morgadio* or chapel, determining “the material and regulatory conditions for its foundation, operation and maintenance⁴⁹”.

The second category – records that do not formalise the foundation of an entail, but which affect an institution that has already been formalised or is to be formalised – includes declaration deeds, through which the “issuer determines and publicises changes to previous documents”, such as foundation documents⁵⁰. For their part, composition deeds established “an agreement between two parties of a judicial, fiscal or jurisdictional nature”, as was the case when future founders negotiated with religious

49 For a detailed typological and diplomatic analysis of foundation documents see VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/documentos/> (Document types).

50 For a detailed typological and diplomatic analysis of declaration deeds see VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/documentos/> (Document types).



institutions about the characteristics of the chapels they intended to establish there⁵¹. The agreement deeds fulfilled a similar purpose⁵². This category also includes annexation deeds, which formalised the annexation of certain assets to an existing chapel or *morgadio*⁵³; and, finally, codicils, historiographically considered to be written records through which “changes or additions are made to an existing will⁵⁴”.

The third category – records formalising the foundation of a *morgadio* or chapel in association with other legal acts – includes, firstly, donation deeds, in which “one party grants a right or asset to the other party”, namely an entail or a set of assets to be used for the foundation of an entail⁵⁵. Also in the same category are dowry deeds, in which the bride or her relatives transfer certain assets to the groom in order to support the bride’s maintenance. These assets could include entails specifically created on the occasion of the marriage⁵⁶. Finally, there are wills, used by testators to determine the disposition of their property after their death, which could include the foundation of entails⁵⁷; and will charts, which are identical to wills but lack public faith⁵⁸.

Wills are the type of document with the highest quantitative representation in the sample. Due to their relevance not only to the study of entailment identity, but also to understanding the phenomenon of entailments, wills require a more thorough analysis. It is therefore important to revisit a series of works produced mainly in the 1980s and 1990s, which

51 For a detailed typological and diplomatic analysis of composition deeds see VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/documentos/> (Document types).

52 For a detailed typological and diplomatic analysis of agreement deeds see VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/documentos/> (Document types).

53 For a detailed typological and diplomatic analysis of annexation deeds, see VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/documentos/> (Document types).

54 For a detailed typological and diplomatic analysis of codicils see VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/documentos/> (Document types).

55 For a detailed typological and diplomatic analysis of donation deeds see VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/documentos/> (Document types).

56 For a detailed typological and diplomatic analysis of dowry deeds see VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/documentos/> (Document types).

57 For a detailed typological and diplomatic analysis of wills see VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/documentos/> (Document types).

58 For a detailed typological and diplomatic analysis of will charts, see VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/documentos/> (Document types).



were concerned with assessing the potential and limits of using wills as a historical “source”. All these works emphasise the interest and richness of these documents for examining a multiplicity of questions and problems, in particular lay piety and attitudes towards death and the life of the soul. In fact, it is worth recalling the words of Bartolomé Clavero, particularly relevant to the study of identity, which highlight that the will was a religious act before it was a legal act:

“Inmortales también eran los mortales, con una vida del alma después de la muerte para la que debían adoptarse disposiciones no reducidas a una sola generación. En la muerte y no en la vida, o en una vida que no era para la mentalidad de entonces la terrena, podía lograrse identidad⁵⁹”.

Despite the potential of these records, the authors who have analysed wills unanimously advise caution when using this type of document, mainly because of three aspects. The first is related to the “strong notarial component” of wills⁶⁰. This component materialises, on the one hand, in the role played by notaries or scribes in the production of wills⁶¹; and, on the other, in the use of stereotyped clauses or pre-existing forms, to which these professionals would often resort⁶². As a result, as Maria de Lurdes Rosa writes, “a natureza dos testamentos pode provir mais da mente e hábitos institucionais dos formalizadores das últimas vontades (notários, tabeliães) do que do testador⁶³”. The use of these “legal frames” under the guidance of professionals makes it difficult, or in some cases impossible, to discern in wills the aspects that respond to the wishes, devotions, and convictions of the testators from those that appear in a stereotyped way⁶⁴.

59 Clavero, 1993–94, p. 73. My translation: “Mortals were also immortal, with a life of the soul after death for which arrangements had to be made that were not limited to a single generation. In death, and not in life, or in a life that was not, for the mindset of the time, earthly, identity could be achieved”.

60 Vilar, 1995, pp. 165–166.

61 Rosa, 1988, p. 1065; Marandet, 1998, introduction, para. 9; Heat, 1984, pp. 212.

62 Vilar, 1995, pp. 165–166; Alsop, 1989; Marandet, 1998, introduction, para. 9; Stouff, 1998, p. 201; Heat, 1984, p. 212.

63 Rosa, 2016, p. 553. My translation: “The nature of wills may stem more from the mindset and institutional habits of those formalizing the last wills (notaries, scribes [tabeliães]) than from the testator”.

64 Marandet, 1998, introduction, para. 9; Stouff, 1998, p. 201.



The second aspect to take into consideration when using wills as a historical “source” concerns what Clive Burgess called “testamentary silence⁶⁵”. Analysing death and lay piety in late-medieval England, Burgess compared wills with other documents produced and/or preserved by parishes and churches, concluding that the former were silent about various pious acts made known by the latter⁶⁶. In fact, Marandet states that the “unspoken”, the “silences”, were typical of this type of record and questions whether some issues were omitted because they were part of the usual and customary practice within families and communities⁶⁷. In reality, various funeral arrangements could be established by means other than wills, including codicils or declaration deeds, or even oral instructions communicated directly to heirs and executors⁶⁸. As a result, wills do not necessarily (or at all) reveal the “true extent of pious investment” of the testators, nor the full extent of their wishes and instructions⁶⁹. Hence the importance, in the case of entailment, of considering wills within the entail’s archive, which makes it possible to at least partially fill in some of these silences.

The same applies to the third and final limiting aspect of the historiographical use of wills, namely the fact that these documents express intentions and not the actual realisation of those intentions⁷⁰. Peter Heat offers two expressive examples of this gap between intention and reality in the case of testamentary production in the region of Hull, England, in the Lower Middle Ages. On the one hand, the author emphasises that the executors of the wills were sometimes unreliable, which explains the delay in executing certain provisions or even their failure to be executed; on the other hand, Heat found that some testators estimated the extent of their assets unrealistically, making it impossible or unfeasible to carry out their funeral intentions⁷¹. This explains, for example, why some testators imposed deadlines for the execution of their wills, or the requests on the part of heirs to reduce or derogate from pious legacies when unable to afford them.

65 Burgess, 1987, pp. 855–856.

66 Burgess, 1987, pp. 855–856, 840; Burgess, 1999, p. 60.

67 Marandet, 1998, introduction, para. 10.

68 Rosa, 2016, p. 553.

69 Burgess, 1987, p. 840.

70 Rousseau, 2016, p. 8; Heat, 1984, p. 213.

71 Heat, 1984, p. 213.



To a greater or lesser extent, all these limits can be expanded to foundation documents. It is important to remember that the wills, foundation documents, and other records that formalised the foundation of a *morgadio* or chapel constituted legal proof of the will of the founders and, therefore, of the internal law of the entails. They were the “‘constitution’ of the structure being created⁷²”. In this sense, they were often copied successively over the centuries, many times by express order of the founders, with the objective of guaranteeing their preservation, or because of the need to prove the intentions of the founders. As a result, the originals (i.e. the first versions to be produced) were not always preserved and access to the information for this study was made through copies, either partial or complete, made after the original was produced. The use of copies can be problematic, especially due to potential transcription errors or reading difficulties on the part of the copyists, or even possible omissions.

The documentation that makes up the sample is currently held by 13 archival holding institutions and is distributed among around 30 fonds⁷³. This distribution reflects the historical and archival contexts that were described in the first point of this chapter, not only in terms of the dispersion of the documentation among multiple institutions, but also the preponderance of the national archive, where approximately half of the records in the sample are kept.

In turn, the documents preserved in each of the fonds emanated from various producing and conserving institutions in the context of the entailment information system. It is therefore important to return to these institutions – which, as it was seen, are organised into three groups: entails/families, Crown/State and Church – in order to assess the extent to which they are represented in the database and, consequently, in the sample.

As the examination of the different components of the entailment system has shown, entails were institutions that produced and preserved information in fulfilment of the will of their founders. They also acted as one of the main archival aggregators of the written records produced, preserved

72 Rosa, 2020, p. 5.

73 See list of documents, pp. 349–381.



and transformed into archives by the family groups that founded and administered *morgadios* and chapels. The ownership and administration of the entails depended, to a large extent, on the correct conservation of all the documents related to the foundations. It was these documents that kept the memory of the will of the founders and the actions of the ancestors intact; that made it possible to correctly manage the entailed assets and pious charges, and to prove, defend, and claim privileges and rights, whenever necessary.

The extinction of entails, followed by the establishment of the Republic, which brought an end to the nobility, meant that these families' archives lost a large part of the functions they had been assigned throughout the *Ancien Régime*. Several documentary sets were fragmented, some destroyed. Many were and still are kept by the family groups as private property, valued for their historical and memorial interest, while others were totally or partially sold. Finally, some of these archives were donated to public memory institutions and are now accessible to the general public.

The VINCULUM project included in the heuristic survey of the database some of the publicly accessible family archives currently held in memory institutions, namely those whose state of conservation, organisation and description made it possible to discern their relevance to the project. Family archives in private possession were therefore not included. Also not included were documentary sets that, despite being held by public institutions, were not yet adequately described in such a way as to allow the identification of relevant information. The family archives surveyed contain records of various kinds related to entails: foundation documents, emphyteutic documentation, court records, royal charters, mass receipts, genealogies, notes on the history of entails, etc.. Of these different types of documents, only those directly related to the foundation of *morgadios* and chapels, and any disputes associated with them, were included in the database, while the rest were excluded. Although the excluded documentation is part of the entails archives, it was not considered essential for the development of the project's main questions. However, the way the database is constructed makes it easy to insert these records at a later date, should this be considered pertinent in the future. In the overall picture



of the producing institutions represented in the sample, family archives occupy a secondary place, although qualitatively relevant, through examples such as the Casa de Santa Iria or the Casa de Abrantes.

In addition to family archives, another group of documents that, unlike the former, was not produced to be preserved only by the family groups themselves, is also included in the category of information production of entails/families. This is the case of the inventories of the *morgadios* or chapels ordered to be produced by various founders at the time of the establishment of the entails. These inventories usually contained a copy of the foundation document and other records considered relevant, as well as a list of the assets belonging to the entail. Often, several copies of the inventory were produced. One of them would be kept by the administrators of the *morgadio* or chapel, while the others had to be handed over to certain royal, municipal, or ecclesiastical institutions appointed by the founder. The purpose of handing over copies of the inventory to external institutions was to guarantee the preservation of the memory of the entail and the fulfilment of the obligations established in the foundation. One of the institutions usually appointed by the founders to hold these records was the *Torre do Tombo*, where they are still preserved today, particularly in the “Instituições de morgados e capelas” series of the “Morgados e capelas”⁷⁴ fonds, one of the most interesting for studying this type of document.

The information produced by the Crown/State is the most quantitatively represented in the sample. This production emanated mainly from four institutions, namely the *provedorias das comarcas*, the *comissão do tomo das capelas da coroa*, to which the *juízo das capelas da coroa* is associated, and the civil governments in the context of the entail registry that preceded the extinction of the entails.

Starting with the *provedorias das comarcas*, it was mentioned above that from the end of the 14th century onwards, the Crown took reform measures to ensure the proper management of chapel assets and to monitor the

74 ANTT, *Morgados e capelas*, Instituições de morgados e capelas (<https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4223347>).



fulfilment of funeral suffrages. To this end, it invested in the institutionalisation of circumscriptions and royal officials with powers over pious duties. After a long process of conflict between the Crown and the Church over the will of the deceased, the structure of officials attached to legacies and pious foundations was fixed, during the reign of King Manuel, at the figure of a *provedor* (ombudsman) with jurisdiction over Lisbon and its outskirts, and a *contador* (comptroller) in each district. It should be emphasised that the case of Lisbon is specific. During the reign of King João II, the activity of a royal official appointed as ombudsman for the hospitals, hostels and chapels of Lisbon and its outskirts was already detected. The officer accumulated the functions of magistrate of the *juízo dos hospitais, capelas, albergarias e confrarias de Lisboa e seu termo*⁷⁵ and ombudsman of the Hospital de Todos os Santos (All-Saints Hospital). With the extinction of the *juízo das capelas de Lisboa* in 1564, powers over the chapels in the city and its outskirts passed to the ombudsman and comptroller of the *resíduos, capelas, hospitais, albergarias e confrarias de Lisboa*, an office created when the jurisdiction of the All-Saints Hospital passed to the *misericórdia* of Lisbon⁷⁶. The organisation in Lisbon was then applied throughout the kingdom with the establishment of the *provedorias das comarcas*⁷⁷.

In general terms, the *provedorias'* competences in terms of entailment matters included knowing the number of chapels founded and administered by lay people in the region; monitoring the performance of the administrators and suspending those who proved to be in breach; knowing the chapels' assets and rents and acting, if necessary, in their management; verifying the material state of the chapels; verifying the provision of chapel *merceeiras* and *merceeiros* (lay people paid to pray for the founders' souls); exercising jurisdiction over the chapels and taking their accounts; and, finally, having the chapel's inventory made⁷⁸.

75 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/juizo-dos-hospitais-capelas-albergarias-e-confrarias-da-cidade-de-lisboa-e-seu-termo-1493-1564/> (Chronological span).

76 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/provedor-das-capelas-hospitais-albergarias-e-confrarias-de-lisboa-e-termo-1493-1564/> (Chronological span); VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/provedoria-das-capelas-residuos-de-lisboa-e-termo-1564-1832/> (Chronological span).

77 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/provedorias-das-comarcas-final-sec-xv-1832/> (Chronological span).

78 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/provedorias-das-comarcas-final-sec-xv-1832/> (Institutional organisation and the roles of its agents with regard to entails – The roles of its agents).



Of the various archives that hold documents from the *provedorias* currently held in public archives, several were not included in the heuristic survey of the database. Some did not include relevant records on entails, both in general terms and concerning the chronological limits of the VINCULUM project; others did not have a sufficient archival description of the fonds and its sections and series to determine the existence of pertinent information; finally, some could not be accessed due to the state of preservation of the documents. Thus, of the different *provedorias das comarcas* represented in the database, Portalegre's occupies a prominent place in quantitative terms, which is also true of the sample gathered.

The second and third producing institutions associated with the Crown with the greatest quantitative representation in the sample are the *comissão do tombo das capelas da coroa* and the *juízo das capelas da coroa*. Although they should be considered two distinct institutions, the operating objectives of the former are directly related to those of the latter. In fact, during the reign of King Felipe II, there was a strong impetus for the task, which had already begun, of identifying, registering, and regularising the Crown chapels, i.e. those whose right to appoint the administration belonged to the king. In addition to royal concerns about the fulfilment of pious legacies, these chapels represented an important source of revenue for the Crown, which could be used to pay for services. To fulfil this task, a commission was appointed to inventory and register the crown chapels. The commission answered directly to the king and began its work at the beginning of the 17th century. The bulk of its production took place under the leadership of Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga between 1619 and 1643, during which time the identification of the Crown chapels was completed, followed by the production of inventories of their assets and the regularisation of administrations without valid titles⁷⁹.

The *juízo das capelas da coroa* “was built on the practices developed by Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga’s commission”. Understood as an integral part of the *Casa da Suplicação*, this court would have mirrored the commission's competences, as it was also responsible for

79 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/comissao-do-tombo-das-capelas-da-coroa/> (Chronological span; Competences).



“creating and maintaining an updated register of the provision of administrations of the entails, in cooperation with the central administrative bodies and the provincial, secular, and ecclesiastical administration; ordering the sequestration of assets for the completion of the registries; pronouncing sentences and drawing up deeds of possession of the entails⁸⁰”.

The documentation produced by the *comissão do tomo das capelas da coroa* and by the *juízo das capelas da coroa* is currently kept in the national archives. The inventories produced by the commission have been gathered in one of the series in the “Feitos da Coroa” fonds, called “Capelas da Coroa”. In turn, the documentation generated by the *juízo das capelas da coroa* can be found in one of the series in the “Arquivo do Arquivo” fonds, titled “Livros de registo”.

In addition to the *provedorias das comarcas*, the *comissão do tomo das capelas da coroa* and the *juízo das capelas da coroa*, the fourth and final most significant source of documentation in the sample is a set of documents produced after the chronological limits of this book. This is the case with the so-called entail registration processes, which took place following the law of 30 July 1860. This law was part of a long process of regulating and restricting entailment, which began with the reforms of 1769 and 1770 and culminated in the total extinction of entails in 1863⁸¹. Prior to the extinction, the law of 1860 abolished all entails that generated less than a certain amount and, at the same time, stipulated that all others would also be extinguished if they were not registered with the civil governments of the districts where the entailed property was located. In order to make the registrations, the administrators of the entails had to present various documents proving the foundation of the *morgadio* or chapel, the ownership of the property, and the respective income and obligations. This resulted in the compilation of entail registration files, which included different amounts and types of documents, depending on the case.

80 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/juizo-das-capelas-da-coroa-1643-1832/> (Chronological span; Competences); see doctoral dissertation in progress by Abel Rodrigues, entitled *Para o serviço de Deus e do Rei: A gestão da informação das Capelas da Coroa (Portugal, séculos XV-XVII)*.

81 Esteves, 2008, vol. I, pp. 32-97.



In several districts, two copies of the same file were produced, one for the civil government archives and the other to be sent to the national archives. For this reason, access to the information contained in the entail registration files came in two ways: from the regional or district archives that currently hold the fonds emanating from the civil governments; and from the copies sent to the national archives. Given the evolution of the records' custodial and archival history, the distribution of information from these two channels varies. The national archives currently hold information produced in connection with the registrations of 11 of the 21 districts existing at the time of the registry (Angra do Heroísmo, Bragança, Castelo Branco, Coimbra, Funchal, Horta, Lisbon, Ponta Delgada, Portalegre, Porto, and Santarém). With the exception of Castelo Branco, the records of all these districts are also held in the respective district or regional archives, although the information does not necessarily correspond to that held in the national archives; some district or regional archives may contain documentation that does not exist in the national archives, and vice versa. In turn, the records of seven districts are preserved only in the district or regional archives (Évora, Faro, Guarda, Leiria, Viana do Castelo, Vila Real, and Viseu), and the records of Leiria were not included in the heuristic survey of the database because it was not possible to establish whether they contained information relevant to the project. Lastly, no information on the districts of Aveiro, Beja and Braga was identified in any public archive.

The sample includes several hundred documents from the entail registration files associated with the districts of Angra do Heroísmo, Coimbra, Évora, Faro, Funchal, Guarda, Horta, Lisbon, Ponta Delgada, Porto, Portalegre, Santarém, Viseu, and Viana do Castelo. Part of the files were consulted from the copies currently held in the civil government archives of the respective district or regional archives; another part was consulted from the copies currently held in the national archives, namely those relating to the districts of Coimbra, Funchal, Lisbon, Ponta Delgada, Portalegre, and Santarém.

For its part, the Church's information production is, in quantitative terms, significantly less represented in the sample than that associated with the



Crown/State. This production emanated essentially from two institutions, namely the dioceses and archdioceses, and the regular institutions.

As far as the dioceses and archdioceses were concerned, their government was the responsibility of the bishops and archbishops respectively, with the help of chapters. In terms of entailment matters, the intervention of these prelates and their officials was framed within the broader question of the relationship of the diocesan authorities with the fulfilment of the will of the deceased, in terms of the establishment of pious legacies intended to promote the salvation of the souls of the respective founders and beneficiaries⁸². In this context, the concrete competences of the diocesan and archdiocesan representatives varied over the centuries, mainly due to a constant redefinition of the jurisdictional limits that separated the intervention of the Church and the royal power. However, their areas of activity were essentially centred on the foundation of chapels with entailed assets, particularly with regard to the execution of wills and the management of *resíduos* (charges that had not been fulfilled or that remained unfulfilled); their administration, in terms of the appointment of administrators and the taking of accounts; and correction, i.e. the visitation of chapels⁸³.

The organisation of diocesan and archdiocesan institutions reflected these areas of activity, as can be seen in the bureaucratic structure of the archdioceses of the kingdom, Braga, Lisbon, and Évora. This structure was organised around three large departments: an ecclesiastical chamber or episcopal council, “responsible for dealing with administrative matters related to the spiritual and voluntary jurisdiction of the bishop; a “secretariat” for the dispatch of visitations, which managed matters related to canonical visitations; and a court, “called *audiência* in the late Middle Ages and most commonly metropolitan *audiência* from the early modern period onwards⁸⁴”.

82 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/dioceses/> (Competences – On entails).

83 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/dioceses/> (Competences – On entails).

84 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/dioceses/> (Institutional organisation and the roles of its agents with regard to entails – Institutional organisation).



This court was responsible for judging “in the first instance cases originating in its own jurisdiction and, in the second instance, appeals against the rulings of the ecclesiastical tribunals of the subordinate dioceses (with appeals of its decisions in the second and third instance, respectively, directed to the tribunal of the nunciature)⁸⁵”. In addition to these matters, each high court also included specific courts, including one for the execution of wills, directed by the judge of the *resíduos*. This judge was responsible for executing the wills of the founders, guaranteeing the fulfilment of obligations and pious charges, and also for supervising the administration of the chapels. From the 15th century onwards, these tasks were carried out alternately by an ecclesiastical official and a secular official, each responsible for executing the last wills of testators who died in certain months of the year. In order to maintain the memory of the pious charges, the judge of the *resíduos* also had to have them “recorded in a dedicated registry book, existing in each church, in addition to rubricating and numbering a book in which the scribe of the residuary estates would record all the chantries established and in the process of being established in the diocese⁸⁶”.

As far as the information produced by dioceses and archdioceses is concerned, the sample includes documentation emanating from the *juízo dos resíduos* of the archdiocese of Braga. This documentation is currently kept in the Braga district archive, in its own section of the “Mitra Arquiepiscopal de Braga” fonds.

Alongside the dioceses and archdioceses, the information produced by the Church also includes, as stated above, the regular institutions. During the *Ancien Régime*, the forms of consecrated life were institutionalised into Orders, which were divided into five groups: “the monastic, canonical, mendicant, and monastic-military ones active since the medieval period, to which were added the “families” of regular clerics in the early modern period⁸⁷”.

85 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/dioceses/> (Institutional organisation and the roles of its agents with regard to entails – Institutional organisation).

86 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/dioceses/> (Institutional organisation and the roles of its agents with regard to entails – Institutional organisation – The roles of its agents – Juiz dos resíduos (Judge of the residuary estates)).

87 VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/instituicoes-regulares/> (Chronological span).



Regardless of the particular histories, internal organisations and modes of operation of each of these groups, they all share the characteristic that the spaces of their churches were used by lay communities to found chapels with entailed assets. In this sense, the regular institutions produced and kept information on the chapels in their churches in order to guarantee the fulfilment of obligations and charges, as well as exercising vigilance over the administrators. The sample includes a small number of records produced or kept by regular institutions based in Lisbon, Porto, and Coimbra.

By way of conclusion, and as a framework for the following chapters, a final note should be made about the limits of the sample. These stem from the limits of the database itself, as mentioned above. The readings on entailment identity were based on an archival mediation that represents only a part of what the entailment information system and the informational production of entails were at the time under analysis. The sample constitution method, anchored in index terms, restricts the documentary foundations of the study to a specific set of documents. This set, mostly made up of wills and foundation documents, limits the scope to a particular moment in the life of the entails, the foundation. It also makes it difficult to discern the voice of the founders from that of the notaries. And it doesn't necessarily illustrate the full extent of all the actions related to the act of founding, which may have been consigned to silence for various reasons. In some cases, it was possible to recover information about the process that preceded the establishment of the entails, which is important for understanding the weight that some entailing projects occupied in the lives of the founders and their family groups. However, this book will mainly deal with the founding moment and, for this reason, focuses on the intentions formalised in the foundation documents, which did not always materialise. Intentions should therefore not be confused with actual practices. Whenever possible, efforts were made to demonstrate how concrete experiences have distanced themselves from the founders' intentions, altering or adapting the supposedly immutable founding determinations. The longer the lifespan of the entail, the greater the likelihood of these changes and adaptations. However, in the minds of the founders, the identity horizon was perpetual. This horizon is particularly noticeable in cases where the immortality of memory was sought, as will be seen in the next chapter.





For the immortality of memory: family names and arms

CHAPTER 3







For the immortality of memory: family names and arms

In pre-modern societies, the construction of a sense of identity and belonging to a supra-individual corporate body depended, in part, on the adoption and transmission of symbolic elements that translated, represented and performed, internally and externally, certain identity discourses. Amongst the "symbolic galaxy" of identity signs and actions around which noble family groups gravitated between the 14th and 17th centuries, two elements have occupied a prominent place in historiography: family names and arms¹. In the words of Miguel Metelo de Seixas:

“Na construção da identidade linhagística, tendeu pois a fixar-se uma relação entre a consciência da perpetuação genealógica vertical de uma família e os dois principais elementos abstractos que permitiam a sua identificação: a onomástica e a heráldica. A chave para o sucesso dessa relação passava pelo seu carácter estável, permanente. Só assim os diversos membros da família podiam rever-se em tal perenidade genealógica (...)”².

Family names, on the one hand, were stable elements that identified a body and integrated the individual into a kinship group³. Arms, on the

¹ Rosa, 2012b, p. 449.

² Seixas, 2012, pp. 453–454. My translation: “In the construction of lineage identity, there was a tendency to establish a connection between the awareness of a family’s vertical genealogical perpetuation and the two main abstract elements that allowed for its identification: onomastics and heraldry. The key to the success of this relationship lay in its stable, permanent nature. Only in this way could the various members of the family see themselves reflected in such a genealogical permanence (...)”.

³ Sousa, 2013, pp. 42–43.



other hand, visually communicated this identification and belonging, dazzling with their image and colour; as they were the exclusive privilege of the upper classes of the nobility, they also attested to the honour, nobility, and social status of their bearer, functioning as a hierarchical reference system that symbolically translated the prevailing social order, as Miguel Metelo de Seixas adds⁴.

The adoption and transmission of family names and arms could be ensured by families in various ways, such as through marriage contracts, in which the names and arms to be used by the spouses' offspring were negotiated. However, one of the most effective mechanisms for securing these symbolic elements was precisely entailment. Through the entail, the founders could force the administrators to use a certain family name and respective arms until the end of the world, without the need for renegotiation with each marriage alliance or generational change. Several authors have already drawn attention to this symbolic dimension of entailment, which, in Dedieu's words, reveals the profound nature of entails, far beyond the immobilisation and transmission of property⁵. It is precisely this dimension that explains why many foundations have survived even when they no longer had any economic value, as Melero Muñoz points out⁶. And it also contributed to the very longevity of the entailment system over five centuries. In fact, the imposition of family names and arms is one of the most illustrative demonstrations of the nature and extent of the power of the founders as identity architects, in the construction of the ideal heir, their affirmation as founders and their ability, as such, to shape the Son in the image of the Father. By extension, it is also one of the most profound examples of the overlapping of corporate identity over individual identity, as will be demonstrated throughout the chapter.

Without neglecting the specificities that distinguish family names and arms, which have been explored by specialists in onomastics and heraldry, arms are inseparable from family names in the context of entailment. In fact, the requirements for the use of family names by founders don't

4 Seixas, 2011, p. 260.

5 Dedieu, 2002, p. 111.

6 Melero Muñoz, 2021, p. 658.



always imply the obligatory use of arms (usually because the founder doesn't have arms, although there are exceptions⁷), but the use of arms always implies the use of the corresponding family name. They are therefore two interconnected manifestations of the same objective: the immortality of memory.

As it will be seen in the following pages, the vast majority of founders chose to perpetuate their own family name (and sometimes their first name) and their respective arms. In these examples, it is clear that there is a “thirst for fame”, as Irigoyen puts it⁸, or a “yearning for memory”, as Herreros Moya prefers to call it⁹. Other founders evoked the symbolic elements of their ancestors, claiming that it was their duty to perpetuate the memory of those from whom they descended and from whom they had received the inheritance that was now being entailed. In both cases, the desire to preserve the memory through the name (and arms) is often expressly stated in the entail foundation documents, with the obligatory use of a family name or family name and arms, following a form. In fact, it is presented as one of the fundamental justifications that led the founders to establish the entail, seeing the preservation of memory as one of the main advantages of founding entails as opposed to the equal division of assets. If biological perpetuation was impossible, the preservation of family names and arms ensured the symbolic or fictitious perpetuation of memory, in Isabel Melero Muñoz's words¹⁰. Gaspar Gonçalves (later Ribafria) declared that he established an entail because he wanted to leave a memory of himself¹¹. Francisco de Sousa Tavares, for his part, states that he didn't found a *morgado* for the favour of any particular administrator,

7 See below, p. 153.

8 Irigoyen López, 2015, p. 273.

9 Herreros Moya, 2012, p. 119.

10 Melero Muñoz, 2021, p. 668.

11 Entail foundation deed (1536-05-07) – VINC001348 GGR EA/001aaa; TT-C-J3-D-34, fl. 65. Document citations will always be made up of the title (document type); the date of production; the VINCULUM reference code, which allows information on the document to be retrieved from the VINCULUM database; and the abbreviated archival reference, followed by the folio or range of folios, which allows information on the document to be retrieved from the archival holding institution (see the list of documents, which contains more information on the acronyms used in archival references, pp. 349–381). In the documentary transcriptions, the decision was made to update the spelling and punctuation, and to fully transcribe the abbreviations, without graphically indicating the reconstituted letters. The transcriptions are presented in Portuguese with updated translations in English.



but for the preservation of his memory and lineage¹². João Esmeraldo and his wife, Águeda de Abreu, point out that when the estates are shared out the memory of the dead is harmed¹³.

This insistence on memory suggests classifying foundations with clauses obliging the use of family names and arms as a specific type of entail, close to the Castilian *mayorazgo*. Adapting the designation used by the founders, they are “*morgadios* for the preservation and memory of the name” which, in general terms, share a set of characteristics beyond the weight given to family names and arms. In fact, in order to fully understand the role played by these two symbolic elements in the entailment system and in the process of building and transmitting identity, it is necessary to interpret it in the context of a broader identity discourse that brings together founding clauses and impositions on different interrelated matters.

The database is conducive to this cross-referencing exercise through the index terms. The index term “family name” indicates the obligatory use of a family name, while the term “coat of arms” indicates the obligatory use of arms, also including references to epitaphs. By cross-referencing these two terms with others relevant to the study of entailment identity and to the understanding of the process of construction of an heir, and complementing this cross-referencing with empirical analysis, it is possible to identify a set of aspects that generally characterize entails with the obligation to use family names and coat of arms. They:

- are usually formalised in foundation deeds rather than wills;
- contain few provisions relating to the salvation and health of the soul, which are usually addressed in wills;
- often include clauses forcing the annexation of *terça* (third part of the inheritance), thus guaranteeing the progressive growth of the entail and, consequently, increasing the likelihood of memory preservation;

12 Entail foundation deed [before 1541-11-24] – VINC002987 FST EA/001aa; TT-C-J3-D-38, fls. 17v-18.

13 Entail foundation deed (1527-12-12) – VINC001959 JEAA EA/001aa; TT-C-J3-D-11, fl. 40v.



- are particularly restrictive with regard to the physical and moral characteristics of administrators, imposing equally limiting codes of conduct (exclusion of successors with physical and mental impediments or “infectious” blood; prohibition of marriage without the father’s consent; obligatory residence in the family house; exclusion of administrators who commit crimes of *lèse-majesté*; appeal to their loyalty to the king and to the Catholic faith, among others)¹⁴;
- prefer the first-born male line, but do not exclude women from the succession and less than half of them exclude illegitimate children; however, they tend to exclude clerics who, despite being able to take family names and arms, do not ensure the biological continuity of the family (legitimate line);
- show a greater concern for the preservation of foundation documents and the production of inventories of entailed assets, revealing a greater archival and informational awareness¹⁵.

All these characteristics, except for the first two, are also applicable to entails that only include the obligation to use a family name, without arms, although in a less transversal way. Such entails seem to be hybrids that sought to emulate the more complete versions of those that included arms, which were reserved for the upper echelons of the nobility, composed of titled nobles, high-ranking royal officials, and members of the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Despite these differences, in all situations where the use of a family name, or family name and arms, is obligatory, these clauses are considered substantial, in the sense that they form part of the substance of the entail. For this reason, they are always associated with the threat of loss of administration in the event of non-compliance. As Diogo de Castro do Rio wrote in 1568, anyone who contravened these substantial clauses would be considered unworthy of the succession¹⁶. After all, not using the family

14 On this topic, see Chapter 4 – The (im)perfect heir.

15 On this topic, see Chapter 5 – The power of the archive.

16 Entail foundation deed (1568-05-19) – VINC001637 DCRBVMCR EA/005a; TT-GCL-RV-98, fl. 154v.



names and arms would mean harming the memory of their ancestors, an act that justified the maximum punishment available to the founders. However, it will be shown below that the practical application of these clauses could be problematic, and that the founders were aware of this. That's why they usually showed some flexibility and pragmatism, particularly in cases where using the family names and arms could prevent the accumulation of other assets¹⁷.

The database also allows us to draw two other general conclusions. The first is that the practice of including mandatory family name clauses was infrequent, accounting for less than 10 per cent of the total number of entails found in the database. The practice of including mandatory family name and arms clauses was even less frequent. Therefore, these “*morgadios* for the preservation and memory of the name” were a minority and cannot be considered characteristic of entailment in Portuguese territories. This idea also forces us to nuance the importance of symbolic elements in the overall evaluation of the entailment system and the construction and perpetuation of identity through entails in the Portuguese context, as it was limited to a restricted group of founders.

The second conclusion is that the practice of forcing the use of family names or family names and arms is a 16th century phenomenon. There are very few examples described in the database for the 14th and 15th centuries, with a marked increase in cases in the 1500s. In quantitative terms, the number of compulsory family name entails established in the 16th century is practically identical to that for the 17th century, which is relevant if it is considered that the amount of documentation in the database dating from the 17th century is significantly greater than that for the 16th century. The following pages will analyse some of the central aspects associated with family names and weapons, based on the mandatory use clauses. The first point will focus on the family names and arms chosen by the founders and the reasons behind these choices. This is followed by a brief section on some of the less frequent choices, namely variations in the gender of family names and the imposition of the use of first names. We will then move

¹⁷ See below, pp. 157-160.



on to the forms of use and functions attributed by the founders to family names and arms, pointing out, among other things, that the founding intentions did not always correspond to the actual practices of the administrators. The final point is made up of some notes on other references in the foundation documents to these symbolic elements, which are not related to the mandatory use clauses, but reveal other roles attributed to names and heraldry, perpetuated in stone, gold, and parchment.

Before going any further, it is important to emphasise that evaluating this symbolic dimension of entailment solely on the basis of foundation documents is necessarily limited. A holistic examination of the uses of family names and arms by family groups would require genealogical studies to identify the origin of the family names and arms chosen by the founders (maternal or paternal); social and family history analyses to assess the socio-economic weight of the symbols that were entailed, to the detriment of others possibly available to the founders; examinations of the information practices of the administrators, which would make it possible, on the one hand, to measure the distance between the aforementioned founding intentions and actual reality, and, on the other, to partially glimpse the perspective of the administrators and not just that of the founders; or cross-referencing written information with the plastic and material traces that have survived to the present day (family houses, funeral spaces, and other buildings; illuminations; domestic, liturgical, or representational objects; etc.), assuming that the uses of the symbols were, potentially, much broader than those envisaged in the foundation documents.

3.1. Which family names and arms?

As in Spain, the appearance of legislation regulating the use and order of family names in Portugal is quite recent¹⁸. Equally recent was the practice of officially registering people's names¹⁹. This meant, firstly, that families at the time under study had the independence to choose the family

18 Soria Mesa, 2007, pp. 278–279; Monteiro, 2008, pp. 45–48.

19 Monteiro, 2008, p. 53.



names they gave their children under the power of the *pater familias* – which explains why siblings could have different family names – and that, in practice, family names could be changed throughout life, since there were no official registries. Thus, naming a child with a certain family name, or adopting a family name at a certain point in life, were meaningful and symbolically charged choices. Secondly, the lack of regulation gave rise to the instrumentalisation and misuse of family names with the aim of claiming or legitimising rights or leveraging social ascension²⁰. Arms suffered similar attempts at instrumentalisation and usurpation, although the Portuguese Crown had made efforts since the 14th century to regulate the use of arms and concentrate heraldic authority within itself. These efforts culminated at the beginning of the 16th century with the introduction of specific legislation on the subject and the establishment of a permanent body of arms officers²¹.

If there was an entail with clauses obliging the use of family names or family names and arms, the law that prevailed, at least in theory, was that of the founder. Most of these clauses follow an identical, fairly simple formulation: “that the administrators call themselves” or “name themselves” with the family name, last name, cognomen or nickname – terms generally used synonymously – chosen by the founder. If the entail included arms, “and bring the arms” was added immediately afterwards.

As stated above, the most often chosen family name was that of the founders themselves, especially in foundations set up individually by men. In foundations made by couples, the family name that had to be used was generally that of the husband. In entails founded by women, there was greater variability. Women could choose their own family name, their husband's family name – in the case of widows –, or their father's family name – in the case of single women. By perpetuating their own family name, the founders affirmed themselves as such, inserting themselves into the history of the lineage and substantiating, through the entail, the perpetuity of the memory of “their person and name²²”.

20 Melero Muñoz, 2017.

21 Seixas, 2011, pp. 204–208.

22 Rosa, 1995, pp. 55–68; Rosa, 2012b, pp. 397–417.



This is precisely the wording used by António Cordovil in 1591, when he states that he leaves his property united and entailed so that whoever succeeds him in the entail, obligatorily named Cordovil, will remember the line through which they became rich and honoured and will always bring to mind the person and name of the ancestor who left them the inheritance²³.

As a rule, the founders chose to force the use of only one family name. In the sample gathered, there are very few cases in which more than one family name is perpetuated. These could occur, on the one hand, in the entails founded by the couple with the obligatory use of the family names or family names and arms of both founders. One of the few examples, dating from 1555, is the foundation of Pedro Pais and his wife, Maria Bravo, in which it is stipulated that the administrators be called by their family names, Bravos and Pais²⁴. The other – rare – situations in which the use of more than one family name was obligatory occurred when the founder himself had two or, more rarely, three family names (Table 1: Examples of entails with obligatory use of two or more family names, p. 325).

Thus, as far as entailment obligations are concerned, the use of multiple family names occurred mainly as a result of the accumulation of two or more entails by a single successor, and not by foundational determination²⁵. At the beginning of the 16th century, Vasco Eanes Côrte-Real, a member of the king's council, already noted this practice when he referred to the use of several entailed family names, as many noblemen in Portugal were then called²⁶. This emphasises the intrinsic nature of the relationship between the use of family names and the evolution of entails in the Iberian Peninsula, as authors such as Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro and Hiroko Shiba have shown²⁷.

23 Will chart (1591-08-02) – VINC000848 AC EA/001; TT-AA-RA-46, fls. 334-334v.

24 Will (1555-10-10) – VINC004789 PPMB EA/001aa; UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-743, fl. 118v.

25 On the accumulation of entails, see below, pp. 157-160.

26 Approval and addition deed (1518-03-24) – VINC000263 JSVECR EA/003ac; TT-C-J3-D-10, fls. 176v-177.

27 Monteiro, 2008, p. 51; Shiba, 2010.



Following this rule, most founders with more than one family name actually chose to force the use of only one of them (Table 2: Examples of entails whose founders have more than one family name and force the use of only one of the family names, pp. 326–327). In these cases, it would be expected that the favoured family name would be the first, immediately after the first name, since this was understood at the time to be the main family name. In fact, as will be seen below, several founders determined that the family name that administrators had to use should come first, and only then the rest would follow²⁸. However, it was found that the second (and generally last) family name of the founders was more often chosen to be perpetuated through the entails than the first. We should avoid drawing hasty conclusions about this observation without additional data to help explain the founders' choices: the social value of each of the family names at the time of the foundation of the entail, the existence of other obligations regarding the use of family names, specific strategies within the kinship group or external identity affirmation, among others. However, the central idea is that the choice of a family name from among several available is endowed with meaning in the specific context in which the entail was established and in association with the objectives that justified its foundation.

This idea is precisely demonstrated by Soria Mesa when he explains that the choice of a certain family name could serve not only to affirm and self-perpetuate the name of the founder, but also to celebrate the memory of certain ancestors²⁹. In fact, these two intentions – self-perpetuation and celebration – were not mutually exclusive and could coexist in the founders' imagination. The genealogical link to certain ancestors, evident in the family names, was part of the group's identity construction; according to the author, it made it possible to remember old lineages, to keep the memory of lost family connections and to demonstrate the quality of a lineage by highlighting ancient and illustrious kinships. This is why the nobles alternated between different names over the generations, depending on their social objectives and needs³⁰.

28 See below, p. 157.

29 Soria Mesa, 2007, p. 283.

30 Soria Mesa, 2007, p. 285.



In most cases in the sample where the founders chose the family name with the explicit purpose of perpetuating the memory of ancestors, they evoked their nobility, deeds worthy of remembrance, and/or the fact that it was from these ancestors (usually parents or grandparents) that they received the property they were entailing. In 1678, Doutor João Correia Lacerda, canon prebendary of the Cathedral of Coimbra, included a clause in the foundation document requiring the use of the family name Correia de Lacerda in memory of his father, Doutor Jorge Correia de Lacerda, *chanceler mor* of the *Relação e Casa do Porto*³¹. Doutor João Gomes Leitão, a nobleman of the king's household, a member of the king's council, and *chanceler* of the *Casa da Suplicação*, and his wife, Helena de Moura, established an entail in 1629 forcing administrators to use the family name Leitão so that the name of their grandparents, to whom they said they owed a great deal, might become better known, under penalty of losing the administration by not doing so³².

The aim of reviving the memory of ancestors could also be translated into imposing on the administrators the use of a family name that the founders themselves didn't use, as Jean-Pierre Molénat noted³³. This is the case, for example, in the entail established in 1582 by Bento Pereira, son of Francisco Madris and Beatriz Pereira. Despite identifying himself in the foundation document with his mother's family name, the founder chose to force the use of the family name Madris, from his father, Francisco Madris, legitimate son of Bento de Madris and Catarina Madris³⁴. The same happens with the foundation of Domingos Cardoso da Fonseca, which took place in 1679. Like Bento Pereira, he restores his father's family name, determining that the administrators should be called Madeira

“de quem ele instituidor descende (...) para que do dito apelido, família e geração haja e fique perpétua memória e se conserve e perpetue nos administradores que houverem de suceder na

31 Entail foundation deed (1678-11-19) – VINCO01158 JCL EA/001; TT-AA-RA-31, fl. 2v.

32 Entail foundation deed (1629-07-03) – VINCO01970 JGLHM EA/002ba; TT-IMC-NA-194, fl. 6v.

33 Molénat, 1986, p. 692.

34 Entail foundation deed (1582-01-31) – VINCO00824 BPAL EA/001; TT-AA-RA-48, fl. 226.



administração dele enquanto o mundo durar por este apelido ser o do pai dele instituidor³⁵”.

In addition to this genealogical link, the family names chosen by the founders could also seal another type of link, this time with a property which, in general, was designated by the founders as the head of the entail, that is, as the main piece of property among the set of entailed assets. The relationship between family names and a particular place or property predates the spread of entails. Among the nobility of the 13th to 15th centuries, the family names that were adopted were often associated with the place where the group was based and/or exercised lordly powers³⁶. In 16th century Portugal, the association between property, in particular farmsteads, and their family names worked, as Fernanda Olival points out, as an important mechanism of social mutation. The noble groups that had undergone a process of recent social ascension, consolidated with the foundation of an entail, reproduced, through their connection to the land, the previous models of nobility sustained by the lordships³⁷.

Through the entails, several founders chose to add to their family name a nickname, granted by the king and corresponding to the name of the farmstead, which became the identifying element of the founder and their descendants. Sometimes they added the obligation for the administrators to live on the farmsteads and/or to place coat-of-arms on the façades of the buildings. In this way, they transformed these places into the symbolic seats of the family group, into material testimonies of the nobility and honour of the body that would remain beyond the biological extinction of the family.

35 Chapel foundation deed (1679-11-21) – VINC001661 DCF EA/001acaa; TT-IMC-NA-187, fl. 7v. My translation: “from whom he descends (...) so that the said family name, family, and generation may have and remain a perpetual memory and be preserved and perpetuated in the administrators who will succeed to its (the entail) administration for as long as the world lasts, since this family name is that of his, the founder, father”.

36 Sousa, 2013, p. 42; Quintanilla Raso, 2002, p. 251; Pallares Méndez, 1993, p. 828.

37 Olival, 2002, p. 53.



The example of Gaspar Gonçalves, later nicknamed Ribafria, is paradigmatic. In 1536, while still a nobleman of the king's household and a knight of the Order of Christ, he established an entail and named his estate of Cabriz, located in Riba Fria, Sintra, as the head of the entail. By order of the founder, the entail itself was henceforth to be called and named Cabriz forever, and successors were forced to use the family name Gonçalves and the nickname Cabriz³⁸. This is one of the few cases in which the terms “apelido” (family name) and “alcunha” (nickname) have different meanings, the first indicating the family name and the second the association, created by the founder, to the head of the entail. It is also one of the rare examples in which the entail itself is given a name, in this case referring to the farmstead and reinforcing the founder's social affirmation at local level by forging a perpetual link between the name of the entail, the nickname of the administrators, and the land³⁹. This effort at affirmation was also visible in the landscape, through a tower which, according to Maria Teresa Caetano, had no other function than that of an apparatus, as a symbolic element of the noble status of the owner⁴⁰.

Five years after the foundation, Gaspar Gonçalves was elevated by King João III to a *fidalgo de cota de armas e solar conhecido* (nobleman with the right to bear arms, associated with a manor house) receiving the surname of Ribafria and the corresponding coat of arms. Not unrelated to this process of social progression, Gaspar Gonçalves' manor house also received the same surname from the king: “e que a sua torre e quinta e todo o seu anexo que tem em Sintra que se chame Ribafria e que seja solar e morgado dele e de sua geração⁴¹”. The arms, in turn, also alluded to the patrimonial dimension of the surname by featuring a shield with a silver tower (Image 1: Illumination of the Ribafria arms):

38 Entail foundation deed (1536-05-07) – VINC001348 GGR EA/001aaa; TT-C-J3-D-34, fl. 66.

39 Other examples of the founders giving names to entails are the *morgadio* of São Jacinto, in honour of the saint of the founders' devotion: Entail foundation deed (1613-12-05) – VINC002299 PSRBB EA/001ba; TT-LN-8, fl. 158v; or the *morgadio* of the Amarais, referring to the family name: Entail foundation deed (1606-01-27) – VINC003362 BACBPVSAACB EA/001aa; TT-C-F2-D-24, fl. 126.

40 Caetano, 2005, p. 11.

41 Letter of arms and nobility (1541-09-16); TT-C-J3-D-34, fl. 55. My translation: “and that his tower and farmstead and all his annexes in Sintra be called Ribafria and that it be his manor house and *morgado* and that of his generation”.



Image 1

Illumination of the Ribafria arms⁴²

Following the favour of King João III, Gaspar Gonçalves de Ribafria made architectural changes to his old farmstead in Cabriz, now Ribafria, including affixing the coat of arms to the tower⁴³. At the same time, he altered the family name use clause, now forcing successors to use the surname Ribafria because it had thus been given and ordered by the King for the honour of the *morgado* and his successors⁴⁴. It should be noted, on the one hand, that the name Gonçalves, a family name that was initially obligatory, was excluded from the clause, denoting a reformulation of identity in favour of the new surname granted by the king; on the other hand, Gaspar Gonçalves de Ribafria only includes the clause mandating the use of a family name, without mandating the use of arms.

42 Source: Torre do Tombo, Casa Real, Mordomia-mor, Cartório da Nobreza, Nobiliários, Livro do Armeiro Mor, fl. 136 (<https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4162406>).

43 On the references to heraldry on buildings in the foundation documents, see below, pp. 169–170.

44 Addition and declaration deed (1541-09-10) - VINCO01348 GGR EA/001ab; TT-C-J3-D-34, fl. 68.



Other similar cases have been identified, in which it was found that the founders had arms, since they make several references to them throughout the foundation documents, but only mandate the use of a family name without the heraldic component⁴⁵. The reason for this absence is not immediately discernible from reading the foundation documents or the rest of the documents of the respective entail archives available in the database. It seems likely that these founders, in forcing the use of the family name, considered the use of the corresponding arms to be implicit, although the norm was to mention it explicitly.

Another example very similar to that of Gaspar Gonçalves Ribafria is that of Diogo do Castro (later Rio). Having also been elevated to the rank of *idalgo de cota de armas e solar conhecido* in 1561, he received the surname Rio from the king, and a manor house by the river (rio) in Sacavém. About seven years later, he founded an entail with the obligation to use the surname Rio and the respective arms, recalling the primordial link between the name, the land and the entail: “(...) e porque a sua denominação e de seus sucessores e solar de sua nobreza é a quinta que tem no termo desta cidade de Lisboa junto do rio de Sacavém com todas suas pertenças, pelo que é forçado ficar encabeçada neste seu morgado⁴⁶”.

45 See the following examples of foundations that require the use of family names but not arms, even though the founders had arms:

- Will chart (1606-07-06) – VINC002013 JSAMSA EA/001aa; TT-IMC-NA-204, fls. 1-14v.
- Will (1632-03-08) – VINC004317 AGFS EA/001; ADGRD-GCG-RV-2, fls. 108v-111v.
- Chapel foundation deed (1640-09-24) – VINC004290 JDL EA/001a; UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-10, fls. 129-133.
- Will (1545-12-09) – VINC002415 VSVLS EA/001aa; TT-FC-CC-4, fls. 288-289.
- Will chart (1532-03-14 - 1532-03-15) – VINC006223 TT EA/001aa; ADPTG-PCP-018, fls. 56-60.
- Will (1569-07-20) – VINC005864 GL EA/002a; TT-HSJ-012, fls. 59-69v.
- Will (1652-03-19) – VINC002824 FBC EA/002aa; TT-MSDL-48, fls. 189v-200.

46 Entail foundation deed (1568-05-19) – VINC001637 DCRBVMCR EA/005a; TT-GCL-RV-98, fl. 144v. My translation: “(...) and because his denomination and that of his successors and the manor house of his nobility is the farmstead he has in the outskirts of this city of Lisbon by the river of Sacavém with all its belongings, for which it is required to name it head of this *morgado*”.



3.2. Gender variations and first names

In addition to the three aforementioned situations which I consider the most important in quantitative and qualitative terms – choosing a family name to perpetuate the name of the person who established the entail, to revive the memory of ancestors, or to crystallise the connection to the land –, it is also important to mention some less significant options within this general framework.

One of them, present in two examples in the sample, is the provision for variations in the gender of the family name, depending on whether the administration was carried out by a man or a woman. In the entail established in 1499 by Fernando Pereira Barreto and his wife, Catarina de Sequeira, it is stipulated that first-born sons should be called by the surname Barreto, and first-born daughters, in the absence of sons, would use the female variation of the same family name, Barreta. If, at the time of the daughter's birth, there was already a male child or another older daughter, she would adopt the family name of the foundress, Sequeira; however, if the older brothers died and the administration of the entail fell to the daughter with the family name Sequeira, she would have to change it to Barreta, preferring her father's family name to that of her mother⁴⁷. In a similar way, Baltasar Leitão de Azevedo, a nobleman in the king's household, and his wife, Joana de Andrade Leitão, determined in 1610 that their successors were forced to adopt the family name Leitão if they were men, or Leitoa if they were women⁴⁸.

This latter is also one of the six examples identified, all dating back to the 17th century, in which, alongside family names, the founders determined that the administrators should also adopt a first name. The lower incidence of clauses that also included the first name, compared to those that focused only on the family name, is in line with what Soria Mesa had already found for Spain⁴⁹. In most identified cases, such as Baltasar Leitão de Azevedo's,

47 Entail foundation deed (1499-07-15) – VINC001326 FPBCS EA/002; TT-LN-16, fl. 77.

48 Entail foundation deed (1610-11-11) – VINC005808 BLAJAL EA/001; TT-HSJ-009, fls. 6v-10v.

49 Soria Mesa, 2007, pp. 237-238



the name chosen was that of the founder⁵⁰, or the names of both founders, in the foundations planned by the couple. In the case of the latter, provision was made for first names to be given not only for male succession, but also for female succession. The first names of the two founders are mentioned here, as in the entail established by Pedro Botelho da Fonseca and his wife, Catarina Moreira de Araújo, in 1641, where it was stipulated that the male administrators would be called Pedro Botelho da Fonseca and the female administrators Catarina Fonseca⁵¹. In 1605, the couple Heitor Henriques Sacoto and Joana Henriques determined that, in the male succession, the administrators should be called Heitor Sacoto, because it was the name of the founder, and, in the female succession, the administrators would take the name of Joana Henriques (keeping the female founder's family name and/or the male founder's first family name)⁵².

The exceptions were, on the one hand, the evocation of the first name of the founder's father. This was Pedro Tavares de Mesquita's choice when, in 1647, he instituted two entails for his two illegitimate sons, Pedro and Jorge. All male successors after them were to be called Pedro Tavares de Mesquita and Jorge Caldeira, in memory of the founder and his father⁵³. The desire to perpetuate two distinct first names and family names may have justified, at least in part, the choice of founding two entails simultaneously. In this way, each of the two lines was charged with preserving the memory of the ancestor from whom they took their first name and family name.

On the other hand, in the two foundations set up individually by women, one married and the other widowed, the female administrators had to take the names of the founders, Maria in one case, and Margarida in the other. The options for male administrators differed. Maria Teixeira de Almeida, who established an entail in 1655, chose her husband's name, António, combining it with his family name, Caiado de Gamboa,

50 Will (1611-06-10) – VINC000903 GEP EA/002ad; TT-AA-RA-32, fl. 21. Entail foundation deed (1610-11-11) – VINC005808 BLAJAL EA/001; TT-HSJ-009, fls. 6v-10v.

51 Will chart (1641-05-26) – VINC001043 PBFCMA EA/002; TT-AA-RA-3, fl. 339.

52 Will chart (1605-02-04) – VINC000883 HHSJH EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-16, fl. 185v.

53 Will (1647-01-26) – VINC005632 PTMJ EA/001a; ADPTG-PCP-006, fls. 475-476. Will (1647-01-26) – VINC005633 PTMP EA/001a; ADPTG-PCP-006, fls. 475-476.



preceded by the family name of one of her relatives, Barros – António Barros Caiado de Gamboa. The female administrators, in turn, would retain the name and family name Maria Teixeira de Almeida, and then add the founder's husband's last family name, Gamboa – Maria Teixeira de Almeida e Gamboa⁵⁴. In 1620, Margarida Aires de Almeida, widow of the licentiate Estevão Lopes, chose "Fernando" as the administrators' first name, in association with her family names, Aires de Almeida. She didn't mention the origin of the name, but asked that in the event of an administrator succeeding who wasn't called Fernando because he wasn't the firstborn, he should change his name at confirmation, if he hadn't already been confirmed. If it wasn't possible to change his first name, he could keep his own, as long as he didn't relinquish the family names Aires de Almeida⁵⁵.

3.3. Uses and functions of family names and arms

These examples show part of the extent of the founders' power in the construction of the ideal heir, a construction which, as Lemeunier pointed out, could force a total change of identity on the part of the administrators⁵⁶. In fact, this power also applied to the "how", "where", and "when" of using these symbolic elements, as well as determining the functions that they should fulfil, some of which went beyond representing and perpetuating memory. The last part of this chapter will briefly analyse the presence of names and arms in spaces and objects that were part of the symbolic universe of family groups, focusing for now on the prescriptions for the mandatory use of these symbolic elements by administrators.

As stated above, the majority of mandatory clauses only stipulate that the administrators be called or named by a certain family name and bear the corresponding arms. However, there are a number of exceptions, in which the founders are more specific about how the family names and arms are to be used, in particular about where they should appear in the

54 Will chart (1655-09-07 - 1655-09-29) – VINC001086 MTA EA/001; TT-AA-RA-15, fl. 299.

55 Will (1620-09-09) – VINC005179 MAA EA/001a; ADPTG-PCP-004, fl. 465v.

56 Lemeunier, 1993, p. 721.



sequence of the administrators' various family names and the situations in which the family names and arms should be used.

It has already been noted that, at the time under study, the family name considered to be the main and most prominent was the one that appeared immediately after the first name. This explains why many founders imposed that the obligatory family name should be used first and only then should the others follow. As far as arms are concerned, marriage alliances between family groups that had arms led to the predominance, from the beginning of the 16th century, of the use of quartered shields, where each of the quarters represented a family name⁵⁷. The quarter considered the most noble was the one located, in the words of the founders, “at the top of the right hand”, so that was where the entail's arms had to be used. These impositions could be problematic in two situations.

The first problem arose when women succeeded in the administration of the entails, since it was expected that the children of the female administrator would use their father's family name and arms as their principal ones, rather than those of the entail. Judging by the examples in which this situation is foreseen in the foundation documents, it seems that the tendency was to impose the symbolic elements of the entail to the detriment of those that belonged to the father or, in other words, the will of the founder to the detriment of that of the *pater familias*. This is what happened in the case of the entail established in 1699 by Manuel de Moura Manuel, counsellor to the king, chaplain of honor and bishop of Miranda do Douro. In the event of the administration passing to a woman, he determined that the first male child of the administrator should take the family name Moura, even though it was expected that he took his father's family name: “o qual (filho varão) como é de querer que queira usar em primeiro lugar do apelido do seu pai não sendo este o de Moura será obrigado a usar dele em segundo lugar e de outra sorte não sucederá neste morgado⁵⁸”.

⁵⁷ Seixas, 2011, p. 255.

⁵⁸ Will chart (1699-08-04) – VINC001283 MMM EA/002a; TT-AA-RA-28, fl. 135. My translation: “whom (the male child), as it is to be desired, will want to use his father's family name first, if it is not Moura, he will be obliged to use it (the father's family name) second, and otherwise he will not succeed in this *morgado*”.



The second potentially problematic situation that arose when the founders imposed the mandatory use of family names and arms in the most prominent place occurred when the same administrator accumulated more than one entail with the same obligation. This brings us back to a topic already discussed in Spanish historiography, that of the so-called incompatible *morgadios*, i.e. foundations which, explicitly or implicitly, did not allow the same successor to accumulate the administration of multiple entails. One of the implicit ways of avoiding this accumulation was precisely by making it compulsory to use the family name and arms, without “mixing” (using other family names and arms); or, if mixing was allowed, by insisting that the family name of the entail should appear first and the arms in the main quarter, which, in practice, would be incompatible with the accumulation of another entail with the same clause⁵⁹.

As Enrique Soria Mesa says, the aim of these incompatible entails was to preserve forever the individuality of the founders' house, preventing the loss of its distinctive marks by merging them with other entails and ending up stripping them of their function of perpetuating memory⁶⁰. In the sample gathered, there are very few cases in which mixing with other family names and arms is explicitly forbidden. In the entail established in 1603 by Ana de Abreu, it is stipulated that all successors should exclusively use the family name Abreu, and no other⁶¹. Manuel da Silveira Frade and his son, Martinho da Silveira Frade, both noble knights of the king's household, found an entail in 1620 stating that

“Todo o possuidor deste morgado se chamará do apelido Frade e não usará se não das armas da geração dos Frades assim como lhes pertencem e estão na torre do tombo e são as que estão sobre o arco da dita capela e posto que o sucessor venha por via de fêmea e lhe pertençam as armas de seu pai não poderá usar delas nem as poderá

59 On incompatible *morgadios* see Clavero, 1974, pp. 257–259; Bermejo Cabrero, 1985, pp. 295–296; Atienza Hernández, 1991, p. 25; Marzal Rodríguez, 1996, pp. 259–260; Soria Mesa, 2007, pp. 234–237; Catalá Sanz, 2011, pp. 72–73

60 Soria Mesa, 2007, p. 234.

61 Will (extract) (1603-06-09) – VINC007427 AA EA/001; TT-HSJ-078, fls. 317–317v.



ajuntar nem misturar com as dos Frades porque sempre o possuidor usará das armas dos Frades limpas sem nenhuma mistura⁶²”.

The imposition of using the symbolic elements in the most prominent place is much more frequent; in other words, the accumulation with other entails is not, in most situations, denied from the outset, as long as the family name is worn first and the arms are worn in the main quarter. There is therefore a search for a balance between the preservation of symbolic and identity elements and the accumulation of patrimony and wealth. Returning to the work of Soria Mesa, the author emphasises the role played by entails not only in protecting assets, but also in accumulating inheritance, which explains the multiple institutions within the same family group⁶³. In practical terms, this balance was not always easy to maintain, with disputes multiplying or requiring the intervention of external authorities.

Some founders were more flexible about the use of these symbolic elements. In this group, the most common solution was formalised in the express declaration that, in the event of accumulation, the administrators could use the obligatory family name in second place, instead of taking it as the main one, and the arms in any of the quarters. This was the determination of Luís de Figueiredo Falcão, nobleman of the king's household, knight of the Order of Christ and founder of the monastery of Santa Clara de Pinhel, in the entail he established in 1621. The founder wrote that

“Em caso que se ajuntem a este outros morgados ou este a outros em que haja a mesma condição do dito primeiro apelido de primeiro lugar no escudo que em tal caso não é sua vontade que o sucessor seja privado deste morgado antes o pode haver e possuir tendo simplesmente o dito apelido e armas ou como o puder usar mas em caso que

62 Entail foundation deed (1620-12-19) – VINCO02082 MSFMSF EA/001aa; TT-C-F3-D-2, fl. 4. My translation: “All the possessors of this *morgado* will be called Frade and will not use any other arms except those of the generation of the Frades as they belong to them and are in the *torre do tomo* and are those that are on the arch of the said chapel and even if the successor comes by way of a female and the arms of his father belong to him, he will not be able to use them, nor will he be able to add them or mix them with those of the Frades because the possessor will always use the clean arms of the Frades without any mixture”.

63 Soria Mesa, 2007, p. 120.



se torne a separar ficará sempre em seu vigor a dita condição do primeiro e principal apelido e primeiro lugar das armas no escudo⁶⁴”.

Another solution was to authorise the temporary attribution of the administration of the entail to a second-born son or a first-degree cousin. In this way, the line of the first-born son would perpetuate the symbolic elements associated with one of the entails and the line of the second-born son or cousin would simultaneously perpetuate the symbolic elements of another entail. This is precisely what was stipulated in the foundation of Tomás de Noronha, a member of the king's council, and his wife, Helena da Silva, dated 1569. The foundation deed included the obligation to use the family name Noronha as the principal family name and the carrying of Noronhas' arms "direitas e sem mistura de outras". If, in the event of a female succession, the first-born son did not want to or could not take the family name as his main family name and wear the arms, the entail would pass to a second-born son or to the son of another daughter or granddaughter. Only in the event that there was a successor who could not fulfil the obligation would he be authorised to use the family name Noronha in second place and carry the arms mixed with others in quarters. In the next generation, the principle of exclusivity was to be resumed⁶⁵.

In addition to the place that family names and arms should occupy in the onomastic and heraldic hierarchy, several founders also took care to specify the situations in which they should be used by administrators. As for the arms, it is noted, for example, that administrators were required to use them on their shields, banners (*reposteiros*), seals (*firmas*) or signets, all of which were places of power and representation. This is how João de Sousa de Castro, captain of infantry in Melgaço, and his wife, Catarina de Nóvoa Henriques, determine it in the foundation deed of an entail dated 1634:

64 Entail foundation deed (1621-10-29) – VINC002603 LFF EA/001aa; TT-C-F3-D-5, fls. 84v-85. My translation: “In the event that other *morgados* are added to this one, or this one to others in which there is the same condition of the said first family name of first place on the shield, that in such a case it is not his will that the successor be deprived of this *morgado* but can have and possess it simply by having the said family name and arms or however he can use it, but in the event that it is separated again, the said condition of the first and principal family name and first place of arms on the shield will always remain in force”.

65 “Instituição do morgado de capela na Quinta da Torre em Caparica, em 1569-1570”, transcribed in Câmara Municipal De Almada, 2007, pp. 22-24. My translation: “straight and without mixture of others”.



“e as ditas armas as hão de pôr com as mais que lhe pertencerem em seus escudos, reposteiros, e firmas, sob pena que o que o contrário fizer perca esta administração sem mais outra sentença definitiva⁶⁶”.

As for family names, the instructions are generally more detailed than those for arms. For some founders, it wasn't enough for administrators to call themselves by a certain family name; they had to use it in their signs and signatures. In 1566, Pantaleão Ferreira, a nobleman of the king's household and a knight of the Order of Christ, stipulated that the administrators of his entail should use the family name Ferreira in the signs of their letters, in the public and private deeds in which they underwrote themselves, and in all other things where they should put their name⁶⁷. Gil Eanes Pereira, priest, prior and vicar in India, asked in 1611 that the administrators use his family name at least in the signatures of deeds and other papers about purchases and sales belonging to the chapel he was establishing⁶⁸.

This written, legal, and administrative dimension to the names was relevant not only in symbolic terms. Some founders stated that successors could not take over the administration without first changing their family name⁶⁹. And other functions attributed to family names must also be considered the, parallel to those that justify the mandatory use clauses.

One such function is linked to the circumscription of the range of potential successors in the event of the extinction of the line of direct descent. Foreseeing the possibility of the administration leaving the line of direct successors, many founders sought to ensure that it remained within their extended kinship group by determining that, in that circumstance,

66 Entail foundation deed (1634-06-19) – VINC005224 JSCCNH EA/001a; SGMAI-GCVC-RV-9609, fl. 219. My translation: “and the said arms must be placed with the others that belong to them on their shields, banners and seals, under penalty of losing this administration without further definitive judgement”.

67 Entail and chapel foundation deed (1566-09-11) – VINC003877 PF EA/002; ADPRT-PCP-K/21/2-43, fl. 9.

68 Will (1611-06-10) – VINC000903 GEP EA/002ad; TT-AA-RA-32, fl. 213.

69 See, for example:

– Entail foundation deed (1627-08-06) – VINC003068 MPIT EA/001aa; TT-HSJ-081, fl. 124v.

– Entail foundation deed (1527-12-12) – VINC001959 JEAA EA/001aa; T-C-J3-D-11, fl. 40v.



the administrators should be chosen from among the people who named themselves after a certain family name. This was the choice, for example, of Fernando de Andrade Zuzarte, a noble knight of the king's household, in the entail he founded in 1647. In the absence of successors, the founder stipulated that the closest relative with the family names Andrade, Almeida, or Godinho should be chosen as administrator⁷⁰.

Another function is related to marriage control. As we have seen, the majority of entails that require the use of a family name or family name and arms also include a prohibition on administrators (particularly women) marrying without the father's consent as a way of avoiding socially and economically disadvantageous alliances. Isabel Melero Muñoz suggests that this impediment is also related to the desire to perpetuate family names and the aforementioned problem of using the father's family name instead of the family name of the entail⁷¹. No examples were identified in the sample, such as the one studied by Maria Isabel Cobo Hernández, in which the founder restricts the potential spouses of the administrators to a group of relatives, associated with the family name⁷². As a rule, the founders were mainly concerned with the social status and cleanliness of the blood of these potential spouses. In some cases, they forced the first administrator to marry a specific person who had the same family name. In a similar manner, the husbands of female administrators were also required to take the entail's family name, which would effectively eliminate possible conflicts between the entail's family name and their father's family name. This is what Lopo de Brito and his wife, Iria Freire de Brito, determined in 1547, stipulating that when succeed in the *morgado*, her husband had to immediately be called by the family name Brito and bear the arms under the penalty of losing the administration⁷³.

70 Entail foundation deed (1647-01-31) – VINC001049 FAZ EA/001aa; TT-AA-RA-1, fl. 47v.

71 Melero Muñoz, 2021, p. 408.

72 Cobo Hernández, 2017, p. 112.

73 Entail foundation deed (1547-11-07) – VINC004082 LBIFB EA/001; ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/4-4833, fl. 9v.



3.4. Founding intentions vs. administrators' practices

As Melero Muñoz states, claims against administrators for non-compliance with clauses requiring the use of family names and arms were common in modern Spain⁷⁴. As with the other types of clauses, the founding intention did not always correspond to the actual practices of the administrators, even under penalty of losing the entails. In fact, of all the founders' demands, it is to be assumed that the change of names, particularly first names, was the one that caused the most significant clash between individual identity and the identity imposed by the corporate body through the normative of the entail. It is therefore not surprising that the administrators sought creative solutions such as the one recorded by Pascual Marzal Rodríguez for Valencia. Seeking to maintain both their corporate and individual identities, the administrators adopted the particle "*olim*" ("formerly") to intersperse the obligatory family name and their own family name. Marzal Rodríguez gives the example of Pedro Tardaxos y Sotomayor who, after inheriting the entail founded by Marco Ruy de Barcarena, changes his signature to Pedro Ruy de Barcarena *olim* Tardaxos y Sotomayor⁷⁵.

There are no examples in the database of disputes directly related to non-compliance with the clauses forcing the use of family names and arms, so it is difficult to assess the distance between the founding intentions and the practices of the successors. Such an assessment would also require a global analysis of the information produced by the administrators, which would make it possible to identify, among other aspects, the way in which documents relating to the entail were signed, in comparison to documents relating to other matters, both public and private. Analysing the way in which signatures were used in disputes over entails, Isabel Melero Muñoz found, for example, that at the beginning of legal proceedings, litigants signed with family names other than the entail's but, when the litigation commenced, they began to sign with the entail's family name, perhaps on the advice of their lawyers or solicitors⁷⁶.

74 Melero Muñoz, 2021, pp. 409–410.

75 Marzal Rodríguez, 1996, p. 260.

76 Melero Muñoz, 2021, p. 410.



The symbolic elements could be instrumentalised according to need, both by those who had the legitimacy to use them and by those who didn't.

However, there are indeed examples of court sentences in the database where clauses requiring the use of a family name or family name and arms have been taken into account to resolve inheritance problems or to determine the legitimacy of the then administrator. One such example is the entail established by Jerónimo de Teive's parents António de Teive, his wife, Melícia Góis, and Jerónimo de Coimbra, Joana de Sousa's uncle. As a dowry for the marriage between Jerónimo de Teive and Joana, António de Teive, Melícia Góis, and Jerónimo de Coimbra set up a foundation with the obligation to use the family names Teive and Coimbra simultaneously. When the couple's offspring died out – the only one who could lawfully use both family names –, there were no successors left who could fulfil the clauses imposed in the institution in this regard. To solve the problem, the judges opted to split the entail, giving one part to the Teive's closest relative and the other to the Coimbra's closest relative. Even though the institution expressly forbade the division of entailed assets, the court argued that the central aim of the foundation of the entail had been to preserve the generations of the founders through their family names, which could only be achieved by dividing it⁷⁷.

Equally interesting is the petition launched in the first half of the 17th century by Lourenço de Lima Brito e Nogueira, Viscount of Vila Nova de Cerqueira. The viscounty, which he inherited through his mother, Inês Lima, was confirmed to him by the king on the condition that the family name Lima be used first. Through his father, Lourenço de Lima Brito e Nogueira also inherited two entails with compulsory use of the family name and arms: the *morgado* of São Lourenço, with the family name Nogueira, and the *morgado* of Santo Estevão de Beja, with the family name and arms of Brito⁷⁸. As the foundation deed of the latter entail, established in the 14th century by Martim Afonso de Brito, was lost, Lourenço de Lima asked for the institution to be confirmed and for him to be recognised as the legitimate

⁷⁷ Court sentence (transcription) (1656-02-12) – VINC001482 ATMG EA/001a; PEGAS-1687-2, pp. 284-288.

⁷⁸ Lopes, 2023, pp. 314-321.



administrator of the *morgado*. To prove his legitimacy, he pointed precisely to the constant and “inviolable observance” of the use of the Brito family name and arms, even after assuming the Lima family name upon receiving the viscounty. The petition is accompanied by witness testimonies supporting the viscount's cause, which refer to armorials and genealogical books that attest to the petitioner's ancestry, as well as his signet, where the Lima and Brito arms could be clearly seen⁷⁹.

3.5. Symbols in stone, parchment and gold

Bearing in mind that not all administrators would be as inviolably dutiful as the Viscount of Vila Nova de Cerveira, most founders didn't make the perpetuation of their symbolic heritage dependent solely on their successors; they took steps to ensure that it survived in stone, parchment, and gold. The favoured places to ensure the perpetuation of symbolic elements were undoubtedly the funerary chapels, the “material houses of the soul”, many of which were carefully thought out and minutely described in the wills, foundation deeds, and contracts signed with religious institutions⁸⁰. This subject will be dealt with in greater detail in chapter 6; for now I will only highlight the presence of the names and arms of the founders in these sacred spaces⁸¹.

As for the names, they were usually inscribed on the graves in the form of epitaphs or on signage placed on the chapel walls (Table 3: Examples of epitaph/signage taken from foundation documents, pp. 328–334). The function of these epitaphs and signage was, in the first instance, to identify the deceased and the owner of the chapel and prevent third parties from appropriating the funeral space; or, to use an expression that appears in the contract signed in 1629 between Nuno Monteiro Bernardes and the church of São Nicolau in Lisbon, to signal the lordship of the chapel⁸².

79 Confirmation letter (1646-03-20) – VINCO00063 MAB EA/001a; TT-C-J4-D-3-252-256.

80 Rosa, 2012b, p. 42.

81 See Chapter 6 - The life of the soul and the management of the dead, pp. 272-285.

82 Contract and bond deed (1629-02-05- 1629-04-11) – VINCO07048 NMB EA/002a; TT-HSJ-031, fls. 210v-211.



Most founders wanted their epitaphs to include only their name and the full date of their death. Others, however, chose to add more information, usually by transcribing in the foundation documents the text that should appear on the epitaphs or signs, *ipsis verbis*. These inscriptions could include the social status of the deceased (such as noblemen or knights); the positions or offices they had held; their connections by family, service, or courtly service to illustrious individuals; deeds worth remembering, such as escapes from captivity or victories in battles; or requests for intercession for the soul, asking those reading the epitaph to say an Our Father or a Hail Mary. Some founders also chose to inscribe in stone that they had established a *morgadio* or a chapel, indicating the number of perpetual masses that should be said and, sometimes, the assets that were entailed for this purpose. I also identified several examples in which the founders were concerned not only with their own epitaphs, but also with inscribing in stone the names and deeds of their deceased, both ancestors and spouses. In this category, one of the most *sui generis* epitaphs in the sample stands out, ordered by Antónia Henriques, widow of Gaspar de Sampaio, a member of the king's council, in 1573:

“aqui jaz Gaspar de Sampaio do Conselho del Rei Nosso Senhor e Dona Antónia Henriques sua mulher, a qual deixa dotada esta capela com setenta mil réis de juro e censo para nove merceeiras e outros cento para casamento de órfãs pobres e sessenta para cativos tudo perpetuamente pelas almas destes defuntos a qual Dona Antónia Henriques tudo deixou da sua fazenda porquanto os herdeiros de Gaspar de Sampaio levaram sua legítima⁸³”.

Funeral chapels were also often adorned with the founders' arms, accompanying the names inscribed on the epitaphs, in a movement of progressive heraldisation of sacred space, as Laurent Hablot writes⁸⁴. Arms fulfilled the same function of identifying the deceased and the lordships of

83 Will (1573–09–26) – VINC001376 LVSGE EA/006a; TT-CSTRL-105, fl. 139. My translation: “Here lies Gaspar de Sampaio of the Council of Our Lord the King and Dona Antónia Henriques his wife, who leaves this chapel endowed with seventy thousand réis in interest and annuity for nine *merceeiras* and another hundred for the marriage of poor orphaned girls and sixty for captives, all in perpetuity for the souls of these deceased, the said Dona Antónia Henriques left all of this from her estate, since the heirs of Gaspar de Sampaio took her *legítima* (portion of the inheritance left to the spouses)”.

84 Hablot *apud* Seixas, 2012, p. 455.



the chapels, not through writing, but as vehicles for transmitting a visual message. They also bore witness to the social status of the founders and their family group, perpetuating the identity symbols of the body in life and death simultaneously. In the wills and foundation deeds, mentions of arms on graves and chapels usually appear *en passant*: the founders mention them in the descriptions of the graves or chapels where they wished to be buried, or in the indications they leave for the administrators when they ask them to provide for the construction of the funerary spaces. It should be noted that the absence of explicit references to arms and epitaphs in the foundation documents did not mean that they were absent from the houses of the soul. In fact, the founders could provide for this matter in other ways, including oral instructions, considering it unnecessary to mention it in the foundation documents. More frequent are the mentions of arms and epitaphs in the contracts signed between the founders and the religious institutions to formalise the acquisition of chapels and/or graves. In these contracts, it was usual to establish that the founders were authorised to place signs and arms in the spaces assigned to them. Sometimes certain conditions were imposed: they must not disturb religious services, they must not exceed certain dimensions, they must not surpass previously agreed upon limits.

Most indications left regarding the funeral chapels show, as with the funeral processions and other death preparations, a desire to reflect the quality, social status, and nobility of the founders⁸⁵. It wasn't just a question of ensuring the preservation of memory, but also of guaranteeing that it was carried out in a manner appropriate to the dignity of the founder. However, there was sometimes an internal conflict between the desire to be remembered until the end of the world and the fear of falling into the sin of vanity. The requests for shallow and humble graves, without arms or epitaphs identifying the deceased, are curious. In 1675, Francisco Serão de Almeida, a nobleman in the king's household and a Commander of the Order of Christ, ordered that his body should be placed in “uma campa de pedra lisa em que diga, aqui jaz um grande pecador, sem armas (por mais humildade seja), o qual pede se lhe reze um Pai Nosso e uma

85 See Chapter 7 – Being a *morgado* in the community, pp. 293–297.



Avé Maria pela sua alma⁸⁶”. About a century earlier, Miguel Frade asked that his successors put signage on his grave indicating his name, the date of his death, the perpetual masses, and the income he left to pay for these masses. The founder leaves the proviso that even if it seemed like vanity, he only did it for the memory of the masses. The text that was to appear on the signage was as follows:

“Aqui jaz Miguel Frade que deixou um moio de trigo e um saco de marmelos a sua filha Maria Carvalha para seus herdeiros (...) de foro para sempre com o encarrego de três missas rezadas cada um ano ditas na dita Igreja se disserem por minha parte virão com responso a dita cova, e de minha mulher e de seu pai e mãe⁸⁷”.

Although the norm was to perpetuate the arms of the founders themselves in religious spaces, some chose to add the heraldic symbols of other persons or institutions that were relevant to their sense of identity. This is evident in the foundation of the entail of João Afonso, squire and servant to the first Marquis of Valença and *feitor* (steward) to the Duke of Bragança, dated 1477. The squire left some alms for the altarpiece of the main altar of the monastery of São Francisco in Lisbon, where he wanted to be buried, on the condition that the Holy Mary of Mercy was painted and the arms of the Marquis of Valença, who had already died, were placed on the skylight⁸⁸. The example of the chapel founded in the church of the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross de Braga by the licentiate João Dias Leite in 1640 is also illustrative. Besides ordering that the arms of the Leites be placed in his chapel, which were three fleurs-de-lis that the Leites or Alvós of France had as their emblem, he asked that the arms of the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross be added (a cross on a purple field). The visual importance given to the brotherhood in the chapel space correlates with other clauses

86 Will (1675-01-14) – VINC007661 FSA EA/001; T-HSJ-024, fl. 361. My translation: “a smooth stone grave that says, here lies a great sinner, without arms (so that it is more humble), who asks that an Our Father and a Hail Mary be said for his soul”.

87 Will (extract) (1560-04-10) – VINC007135 MF EA/001; TT-HSJ-098, fl. 374. My translation: “Here lies Miguel Frade, who left a *moio* (bushel) of wheat and a sack of quinces to his daughter Maria Carvalha for her heirs (...) in perpetuity with the charge of three masses said every year in the said church, if they say it on my behalf, they will come with a responsory to the said grave, and that of my wife and her father and mother”.

88 Will (1477-08-30) – VINC000264 JABP EA/001; TT-CSFL-m027-d002, fl. 4v.



in the foundation document, namely the obligation for the administrators to be brothers of the Brotherhood and devotees of the Holy Cross, just like the founder had been⁸⁹.

Besides funerary chapels, the presence of arms was significant in other buildings that were important to the identity of the family body, such as the manor house or the family home. As Miguel Metelo de Seixas writes, more than for identification, the coat of arms served to transform the manor house or family home into the symbolic seat of the lineage⁹⁰. A supra-individual and trans-generational seat where family identity was represented and displayed, both internally and externally⁹¹. We have already analysed the example of Gaspar Gonçalves de Ribafria, who had a coat of arms placed in the tower of his Ribafria estate. Garcia de Resende, a nobleman of the king's household and an illustrious poet, chronicler, architect, and musician, requested the same in 1533, when he indicated that his arms should be placed in marble stone on the tower of his estate in Évora⁹². A few years later, André de Sousa Tavares left detailed instructions on how the houses on the Abrunheira estate, the head of the entail, should be built, including the heraldic elements: on the door of the first house should be placed his arms, those of the Sousas and Tavares; those of the Sousas were five shields (*quinas*) and crescents, and those of the Tavares five stars⁹³. A fourth and final example is that of Luís Gomes Elvas Coronel, a descendant of New Christians, who was elevated to *fidalgão de cota de armas e solar conhecido* at the beginning of the 17th century. He received the Mata das Flores estate from the king and the corresponding family name – Mata – with the respective arms. Identifying himself as Luís Gomes da Mata, he established an entail by will in 1607, where he left the following instruction:

89 Chapel foundation deed (1640-09-24) – VINC004290 JDL EA/001a; UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-10, fls. 130v-131v.

90 Seixas, 2012, p. 457.

91 Urquizar Herrera, 2004, pp. 197, 200.

92 Will (extract) (1533-09-08) – VINC000729 GR EA/001b; TT-AA-RA-39, fls. 244-244v.

93 Will (1568-08-09) – VINC004367 AST EA/001a; ADPTG-PCP-001, fls. 255v-259v.



“o dito meu filho dará logo no frontispício umas pedras com as armas dos Matas que são de minha geração, conforme as provisões que tenho de Sua Majestade, para que assim possa constar melhor a todo o tempo que as ditas duas moradas de casas são do nosso morgado e apelido dos Matas⁹⁴”.

As well as manor houses, the family's heraldic marks could adorn the façades and interiors of religious, pious, or assistance institutions established or sponsored by the founders. Their benevolence, piety, devotion, power, and socio-economic status were thus set in stone in the family group's circuit of local influence, demonstrating the community dimension of the entail. This was the wish of Gaspar de Torres, a nobleman in the king's household, and Leonor de Alarcão, his wife. In 1561, they established an entail fulfilling the will of the nobleman's father, Afonso de Torres, who had left the couple certain assets as a dowry on the condition that they be entailed. As determined by the founders, if the Torres lineage died out, the entail would pass to the administration of the Lisbon City Council. The latter was obliged to build a hospital with the income from the entail, at the entrance of which the arms of Afonso Torres were to be placed⁹⁵.

Mention should also be made of the heraldic traces left on parchment and preserved in archives. As will be seen in chapter 5, dedicated to the power of the archive, several founders requested that multiple *treslados* (copies) of the foundation documents be produced, as well as *tombos* (inventories) of their entails, containing the list of properties and other information deemed relevant⁹⁶. Some of these founders left specific instructions for their arms to be affixed to these inventories and copies. The aim was for the text to be accompanied by a visual message, fully revealing that the meanings of the documents went beyond their textual component.

94 Will (1607-05-01 - 1607-11-20) - VINC007647 LGM EA/001; Ferreira, 1964, pp. 16-17. My translation: “my said son will place right in the frontispiece some stones with the arms of the Matas, who are of my generation, in accordance with the provisions I have from His Majesty, so that it may be better known at all times that the said two houses belong to our *morgado* and family name of the Matas”.

95 Entail foundation deed (1561-12-30) - VINC001306 ATGTLA EA/003a; AMLSB-CMLS-BAH-CSA-002-01-01, fls. 8-8v.

96 See Chapter 5 - The power of the archive, pp. 225-248.



The presence of heraldry in these central written records for the family body fulfilled several functions: identifying the founders, testifying to and symbolising their nobility and social status and, from a more practical perspective, recording the arms in order to inform and remind the administrators which ones should be used.

As far as inventories are concerned, one example is the *tombo* of the entail of Filipa da Silva, daughter of Vasco Eanes Côrte-Real and Joana da Silva. In the *morgadio* that she established in 1546, she forced the use of her father's family name and arms, which, according to the founder, were also to adorn the brass-plated tablets of the inventory (Image 2: Arms on the tablet of the *tombo* of the entail of Filipa da Silva):



Image 2

Arms on the tablet of the *tombo* of the entail of Filipa da Silva⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Will chart [c. 1546-11-22] – VINC001725 FS EA/004aa; TT-IMC-NA-195, fls. 10v-11. See two other similar examples in which the founders asked for their arms to be placed on the inventories' tablets:

– Entail foundation deed (1568-11-24) – VINC002772 RB EA/002; ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-97, fl. 359.
– Entail foundation deed (1541-06-10) – VINC004075 LAMJMIM EA/001; ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/3-4806, fl. 181.



I also identified some examples of inventories that contain illuminated arms, even though their placement in the inventory is not requested in the foundation documents. In these cases, the founders may have left instructions on this subject in other ways or they may have considered the placement of arms in the inventory to be an expected and implicit informational practice (Image 3: Illuminated arms in the *tombo* of the entail of Gil Eanes da Costa and Joana da Silva; Image 4: Illuminated arms in the *tombo* of the entail of Diogo Marmeleiro and Catarina de Lemos; Image 5: Illuminated arms in the *tombo* of the entail of Jorge Lopes Gavicho, Maria Nunes and António Lopes Gavicho):



Image 3

Illuminated arms in the *tombo* of the entail of Gil Eanes da Costa and Joana da Silva⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Torre do Tombo exemplified original (1570-08-20) – VINCO01816 GECJS EA/002; TT-IMC-NA-190.



Image 4

Illuminated arms in the *tombo* of the entail of Diogo Marmeleiro and Catarina de Lemos⁴²²



Image 5

Illuminated arms in the *tombo* of the entail of Jorge Lopes Gavicho, Maria Nunes and António Lopes Gavicho⁴²³

Other founders considered it important that their arms be displayed not only in the inventories of the entails, but also in the copies of the foundation documents, following a trend already described by Maria Teresa Chicote Pompanin and Ángel Fuentes Ortiz for the Castilian context¹⁰¹. In the two examples identified in the sample, in which the founders requested the placement of arms on the copies of the foundation documents, these had to be accompanied, according to the founders, by a certificate from the King of Arms Portugal, the main authority on heraldry.

One such example is the aforementioned entail of Luís Figueiredo Falcão. Following the clause requiring the use of the family names Figueiredo and Falcão and their respective arms, the founder stipulates that in order to know at all times what the arms are they should be made illuminated at the beginning of the *treslado* of foundation document, and with a certificate of

99 Torre do Tombo exemplified original (1625-07-24) – VINC001648 DMCL EA/001; TT-IMC-NA-192.

100 Torre do Tombo exemplified original (1637-12-20) – VINC002018 JLG MN EA/003; TT-IMC-NA-209.

101 Chicote Pompanin, Fuentes Ortiz, 2021; Fuentes Ortiz, Chicote Pompanin, 2017.



the King of Arms¹⁰². The second example concerns the *morgadio* instituted by Pedro Mascarenhas, member of the king's council and viceroy of India, and his wife, Helena Mascarenhas, in 1554. In foundation document, which requires the use of Pedro Mascarenhas' family name and arms, it is also stipulated that the copies of the foundation document should be headed by the illuminated arms with the certificate of the King of Arms¹⁰³. This document is known today through a copy included in the inventory of the entail, which also contains a copy of a royal charter authorising the viceroy to be the first of his lineage to use the Mascarenhas arms with a modification: “uma bordadura azul com oito memórias de ouro repassadas uma com a outra de duas em duas postas em cruz e por timbre o leão vermelho rompante da dita geração dos Mascarenhas com um ramo de palma nas mãos com tâmaras¹⁰⁴” (Image 6: Illuminated arms in the *tombo* of the entail of Pedro Mascarenhas and Helena Mascarenhas):



Image 6

Illuminated arms in the *tombo* of the entail of Pedro Mascarenhas and Helena Mascarenhas¹⁰⁵

102 Entail foundation deed (1621-10-29) – VINC002603 LFF EA/001aa; TT-C-F3-D-5, fls. 84v-85.

103 Entail foundation deed (1554-02-03) – VINC002319 PMHM EA/001daa; TT-IMC-NA-210, fl. 3v.

104 Grace warrant (1554-03-28) – VINC002319 PMHM EA/001ca; TT-IMC-NA-210, fl. 1. My translation: “a blue border with eight gold bezants arranged two by two in a cross, and as a crest, a rampant red lion from the Mascarenhas lineage holding a palm branch with dates”.

105 Torre do Tombo exemplified original [1586] – VINC002319 PMHM EA/001; TT-IMC-NA-210.



Finally, as we will see when the power of the archive is analysed in chapter 5, it can be understood in a broad sense, encompassing not only written documents, but also traditions, oral histories, ceremonies and a wide range of objects passed down from generation to generation. With regard to the latter, which were usually made from noble materials such as gold or silver, which reinforced their prestigious character, the affixing of heraldic emblems, according to Miguel Metelo de Seixas, altered their nature, as happened with family homes. The arms gave them another meaning beyond their utility and morphology as, according to the author, the heraldic emblem became part of the estate, which implied that it acquired, in turn, through the presence of the arms, the character of an identifying symbol of the lineage¹⁰⁶ (Table 4: Examples of references to objects with arms in foundation documents, pp. 335–336).

Such objects could be the liturgical items carefully chosen by the founders to furnish their chapels, such as thurible, chalices, lamps or vestments¹⁰⁷. The heraldic markings on these objects fulfilled, as it was seen, a practical function linked to the identification of the pieces, signalling their belonging to a particular chapel. At the same time, they reminded the faithful who attended the celebrations in which the items were used of the social status, identity, and power of the donor and their family group¹⁰⁸. The chapels also housed other objects marked with arms, such as altar-pieces or banners, suits of armor and shields, appealing to the devotions and ideals of the founders.

The domestic space could likewise contain various heraldic objects. Examples include tapestries and curtains, which reinforced the group's identity through arms, both internally and externally. They were joined by objects for personal use, such as signets, which, like other items with arms, could be linked, in administrative or symbolic terms, to the exercise or claim of lineage leadership¹⁰⁹.

106 Seixas, 2012, p. 457.

107 See Chapter 6 – The life of the soul and the management of the dead.

108 Anderson, 2007, p. 190; Meer, 2018, p. 164.

109 Seixas, 2012, p. 459.



Given their importance as family possessions, these objects could also be entailed with the rest of the assets that formed part of the entail. Urquizar Herrera's words on the works of art that circulated in family groups are adapted here, assuming the social perception of these assets in association with lineage and their status as semantic and aesthetic objects that functioned as temporal bridges between generations¹¹⁰. This was the case, for example, with the entail founded by Madalena de Almada in 1596, which included nine large tapestries with the arms of her father, Rui Fernandes de Almada¹¹¹; and the annexation made in 1658 by Maria da Costa de Noronha to the *morgadio* established by her parents, Gil Eanes da Costa and Margarida de Noronha, which included the entailment of a ring with an emerald with the open arms of the Costas¹¹².

It should be noted that these various heraldic supports, present in different places of identity – graves and funerary chapels, manor houses, family homes, religious and assistance institutions, written documents and objects of various kinds – formed a reference point that was often evoked in the foundation documents when the founders wanted to specify which arms were to be used by the successors. Instead of describing the arms in writing, some founders preferred to refer to such visual supports as signets, curtains, ancestors' graves, or illuminated documents, cross-referencing the written instructions with the visual component and the materiality of the spaces and objects.

Heirs to all this symbolic, immaterial, and material heritage, the administrators of the entails had to be, in the eyes of the founders, worthy of this inheritance and of the functions of immortalising the memory and representing the person of the founder. This explains the presence of a number of other clauses for the construction of the heir, who was to be physically, mentally and morally perfect, as will be seen in the next chapter.

¹¹⁰ Urquizar Herrera, 2016, p. 204.

¹¹¹ Entail foundation deed (1596-06-22 - 1596-06-28) – VINC004974 MA EA/001; TT-GCL-RV-94, fls. 220-220v.

¹¹² Will (1658-01-20) – VINC004984 GECMN EA/001a; TT-GCL-RV-98, fls. 62-62v.



The (im)perfect heir

CHAPTER 4







The (im)perfect heir

Along with the mandatory use of a family name and the respective arms, the process of building the ideal heir by founders could also extend to the physical characteristics (body and mind) and forms of behaviour and moral conduct of the administrators. The presence of these types of requirements about the heir in foundation documents is multidimensional, based on the central idea, characteristic of patrilineal lineages, that power and nobility were passed down from father to son through blood¹. The noble *ethos* in force during the *Ancien Régime*, which made nobility not only a social status but also a quality², corresponded to certain physical and moral characteristics that founders sought to preserve. However, it's important to emphasise that this dimension was never merely representational or symbolic, i.e. it wasn't relevant just because it corresponded to that nobiliary ideal. On the contrary, the heir's physical and mental capacity and behaviour had important legal, economic, political, social, and religious repercussions. A physically or mentally incapable heir or one with morally reprehensible behaviour could jeopardise the very purpose of the entail, as will be seen in the following pages. This is why many founders chose to associate the entailed assets with strict family discipline, which should be understood as an integral part of the corporate model of organisation of pre-modern noble family groups. Thus, the power of the founder, as the architect of the family's government³, also encompassed the regulation of the body and actions of the heirs, who carried on the blood of the founder and represented them in the present.

1 Rosa, 1995, p. 106.

2 Monteiro, 2005.

3 Hernández Franco, 2007, p. 229.



The clauses on the physical, moral, and behavioural conditions of the successors are therefore particularly interesting for understanding the extent of the founders' power in the process of building the heir's identity. This process could be fulfilled in two ways: through recommendations under the blessing of the founder or through exclusions from the administration of the entail. The former generally built up the image of what was seen as the ideal heir; in other words, the one who possessed the characteristics that the founder idealised for his future representative. The exclusions, on the other hand, describe, in practice, what constituted the imperfect heir, the one who, under no circumstances, should possess the entail and ensure its administration. Many of them are clearly the product of the influence of jurists and notaries, part of the forms used to compose foundation documents and responding to legal bases in force. Others come from the initiative and personal experience of each founder, which explains their great variability.

In both cases, the construction of identity under the authority of the founder is always made under threat. The threat of losing the blessing of the ancestors. The threat of exclusion from the body. Failure to comply on the part of the heirs carried punishments whose legal force, formalised in the foundation documents, would last well beyond the biological death of the founder, until the end of the world. This meant that, in many cases, successors were faced with the choice of whether or not to represent an image that had been created decades or even centuries before their birth. This choice – between incorporating or rejecting the identity built by the founder through the entail – was therefore made in the face of the possibility of heavy consequences: economic consequences, with the loss of income from the entail; social consequences, with the loss of the role of *morgado* and representative of the family body; moral consequences, with the loss of the intergenerational link that connected the founder to successive heirs in a continuum of transmission of certain values and codes of conduct that were part of their identity.

Despite the important role that these types of clauses play in the context of the entails in which they appear, their incidence in the general context of entailment in Portugal is relatively infrequent. A search of the database



reveals that only 185 foundation documents – indexed with the term “body” – contain stipulations regarding the physical or mental health of heirs. Impositions regarding certain types of behaviour by administrators, such as marriage, are more frequent, with 680 institution documents indexed with the term “morals”. The index term “lese-majeste” registers 552 occurrences, indicating the presence of clauses excluding heirs who commit the crime of divine or human *lèse-majesté*.

As with the family name and coat of arms clauses, the requirements regarding physical and mental health appear more frequently in the 16th century. In fact, more than two thirds of foundation documents that contain these clauses also include the obligation to use a family name, which proves the association between the density of the clauses on heir construction and the entails established with the aim of preserving the memory of the founder's name. The obligation to use a family name is also present in around half of the documents indexed with the term “morals” and with the term “lese-majeste”. However, these two sets of clauses occur more frequently in the 17th century, reacting, at least in part, to the profound socio-political and religious changes that took place in Portugal and the Christian West between the mid-1500s and the first quarters of the 1600s. The year 1536 marked the foundation of the Tribunal of the Holy Office in Portuguese territory, which began to function fully around a decade later. The presence of this institution reinforced the social exclusion of non-Christian ethno-religious groups, a situation which had been felt since the end of the 16th century with the expulsion of Jews and Muslims from the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula, and the forced conversions of those who remained. It also fuelled the social importance of clean blood and pure religious ancestry, while officialising a persecutory and punitive machine for those found guilty of crimes against God. The religious panorama was also marked by the provisions of the Council of Trent, which ended in 1563 and which, among other things, codified new rules on marriage that were not well received by the noble elites. Finally, the troubled political period that affected the Portuguese Crown from 1580 onwards must also be taken into account, when control of the Portuguese kingdom passed to the kings of Castile. Six decades later, independence was restored with the assertion of a new royal dynasty, which



quickly rewarded those who proved loyal to the new king and punished, in equal measure, those who remained supporters of the Castilian rival.

The court rulings on the behaviour of the administrators also reflect this social, political and religious context. Using the index terms “S – marriage”, “S – morals”, and “S – royal treason”, it is possible to identify in the database various examples of court rulings that resolved entail succession problems resulting from the behaviour of administrators, especially in cases of treason and marriage without paternal consent or against foundational precepts. Complementing the foundation documents, these rulings also make it possible to contemplate the intra-family disputes that these issues generated and the way in which the relatives themselves monitored the administrator's behaviour in search of arguments that could support the judicial claim to the administration of the entail.

Therefore, the following pages will focus firstly on the physical and mental health requirements of the heir, following the various illnesses and conditions considered incapacitating or imperfect, as well as the concerns that led founders to exclude sick successors and the fates reserved for them after exclusion. The second part of the chapter will be dedicated to the moral and behavioural dimension of the heirs. As it will be shown, it is possible to identify a set of behaviours that are regulated across the board in the entails that include this type of clause, revealing central concerns around crimes against God and king, marriages without the father's consent, and the cleansing of blood. It will also be shown that this transversal set is complemented by other types of behavioural instructions, whose variability denotes the extent of the founders' power in the construction of the (im)perfect heir.

A number of other dimensions of the heir's physical and behavioural construction have not been included in the analysis, either because they obey different exclusionary logics or because they have been or will be explored in a separate chapter. However, they are considered to be part of a broad and interconnected framework that contextualises and gives meaning to the presence of the clauses that will be explored in the following pages.



On a physical level, consideration should be given to the foundational provisions that exclude successors on the basis of gender, particularly those that exclude women from administration (see the index term “female exclusion”). The exclusion of illegitimate children also led to the removal of successors who, like women or many of those suffering from physical or mental illness, were deemed from birth unfit or unworthy to administer the entail; in this case, due to the conditions of birth (see index term “illegitimate exclusion”). Finally, this group encompasses the exclusion of the clergy, which was usually justified with the same argument that led to the removal of some sick successors: the impossibility of ensuring the biological continuity of the family (or at least of generating legitimate offspring).

Regarding the behavioural dimension, I decided not to include in the analysis other types of prescriptions concerning the conduct of successors that are not immediately linked to the moral sphere. These include economic behaviour. The administrators were prevented from selling, exchanging, or otherwise disposing of the entailed assets (although, in practice, they did⁴). They were also expected to manage the income properly, fulfilling all the financial obligations stipulated by the founder. Some were also forced to annex part of their assets to the entail, thus promoting the progressive growth of the *morgadios* or chapels (see the index term “annexation”). Finally, two other dimensions explored in separate chapters are the representational and symbolic behaviour associated with the use of family names and arms⁵, and informational behaviour, linked to the production, use, and conservation of written records⁶.

4.1. Physical and mental requirements

The historiographical departing point to analyse the physical and mental health requirements of the administrators was the article published in 1988 by Maria de Lurdes Rosa, titled “Imagem física, saúde mental e representação familiar: a exclusão dos deficientes à sucessão do morgadio

⁴ Quintanilla Raso, 2004.

⁵ See Chapter 3 – For the immortality of memory: family names and arms.

⁶ See Chapter 5 – The power of the archive.



(instituições, legislação, literatura jurídica)”, whose readings and conclusions have proven to still be relevant. Among the various general ideas presented in the article, some are particularly important for interpreting the founders' determinations regarding the health of their heirs, usually based on excluding those who suffered from certain physical or mental limitations. The first idea is related to the intrinsic link between medical, religious, and legal discourses in the societies under study⁷. Illness and its consequences were never exclusively biomedical and were not limited to the sick body. On the contrary, they had repercussions in the sphere of religiosity, between the sin that led to the punishment in the form of illness, and the acts of contrition in search of healing and salvation of the body. Civil and canon law, for their part, also drew on these interpretations, while offering legal grounds for the exclusions determined by founders⁸. In fact, Maria de Lurdes Rosa notes that the scope of exclusion by founders was greater than in general law, i.e. the list of illnesses that founders considered to justify removal from the administration of the entail was broader than what the law considered to be incapacitating illnesses⁹. This discrepancy is partly explained by the fact that, as the same author mentions, the illnesses most often mentioned in foundation documents coincide with those traditionally present in requests for miraculous cures: “estas referências podem ter origem não apenas na ocorrência real dos casos mas também por influência da leitura dos Evangelhos, onde ocorrem maioritariamente cura à volta delas¹⁰”.

Analysing the sample, it can be concluded that, with regard to physical and mental illness, the concerns of the founders are usually related to four different levels of incapacity: incapacity to govern and administer property and to fulfil the duties associated with the practical administration of the entail, thus jeopardising the patrimony; incapacity to marry and procreate, thus preventing the biological continuity of the family; incapacity to serve the king, the Republic and God, both in times of war and in times

7 Rosa, 1988, p. 1060.

8 Rosa, 1988, pp. 1080-1087.

9 Rosa, 1988, p. 1072.

10 Rosa, 1988, p. 1068. My translation: “These references may originate not only from the actual occurrence of cases but also from the influence of the reading of the Gospels, where most miracles involve healing”.



of peace; and, finally, incapacity to represent the family group in a dignified manner, in social and symbolic terms, according to the ideas of beauty and perfection in force at the time¹¹. The words of the founders Pedro de Sousa de Refoios, *juiz dos órfãos* (judge of orphans, a judicial officer responsible for overseeing the estates and welfare of orphaned children) in Idanha-a-Nova, and his wife, Beatriz Branca, uniquely summarise all these concerns when they exclude from the administration any heir “que tenha tal defeito que seja impedimento para representar as pessoas de seus antepassados¹²”.

Of the various physical illnesses considered to be disabling, muteness is the most frequently mentioned¹³, followed by blindness (sometimes specifying from both eyes). Deafness is also mentioned, at times in association with muteness (“surdos e mudos”, deaf and mute). Also specified are cripples (in some cases, of feet and hands), deformed, “tolheitos dos membros” (with limb paralysis), “mancos” or “coxos” (lame), “gafos”, “lázaros” or “leprosos” (lepers), “tísicos” (tuberculous), and “monstros” or “monstruosos” (monsters or monstrous). As for mental illnesses, the “mentecaptos” (mentally challenged) are most often excluded, followed by “furiosos” (subject to furies). Mention is also made of the “desassissados” (another form of mentally challenged), “doidos”, “sandeus”, “ton-tos” or “parvos” (fools, idiots, cretins), “loucos” (crazy), “fátuos” (fatuous), “tolheitos do entender” (simpletons), “irados”, “com insânia”, “com falta de juízo” or “sem siso e entendimento” (irate, insane, lacking judgement), or otherwise those who were “tomados de vinho” (intoxicated with wine) or otherwise impaired with some other vice that rendered them incapable of administration. On the border between physical and mental illness, there is also the suggestive expression of “dissipadores de honra” (dissipators of honour).

Some founders add to the exclusion clauses a broad category of “defective” successors whom they characterise as “unfit” or “incapable”, with-

11 Rosa, 1988, pp. 1060, 1073-1074.

12 Declaration deed (1614-04-04) – VINC002299 PSRBB EA/001bb; TT-LN-8, fl. 162. My translation: “who has such a defect as to be an impediment to representing the persons of their ancestors”.

13 On the doctrine related to muteness see Llavona Serrano; Martín Rincón, 2012; López Nevot, 2006.



out specifying an illness. It is possible that these formulations serve, on the one hand, to encompass any incapacitating illness not specifically mentioned in the foundation document; on the other hand, the terms also appear to indicate, in some cases, people who, in legal terms, would be judged incapable and required the supervision of a legal guardian.

In a set of examples, the founders contemplate two fundamental distinctions when it comes to which illnesses they consider will render the successors incapable of administering the entails, both physically and mentally. The first distinction separates illnesses said to be “by nature” or “from birth” from those acquired during the heirs’ lifetime. Successors who were ill by nature are usually excluded *tout court*, as if they had never been born. Regarding those who fell ill after birth, mitigating factors are generally accepted. One such relates to the cause of the illness. If the successor had become incapable in war or at the hands of the enemy in the service of the king or the Republic, they may not lose the administration, because, as António de Sousa de Macedo, a nobleman of the king’s household, lord of the honour of Frazão and a high royal official, and his wife, Mariana de Lemercier, wrote in 1676, this incapability was “meritorious¹⁴”. Another factor taken into consideration was whether the illness had manifested itself before or after the successor took over the administration of the entail. Some founders stipulated that the heir should maintain the administration, appointing the next successor as guardian or asking the king to assign curatorship; others forced exclusion. A third factor concerns the marital status of the sick successor. If, at the time of the illness, they were already married and had children or “had hope” in having them, they could potentially take over the administration of the entail. Finally, for some of the founders it was also important to anticipate the possibility that the incapable successor was the only legitimate descendant, and in this circumstance, they could be allowed to administer the entail if they were able to marry and have children: quoting António de Sousa de Macedo and Mariana de Lemercier again, they admitted the sick person “como precisamente necessário para conservar a legitimidade¹⁵”.

14 Entail foundation deed (1676-05-20) – VINC003046 ASMML EA/003a; TT-HSJ-086, fls. 9v-10.

15 Entail foundation deed (1676-05-20) – VINC003046 ASMML EA/003a; TT-HSJ-086, fls. 9v-10.
My translation: “as precisely necessary to preserve legitimacy”.



Beyond the boundary between natural and acquired illnesses, the second fundamental distinction lies in the permanent or temporary nature of the ailment or, in other words, whether or not the successor could recover their health through divine or medical intervention. In the sample gathered, this hypothesis is only contemplated in two foundation documents, both of which are *sui generis* in terms of exclusions due to illness. The first is the entail foundation deed of Madalena de Almada, widow of Luís de Saldanha, dated 1596. The founder excluded from the administration all successors under the age of fourteen who were crippled in both hands and feet, the blind, mute, mentally challenged, furious, and deemed unfit and too mentally challenged to govern the estate. If the illness did not affect the successor until he was fourteen years old, they could take over or maintain the administration, unless they completely lost the use of their mind and were unmarried. However, if the excluded administrator regained the use of their limbs or understanding by miracle or by medicine or by any means, they would be given back the entail since they no longer had the cause or reason why it was taken from them¹⁶.

Luís de Figueiredo Falcão, who established an entail in 1621, also provided for the possibility of a cure. The founder begins by excluding from the succession those who were witless, mentally challenged, mute, or prodigal, to whom a guardian should legally be assigned, or who had some fault or impediment preventing them from marrying or procreating. He then adds that if the excluded person recovers their senses, they can regain the administration. However, to do so, they would need a certificate from the doctors and chief physicians of the kingdom who were Old Christians¹⁷. This certificate would guarantee, on the one hand, that the administrator was fully capable of managing the entail and, on the other, it could also act as legal protection against potential claims to the administration by other successors.

In fact, one supposes that it wasn't always easy to determine exactly whether the degree of incapacity of the sick successor would justify exclusion from the succession, particularly in the case of mental illness.

16 Entail foundation deed (1596-06-22) – VINCO04974 MA EA/001; TT-GCL-RV-94, fl. 227.

17 Entail foundation deed (1621-10-29) – VINCO02603 LFF EA/001aa; TT-C-F3-D-5, fls. 88-88v.



Some founders recognised this difficulty and the controversies that could arise from it, and left instructions on the subject, such as Rui de Pina, a nobleman of the king's household, chronicler and guardian of the *Torre do Tombo*, and his wife, Catarina Vaz de Gouveia. In the entail foundation deed dated 1515, the chronicler and his wife excluded from the succession heirs who were “surdos de todo, ou cegos, ou mudos, ou assim de seus membros tolhidos, disformes e aleijados, ou assim parvos e de seus entendimentos naturais assim torvados ou minguados que de razão e equidade não devam casar”. If there were doubts and debates about whether their defects and cripples were sufficient for them to be deprived and excluded from the succession of the entail, the founders established that only the king could be the judge in the matter¹⁸. Towards the end of the 17th century, Francisco Mendes Pimentel, a canon with a doctorate from the University of Coimbra, prevented people who were born insane or mentally impaired, deaf, dumb, or monstrous from succeeding to the administration of the entail. In the event of controversy over the capacity of the successor, he appealed to the local authorities, stipulating that the decision should be final and binding by the *provedor*, *corregedor* and *conservador* (officials responsible for the management of) the University or, failing them, by the judge of Coimbra¹⁹.

Francisco Mendes Pimentel himself had a sick son. His name was João Coelho and he was lacking in sight, as it is stated in the foundation deed. The founder's personal experience of being close to illness may have influenced the inclusion of specific clauses regarding exclusion due to impairments. The same is true of the entail established by Catarina Vicente in 1526. The first successors called by Catarina Vicente to administer the entail were Beatriz Dias da Mata, her niece, and her husband, Doutor António Sanches Brandão. One of the couple's children was ill, so the founder authorised the first administrators to exclude him from the succession if they so wished:

18 Entail foundation deed (1515-05-21) – VINC006126 RPCVG EA/001a; Radulet, C. S. (1989). My translations: “totally deaf, or blind, or mute, or with their limbs impaired, deformed, and crippled, or dumb and with their natural understanding so twisted or diminished that they should not marry”.

19 Entail foundation deed (1690-02-22) – VINC001198 FMP EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-39, fl. 113-113v.



“porquanto o dito Doutor tem muitos filhos e espera em Deus de lhe mais dar e ele tem um filho por nome João o qual foi sempre de sua nascença mal disposto e ainda parece que tem algum pejo nas pernas pelo qual não ficava tão perfeito como a natureza requiere portanto ela dava licença a seu Pai e a sua Mãe que não lhe parecendo o dito seu filho tão perfeito como requiere a natureza e como os outros seus filhos que sendo caso que a sucessão da dita capela venha a ele João que eles Pai e Mãe possam passar a dita sucessão no outro filho depois dele segundo (...) forma de sua instituição²⁰”.

Like Catarina Vicente, most founders simply exclude the sick, passing on the administration to the next successor in accordance with the succession rules of the entail. As mentioned above, other founders prefer to use the figure of a guardian and/or allow for mitigating factors. Unlike the first group, these founders believe that the inability to administer the entail was not, at least in certain situations, sufficient justification to break the line of succession provided for in the foundation. The weight that illness had in the construction of the heir was therefore not absolute, and varied according to the attributes that founders considered most relevant (ability, legitimacy, biological continuity of the line of direct, legitimate, and male descent).

Little is known about the fate of the excluded successors. In the sample gathered, approximately half of the founders simply decree exclusion, without further ado. However, the other half force the successors who take over the administration of the entail due to the exclusion of a sick heir to provide for them throughout their lives, if necessary²¹. The obligation to feed and maintain the “defective excluded” did not stem solely from charitable and moral purposes. In fact, some founders were also

20 Will (1526-12-04) – VINC005204 CV EA/001; TT-HSJ-104, fls. 187v-188. My translation: “because the said Doctor has many children and hopes in God to give him more, and he has a son by the name of João who has always been poorly disposed from birth and still seems to have some weakness in his legs, because of which he would not be as perfect as nature requires, therefore she (the founder) would give his Father and Mother permission that since the said son does not seem to her to be as perfect as nature requires and like their other children, that if the succession to the said chapel should come to João, that they, the Father and Mother, may pass on the said succession to the other son after him according to (...) the form of her foundation”.

21 Rosa, 1988, p. 1073.



concerned about the image of the family group, revealing negative impressions of the dishonourable idea of the *morgado* leaving a sick relative destitute and in poverty. In 1678, João Duarte de Resende, a nobleman in the king's household and main guardian of the *Torre do Tombo*, excluded the furious, the mentally challenged, the deformed, the lame with a visible limp, the sufferers of phthisis, the lepers, the mute, and all those with similar defects “porque estes tais não são capazes de servir aos senhores reis deste reino e seus príncipes e pátria como eu fiz e os meus”. However, the immediate successor was forced to feed the defective people so that it does not look like they can only survive on alms²²”.

4.2. Moral and behavioural requirements

In the field of the conduct and morality of administrators, there are two distinct situations. On the one hand, a set of standardised clauses can be clearly identified, cutting across an extensive group of entails, which includes three absolutely central concerns: crimes against divine and human majesty; marriage without the consent of the *pater familias*; and clean blood. Each of these will be analysed in detail. At the same time, there is a remarkable diversity of instructions, many of which come not from the formularies, but from the very specific and individual wills of the founders. It is therefore impossible to cover all this variation, so mention will only be made of the elements that were most often repeated in the sample or which, due to their uniqueness, demonstrate the extent of the founder's power in the process of building the heir in terms of controlling their behaviour. As a whole, all these clauses reveal a common search for an heir who, in the illustrative words of the judge Francisco Velasco de Gouveia, “tenha qualidade de nobreza assim em seu nascimento como em seu trato e procedimento²³”.

22 Will (1678-01-18) – VINC001154 JDR EA/001; TT-AA-RA-3, fl. 265. My translations: “because they are not capable of serving the kings of this kingdom and their princes and homeland as I and my ancestors did”.

23 Will (extract) [1651-12-04] – VINC000630 FVG EA/001; TT-AA-RA-56, fl. 113v. My translation: “has the quality of nobility both in birth and in behaviour”.



Firstly, mention should be made to crimes of divine and human lèse-majesté, i.e. offences against God (such as heresy or sodomy and those which, from the 16th century onwards, were subject to scrutiny by the Holy Office) and against the person of the king, his family and other representatives of royal authority (including treason). From a strictly moral point of view, the perfect heir in the eyes of the founders had to be a good Catholic, and loyal and obedient to his king and lord; but the foundation documents show an awareness that the consequences of these crimes went far beyond the moral sphere, encompassing heavy political and economic implications. In fact, most crimes of divine or human lèse-majesté involved the confiscation of property regardless of the existence of heirs and, as in the case of treason, could lead to infamy and dishonour not only for the criminal, but also their descendants, putting the health and survival of the entail at risk. This is why, asking God not to allow the heirs to commit some of these “ignominious” or “abominable” offences, many founders punished the criminals, and sometimes their line of descent, with the deprivation of administration, thus preventing the confiscation of the entailed assets.

The database offers the possibility of retrieving some court sentences on the claiming of entails whose administrators were convicted of crimes of treason against the king, namely following the Restoration War, which began in 1640 with the aim of restoring the independence of the Portuguese Crown from Castilian rule, which had been in force since 1580 (see index term “S – royal treason”). Led on the Portuguese side by the Duke of Bragança, future King João IV, the war was opposed by several Portuguese noble families, who opted for an alliance with Castile. Their representatives were considered traitors by the new king and their property was confiscated. Among them, for example, was Rui de Matos de Noronha, elevated to Count of Armamar by Philip IV of Castile and sentenced to death and executed a few years later for the crime of lèse-majesté against King João IV. The three *morgadios* of which he was administrator were confiscated and, through court sentences, passed into the possession of his sister²⁴.

24 Acórdão em Relação (transcription) (1642-09-18) – VINCO03847 AMN EA/001a; PEGAS-1685-1-276-277. Acórdão em Relação (transcription) (1642-09-18) – VINCO03848 FC EA/001a; PEGAS-1685-1-276-277. Acórdão em Relação (transcription) (1642-09-18) – VINCO01854 HNFN EA/001a; PEGAS-1685-1-276-277.



Unlike the other exclusion clauses, those relating to crimes of divine or human *lèse-majesté* generally included a peculiar legal artifice that consisted of excluding the successor a few days or hours before committing (or even imagining) the crime. In this way, when the offence took actual place, the criminal would already be technically excluded from the administration, as if they were dead, and it would pass to the next person in the line of succession. This was the option, for example, of Gregório Gameiro Zuzarte and Margarida Monteiro, his wife, in the foundation of an entail made by will in 1677:

“e no caso (que Deus não permita) que algum dos chamados para esta sucessão cometa o abominável crime de Lesa Majestade Divina ou humana desde logo deserdamos e havemos por excluídos e incapazes de nossos bens e seja entrado na administração deles ao tempo que o tal os cometerem declaramos e ordenamos passe a administração a outra linha havendo-se por excluída do tal crime que se cometer e por deserdado três dias antes que se cometa conformando-nos nesta parte com as leis imperiais e havemos por excluídos os Descendentes do criminoso sucedendo o crime na primeira linha queremos passa a segunda, e havendo na segunda queremos e ordenamos passe a terceira²⁵”.

Equally problematic in moral, behavioural, and also political and social terms was marriage without consent from the father or the figure who, in his absence, exercised the *patria potestas*. Among noble families, the prerogative of choosing the spouse of a son or daughter who was under the “fatherly domain” was expected to fall to the *paterfamilias*, regardless of the existence of entailment regulations. The father would know how to determine which matrimonial alliance would be the most convenient economically, socially and politically. What was at stake were the interests of

25 Will (1677-08-10) – VINC007060 GGZMM EA/001; TT-HSJ-032, fl. 209v. My translation: “And in the event (God forbid) that any of those called to this succession should commit the abominable crime of *lèse-majesté*, Divine or human, we immediately disinherit them and hold them as excluded and incapable of our property and if they have already entered into the administration of it at the time they commit it, we declare and order the administration to pass to another line, holding them as excluded and disinherited three days before the crime is committed conforming in this respect to the imperial laws, and we exclude the descendants of the offender. If the offence is committed in the first line of succession, we wish it to pass to the second and if the offence occurs in the second line we want and order it to pass to the third line”.



the family body, which might not necessarily correspond to the interests of the couple. In any case, the children's obedience was owed to their father, who could disinherit “disobedient” and “ungrateful” heirs who married against his wishes. The Council of Trent introduced significant changes to this marriage logic by stipulating that marriages could not be carried out by force, but that the explicit consent of the couple was required. This imposition was received with displeasure by the noble groups and, in practice, was not entirely accepted by the monarchy, which continued to include measures restricting the marriage of women in royal legislation²⁶.

The founders, for their part, didn't subject to the rules of Trent either, since the foundation documents continued to include clauses on marriages without paternal consent. As a rule, these clauses applied to successors of both genders, but were generally more restrictive and punitive in the case of female successors. Women who eloped were excluded from succession, which sometimes included widows. This was because, as Pedro and Helena de Mascarenhas wrote in 1554, “as mulheres devem ser mais sujeitas às regras da honestidade e como fracas têm maior necessidade de conselho que os machos²⁷”. Men were also excluded, but in some situations exceptions were accepted, namely if the elopement was as advantageous or more advantageous than any alliance that could be negotiated by the father, with an honourable person of noble and ancient lineage, of identical or superior quality. Similarly, if the marriage had been set by the king or queen, the bride and groom, both men and women, could generally retain the administration.

In fact, the central aim of marriage clauses was to guarantee that matrimonial unions were economically and politically advantageous and that they would in no way tarnish the honour and nobility of the lineage. Even if it was against the will of the couple, who were theoretically protected by the Council's deliberations. The overwhelming majority of founders show no qualms about imposing the father's will on the children's (and

26 Monteiro, 2011, p. 132.

27 Entail foundation deed (1554-02-03) – VINC002319 PMHM EA/001daa; TT-IMC-NA-210, fl. 9. My translation: “women should be more subject to the rules of honesty and as weaklings have a greater need for advice than males”.



therefore ignoring the church's guidelines in this regard), although there are exceptions. One such exception is the entail established in 1667 by Dom Frei João de Sottomayor, Prior-General of the Order of St Benedict of Avis and Bishop of Noudar and Barrancos. After prohibiting the marriage of heirs without paternal consent, he added the following statement: “que esta cláusula de casar à vontade dos parentes não é sua tenção que pareça impeditiva do matrimónio, mas só em ordem a evitar bodas de menos qualidade em que se desluz a o lustre de sua geração e família²⁸”. Another cleric, Father João da Ponte, also tried to justify the need for paternal consent, stating that affections often blind the understanding and that it was advisable for the administrator to marry with an equal. And he ends by writing that

“declara o sagrado concílio que o sacramento do matrimónio seja livre e que os juízes temporais ou pessoas que têm domínio sobre outros lhes não possam defender nem a isto ir à mão porque ainda que assim seja quero eu que se cumpra como acima fica declarado por entender os muitos maus sucessos de quem o contrário faz sucedem²⁹”.

These clauses reinforced paternal power, although the father's power could sometimes clash with the founder's power. This collision can be seen in the entail founded in 1565 by Joana da Cunha, widow of António de Castro, a nobleman of the king's household. According to the founder's will, the parents could exclude from the succession any children who married without their express permission. However, if the unauthorized marriage was so damaging that the lineage of the one who married received notorious dishonour and detriment, exclusion was imposed by the rules of the entail even if the parents did not want to remove the disobedient son from the administration³⁰. The attitude of Vasco Fernandes

28 Entail foundation deed (1667-10-03) – VINC001127 JS EA/001; TT-AA-RA-56, fl. 78. My translation: “that this clause of marrying at the will of the relatives does not intend to appear to prevent marriage, but it is only to avoid marriages of lesser quality in which the luster of the generation and family is tarnished”.

29 Will (extract) (1577) – VINC000804 JPJP EA/001; TT-AA-RA-3, fl. 365v. My translations: “the holy council declares that the sacrament of matrimony is free and that temporal judges or persons who have dominion over others may not defend them or go to any lengths to do so, because even if this is the case, I want it to be fulfilled as stated above, because I understand that many bad things happen to those who do the opposite”.

30 Entail foundation deed (1565-09-13) – VINC007969 JC EA/001; TT-HSJ-045, fls. 51v-52.



César, a nobleman of the king's household and chief custodian of the ships of India and Mina, and his wife, Inês Gonçalves Batavias, differs in this respect. They exclude all successors who commit acts of ingratitude against their parents, which, by law, could rightfully justify disinheritance. However, they accept that the administration could be returned to them if the parents forgave the disobedient children and reconciled with them. This is because “injusto seria quererem eles instituidores usar com o tal filho de maior rigor que o dito seu pai a quem ele mais ofendeu³¹”.

If the father had already died, paternal authority could be transferred to the mother, paternal or maternal grandfather or other close male relatives. One of these, or several together, had to consent to the union in the father's absence. The guidelines given on this eventuality by the aforementioned António de Sousa de Macedo and Mariana de Lemercier are particularly curious and reveal the importance that marriage had within the family. If the father had already died, the mother had to authorise the marriage with the agreement of the closest male relative who was over 22 years old and resided in the kingdom; if the mother was also deceased, consent could be granted by the maternal or paternal grandfather, as long as they were not over 80 years old, as this was the age at which, according to the founders, old people became prone to being deceived. Women should always marry with the authorisation of one of these relatives, but men would only need consent if they were under the age of 22 because of the deceptions that founders thought that young men fell subject to sometimes³².

In addition to the absolute notion of paternal consent, founders could also add specific instructions regarding the marriage alliances of the heirs. They could, for example, stipulate that the first successor called to the administration would only inherit the entail if they married an individual previously selected by the founder. Another common stipulation was that the persons the administrators married had to be honourable, noble, virtuous, and of good manners, especially in the case of women.

31 Entail foundation deed (1556-09-19) – VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001a; TT-C-J3-P-3, fl. 217v. My translation: “it would be unjust for the founders to want to use greater rigour with this son than his own father, whom he has offended the most”.

32 Entail foundation deed (1676-05-20) – VINC003046 ASMML EA/003a; TT-HSJ-086, fls. 10v-11.



Women were also often required to marry by a certain age, presumably to ensure that children would be born of the marriage. Many institutors also forbade marriage to physically or mentally ill people, to mechanical officers, or to commoners or peasants.

But the most widespread concern, especially from the 16th century onwards, was unions with people from what at the time were referred to as “infected nations”, i.e. Jews, New Christians, Muslims, Moors, blacks, or mulattoes. In several foundations, administrators who married members of any of these groups or who had (effectively or by “fame”) any trace of the “infamous races” were stripped of the entail and the administration passed to the next successor. Apprehension about the possibility of blood contamination through mixing with non-Christian ethnoreligious groups progressively gained impact in the Iberian kingdoms from the end of the 15th century. As Fernanda Olival writes, what was at stake was not the search for a “pureza biológica da raça pelas suas qualidades genéticas”, but rather “um problema de natureza ideológico-religiosa com forte impacto na estruturação social e política³³”. Associated with this apprehension were the movements to expel Jews and Muslims, forced conversions and, in the 16th century, the definitive establishment of the Holy Office in Portugal. Throughout the 16th century, various institutions adopted cleanliness statutes, such as *misericórdias*, colleges, guilds, and military orders. These statutes excluded “alguém de cargos, casamentos e outros contextos de disputa por vantagens sociais em função da genealogia (ascendência) religiosa³⁴”, demonstrating the social diffusion of the concern with clean blood. It was precisely this need to demonstrate and prove the purity of ancestry that partly explained the growing genealogical production during this period, anchored in the written documents preserved in family archives³⁵.

33 Olival, 2004, p. 152. My translations: “biological purity of the race due to its genetic qualities”, but rather “an ideological and religious problem with a strong impact in social and political structure”.

34 Olival, 2015, p. 340. My translation: excluded “persons from positions, marriages, and other contexts of disputes for social advantages based on genealogy (ancestry) or religion”.

35 Rosa, 2019b, p. 263.



Some founders went further, not just excluding those who married “people of nation” or who had impure blood. Doutor Belchior Dias Preto, a member of the king’s council, a member of the *Desembargo do Paço* and a knight of the Order of Christ, determined in 1617 that all those who married people of Moorish race or New Christians would be excluded from the administration, as would as their descendants. In addition, he also stipulated that when any of the administrators intended to marry, the spouse had to request authorisation from the *Tribunal da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*. This court, which oversaw military orders, was responsible for the granting of the habits of the said orders, which required proof of clean blood. With this authorisation from the court, the founder considered the administrators to be qualified to succeed to the entail, adding that no one could sue them for suspicion of “race” issues. A claim of this kind was problematic even if impure origins were not proven, because it would generate bad reputation or, in the words of Belchior Dias Preto, it would make the administrators infamous³⁶.

The issue of marriage without consent or marriage to “forbidden” people was, in fact, the cause of several intra-family disputes. Several examples have been identified that attest to the tension that this issue could cause within the kinship group. This is illustrated by a passage in Maria de Carvalho’s foundation document, dated 1621. After establishing the order of succession in the administration of her entail, Maria de Carvalho expressly removes one of her daughters, Catarina de Carvalha, for having “inconsiderately” chosen a husband for herself, marrying against her parents’ wishes:

“porquanto a dita Catarina Carvalha inconsideradamente se casou contra vontade do dito Manuel Rodrigues Ricardo seu pai e contra vontade dela Maria Carvalha sua mãe estando de baixo de seu pátrio domínio, sendo menor de dezassete anos de idade e por desobedecer tendo ajurado e apalavrado com o licenciado Manuel de Cerqueira Malheiro (...) e se tinham passado escritos um ao outro e desposado de futuro para o que se tinha havido dispensa do sumo pontífice sem embargo do que a dita Catarina Carvalha se casou muito desigualmente contra sua vontade com pessoa de nação hêbrea escolhendo por si marido negando a eles seus pais a

³⁶ Will chart (1617-05-08) – VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001ga; TT-IMC-NA-208, fls. 1-9.



obediência que lhe era devida tendo ele Manuel Rodrigues Ricardo seu pai razão de lhe escolher o que mais lhe convinha³⁷”.

Catarina Carvalha's deviant behaviour attests to the acts of resistance to the norms of the family body, offering one of the rare glimpses into the possibilities of expressing individuality within an (ideally corporate) institution. It also attests to the heavy consequences that awaited those who dared to confront the *patria potestas*, reminiscent of the consequences reserved for those who betrayed the king, the father of the Republic.

In addition to these three central concerns – *lèse-majesté*, marriage and cleanliness of blood – which cut across most entails that include this type of clauses, there are several other instructions regarding the behaviour of administrators. Some come under penalty of exclusion, others in the form of recommendations or requests, without necessarily implying the loss of administration in the event of non-compliance.

Firstly, there were the mandatory residence clauses. Some founders stipulated that the successors had to live in the manor house or family home, often named as the head of the entail. Other founders stipulated that the administrator had to live in the town or city where the entailed properties were located and where, as a rule, perpetual masses were celebrated. The third option, more common than the previous two, was to force the successors to reside in the “kingdom” or “Portugal”, which was generally understood to mean the metropolis and excluded the remaining territories under the rule of the Portuguese Crown. The residency requirement could be permanent, with some founders adding that the administrators had to reside in the stipulated place with their “house and family”; or it could only be temporary, at certain times during the year. In both cases,

³⁷ Entail and chapel foundation deed (1621-08-05) – VINC001274 MC EA/001aa; TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 54v-55. My translation: “because the said Catarina Carvalha inconsiderately married against the wishes of the said Manuel Rodrigues Ricardo, her father, and against the will of Maria Carvalha, her mother, being under her father's dominion being a minor of seventeen years of age, and for disobeying, by having sworn and pledged with the Graduate Manuel de Cerqueira Malheiro (...), and having exchanged writings with each other and engaged to marry in the future, for which a dispensation had been obtained from the High Pontiff; notwithstanding this, the said Catarina Carvalha married very unequally against our will to a person of the Hebrew nation, choosing a husband for herself and denying her parents the obedience owed to them, while Manuel Rodrigues Ricardo, her father, had the right to choose who best suited her”.



non-compliance would mean exclusion from the administration, except, as one set of founders points out, if the administrator was out of the kingdom in the service of the king or because their life would be in danger if they remained in the metropolis. The justifications for conditioning the place of residence of the administrators are generally identical. Founders believed that the geographical proximity of the administrators to the entailed property and to the religious institutions where they had left pious charges would promote better management of the patrimony and the fulfilment of pious obligations. Residence at the head of the entail also fulfilled a symbolic role. As previously seen, these properties functioned as architectural testimonies to the power and honour of the family group. Sometimes adorned with the heraldic symbols of the founders, they marked their local influence on the landscape³⁸. The founders themselves usually lived in the properties that later became the epicentre of their entails, and expected the administrators to continue living there. This can be seen, for example, in the entail established in 1616 by João de Barros Pinto de Figueiredo in Montemor-o-Velho, which stipulates that the administrator “será obrigado o mais do tempo morar nesta vila para que haja casa e memória de mim e não poderá viver em outras casas se não nestas em que agora moro³⁹”. In fact, living in the property that was the head of the entail was described by some founders as a privilege reserved only for the administrators of the entail, and other children or relatives were not allowed to reside therein. It was therefore the responsibility of the administrator to keep the properties clean and in good condition, as part of the function of preserving the memory of the founders.

Many foundation documents also include various recommendations on how administrators should relate to their family members and other dependents. In this context, the image of the good son, good brother, good relative, and good *morgado* is promoted, fostering virtue, unity, friendship, and peace within the family⁴⁰. This calls for the successor to take care of their parents during widowhood, particularly the mother or stepmother, and to be obedient to them and guarantee their support in

38 See Chapter 3 – For the immortality of memory: family names and arms, pp. 169–170.

39 Will (1616–05–23) – VINC001259 IVJBPFIG EA/002ada; TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 6v–7. My translation: “will be obliged to live in this town for as long as possible so that there is a house and memory of me and will not be able to live in any other houses than those in which I now live”.

40 Clavero, 1993–94, pp. 67–68.



case of need. They are also called upon to support their unmarried or religious brothers and sisters, in some cases funding the studies of those who chose to go to university. As noted above, some administrators were also expected to feed and support siblings or relatives who were excluded from the administration due to illness, as well as other members of the family who had fallen into poverty or were destitute, such as orphans. Enslaved people were also often mentioned by the founders, who asked that the administrator protect them, including in cases where they were freed. All these recommendations were intended to help promote family harmony and thus reduce the likelihood of disputes and demands within the family; which didn't always work.

In the field of devotion, some founders went further than just requiring the administrators to be good and faithful Catholics, recommending that they cultivate specific devotions, sometimes in association with a certain religious institution where the funerary chapel was usually located and/or the perpetual charges were celebrated. In chapter 6, dedicated to the life of the soul and the management of the dead, I will explore in greater detail how the founders' devotion guided their choices of burial site and respective perpetual charges⁴¹. For now, it's important to stress that devotion was part of the family identity and, as such, a group of founders sought to condition the devotional behaviour of the administrators according to these identity precepts: some forced successors to be present at the celebration of perpetual masses⁴²; others determined that the administrators should be buried in the chapels built by founders, where they themselves had been buried, and which were often even conceived as exclusive burial sites for the *morgados*, inaccessible to the rest of the family group⁴³. This idea of transmitting and perpetuating a devotional identity is especially evident, for example, in the entail established by the licentiate João Dias Leite in 1640. When the use of family names and arms was analyzed in chapter 3, it was seen that João Dias Leite was a brother

41 See Chapter 6 – The life of the soul and the management of the dead, pp. 258–268.

42 Entail foundation deed (1525-12-04) – VINC008242 FMIA EA/001; TT-HSJ-139, fl. 232. Will (1560-10-16) – VINC000705 RGMFRIR EA/001ba; TT-AA-RA-43, fl. 90v. See Chapter 6 – The life of the soul and the management of the dead, p. 268.

43 Will (1570-08-28) – VINC001710 FAC EA/004aa; TT-IMC-NA-191, fl. 1v.; Entail foundation deed (1620-12-19) – VINC002082 MSFMSF EA/001aa; TT-IMC-NA-193, fl. 3v. See Chapter 6 – The life of the soul and the management of the dead, pp. 276–278.



of the confraternity of Santa Cruz de Braga, in whose church he founded a funerary chapel adorned with his arms and the arms of the confraternity. He forced the administrators to also be devotees and brothers of the same confraternity and to “sempre este santo intento da veneração de Santa Cruz”, knowing “que comem estes bens oferecidos à Santíssima Cruz imitando seus antecessores⁴⁴”. In 1604, Father António Pires de Azambuja also recommended that his son, and first administrator, maintain his connection to the Monastery of Verderena, in Barreiro, founded by Father António's sister, Francisca de Azambuja: “lhe deixo por minha benção que seja sempre muito devoto do dito mosteiro e padres como o foram sempre seus avós”. The founder also left a special request for the monastery's priests, asking them not only to pray for his soul, but also to take particular care of his son, indoctrinating and counselling him⁴⁵.

The process of building perfect heirs by the founders could also include the positions, functions, or professions that they held or, strictly speaking, could not hold. Of the four examples that have been identified, the concern behind this type of prohibition is linked to positions, functions, or professions associated with public treasury and the consequent possibility of mortgaging the entailed assets. Francisco Mendes Pimentel does not allow administrators to accept the offices of treasurer and *almoxarife* “porque também tem experimentado e visto os grandes inconvenientes que padecem as pessoas que aceitam os ofícios de tesoureiros e almoxarifes de quantias grandes posto que sejam ministros pela dificuldade das contas⁴⁶”. Simão Monteiro de Leiria also excludes the possibility of the administrator being an *almoxarife* so as to not mortgage the assets of the said morgado to the king's revenue, or be subject to the *provedor's* conditions⁴⁷. For his part, Francisco de Matos ruled out the possibility of

44 Chapel foundation deed (1640–09–24) – VINC004290 JDL EA/001a; UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-10, fls. 130v–131v. My translations: “always help this holy endeavour of venerating the Holy Cross”, knowing “that they eat these goods offered to the Most Holy Cross in imitation of their predecessors”.

45 Will chart (1604–06–20) – VINC000882 APA EA/001; TT-AA-RA-31, fl. 340. My translation: “I leave you my blessing to always be very devoted to the said monastery and priests, as your grandparents always were”. See Chapter 7 – Being a *morgado* in the community, pp. 311–312.

46 Entail foundation deed (1690–02–22) – VINC001198 FMP EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-39, fl. 113v. My translation: “because he has also experienced and seen the great inconveniences suffered by people who accept the offices of treasurers and *almoxarifes* of large sums of money, even if they are ministers, due to the complexity of the accounts”.

47 Will chart (1607–02–22) – VINC006419 SML EA/001a; TT-HSJ-ESCR BOT-31-6-577, fl. 48v.



the successors in the administration of the entail exercising the office of collector of the king's accounts, or those of the prince, *infantes*, or other lords⁴⁸. Lastly, João Duarte de Resende determined that, due to the great inconveniences that his experience has shown, no successor could be administrator, executor, curator, guarantor or warrantor of any foreign person, sharing a similar concern with the possibility of mortgaging the assets of the entail⁴⁹.

The university education of the administrators was also idealised by various founders, who demanded or recommended that their successors be literate, attend university, and even pursue specific courses. The most paradigmatic example is undoubtedly the entail established in 1559 by Tomé Salema, whose income was to be used to finance the studies of two members of the Salema family at the University of Coimbra. As well as being called Salema and bearing the respective arms, those who benefited from the revenues of the *morgadio* had to be “moços de boa ideia e de boas manhas e costumes tementes a Deus porque não quero nem hei por bem que se gaste minha fazenda com pessoas que ofendam a Deus mas que sejam tementes a Deus e guardem seus mandamentos”. If any of the relatives who received the entail were people who didn't want to work towards learning, they would lose the administration, which should be given to another virtuous person who would work to better themselves⁵⁰. Doutor Manuel da Fonseca Coelho, benefactor of the church of Bestedo, commissioner of the Holy Office and penitentiary canon of the cathedral of Lamego, also hoped that his nephews would graduate from the University of Coimbra. To help them with their studies, he loans them his library, which, according to him, cost him a lot of time and effort to gather. After the death of his nephews, the administrator of the entail was obliged to collect the books and keep them in their house on shelves, ensuring their proper cleanliness and preservation. As it will be seen in chapter 5, dedicated to the power of the archive, Manuel da Fonseca Coelho's library was

48 Entail foundation deed (1525-12-04) – VINC008242 FMIA EA/001; TT-HSJ-139, fl. 234v.

49 Will (1678-01-18) – VINC001154 JDR EA/001; TT-AA-RA-3, fl. 265v.

50 Entail foundation deed (1559-10-13) – VINC008074 TS EA/001; TT-GLS-009-0060. My translation: “young men of good sense, manners, and customs; God-fearing, because I do not want, nor do I think it right, that my estate should be spent on people who offend God, but rather those who are God-fearing and keep His commandments”.



entailed, with the administrator forbidden to lend, give, or exchange any of the books⁵¹.

The degree of education of the possible future administrators could also be a tie-breaker in the choice of successor, as in the case of the foundation of António Barbosa Fiúza, abbot of São Julião de Passos. If two or more university educated and literate relatives were competing for the succession, the one who had graduated from the University of Coimbra should be favoured. If they had attended foreign educational establishments, preference would be given to those who had completed the course at the Sapienza in Rome. Doctors were to be favoured over licentiates, and those who had received their degree by indult or papal dispensation were not to be admitted, for it was the founder's wish that the administrators should be “doutores de letras e não de nome tão somente⁵²”. In fact, the moral and behavioural character of the candidates for succession – both in the appointment process and in the choice of the next of kin when the line ended – was mentioned several times as a selection criterion. When choosing the next administrator, their obedience, virtue, honour, way of life, customs, and conscience had to be assessed. The most obedient, virtuous, and honourable candidate, with the best way of life, customs, and conscience, was to be preferred over all the others, as they were seen as the best representative of the founder and their family group and the most likely to scrupulously comply with the instructions, tasks, and charges associated with the entail.

Finally, the perfect heir was also the one who followed the founders' orders regarding the production, management and conservation of the information produced by and about the entail. By regulating the informational behaviour of their successors, the founders ensured that the preservation of their memories, their wishes, the health of their souls, and the entail itself was also done through writing; curiously, they also ensured the preservation of devices to control the actions of the administrators. These are some of the aspects of the power of the archive, explored in the next chapter.

51 Entail foundation deed (1697-08-22) – VINC004326 MFC EA/001; ADGRD-GCG-RV-4, fls. 238-239.

52 Foundation deed (1688-07-10) – VINC005269 ABF EA/001b; UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-747, fl. 146v. My translation: “doctors of letters, and not merely in name”.





The power of the archive

CHAPTER 5

5





The power of the archive

Exploring the power of the archive in the context of the entailment phenomenon and the construction, consolidation, transmission and perpetuation of identity within family bodies between the 14th and 17th centuries implies returning to some central ideas that have already been mentioned and which now need to be detailed.

The first is that the entail was an entity that produced information and created archives¹. As such, it defined and regulated the production, use, conservation, and organisation of information, articulating three axes: the will of the founder, the needs of the administrators and the family group, and the impositions of authorities outside the family. In legal and informational terms, the epicentre of the entail (and its respective archive) was the foundation document. It was this document that formalised, in writing, the legal birth of the foundation and inscribed the wishes of the founders. Thus, the power of the archive in this context emanated from the power of the founders themselves, embodied materially and symbolically in the foundation document.

However, the act of establishing an entail was, in many cases, an informational and archival event much broader than the production of the foundation document. Thinking of this event in terms of an informational and archival chronology of entailment, the production of information and uses of the archive could, in several cases, precede the foundation itself.

¹ Rosa, 2022.



In fact, we'll see how many founders made use of archived documentation and produced various other written records in order to prepare the foundation project. In this sense, the power of the archive manifests itself as an auxiliary tool in the act of establishing an entail.

On the other hand, it is important to note that the founder's power could also be translated into the prescription of certain information and archival behaviours to be followed not only by the administrators, but also by institutions external to the family. The perfect heir was also the one who administered the entail through writing and carefully guarded the documents. However, from the point of view of several founders, the heirs' actions needed to be monitored and possibly punished. Handing over written records to external institutions – thus improving knowledge of the rights and duties they held in relation to the entail – was an integral part of this vigilance strategy. This is where the power of the archive emerges as a weapon available to founders to ensure vigilance and potential punishment through writing.

This does not mean that all founders demonstrate an informational and archival consciousness or, in other words, a consciousness of the power of the archive. As will be seen in the following pages, it is difficult to assess their degree of consciousness of the importance of producing, using, and conserving information for the correct fulfilment of the founders' wishes and for the survival of the entail. But it is possible to detect patterns.

Regardless of the degree of informational and archival consciousness of the founders, the administrative and bureaucratic practices of the institutions of power with which the entail was related progressively reinforced the imperative of the written word. It was the written records, kept in archives, that made it possible to prove the possession of assets, rights, or privileges; that made it possible to defend that possession against external or internal threats; and that made it possible to claim it in case of need. The power of the archive is thus revealed as a legal arsenal available to family groups and administrators of entails to protect or claim rights.



As Maria de Lurdes Rosa has shown, the fact that these archives emanated from “private” organisations did not mean that they had no “public” value. In a historical context of legal plurality and autonomy of social bodies, the authority of the archive derived from the authority of the founder and the “law” they established, fully accepted by the other institutions of power. This is why the author refers to the status of these archives as “private-public”, which embodies one of the particular characteristics of the power of the entail archives: that they have archival legality even though they were not produced by a “public” authority².

The temporal duration of these archives was another particular characteristic of their power. If the entail was designed to last until the end of the world, its archives should last equally as long. In this sense, and on a conceptual level, they are perpetual archives, conceived with perpetuity in mind. Many did not survive the extinction of entails at the end of the 19th century, when they lost their organic connection to the institution that gave rise to them. However, a substantial part of the archives produced by pre-modern family groups as they are known today is precisely made up of documents associated with entails. The perpetuity of entails thus increased the “conservation probabilities” of these records, to use an expression by Arnold Esch³.

Over this period of time, the history of entails has become organically intertwined with the history of several institutions. The same happened with the entail archives. Hence the use of the concept of “entail information system”, which translates precisely this systemic link between various institutions from and with the entail⁴. This systemic link was obviously closer with family groups, and therefore with the archives kept by families. As has been stated, family archives are the habitat of origin of the documentation produced by the entails⁵.

From this emerges another facet of the archive’s power, that of organically participating in the creation, consolidation and perpetuation of family

² Rosa, 2022.

³ Esch, 2002, pp. 15–29.

⁴ See Chapter 2 – Information and documentation, pp. 104–112.

⁵ See Chapter 2 – Information and documentation, p. 105.



groups. They therefore played what Joseph Morsel called a “sociogenetic role⁶”, a role that was not only practical – proof, defence and claiming of rights and patrimonial management – but also symbolic. The power of archives was thus based on their role as vehicles of memory, family history, knowledge, codes of conduct, behaviour and culture. They were part of a specific way of perceiving reality, filtered through genealogy and links to ancestors⁷. They were therefore social repositories of identity.

This manifestation of the power of the archive did not emanate only from written records. It has already been noted on several occasions that it is particularly relevant for the subject under analysis to adopt an anthropological view of the archive that allows us to go beyond writing⁸. This vision includes all the material and immaterial elements that, having been consciously passed down from generation to generation, contributed to the construction and assimilation of entailment identity. Dealing with this broad archive would require a different type of heuristic and theoretical-methodological approach. Therefore, the written component of the archive will be emphasised above all, but with the understanding that it represents only a part of a broader whole. However, some notes will be left that could guide future research on the subject.

To summarise, when we talk about the power of the archive in the construction, consolidation, assimilation, transmission, and perpetuation of identity through entails, we are talking about an accumulation of powers: power emanating from the founder and formalised by writing in the foundation document, where certain informational and archival behaviours and uses of the archive as tools for preserving memory and also for surveillance and punishment could be prescribed; “private-public” power with a legal, political and economic dimension, in proving, defending and claiming rights; “sociogenetic” and social power, fundamental to the functioning of the family group; practical power, in managing the entail and family affairs; symbolic power, as “places of memory” and identity; power in perpetuity.

6 Morsel, 2010, p. 17.

7 Rosa, 1995, p. 20.

8 Rosa, 2017b, pp. 557–561. See Chapter 2 – Information and documentation, p. 117; and Chapter 3 – For the immortality of memory: family names and arms, pp. 165–176.



The database offers several ways of examining the power of the archive in the context of entailment identity. One is the way the database is structured. As previously stated, the database aims to reconstruct part of the archive of each entail, making it possible to immediately retrieve all the identified documents that were part of that archive⁹. In this way, it allows us to follow part of the informational and archival history of each of the entails surveyed. Another avenue offered by the database is the index term “inventory”, which indicates the existence of clauses forcing the production of inventories of entailed assets, as will be shown below. This analysis also benefits from cross-referencing the database with the VINCULUM Information System Guide (VISG), which contains information on the informational and archival practices of the institutions with which the entails were related and how these practices influenced and conditioned the production and conservation of information by the entails¹⁰.

The following pages will therefore explore the multiple dimensions of the power of the archive. The first part of the chapter is dedicated to a general assessment of the informational and archival consciousness of the founders. It will present some of the cross-cutting features of the presence or absence, in the sample gathered, of manifestations that reflect a concern with the production and conservation of written information. We will then move on to a detailed analysis of the main elements that characterised this informational and archival consciousness, dividing them into two groups: the first, focused on the informational and archival preparation of the act of founding an entail, where we will observe the informational and archival process that could precede the foundation; and the second, where we will explore the informational production and conservation prescribed by founders, in particular that which concerns the *treslados* (copies) of the foundation documents and *tombos* (inventories). The chapter will end with brief reflections on the archive beyond writing, analysing some of the non-written elements that were part of entails' archives.

9 See Chapter 2 – Information and documentation, pp. 112–117.

10 VISG - <https://visg.vinculum.fesh.unl.pt/>.



5.1. Informational and archival consciousness

The starting point for assessing the degree of informational and archival consciousness of the founders was to ascertain the presence or absence of references in the foundation documents to written records, archives, or documentary production. The aim was to identify the type and quantity of written documents mentioned by the founders, the reasons behind these mentions, the uses and functions attributed to the records, the documentary production associated with the entail, and also the relative weight of the clauses associated with documents in the overall calculation of the other provisions of the entail.

An assessment of this kind must take into account the limits of foundation documents which, as we have seen, are often lacking and silent¹¹. In other words, the absence of references in the foundation documents to written records, archives, or documentary production does not necessarily mean that founders had no informational or archival consciousness. On the other hand, it was also seen that writing officials, such as notaries, influenced the production of the foundation documents and often made use of pre-existing forms. The informational and archival consciousness of the founders can be confused with the informational and archival consciousness of these officials, and it is often impossible to distinguish between the two.

This is why it was necessary to complement the study of foundation documents by analysing the entail archives. These can reveal the presence of other documentary production by founders in addition to the foundation documents, implicitly illustrating certain facets of an informational and archival consciousness. However, here too we must bear in mind the limits of using the database. It does not translate, nor does it intend to, the totality of the documentary production of each entail. In this sense, and as was the case with the foundation documents, the absence of records in the entail archives that make it possible to gauge the informational and archival consciousness of the founders does not necessarily mean that it was non-existent.

¹¹ See Chapter 2 – Information and documentation, pp. 123-126.



For these reasons, it is difficult to explain why some examples revealed a greater informational and archival consciousness on the part of the founders than others. Within the sample gathered, and in quantitative terms, the majority of the documents consulted did not reveal any demonstration of an informational and archival consciousness. When detected, these demonstrations appear more frequently from the 15th century onwards, increasing in the 16th and 17th centuries. This trend responds, on the one hand, to the progressive effort to bureaucratise the State from the 1400s onwards, which reinforced the need for written proof and forced other institutions, including families, to adapt to these demands; and, on the other hand, it reflects the characteristics of the database itself, specifically the much greater number of archival descriptions relating to the 16th and 17th centuries, compared to the 1300s and 1400s. Despite these chronological variations in terms of quantity, it can be seen that founders' concerns in terms of information production and archival conservation have remained relatively identical over the centuries. The practices, options, objectives, functions and justifications did not change significantly over the four centuries, with only the number of occurrences varying.

In qualitative terms, several other factors should also be considered. The first is the importance given to the preservation of memory, as described in chapter 3, dedicated to the immortality of memory and the use of family names and arms¹². It was found that the entails that forced the use of family names or family names and arms usually show greater concern for the production and preservation of information. Consequently, they show a greater consciousness of the importance of writing in immortalising memory.

The second factor, partly linked to the first, is related to the sociological profile of the founders. The information in the database does not always allow us to collect data on the social status of the founders or their professional occupations. However, the sample suggests that it is more likely to detect demonstrations of informational and archival consciousness among members of the nobility (identified as noblemen, knights, or noble knights), among ecclesiastics, and among royal officials or officials from

¹² See Chapter 3 – For the immortality of memory: family names and arms.



the central or local administration. It was therefore a group of founders with a higher level of literacy. In fact, as Alice Borges Gago suggested, the very mastery of writing was, in this context, a mark of identity¹³. In the case of the officials, the acquisition of technical skills associated with writing and archives, and close knowledge of the informational and archival practices of the Crown or other institutions should also be emphasised, both of which were adapted for the management of personal and family affairs¹⁴.

In addition to these founder profiles, two other groups were identified who also revealed concerns about the production, management and conservation of information: merchants or traders, and literate widows. Although far fewer in number, the examples of these two groups are some of the richest and most interesting in the sample. Due to their professional occupation, merchants used writing on a daily basis, depending on it for the correct management of their business¹⁵. In addition, many lived outside the metropolis, but it was there that they wanted to establish their entails, often with assets and lands that were scattered throughout the overseas territories. Thus, the use of writing and the correct informational organisation were essential for knowing and controlling a diverse and dispersed patrimony. In turn, many noble and literate women took over the management of the family economy after widowhood, and could even participate in it during their husband's lifetime. The changes brought about by widowhood in their legal capacity, and in the family functions they exercised as heads of the household, could have contributed to an increase in women's informational and archival consciousness. It would be interesting to explore this line of enquiry, delving deeper into the role of women as producers and managers of information and archives throughout the *Ancien Régime*.

Still from a sociological perspective, a final note should be made about other factors, often difficult to grasp, which may have contributed to

¹³ Gago, 2019, p. 252.

¹⁴ The relationship between the socio-political competences of family members and the management of family archives was demonstrated in Farelo; et al., 2021.

¹⁵ See the study of the archive of the 16th century merchant Hernando Daza Medina in Herrero Jiménez; Díaz Blanco, 2008.



the development of an informational and archival consciousness on the part of the founders. The personal experiences of founders, due to certain circumstances, could have reinforced the importance of possessing, managing, and/or preserving written records. For example, founders who were simultaneously administrators of other entails or executors of relatives' wills; who saw their foundation documents falsified or stolen; who, through carelessness or accident, allowed wills or other important records to deteriorate or be destroyed, etc..

It stands to reason, therefore, that founders who were less familiar with or less knowledgeable about management through writing and the uses of archives, and/or who had a lower level of literacy, were less conscious about the power of the archive. This does not mean, however, that all the founders with the profile described above showed signs of this consciousness; therefore, a direct and unequivocal correlation cannot be established between the sociological profile of the founders and a greater or lesser degree of informational and archival consciousness.

There are other qualitative aspects to take into account, particularly the characteristics of the entail. The nature, type and quantity of entailed assets could require different levels of recourse to written management. The same principle applies to foundations with more numerous and/or complex dispositions. Conversely, in entails with a smaller number of assets and less diversified nature and type, and with simpler dispositions, the needs for information production and conservation would also be less complex. How, then, did the founders' demonstrations of informational and archival consciousness materialise?

5.2. Informational and archival preparation of entailment

As Maria de Lurdes Rosa has shown, the founder's connection to their chapel was often established while they were still alive. Applying the same principle to the establishment of other entails, these can be interpreted as the result of consistent planning on the part of the founder. The idea that they acted like an anguished women and men desperately trying to secure



salvation is therefore contested. Preparing for this special, expensive and complex project of founding an entail could include producing information and consulting and (re)organising archives¹⁶.

This prior preparation of entailment essentially manifests itself in two ways: the first involves ensuring that rights or privileges related to the entail are set down in writing; the second concerns what can be called archival guidelines for successors, expressed in the references to written documents included in the foundation documents.

Among the rights or privileges related to the entail that it was considered important to set down in writing before formalising the foundation were all those negotiated between founders and the institutions where they intended to found funerary chapels, be buried and/or leave pious obligations. These include, for example, the acquisition of funeral spaces (tombs and/or chapels) or requests for authorisation to celebrate mass at the chapel altar or to inscribe heraldic symbols or epitaphs. In a similar way, some founders worked to secure royal graces of various kinds: to establish the foundation (in cases where this required royal authorisation), to entail certain types of property or privileges (such as an office), to include the *legítimas* (portion of the inheritance reserved to the descendants and spouses) in the entail, to force administrators to attach their *terças* (third part of the inheritance), or to deposit relevant documents in the crown archives. These documents, which can be identified in the database by consulting the entail archives, allowed founders to ensure in writing that their founding projects would materialise according to their wishes. By guaranteeing rights and privileges while they were still alive, the founders also ensured that certain aspects of their determinations would not depend on the action of the administrators, while at the same time easing the burdens they had to fulfil.

As for the archival guidelines for successors, these show a concern on the part of several founders to pass on information and leave specific instructions for heirs and executors regarding certain written records. Their presence suggests, on the one hand, that these founders consulted their

¹⁶ Rosa, 2012b, pp. 269–270.



archives beforehand in order to identify and gather the documents they considered relevant; on the other, it reflects their awareness of the importance of informational knowledge and of control and access to written information. In fact, the maintenance of the rights over the administration of the entails, the correct management of the entailed properties, the proper fulfilment of the wills of the deceased, and the salvation of their souls could depend precisely on this informational knowledge and this control and access to written information.

This notion of the importance of possession, access, and control of written information is not specific to the context of entailment. In fact, the archival guidelines for successors are found mainly in wills, appearing infrequently in other types of foundation documents. The organisation of information was part of the organisation of death, or of the life of the soul, regardless of the foundation of an entail. However, the horizon of perpetuity of the entails, as well as the complexity of the entail provisions, reinforced the importance of this informational and archival dimension.

In the sample gathered, prior consultation of the archive for the preparation of the will and the foundation is rarely mentioned explicitly. In 1659, Simão Freire Pereira, a knight of the Order of Christ and familiar of the Holy Office, stated in his will that while he was searching through his papers in the cabinet, he found the document about the *terça* (third part of the inheritance) that his wife's father had left to him¹⁷. The unique book containing the will and codicil of Maria Rebelo, widow of Fernão Cabral, a noble knight of the king's household, is another rare exception. Written over the course of several years, the foundation document was carefully revised by the founder, including her own calculations from consulting the associated documents, regarding the total income of the entail. Maria Rebelo writes that

“chegando a este ponto depois de ter lido o que deixo escrito e cuidando nisso muito devagar o que por vezes deixo dito no que fica escrito que os rendimentos deste morgado e capela serem quatrocentos mil réis tornando a rever os aforamentos e papéis dos

¹⁷ Will chart (1659-03-17) – VINC001100 SFP EA/002ab; TT-AA-RA-49, fl. 323.



arrendamentos e fazendo as contas de tudo em particular pelo que se me paga pelo padrão do meu juro como pelos arrendamentos dos caseiros de minha fazenda acho que deixo quinhentos mil réis de renda antes mais que menos¹⁸”.

However, even without explicit references to consulting the archive, this is implicitly deduced from the multiple references to written records throughout several foundation documents: *papéis* (papers), *escritos* (writings), *escrituras* (deeds), *assinados* (signed papers), *conhecimentos* (informations), *livros de razão* (ledgers), *livros de lembrança* (books of remembrance) or *rol* (roll or list) are the most frequent. Although general mentions of sets of documents are identified – “my papers”, for example – founders usually indicate the specific document or group of documents to which they were referring – such as a set of deeds relating to a certain property. They may also add other information, such as the name of the notary who registered the document, the date of production or the location of the records.

The indications as to the location of the documents offer interesting glimpses into the spatial layout of the archives. In most cases, these are relatively vague, referring only to *escritórios* (cabinets), *bufetes* (buffets), *gavetas* (drawers), *cofres* (safes), *arcas* (chests), *caixas* (boxes) or *caixões* (big boxes or coffers). See, for example, the note left in his will by Doutor Frei Amaro de Lemos Mascarenhas, rector of the Church of São Tiago de Santarém, stating that in his cabinet and other buffet drawers were all the papers and deeds regarding the estate that he possessed¹⁹. The level of detail found in the foundation document drawn up by Damião Dias Magro, canon of the Cathedral of Évora and governor of the archbishopric of that city, in 1611, is therefore exceptional:

18 Codicil (1599-08-26) – VINC000857 MR EA/001c; TT-AA-RA-36, fl. 297v. My translation: “Reaching this point, after having read what I have written and considering very slowly what I have noted on what is written, that the income of this *morgado* and chapel is four hundred thousand réis; reviewing the leases and rental papers and adding everything in detail, based on what I am paid by the standard of my interest rate, as well as for the leases of the caretakers of my estate, I find that I leave five hundred thousand réis of income, if not more, rather than less”. Underlining by the author.

19 Will (1666-11-11) – VINC001126 ALM EA/001; TT-AA-RA-31, fl. 224v.



“os papéis que tocam a meu irmão e suas coisas estão e se acharão *na minha ante câmara em que como e estou em um armário medido na parede que parte com a sala fechado com portas de chave*, os que tocam a mim e a minhas coisas se acharão em um *escritório grande da ilha que tenho na primeira casa dos hóspedes com uma arquinha encourada que está junto dele* dos quais se entregarão aos administradores ou capelães de minha capela os que mando se lhe entregue no parágrafo trinta e quatro deste meu testamento e assim mais todas as quitações de dívidas que paguei e de contas que tive com algumas pessoas e de serviços de criados (...) também se acharão *em algum escritório* emaçados os papéis do tempo da Sé vacante por falecimento do senhor arcebispo Dom Teotónio de Bragança que Deus tem em que fui um dos três governadores deste arcebispado se eu em vida os não entregar a alguns meus testamenteiros os recolham com o segredo e os entreguem no cabido da santa sé desta cidade de Évora²⁰”.

Although the concerns behind the archival guidelines are varied, the most recurring issues are undoubtedly the resolution of debts and the knowledge and control of assets. Regarding the first issue, the amounts owed by the founders and those owed to them directly affected the amount that could be spent on pious obligations or the acquisition of assets that would be entailed. It was also a spiritual matter. Leaving earthly life with debts weighed heavily on the founders' consciences, so by passing on the information needed to pay them off in their wills, they unburdened their consciences and “burdened” those of their heirs and executors. On the other hand, knowledge and control of the assets held by the founders was

20 Will chart (1611-01-05) – VINC001629 DDM EA/005aa; TT-FC-CC-5, fl. 82-82v. My translation: “the papers that concern my brother and his affairs are and will be found *in my anteroom, where I eat and rest, in a cupboard built into the wall adjoining the room, secured with locked doors*. The papers that concern me and my affairs will be found *in a large cabinet of the island that I have in the first guest house, with a small leather-bound chest next to it*. These are to be given to the administrators or chaplains of my chapel, as directed in paragraph thirty-four of this will; furthermore, all the settlements of debts that I have paid, and accounts that I have had with certain people, and the services of servants (...) will also be *in some cabinet, packaged with the papers from the time when the Cathedral was left vacant due to the death of the Lord Archbishop Teotónio de Bragança*. God rest him, where I was one of the three governors of this archbishopric. If I don't deliver them to some of my executors during my lifetime, they should be collected discreetly and delivered to the Chapter of the Holy See of this city of Évora”. Underlining by the author.



essential for managing the inheritance and determining how many and which ones they wanted to entail.

In cases where the amount of debts was not particularly large, they could be detailed in the wills themselves. This included the names of the people who owed or to whom something was owed, and the respective amounts of the debts. However, when founders felt that there was too much information on these topics, the practice was to refer to documents separate from the will, called *declarações* (declarations), *lembranças* (recollections), *assinados* (signed papers), rolls of debts, servants' accounts or ledgers. This was the choice made by Álvaro de Castro, a member of the king's council, when he wrote his will in 1578, on his way to Alcácer-Quibir with King Sebastião:

“As dívidas que me devem acharão declaração (...) que das partes tenho que estão em um dos meus escritórios de que não tenho escrito também se acharão aí por lembrança que sei os não hão de negar e achar-se-ão esses escritos na primeira gaveta de cima do meu escritório grande ou a ilharga da gaveta declaro de minha letra o que está dentro e *por serem as partidas muitas escuso pô-las aqui no testamento*²¹”.

The most interesting examples can be found in the foundation documents produced by merchants or traders. Of particular note is the will of Pedro Botelho da Fonseca, a captain from Guarda who lived in Baía de Todos-os-Santos in Brazil, and his wife, Catarina Moreira de Araújo, written in 1641. Referring to a ledger, the founders point out throughout the will to the specific folios in the said book, where the numerous debts listed were to be found. They also add specific data, such as the names of the debtors, where they lived, the amount they owed, the products that had been

21 Will (1578-06-10-1578-06-14) – VINC006427 ACLC EA/002; TT-HSJ-015, fl. 16-16v. My translation: “About the debts that I am owed, there is a declaration (...) that I have from the parties that are in one of my cabinets, which I do not have written down. They will also be found there as a reminder, for I know they will not be denied, and these writings will be found in the top drawer of my large cabinet, or alongside the drawer. I declare in my own hand what is within, *and since there are many entries, I forgo listing them here in the will.* Underlining by the author.



traded, or the names of the ships that took those products, the names of the ships' masters and the departure dates of the vessels. By way of illustration, see the following passage, among several other similar ones:

“João Vicente Carneiro na cidade do Porto deve como parece da conta do livro a folhas seis e nove em dinheiro líquido setecentos e cinquenta e quatro mil e seiscentos e cinquenta e um réis deve mais o dito duas carregações que desta Baía lhe foram a saber nove caixas de açúcar panela com duzentas e cinquenta e três arrobas no navio Nossa Senhora do Rosário e Santo Sacramento mestre António Tomé vizinho de Matosinhos que partiu desta Baía em 30 de julho de (1)638 anos²²”.

Another example worth mentioning is that of Belchior Barreto, a noble knight of the king's household, who made his will in 1568. As a partner in a trading company, he declared that

“eu houve e tenho minha conta e negócios com muitas pessoas, assim em meu livro geral de nossa companhia, como em meu livro particular e borrões de que há muitos papéis e conhecimentos e escrituras que eu tenho de que se achará conta e razão de tudo nos ditos livros e borrões a que remeto portanto todos os conhecimentos e escrituras de dívidas que se acharem por meu falecimento se vejam primeiro e cotejem com os ditos livros e borrões (...) assim declaro que eu tenho hora um caderno de borrão encadernado em pergaminho que me serve no escritório, que foi começado em o primeiro de janeiro de 1566 em que tenho muitas contas do que devem muitas pessoas e do que se deve a outras, peço por mercê a meus testamen

22 Will chart (1641-05-26) – VINC001043 PBFCA EA/002; TT-AA-RA-3, fl. 335v. My translation: “João Vicente Carneiro in the city of Oporto owes, as appears in the ledger on pages six and nine, seven hundred and fifty-four thousand six hundred and fifty-one réis in net money. Furthermore, the said individual owes for two shipments sent from this Bay, namely, nine crates of *panela* sugar, weighing two hundred and fifty-three *arrobas*, aboard the ship *Nossa Senhora do Rosário e Santo Sacramento*, under the command of António Tomé, a resident of Matosinhos, which departed from this Bay on the 30th of July, (1)638”.



teiros e a cada um deles que mandem visitar o dito caderno e pagar o que por ele se deve²³”.

Belchior Barreto's will also contains a detailed description of all the assets and properties that were part of the entail, as well as several references to related written records. This reveals a concern not only with debt management, but also with control of the written information on the assets that composed the entail. When these assets were not very numerous or of a less complex nature, they could be declared in the will itself, as in the case of Belchior. If, on the other hand, they were too extensive and/or typologically diverse, they could be entered in their own documents, such as *tombos* (inventories) or *livros de fazenda* (estate books). In 1564, Isabel Gomes, widow of a noble knight of the king's household, determined that clauses should be added to the foundation document for the properties that would be progressively added, until the time came when there were so many that it would be necessary to make a *tombo*²⁴. As will be seen below, some of these inventories were produced while the founders were still alive; others were produced after their death, either by order of external institutions or of the founders themselves, who expressly commissioned the administrators to have them made.

In any case, several founders considered it important for successors and executors to know not only what the entailed assets were, but also what relevant papers related to these assets there were and where they were. We have already seen the example of Damião Dias Magro, who, in addition to precise indications as to where various documents could be found, also states that he had ordered all the deeds relating to the entailed estate to

23 Will chart (1568-08-30) – VINC000367 BB EA/001aaaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fl. 201v. My translation: “I have had and still have my accounts and dealings with many people, both in the general ledger of our company and in my private ledger, as well as in drafts, of which there are many papers, acknowledgments, and deeds that I possess, and an account and explanation of everything will be found in the said books and drafts, to which I refer. Therefore, all the acknowledgments and deeds of debts found at the time of my death should first be reviewed and compared with the said books and drafts (...) I also declare that I have a draft notebook bound in parchment, which serves me in the cabinet, and which was begun on the first of January 1566, in which I have many accounts of what many people owe and what is owed to others; I kindly ask my executors, and each one of them, to review the said notebook and pay what is owed according to it”.

24 Dowry deed (1564-10-18) – VINC000773 IGJMSS EA/001; TT-AA-RA-24, fl. 6.



be gathered together in a book²⁵. In addition to the foundation document itself, these other records relating to the assets that were part of the entail were most likely to be preserved. They proved the right to possession of the assets or privileges and were essential for the defence or claim of that right. That's why some were even attached to the foundation documents and preserved together.

These records were joined by other documents linked to the day-to-day management of the family economy which, unlike the former, were less likely to be preserved. This is the case with the aforementioned declarations, recollections, signed papers, drafts, ledgers, etc.. In most cases, these are only known from these indirect references within the chronology being analysed. In fact, they constitute a type of written production of information that was not necessarily intended to be preserved after the fulfilment of their assigned function. Although the content of most of the examples is unknown, they are part of the information produced by the founders which, as has been said, was much more extensive than the documentation that has been preserved to this day.

The same goes for other types of documents which, according to the founders, contain instructions to successors or executors on various subjects that were not considered necessary or appropriate to mention in the foundation documents. They appear as a kind of extension to the foundation documents. It seems that they were produced with the intention of not making the foundation documents too long and/or to keep certain provisions “secret” by passing them on separately and exclusively to a certain person, such as the administrator or executor. Father Luís Pinheiro, instituting an entail in 1615, stated that he had left to his daughter, the first administrator, a separate record, which she did not have to show to anyone or give account of²⁶. A few decades later, the licentiate António Garcia Sarmiento declared that he had compiled a list made of some things that he wanted to be carried out as if they were part of his will²⁷. It can be surmised that this type of provision could also be passed on orally, as

25 Will chart (1611-01-05) – VINC001629 DDM EA/005aa; TT-FC-CC-5, fl. 70.

26 Will (1615-09-16) – VINC000976 LP EA/001; TT-AA-RA-24, fl. 59v.

27 Will chart (1687-12-06) – VINC001186 AGS EA/001; TT-AA-RA-46, fl. 39v.



suggested by the foundation document of the entail of João Garcia and his wife, Maria Álvares, dated 1667. After naming his wife as heir, João Garcia asks that she does as they have arranged, pointing to a prior agreement that didn't necessarily involve the production of a written document²⁸.

As ephemeral written records, these instructions and the other documents “outside” the foundation document often share the characteristic of having been produced by the founders themselves or by other people linked to the private management and administration of the houses, and not by agents or institutions with public authority. That's why many founders didn't merely refer to these records, but were also concerned about their legal value. There are often requests to give them “faith” and “credit” as if they were part of the will itself or had been written by a public notary. Sometimes it was also emphasised that the documents were written by the founders' own hand and/or signed by them. Take the case of the widow Luísa de Barros, who wrote her will in 1583. Stating that all the details would be too much to declare in the will, she refers to a bound and numbered book:

“no qual tudo o que se achar escrito por letra por qualquer pessoa e assinado por mim ao pé isso quero que se cumpra e se dê inteira fé e tanto crédito como o mais que se achar neste testamento escrito e que valha *como parte substancial dele* que se não ponha nisso dúvida²⁹”.

Consider also the example of the testamentary dispositions of Francisco da Mota Madureira, nobleman of the king's household, familiar of the Holy Office, professed commander of the Order of Christ and retainer of the Duke of Caminha, established in 1639. Among these provisions is the declaration that a certain canon held a list that the founder had left him in secret, one that was signed by Francisco Madureira but was not judicially

28 Will (1667-07-08) – VINC004964 JGMA EA/001a; ADGRD-GCG-RV-1, fl. 272.

29 Will (1583-05-12) – VINC002767 LB EA/003; TT-HSJ-012, fls. 111-124. My translation: “in which everything that is written by hand by any person and signed by me beside it is to be carried out and given full faith and credit, as much as anything else found in this written will, and that it should be considered as a *substantial part of it*, without any doubt”. Underlining by the author.



recognised. However, it should still be given full faith and credit³⁰. Maria de Lurdes Rosa demonstrated that the legal validation of records derived from the foundation document by the founders without the intervention of external authorities was possible in a historical context characterised by the legal plurality and autonomy of corporate bodies³¹. And, as the examples above show, many founders were aware of this capability.

Thus, the establishment of an entail was, or could be, an informational act (written and oral) that went far beyond the production of the foundation document. Many of the informational and archival efforts involved in founding an entail were initiated by the founders themselves before the foundation was formalised in writing. Others were carried out by the administrators on the explicit orders of the founders, as will be shown below.

5.3. Documentary production and conservation

Another reflection of the founders' informational and archival consciousness was the inclusion of clauses in the foundation documents that obliged or recommended that successors and administrators produce and/or keep certain written documents related to the entails. The type of documents referred to by the founders is once again varied, but the most recurrent categories are two: the *treslados* or copies of the foundation documents; and the *tombos* or inventories of entailed assets, which were sometimes also copied and could include a copy of the foundation document and/or other written records considered relevant.

5.3.1. Copies of the foundation document

Despite the importance of the foundation documents, which function as the internal law of entails, not all founders showed any concern about producing copies of these records. Perhaps some considered it implied that the document would be copied, so it wouldn't be necessary to

30 Will chart (1639-04-07) – VINC001036 FMM EA/001; TT-AA-RA-37, fls. 179v-180.

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mention it explicitly. Others may have chosen not to include any clause on this subject because they left guidelines in separate records or passed them on orally. However, foundations that mention the copying of the foundation documents clearly show that their founders were aware of the usefulness of having several copies of this record and of the importance of preserving it (Table 5: Examples of entails where founders request a copy/ies of the foundation document, pp. 337–341).

The production of copies of the foundation document thus made it possible to multiply the versions of this record, which, along with the "original", could be kept in separate locations, as will be seen below³². In this way, three main objectives were fulfilled: to improve the chances of preserving the foundation document and, in this way, the memory of the will of the founders; to enhance the monitoring of the administrators through writing by external institutions; and to guarantee the authenticity of the foundation document.

As we have seen above, the founding documents of entails were more likely to be preserved due to their establishment of perpetual obligations and rights. This likelihood was enhanced not only by the administrators' interest in preserving these records to prove, protect, and/or assert rights, but also by the direct involvement of the founders themselves. By improving the chances of preserving the foundation document, the likelihood of preserving the memory of their requests was also improved. As a result, the longevity of the fulfilment of founding provisions was, in principle, increased, and the risk to the health of the founders' souls was reduced. Or, to quote an expression used in the foundation of the entail made in 1598 by Jorge Eanes and his wife, Catarina Luís, the remedy of their souls would not expire³³. That's why, in most cases, the founders didn't merely request that the foundation document be copied but left additional instructions.

These instructions could deal with the materiality of the copies themselves, sometimes requesting that they be produced on parchment as to guarantee greater durability. On the other hand, concern about the legal

³² By "original" I mean the first version of the document to have been produced.

³³ Will chart (1598-11-26) – VINC007082JELA EA/001; TT-CNSCL-091, fl. 151.



value of the copies was also common. Several founders demanded that copies be made in public form and by authority of justice, involving the intervention of a public notary. Some also explicitly state that the copies should be given “faith” and “credit” without reservation. In a way, they add their own authority as founders to the judicial authority of public notaries, asserting *ab anteriori* the legal validity of the copies. This is the case in the example of the foundation of Catarina de Sena Pereira, dated 1630, which stipulates that

“este meu testamento se treslade em um pergaminho em pública forma (...) e aos treslados que se tirarem do dito pergaminho se dará inteira fé e crédito pelo tempo em diante como se fossem treslados do original para que sempre se tenha notícia certa deste vínculo e suas condições enquanto o mundo durar³⁴”.

However, the most common instructions regarding copies concern the places where they should be kept. As a rule, the founders requested that the original foundation document and/or a copy be kept by the administrator, so that it could be passed down from generation to generation to the remaining successors in the administration of the entail. This is precisely the wish of Catarina de Sena Pereira, who orders that her will be kept in the titles of the house in an ivory box, which should be perfectly made for that purpose, and retained by her daughter and the other administrators of the entail³⁵.

Regarding the remaining copies, these were generally distributed among three categories of places/institutions: the royal archives or *Torre do Tombo*; the notaries' notes; and religious, royal, or municipal institutions that could exercise control over the fulfilment of the deceased's will. There are examples of requests to send or register a copy of the foundation document and/or the inventory of assets in only one place/institution, while

34 Will chart (1630-04-26) – VINC000998 CSPPM EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-12, fls. 42v-43. My translation: “this my will shall be transcribed onto parchment in public form (...) and the copies made from this parchment shall be given full faith and credit henceforth as if they were copied from the original, so that there may always be accurate knowledge of this entail and its conditions for as long as the world endures”.

35 Will chart (1630-04-26) – VINC000998 CSPPM EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-12, fls. 42v.



in other cases the founders request a copy or its registration in multiple places/institutions.

One of the most complete examples can be found in the foundation document of the *morgadio* of Gil Eanes da Costa, of the king's council and *vedor da Fazenda* (treasurer), and his wife, Joana da Silva, made in 1560. The founders ordered that the foundation document be registered in the notary's notes of the town of Santarém, where the entail was located, and that four authenticated copies be produced: one for the administrator; another to be delivered to the chief guard of the *Torre do Tombo*, so that it could be preserved in a location where it could always be found; the third for conservation in the registry office of the monastery of Almoester, which the founders had helped to build and where they also founded a funerary chapel and left pious charges; and the last for the custody of the town council of Santarém. In the words of Gil Eanes da Costa and Joana da Silva, the various copies were requested so that “em qualquer destas partes se possa sempre achar e haver lembrança do que assim ordenamos e se ajudar dele a quem cumprir³⁶”.

Of these various “parts”, the *Torre do Tombo*, as the archives of the Crown and the royal administration, was seen, especially from the 15th century onwards, as a safe place to keep documents. However, the deposit and/or registration of foundation documents and inventories at the *Torre do Tombo* required royal authorisation. Judging by the social status of the founders who had access to it, it would be a restricted practice and not transversal to most foundations (Table 6: Examples of entails where founders request the deposit and/or registration of foundation documents and/or inventories at the *Torre do Tombo*, pp. 341–342). The notion that the Crown archives would guarantee better documentary conservation is evident both in the clauses of the foundation documents and in the requests for authorisation sent to the monarch to deposit or register the documentation in this institution (Table 7: Examples of petitions to deposit or register copies of foundation documents and/or inventories at

36 Entail foundation deed (1560–07–05) – VINCO01816 GECJS EA/002aa; TT-IMC-NA-190, fl. 15. My translation: “in any of these parts it may always be possible to find and recall what we have ordered and assist those who are to fulfill it”.



the *Torre do Tombo*, p. 343). Justifications for sending or registering the copies at the *Torre do Tombo* include expressions such as “para melhor guarda e conservação de tudo³⁷”, “para maior segurança e conservação da perpetuidade dela (carta de instituição)³⁸”, “para em todo o tempo se poder achar³⁹”, “para evitarem os inconvenientes que acontecem em se perderem as ditas instituições⁴⁰” or “para que sendo caso que este original se perca esteja o treslado sempre vivo e se saiba dele⁴¹”.

A similar purpose was served by requests for registration in notaries' notes, with the added benefit that these repositories also served as legally binding records from which new copies could be produced, if need be (Table 8: Examples of entails in which founders request the registration of the foundation document in notaries' books, p. 343). In the case of Jorge Pires, a leatherworker and son of Pedro Eanes, who was Isabel Martins' executor, the need was unusual: the will of Isabel Martins, which Jorge Pires had in his possession, had been gnawed by rats, so he requested that the king's notary in Lisbon issue a copy⁴².

In turn, while the deposit or registration of copies in religious, royal, or municipal institutions were also considered solutions for document conservation, they were combined with another equally relevant objective: to enhance the oversight of administrators by external institutions outside the family group. This issue will be revisited in chapter 7, but for now it is important to emphasise that the copies emerged as weapons available to founders' against potential non-compliant administrators, demonstrating

37 Entail foundation deed (1612-06-22) – VINC003377 MMHS EA/001aa; TT-C-F2-D-28, fl. 159v. My translation: “for better safekeeping and conservation of everything”.

38 Entail foundation deed (1648-08-17) – VINC001064 FPV EA/002; TT-AA-RA-1, fl. 54. My translation: “for greater security and conservation of the perpetuity of the (foundation deed)”.

39 Entail foundation deed (1483-04-29) – VINC000096 MVRT EA/001a; TT-LN-18, fl. 294v. My translation: “so that it can be found at all times”.

40 Entail foundation deed (1620-12-19) – VINC002082 MSFMSF EA/001aa; TT-C-F3-D-2, fl. 9. My translation: “to avoid the inconveniences that occur when the aforementioned institutions are lost”.

41 Entail foundation deed (1630-04-02) – VINC002018 JLG MN EA/001ab; TT-IMC-NA-209, fl. 5v. My translation: “so that if this original is lost, it's copy will always be alive and known”.

42 Exemplification of a will [after 1492-09-22] – VINC000257 IMPE EA/001a; TT-HSJ-1190, fls. 133-133v.



the importance of written records in the management, operation, and survival of entails⁴³.

As far as religious institutions were concerned, several founders requested a full or partial copy of the foundation document, or its registration in the books of the churches or monasteries where they had funerary chapels, where they intended to be buried and where they left perpetual pious obligations. Possession of these documents allowed religious institutions to know the obligations left by the founders and also to verify that administrators were fulfilling their duties and making due payments. The example of the entail founded by Brás Rodrigues Pita, a knight of the Order of Christ, and his wife, Isabel Mendes Dantas, in 1608, illustrates this. In the foundation deed, the founders requested that a copy of the foundation document be given to the nuns of the monastery of Santa Clara de Caminha, where they would be buried. The *treslado* should be

“concertado e em pública forma que faça fé em qualquer juízo para conservação de seu direito e do que nesta lhe mandam dar eles instituidores, e assim para serem acusadoras das faltas dos administradores e possam requerer que se cumpram todos os encargos e se digam as missas⁴⁴”.

In some cases, the founders sought to reinforce the memory of the pious charges they stipulated through complementary means other than copies, forcing another type of information production in the form of *tábuas de missas* (memorial tablets). On these tablets, which were placed in the funerary chapels bought or built by the founders, the perpetual masses that had to be said for the souls of the deceased would be inscribed. They are therefore part of the strategies for managing the life of the soul, which will be analysed in the next chapter. They are visually associated with the epitaphs and arms inscribed in stone in the funeral space⁴⁵. In the words

43 See Chapter 7 – Being a *morgado* in the community, pp. 310–315.

44 Entail foundation deed (1608–02–20) – VINCO05231 BRPIMD EA/001; SGMAI–GCVC–RV–9611, fls. 27v–28. My translation: “concerted and in public form, to be deemed authentic in any court for the preservation of their (the nuns) right and those that the founders command to be provided, and so that they can note the faults of the administrators and can request that all the charges be fulfilled and masses said”.

45 See Chapter 3 – For the immortality of memory: family names and arms, pp. 165–176.



of Damião Dias Magro, canon of the Cathedral of Évora, his memorial tablet should be hung on the wall so that the obligations could be seen and noticed by everyone and that the administrators and chaplains remembered to fulfil them with punctuality⁴⁶.

Most founders simply requested that the masses be inscribed on tablets. The example of the entail established in 1543 by António Carneiro, secretary to King Manuel I and his son, King João III, and a member of the latter's council, is therefore exceptional. In his will, António Carneiro ordered that the masses listed on the tablet placed in the chapel at the Santíssima Trindade monastery in Lisbon be celebrated⁴⁷. The content of this tablet is fully transcribed in the contract and bond deed signed between the founder's son and the monks of the monastery, and it lists the daily masses stipulated by António Carneiro for the souls of his parents (on Mondays), for two couples who assisted in his upbringing (on Tuesdays and Wednesdays), of kings João II (on Thursdays) and João II (on Fridays), Manuel I and João III (on Fridays) and, finally, for his own soul and that of his wife (on Saturdays and Sundays)⁴⁸.

Along with the Church, royal institutions were also often designated by the founders as the custodians of the copies of the foundation documents the inventories. In this group, the *Misericórdias* stand out from the end of the 15th century onwards⁴⁹ and, in the case of Lisbon from the early 1500s onwards, the Hospital Real de Todos-os-Santos (whose management was assigned to the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon from 1564 to 1851)⁵⁰. Both could be granted the administration of entails or benefit from their income, either by deliberation of the founders themselves – who might designate these institutions as administrators in certain situations, such as the extinction of the line of descendants or the failure of administrators – or by royal decree. In the foundation of Lourenço de Costa, dated 1638, it was stipulated that if the administrators failed to fulfil their obligations, they would forfeit two years of income from the entail to the *Misericórdia* of

46 Will chart (1611-01-05) – VINC001629 DDM EA/005aa; TT-FC-CC-5, fl. 77.

47 Will (1543-08-12) – VINC007827 AC EA/001aa; TT-HSJ-083, fl. 47.

48 Contract and bond deed (1552-06-18) – VINC007827 AC EA/001; TT-HSJ-083, fls. 51-52.

49 See VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/misericordias/>.

50 See VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/hospitais/>.



the town where the founder was buried, which would receive a copy of his will⁵¹. Similarly to religious institutions, the *Misericórdias* and the Royal Hospital could also be tasked with overseeing the administrators and ensuring their obligations were carried out in accordance with the founders' wishes. This is exemplified by the entail founded by Luís de Andrade in 1558. The founder orders the delivery of a copy of the will and the entail's *tombo* to the church of São Nicolau, in Lisbon, where he left pious charges, so that the administrator could be compelled. Additionally, he stipulates that a copy of the should be included in the hospital's *tombo*, in the book of chapels, so that from there, too, accountability could be ensured⁵².

The same oversight function associated with the custody of the copies was recognised by founders in another royal institution in operation from the end of the 15th century, the *provedorias das comarcas*⁵³ (district overseer's office). Unlike the other institutions mentioned above, the *provedorias* had the sole purpose of ensuring the fulfillment of the obligations left by the deceased. This fact was known to some of the founders, which is why they requested that a copy of the foundation documents and inventories be delivered to the *provedorias*, as well as oversight of their foundations by the *provedores*. This is precisely what António Dias Chamusco ordered in the foundation of an entail through a will made in 1640, obliging the executor to register the foundation document in the book of chapels of the *provedoria da comarca* and asking the *provedor* to ensure annually that the obligations were being met as commanded by the King through the laws of the kingdom⁵⁴.

The same is true of municipal institutions, particularly city councils, whose registry offices could also receive copies of foundation documents and inventories in order to ensure the fulfilment of obligations by administrators. One of the earliest records that attest to requests for copies by founders includes precisely the documentary custody by a municipal institution – the foundation document of the entail of Afonso Domingues

51 Will chart (1683-10-24) – VINC001168 LC EA/002acaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fl. 186.

52 Will (1558-10-27) – VINC000763 LA EA/002a; TT-AA-RA-3, fl. 147.

53 See VISG – <https://visg.vinculum.fesh.unl.pt/instituicoes/provedorias-das-comarcas-final-sec-xv-1832/>.

54 Will (1648-10-31) – VINC001067 ADC EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-26, fl. 357.



de Beja, a knight and member of the king's council, and his wife, Maria Domingues, dated 1378. In this document, the founders request that three legal documents of the same tenor be produced, one to be placed in the “treasury” of the church of São Bartolomeu, where they founded a chapel; another for the administrators; and a third to be deposited in the “cabinet” of the municipality of Lisbon⁵⁵.

In addition to document conservation and the possibility of monitorization of the administrators by institutions external to the family, the distribution of copies of the entail's documents across various repositories also ensured the authenticity of those documents. The existence of several versions of the same record opened the possibility of comparison in the event of doubt, or legal issues related to the administration of the entail. In fact, some founders anticipated the possibility that one of the parties involved in the fulfilment of their wishes, including the administrators, might alter or corrupt the foundation document for their own benefit. Such a possibility was foreseen by Brás Afonso Correia, a member of the king's council and *corregedor* (magistrate) of Lisbon, in a will finalised in 1520. Perhaps influenced by his professional experience, the founder states that often heirs and executors disregard and corrupt some clauses in wills, which causes great disputes. He therefore requested the production of two wills of the same tenor and one copy. The latter was to be delivered to the church of São Tomé in Lisbon, where he founded a chapel; one of the wills was to remain in the hands of the administrator; and the other was to be deposited in the *Torre do Tombo* so that if at any time there was any doubt, one could be checked against the other, and the other against the other, thereby resolving any doubts, disputes or errors⁵⁶.

The fears of the *corregedor* of Lisbon were not unfounded, as evidenced by the the entail founded in 1625 by Pedro da Costa Saraiva, a citizen of Guarda. According to the rules of succession stipulated by the founder, his brother, Manuel da Costa Saraiva, and all his descendants were forever excluded from the administration of the entail. Being the clerk of the Guarda town hall, Manuel Saraiva obtained through deceit the notes

55 Entail foundation deed (1378-09-09) – VINC005656 ADBMDPA EA/002; TT-AA-RA-16, fls. 150v.

56 Will chart (1520-09-06) – VINC000176 BAC EA/001a; TT-GCL-RV-104, fls. 107-107v.



where the will had been registered and changed and amended the words that stipulated the exclusion. The notary whose notebook had been forged realised the falsehood and promptly corrected and restored the will, pointing out what had happened in the margin. However, because it was a matter of such importance and so damaging, and because it was feared that Manuel Saraiva had drawn up a forged copy before the notary had a chance to amend the will, the first administrator asked the king to issue a provision “para os vícios da dita instituição se acharem verdadeiramente como dantes estavam e à vontade dos instituidores⁵⁷”.

It should be emphasised that throughout the life of the entails, many more copies of the foundation documents were produced than those explicitly foreseen by the majority of founders. Whether due to falsehood, carelessness⁵⁸, disaster or accident⁵⁹, the natural wear and tear of materials⁶⁰, difficulties in reading old spellings, or administrative and legal reasons, copies of foundation documents have multiplied over the centuries.

57 Confirmation letter (1630-11-25) – VINC002811 PSCAFC EA/003a; ADGRD-GCG-RV-8, fls. 12v-13. My translation: “so that the faults of the said institution would truly be as they were before and according to the will of the founders”. See also the other documents included in the entail archive (<https://www.vinculum-database.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/pedro-da-costa-saraiva-entail-archive>). There are other examples of forged documents in the database:

– Acórdão em relação (1625-03-22) – VINC002034 LDC EA/002c; TT-FC-CC-1, fl. 222;

– Court sentence (transcription) (1671-05-21) – VINC002936 CP EA/005a; PEGAS -1687-2-43-46.

58 In his last will, dated 1638, Lourenço da Costa revoked all the wills he had made previously, including one “em o qual disse certas palavras de que não sou lembrado, o qual me desapareceu” (my translation: “in which I said certain words that I don’t remember, which has disappeared”): Will chart (1683-10-24) – VINC001168 LC EA/002aaca; TT-AA-RA-2, fl. 186v.

59 The first foundation deed of the entail of Pedro Mascarenhas and his wife, Helena Mascarenhas, was recorded in a notary’s book, but the book was lost when King Filipe II’s army entered the city. After being widowed, Helena Mascarenhas had in her possession a copy and some notes, which she handed over so that the foundation could once again be recorded in the notary’s notes: Entail foundation deed (1554-02-03) – VINC002319 PMHM EA/001daa; TT-IMC-NA-210, fl. 3.

60 In 1508, Martinho Alvernaz, administrator of the entail set up in 1379 by Pedro Esteves de Unhão and his wife, Clara Afonso, requested a public copy of the couple’s will because “ele se temia de por alguma maneira ou via se lhe perder o dito testamento e assim porque em alguns lugares a letra dele se caducava e comia por ser já muito velho” (my translation: “he feared that by some means or others the said will would be lost to him, and also because in some places the handwriting was becoming illegible and it was being eaten away due to age”): Will (1379-05-11) – VINC000140 PEUCA EA/003aa; TT-HSJ-020, fl. 117.



5.3.2. Inventories

Another informational and archival concern of the founders, distinct from the copies of deeds but equally important, was the production of *tombos* or inventories of the assets that formed part of the entail. As mentioned above, these inventories were heterogeneous, potentially including a list of the entailed assets, a copy of the foundation document, and/or other records deemed relevant. It was also mentioned that the inventories themselves could be copied, creating several versions of the same document in a similar logic to that analysed in the previous section.

The database offers two main ways of evaluating the documentary practice of producing inventories. The first concerns the index term "inventory". The database contains 405 archival descriptions indexed with this term, which suggests that the inclusion of clauses on the production of inventories in the foundation documents was relatively uncommon and restricted to the aforementioned founder profiles. The second way is the advanced search options. Searching for the term "*tombo*" in scope and content reveals the existence of 832 inventories in the database, a much higher number than the records indexed with the term "inventory".

While the index term translates the number of times the founders ordered or requested the production of inventories, a search for the term "*tombo*" returns the number of inventories actually produced, either by order of the founders or the administrators or at the request of external authorities. It should be noted that, from King Manuel onwards, the production of *tombos* of property became compulsory, regardless of whether or not it had been requested by the founders⁶¹.

At this point, I am mainly interested in analysing the reasons given by the founders for producing the inventories, as well as their indications as to the characteristics and functions of these documents. These aspects were not unrelated to the inventorying practices of royal institutions and it is assumed that these influenced the founders' perceptions of this type of document.

61 Rosa, 1995, pp. 221–225.



It's true that many founders simply request that the administrators inventory the properties of the entail and possibly send copies to certain institutions in the same way as foundation documents, without adding any further instructions. Others, however, justify the reason for this request and leave precise indications about the content of the inventories, their materiality, or the ways in which the document was to be used.

The reasons behind the inventory were, first and foremost, to identify in writing the properties that were part of the entails and therefore subject to obligations. In this way, the founders considered that the inventory would reduce the likelihood, on the one hand, of losing the memory that the inventoried assets were entailed; and, on the other hand, of them being lost, sold, exchanged or, in some way, unintentionally or purposely alienated. This idea is evident in one of the oldest testimonies in the sample, which dates back to 1334, when Vasco Esteves, prior of the church of Algodres, established an entail by will in the convent of São Domingos in Lisbon. Leaving the administration to his brother, he instructed him to inventory the entailed properties and estates, so that they wouldn't be lost and so that it would always be known that they were obliged to the pious charges he had established⁶².

To strengthen this aspect of patrimonial knowledge, some founders, such as João Garcia and his wife, Maria Álvares, specified that inventories should be drawn up by a public notary and that they should state the location of the properties and their respective boundaries, taking measurements by *vara* (rod) and including the names of the persons with whom they shared the boundaries with, and those who made payments⁶³. Gomes da Noia and his wife, Catarina Fernandes Valente, are even more specific: they request that the inventory contain

“todos os escravos por seus nomes e número das vacas e cabras e suas crias e das éguas e bestas muares e acabando-se um livro se buscará outro (...) de maneira que terá sempre um livro como os de

62 Will (1334-03-25) – VINC000647 VE EA/003; TT-MSDL-12.

63 Will (1667-07-08) – VINC004964 JGMA EA/001a; ADGRD-GCG-RV-1, fl. 273.



tabeliães e notas (...) o qual livro será ao menos de duas mãos de papel e daí para cima, menos não⁶⁴”.

The level of detail required by the latter is explained, at least in part, by the characteristics of the entail being established: it was made up of sugar mills and plantations on the island of Santiago (Cape Verde) whose operation depended on enslaved people and other various resources. Hence the founders’ determination that the entail should forever include at least thirty enslaved persons, all of whom were successively inventoried.

There are similar examples in which the founders also ordered the inclusion in the inventory of the deeds relating to the assets and properties they entailed. This is the case of Diogo Marmeleiro, a noble knight of the king’s household, and his wife, Catarina de Lemos, who, in 1573, declared in the entail foundation document that they had papers and deeds for the assets they entailed, which should be registered in the entail’s inventory so that at all times in the world it might be known that they existed⁶⁵. It has already been noted that knowledge and possession of the deeds were essential for proving, defending, and claiming rights both within and without the context of the entailment, which explains why many of the processes of organising and reorganising family archives carried out throughout the *Ancien Régime* focused precisely on the documents of the entails administered by family groups⁶⁶.

In addition to the deeds of assets and properties, the inventories devised by the founders could also contain other records considered relevant, among which the first is the foundation document, a copy of which should usually be drawn up at the beginning of the inventory. The founders could also request that contracts with religious institutions for the allocation of chapels or royal certificates on certain matters be added to this record, for example.

64 Will (1645-03-08) – VINC000929 GNCVF EA/002aa; IANCV-ACP-350, fls. 58-63v. My translation: “all the slaves by their names, the number of the cows and goats and their offspring, and the mares and mule beasts, and when one book is completed, another shall be started (...) so that there shall always be a book like those of notaries and records (...) which shall be at least two quires of paper or more, but no less”.

65 Will (1573-02-17) – VINC001648 DMCL EA/001daa; TT-IMC-NA-192, fl. 18v.

66 Rosa; Head, 2015.



In practice, however, many inventories ended up including various documents that had not necessarily been foreseen by the founders. Their inclusion can be explained by the normal course of the bureaucratic and informational process of inventorying, by the actions of the administrators, or by events that took place between the establishment of the entail and the production of the inventory.

The way the database has been constructed makes it easy to understand the various documents that make up each inventory and the respective informational acts that gave rise to them. Take, for example, the inventory of the entail instituted by Fernando de Álvares da Cunha, a nobleman in the king's household, in 1570. In the foundation document, which is known today from the copy registered in the inventory, Fernando da Cunha left the following instructions: that a *tombo* of the *morgadio* be made, with a transcription of the foundation document, and that three inventories be produced, one for the administrator, another for the church of Nossa Senhora da Vitória, where he requests to be buried, and the third to be deposited at the *Torre do Tombo*⁶⁷. After the founder's death, Joana Vaz, the founder's widow, his executor and usufructuary of the entail's revenues during her lifetime, complied with what had been stipulated by the deceased, creating the inventory and delivering the respective copies to the designated places. However, there was a dispute between the widow and the entail over the division of assets, which resulted in new divisions being made and alterations to the properties that had initially been allocated to the entail. As a consequence, the previously made inventory became obsolete and a new one had to be produced.

Taking on the characteristics envisaged by the founder, the new inventory, drawn up in 1578, also contains informational traces of the entail's recent history, as can be seen in the family tree of the documents included in it (Figure 1: Genealogical tree of the documents included in the inventory of the entail of Fernando de Álvares da Cunha):

67 Will (1570-08-28) – VINCO01710 FAC EA/004aa; TT-IMC-NA-191, fls. 1v-10.

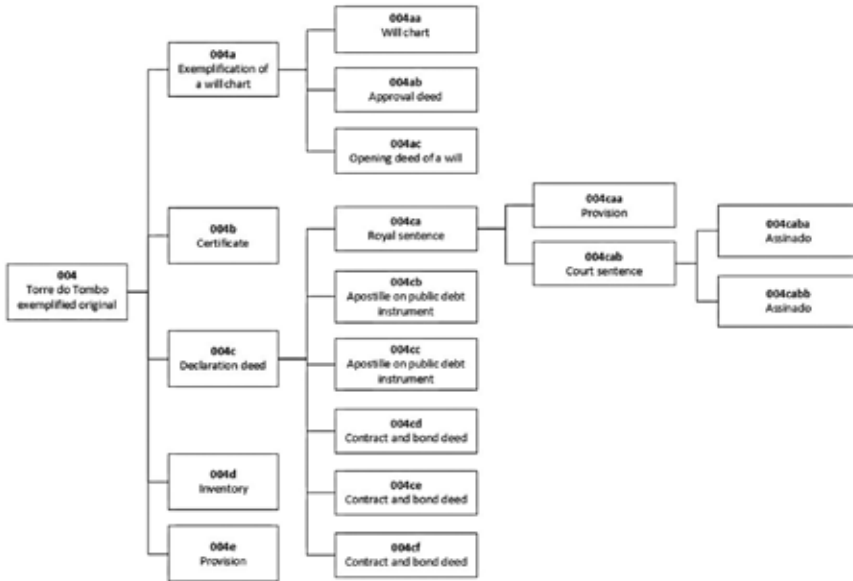


Figure 1

Genealogical tree of the documents included in the inventory of the entail of Fernando de Álvares da Cunha

At the beginning of the inventory, there is the copy of the will (004a), which contains the will itself (004aa), the approval (004ab) and the opening deed of the will (004ac). This is followed by a certificate (004b) issued by the *provedor dos hospitais, capelas e resíduos*, validating the will. Then there is a declaration deed between the widow and the entail (004c), which includes various other documents related to the subject (004ca, 004caa, 004cab, 004caba, 004cabb, 004cb, 004cc, 004cd, 004cd and 004cf).

Next up is the inventory of properties and deeds (004d), titled "*Lembrança das escrituras, papéis, propriedades e fazenda que pertencem ao morgado de Fernando Álvares que haja glória*"⁶⁸ ("List of deeds, papers, properties and estate that belong to the entail of Fernando Álvares, may he rest in glory"). This inventory lists all properties and documents relating to them: the name of the property and its location are mentioned,

68 Inventory [1578] – VINC001710 FAC EA/004d; TT-IMC-NA-191, fls. 521-528.



as well as the deeds that exist about said property and, for each of these deeds, the day, month, and year in which the records were produced, the names of the notaries and, in some cases, the names of the different officials who intervened in the act described, such as judges, magistrates, etc.. Also listed are the three contracts signed with the church of Nossa Senhora da Vitória, fully transcribed before the inventory (004cd, 004ce, 004cf). In total, 85 documents are listed, three from the 15th century and the rest from the 16th century.

Finally, the last document included in the inventory is a royal provision (004e) addressed to António Castilho, chief keeper of the *Torre do Tombo*, instructing him to hand over to Joana Vaz the copy of the first inventory that had been deposited in the royal archive so that it could be replaced by the new one, which contained the properties that were allocated to the entail after the second division of assets. The custody of one of the inventories of the entail of Fernando de Álvares da Cunha by the *Torre do Tombo*, in accordance with his wishes, continues to the present day, now forming part of the "Morgados e Capelas" collection, alongside several other similar records, one of the most fascinating collections for the study of this type of document⁶⁹.

This entail demonstrates the potential difference between the "ideal inventory" prescribed by the founders and the document that was actually produced. However, this does not mean that the founders, or at least some of them, viewed inventories as fixed and static records. In fact, it is interesting to note, on the one hand, the existence of more comprehensive inventory concerns and, on the other, that some inventories were thought of not only as listing tools, but also as management instruments. In the foundation document of the entail of João Teixeira de Araújo and his wife, Águeda de Sousa, finalised in 1698, the founders draw attention to the fact that they had in their possession a property book in which all the records relating to the estates they owned are transcribed. To enable the first administrator to produce the entail inventory, they ordered that declarations be added to this book to indicate which properties would be entailed so that everything would be clear for when the *tombo* were to be

69 Cf. <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4223346>.



made. They then stipulate that successors are obliged to renew the *tombo* every forty years⁷⁰. The aforementioned Pedro Saraiva da Costa and Ana Frajoa da Costa set a similar task, requesting that all administrators of the entail make an inventory after succeeding to the administration⁷¹. In both cases, this process of inventorying, thought to be continued in perpetuity, is linked to the obligation for successive administrators to entail their *terça* (third part of the inheritance) to the entail, which meant the constant addition of entailed properties and therefore justified the need to keep updating the inventories.

There is therefore an organic link between the evolution of the entail and the characteristics of the inventory. This link is also evident in the inventories that were designed by founders as auxiliary instruments for managing the administration of entails. In these situations, these documents appear at the intersection between the inventories themselves and the income and expenditure books.

This is the case of the inventory ordered by Father Gil Eanes Pereira, a native of the city of Elvas, who left for India at the age of 28 and became prior and president of the Bishopric of Cochin and inspector general of the Archbishopric of Goa. In his will, written in 1611 in India, where would die three years later, Gil Eanes Pereira instructs that a book be made of very good paper and well bound, at least of six quires of paper, in which part of his will was to be transcribed, followed by a list of the estates he entailed and the copies of all deeds related to the purchases and exchanges of property to be acquired for his chapel. This book, like the money and movable assets, was to be kept in a “deposit” and whenever money was put in or taken out, it had to be duly recorded in writing. The book of the entail of Gil Eanes Pereira was also to contain the annual alms due to the *Misericórdia* of Elvas, as well as all the income and expenditure made each year. The inspector general's rigour is largely explained by the complexity of managing his assets. Most of them were outside the metropolises, scattered across India, the Madeira archipelago, and in investments

70 Entail foundation deed (1698-11-21) – VINCO02006 JTAAS EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 89v-90v.

71 Confirmation letter (1630-11-25) – VINCO02811 PSCAFC EA/003a; ADGRD-GCG-RV-8, fls. 10-10v.



in various ships. It would be necessary to sell these assets to acquire real estate for the chapel in Elvas, which required royal authorisation due to the somewhat strict law, in the opinion of the priest, preventing churches and ecclesiastical persons from buying real estate without authorization from the Crown⁷².

Damião Dias Magro, another ecclesiastic and a canon of the Évora Cathedral, left a very similar request in his will:

“ordeno e mando que os administradores desta capela tenham um livro de receita e despesa e lhes sirva também de *tombo* em que escrevam as propriedades que tem distintamente e cada um por si com declaração do em que estão arrendadas e por quanto tempo e a que pessoa e do que em cada um ano recolhem de cada uma delas e do que despendem para procederem com maior clareza e darem sua conta com mais facilidade⁷³”.

This document, along with a certified and authentic copy of the will; the original will, if possible; the deeds relating to the chapel's assets and other papers concerning it and its stability and protection, which he had already ordered to be put together in a book; and with the documents related to debts, were to be deposited in a secure and well-locked chest with two locks and two keys. One of the keys was to be given to the rector or curate of the Alvito parish church, and the other to the administrator or chaplain, who was also to keep the chest in his home, more specifically, in a place where there was no danger of the said papers being lost or damaged, so that being thus together and in a secluded place they could easily be found and consulted⁷⁴.

It is curious to note that in these two examples, both founders ordered that the inventories, along with other written records and movable assets, be

72 Will (1611-06-10) – VINC000903 GEP EA/002ad; TT-AA-RA-32, fl. 218v.

73 Will chart (1611-01-05) – VINC001629 DDM EA/005aa; TT-FC-CC-5, fls. 76-76v. My translation: “I order and direct that the administrators of this chapel maintain a book of income and expenditure, which shall also serve as an *tombo*; in this book, they should record the properties they hold separately, each one individually, with a declaration of their leases, including the duration, the lessee, the annual income from each property, and the expenses incurred, to ensure greater clarity and facilitate the account-keeping”.

74 Will chart (1611-01-05) – VINC001629 DDM EA/005aa; TT-FC-CC-5, fls. 76-76v.



kept in their own repositories – a “deposit” and a “chest”. The same was requested by Antónia Henriques, a widow, in her will from 1573. In adding assets and obligations to the chapel instituted by her parents-in-law, Antónia Henriques ordered the production of an inventory of the estate, a copy of the foundation document, and an inventory of the chapel's objects and ornaments. All these documents were to be kept in a registry office, along with the other written records that belonged to the chapel and to the administration of her estate. A key to the registry would be kept by the administrator and the other by the minister of the convent where the chapel was located. Like Damião Dias Magro, Antónia Henriques predicts that custody of and access to the documentation would be shared between the administrators and the representatives of the religious institution⁷⁵. This would be another way of exercising vigilance over the administrators of the entails, granting access to the written records to organisations outside the family group.

Typically, the responsibility for the financial and accounting management of the entails is assigned to the administrators and may also involve representatives of other institutions or even the chaplains, in the case of chapels. The solution devised by Diogo Rodrigues Trombeta and his wife, Margarida Fernandes, stands out from this norm as it provides, in a codicil dated 1522, that the chapel they established should always have a clerk, chosen from among the town's notaries:

“e queremos que haja escrivão da capela que fazemos para fazer cada um ano livro de receita e despesa que será o escrivão da dita capela um tabelião da dita vila (Sousel) o mais auto que em ela fora para sempre e por seu finamento do primeiro escrivão da dita capela o mais auto tabelião que na dita vila houver ao qual em cada um ano deixamos para sempre duzentos réis e dez alqueires de trigo assim ao presente como aos vindouros⁷⁶”.

75 Will (1573-09-26) – VINC001376 LVSGE EA/006a; TT-FC-CC-5, fl. 358.

76 Codicil (1522-05-11) – VINC001243 DRTMF EA/003b; TT-FC-CC-4, fl. 185v. My translation: “And we wish for there to be a clerk for the chapel we are establishing, to prepare an annual book of income and expenditure. This clerk shall be a notary from the said town (Sousel), the highest-ranking one available, and upon the death of the first clerk, the highest-ranking notary in the town shall take over. We leave two hundred réis and ten *alqueires* (bushels) of wheat each year, to both the present clerk and future ones”.



In line with these ideas, and in accordance with the provisions of the foundation document, inventories could serve both as tools that facilitated the rendering of accounts to the institutions responsible for ascertaining the fulfilment of the will of the deceased, and as instruments for controlling the administrators. In their wills, the aforementioned Gomes da Noia and Catarina Fernandes Valente request that the *provedor das capelas* asks the administrators for the inventory book and to confirm what is written in it⁷⁷. An identical request was made to the same official by António de Melo and his wife, Catarina Sampaio, when they declared that they were happy for the *provedor* to know and see if the entailed estate was all listed and if it had been alienated in any way⁷⁸. The widow Mécia de Andrade Freire, who established an entail in 1554, left a detailed instruction on this subject, which merits full citation as it anticipates a perpetual process of producing copies for the preservation of memory:

“mando que depois de meu falecimento se faça inventário e tombo e medição dos bens do dito morgado com um tabelião de notas desta cidade de Lisboa auto e suficiente o qual escrevera tudo em seu livro de notas, e no princípio trasladará este instrumento todo de verbo ad verbum e do dito testamento e tombo que assim fizer passará um traslado em público todo junto e incorporado em um instrumento, o qual se porá no dito mosteiro de São Francisco de Xabregas para em todo tempo haver memória deste testamento e instituição de morgado com encargo de capela e tombo e inventário dos bens deste morgado e se não poder perder *e os frades do dito mosteiro poderão pelo tal instrumento que assim tiverem em seu poder constringer os administradores do dito morgado que cumpram os ditos encargos quando acharem que são remissos e descuidados os cumprirem e outro traslado do mesmo teor estará sempre em poder do administrador do dito morgado para saber os encargos a que é obrigado e também terá bom cuidado de os cumprir e quando se perder o traslado que assim estiver em poder do administrador ou se romper em tal caso se tirará outro traslado da nota do mesmo*

77 Will (1645-03-08) – VINC000929 GNCVF EA/002aa; IANCV-ACP-350, fls. 58-63v.

78 Entail foundation deed (1608-03-09) – VINC004463 AMCS EA/001; ADGRD-GCG-RV-1, fls. 33-33v.



tabelião que o tiver e sendo isto a tempo que não haja memória da nota donde emanou o instrumento que estiver no dito mosteiro de São Francisco de Xabregas em tal caso o mesmo instrumento que estiver no dito mosteiro de São Francisco de Xabregas se trasladará na nota de hum tabelião das notas desta cidade de Lisboa e converterá e outorgará e da tal nota passará um instrumento ao administrador deste morgado para o ter em seu poder e esta mesma ordem de reformação se guardará e cumprirá quando o instrumento que estiver no dito mosteiro de São Francisco estiver velho e gasto que se não possa trabalhando sempre que haja nota deste testamento e do dito tombo por onde se possa reformar e haja sempre memória⁷⁹”.

Last but not least, inventories also had a symbolic and prestigious dimension, which can be seen not only in their content, but also in their materiality. One of the facets of this dimension was already mentioned in chapter 3 when I analysed inventories containing illuminated arms⁸⁰. While founders' specifications regarding which materials should be used to make the inventories reveal concerns about the document's durability, they also point to the idea that the inventory materially represented the entail. Hence the requests for inventories, much as the copies of the foundation documents, to be made on parchment, on “very good paper”, as Gil Eanes Pereira requested, or even on Venetian paper of the highest

79 Will chart (1554-02-10) – VINC007345 MAF EA/001; TT-HSJ-159, fls. 9-9v. My translation: “I order that after my death an inventory and tombo be made, and the measurement of the assets of the said morgado be carried out by a qualified and sufficient notary of this city of Lisbon. He shall record everything in his book of notes, and at the beginning, he shall transcribe this entire document *verbo ad verbum*. He shall make a public copy of the said will and tombo, which shall be prepared and incorporated into a single document. This document shall be placed in the monastery of São Francisco de Xabregas to ensure that the memory of this will and the establishment of the morgado with the chapel obligation, as well as the tombo of the assets of the morgado, is preserved at all times and cannot be lost. *The monks of the said monastery may use this document to compel the administrators of the morgado to fulfil the obligations when they find them remiss or neglectful.* Another copy of the same content shall always be kept by the administrator of the morgado to be aware of the obligations and to ensure they are properly fulfilled. If the copy held by the administrator is lost or damaged, a new copy will be taken from the notary's record and if, by the time the memory of the original record from which the will in the monastery of São Francisco de Xabregas was derived has faded, the will in the monastery shall be transcribed from the record of a notary in Lisbon, and this record shall be formalised and provided to the administrator of the morgado. This same process of renewal shall be followed when the instrument in the monastery of São Francisco becomes old and worn out, ensuring that there is always a record of this will and the tombo from which it can be renewed, and that the memory is continually preserved”. Underlining by the author.

80 See Chapter 3 – For the immortality of memory: family names and arms, pp. 170-174.



quality, in the words of the Bishop of Bonn, Archdeacon of Santarém and canon of Lisbon Cathedral, Francisco Jácome de Lins Pedro⁸¹. Hence also the requests for inventories to be bound in tablets and leather, as requested by Filipa Coutinho, widow of a captain of the *donatário* of the island of São Miguel in the Azores, for example⁸².

Referring to the words of Maria de Lurdes Rosa, the inventorying of property “contribuía para actualizar a ligação dos sucessivos administradores com o momento fundador: o núcleo de bens era o mesmo e estava subordinado às regras inicialmente delineadas”. In this sense, the *tombos* also bore witness to the family's connection to its entails⁸³. In the entire sample, only one example was identified where this connection was literally foreseen by the founder, namely the two *tombos* ordered to be produced by Doutor Belchior Dias Preto in 1617, one to be kept by the administrator and the other to be deposited at the *Torre do Tombo*. In the same books, but in a “separate notebook”, successive administrators were required to update the vertical and transversal genealogy of Belchior Dias Preto's descendants, so that each administrator's genealogical connection to the founder could be easily understood:

“fará cada um dos ditos sucessores por as pessoas que de mim forem descendendo por seus grãos assim de descendentes dos possuidores e de todos seus filhos como dos transversais acrescentando cada sucessor os que cresceram depois do seu precedente antecessor para assim ficar mais fácil saber-se pelo tempo em diante o grão em que cada um estão e a descendência que tem se é por linha masculina, ou feminina para se saber mais facilmente o direito que tem cada um para poder suceder neste morgado⁸⁴”.

81 Entail foundation deed (1571-04-04) – VINC007259 PFJL EA/002a; TT-HSJ-020, fl. 211.

82 Entail foundation deed (1537-06-16) – VINC001381 FC EA/001aa; TT-C-J3-D-26, fl. 86.

83 Rosa, 1995, pp. 222, 248. My translation: “contributed to updating the connection of successive administrators with the founding moment: the core of assets remained the same and was subject to the originally established rules”.

84 Will chart (extract) (1617-05-08) – VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001ea; TT-IMC-NA-208, fl. 6. My translation: “Each of the said successors shall write down the individuals descending from me by their generations, including both the descendants of the administrators and all their children, as well as the collateral lines, adding each successor the ones who were born after his immediate predecessor. This way, it will be easier to know over time the generation to which each person belongs and their lineage, whether through the male or female line, to more easily determine each individual's right to succeed in this morgado”.



A final note should be made regarding the production and conservation of information, highlighting the significant role that the clauses concerning the production and conservation of copies of the foundation documents and inventories held in the overall framework of entail provisions. In fact, it is easy to see that, for many founders, these clauses were in no way secondary or less decisive than the others. Proof of this is the establishment of conditions and deadlines by the founders for the production of documents and, above all, the penalties foreseen in the event of non-compliance by the administrators.

The aforementioned widow Maria Rebelo stipulated that no administrator could take possession of the administration of the entail without first holding a copy of the foundation document⁸⁵. In a similar way, Pedro Mascarenhas, viceroy of India, and his wife, Helena Mascarenhas, determined in 1554 that the successor was required to inventory the assets of the entail and that they had to do so within six months (presumably from the date they took over the administration). If they didn't comply, they would lose half of the entail's income until the inventory was complete⁸⁶. Belchior Barreto, one of the previously mentioned merchants, was more demanding. All successive administrators were required to inventory the assets added to the entail in fulfilment of the obligation to annex the *terças*, and to complete this inventory within six days after the death of each administrator. If they failed to do so, they would lose their right to the administration and the entail would pass to the next successor⁸⁷. The same penalty was laid down by Filipa da Silva, daughter of Vasco Anes Côrte-Real and Joana da Silva, who determined that the administration of the *morgadio* would be forfeited if the first administrator didn't copy the foundation document in accordance with the founder's instructions⁸⁸.

Failure to produce a copy or inventory by the administrators was akin, in terms of punishment, to committing a crime of *lèse-majesté* or marrying without the consent of the *pater familias*. It involved the most serious punishment available to the founders, the deprivation of the entail,

85 Codicil (1596-02-22) – VINC000857 MR EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-36, fl. 293.

86 Entail foundation deed (1554-02-03) – VINC002319 PMHM EA/001daa; TT-IMC-NA-210, fl. 11v.

87 Will chart (1568-08-30) – VINC000367 BB EA/001aaaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fl. 205v.

88 Will chart [c. 1546-11-22] – VINC001725 FS EA/004aa; TT-IMC-NA-195, fl. 11.



with all the associated consequences: economic, by removing access to the entail's income; social, by subtracting the position and status that the administration provided to the successor; moral, by signalling disrespect for the obligations that the ancestors assigned to the heir, removing them from the line of successors; and spiritual, by showing the failure to comply with the will of the deceased. This is why these penalties are also a testimony to the founders' informational and archival consciousness, as they reveal the importance that some of them attributed to the production of information and the conservation of documentation. They also reveal that the founders' expectations regarding the conduct of their successors did not only concern moral, social, political, or cultural behaviour, but also informational and archival practices.

5.4. The archive beyond writing

Fully exploring the archive beyond the written documents would require a research effort capable of linking the analysis of written documentation to the interdisciplinary study of the material and immaterial traces left by the entails: noble houses, religious or welfare buildings erected by the founders, funeral spaces, heraldic symbols, liturgical and domestic objects, oral histories, ceremonies. While this is not the aim of this work, I will nevertheless leave some clues about these other dimensions of the entail archives identified in the foundations documents and other documentation in the database.

The functions attributed to heraldry in various spaces have already been mentioned, from the chapel to the noble house, including the documents that structure the family body and the buildings that inscribed the power and benevolence of the founder and their family onto the landscape⁸⁹. I will also demonstrate the detailed care with which many founders imagined their funerary chapels, filling them with liturgical objects that embellished the religious service and, at the same time, activated the

⁸⁹ See Chapter 3 – For the immortality of memory: family names and arms, pp. 165–176.



memory of the founder in the eyes of the local community⁹⁰. Although rare, there are mentions of other objects, particularly cherished by the founders, and which are therefore included in the entail as a way of ensuring perpetual transmission to successors. The entail reinforces or establishes the character of these objects as family symbols and mnemonic instruments of the nobility, prestige, piety, or wisdom of the founder and/or an illustrious character from the family's history.

One of the types of entailed objects identified in the sample are relics and other religious and devotional objects. In the words of Caroline Anderson, relics reflect the ancestral sanctity of the noble family and play a fundamental role in the cultivation and maintenance of individual devotions and the collective memory of the family group⁹¹. In the context of lay religiosity, mere possession of a relic conferred prestige, while in the spiritual realm these objects ensured personal protection and intercession, transmissible within the family and in the domestic environment⁹². This explains why, in 1627, Ana de Ataíde, lady-in-waiting to Queen Catarina and widow of Henrique de Portugal, named her “cross of the Holy Lord” as the head of her entail. According to the founder, this cross had belonged to Pope Pius IV and had been given to her husband by Empress Maria in 1577, when he was ambassador to Germany. Ana de Ataíde therefore asks her successors to give it “toda a estimação que dela se deve fazer conforme aos muitos milagres que todos lhe vimos obrar⁹³”.

In addition to miracles, relics could also be related to indulgences. Consequently, entailment of these objects presupposed entailing the ability to offer salvation associated with the image of the founder and their family. In the foundation document dated 1652, Francisco de Crasto, bishop of Guarda, inquisitor-general and member of the king's council, states that he had in his possession a gold cross that he carried with him, which contained a relic of the Holy Cross. This relic was endowed with the indulgences granted by Pope Gregory VI during the canonisation of the Five

90 See Chapter 6 – The life of the soul and the management of the dead, pp. 272–285.

91 Anderson, 2007, pp. 114, 116.

92 Anderson, 2007, p. 138.

93 Will (extract) (1627-03-20) – VINC002751 AA EA/005; TT-HSJ-076, fl. 269v. My translation: “all the esteem it should be given, in accordance with the many miracles we have all seen it perform”.



Saints, including the power for the priest holding the cross to release a soul from the fires of Purgatory each time he said mass, as if he were saying it at a privileged altar. This power was documented in a decree, which the bishop ordered to be copied in his inventory. The relic was to be placed in his chapel so that the priests could take it whenever they celebrated the obligatory masses of the said chapel⁹⁴. Another high ecclesiastical dignitary, Luís de Sousa, archbishop of Lisbon, chief chaplain to the king, cardinal, and member of the king's council, also entails, in addition to a relic of São Rosendo, an image of the Holy Christ that he always carried with him. According to the founder, this image had been given to him by Father Miguel de São Jerónimo, a Discalced Carmelite, and he held it in the highest veneration and esteem for various reasons. Among them was the singular grace, as he called it, extended to him by Pope Alexander VII when he granted his blessing in the article of death to all those who died with the holy image. Luís de Sousa recognises that the pope did not authorise the issuance of a bull for this blessing, but in his opinion, this gave the image an even more singular and inestimable grace⁹⁵.

Alongside devotional objects, the entail archive could also include, as we saw in chapter 3, family legacies marked with the family arms⁹⁶. It could also contain other items, central to the structure of the family body and its identity, that were not necessarily marked with heraldic symbols, as in the case, for example, of the entail established by Leonor de Meneses in 1446. Among other assets and properties, the founder entails the sword that had belonged to her father, Pedro de Meneses, 1st Count of Vila Real and 2nd Count of Viana, in memory, as she states, of such an honourable knight who did so many good deeds with it. The sword, along with a relic

94 Will (1652-10-09) – VINC001945 JC EA/002; TT-HSJ-016, fls. 123v-124

95 Will (1685-08-14) – VINC007261 LS EA/001; TT-HSJ-020, fl. 322. See other examples of the entailment of relics and other religious and devotional objects in:

- Entail foundation deed (1570-11-18) – VINC000786 RM EA/002a; TT-AA-RA-33, fls. 300v, 302 (reliquary with the crucifix and cross of the Vera Cruz).

- Will chart (1698-02-24) – VINC001257 JVM EA/003a; TT-AA-RA-32, fl. 92v (relic of São Francisco Xavier).

- Declaration deed (1630-08-27) – VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002c; TT-IMC-NA-194, fl. 10v (entailment of “a silver copper of relics of the holy Tiberian martyrs and of the eleven thousand virgins and other relics so that Our Lord may for their merits remember their souls and for the conservation and increase of this *morgado*”).

96 See Chapter 3 – For the immortality of memory: family names and arms, pp. 175–176.



of the Vera Cruz, was to remain forever in the possession of the administrator of the entail and no other⁹⁷.

The archive could also include objects of increased monetary value that should not be alienated, such as tapestries, silver pieces, paintings, or a “large diamond”, such as the one that the aforementioned Luís de Sousa entailed together with the image and relic⁹⁸. Finally, it could include extensive book collections. This was the case of the *morgadio* established in 1383 by Mestre João das Leis, who entailed his collection of books on law, logic, poetry, physics, and theology, acquired over the years⁹⁹. The Mestre stated that he had learnt from these books and that his successors should use them for the same purpose. This statement reflects the realisation, verified by Dorit Raines in a study of entailed libraries in Venice, that culture was part of the family and that books were culturally useful tools in a logic of acquiring and passing on knowledge¹⁰⁰. The same idea is evident in the foundation of the entail of Doutor Manuel da Fonseca Coelho, dated 1697. After his death, his book collection was to be distributed to his nephews who had graduated from Coimbra University. After their death, the successor to the entail was obliged to collect all the books and keep them at home, with the book collection on the shelves where it was, well cleaned and kept, without ever being able to sell, exchange, or lend it. If any of the administrators lent, offered, or exchanged any of the books, they and their successors would immediately lose the right to the book collection. Manuel Coelho adds that he stipulated this punishment due to the great cost and labour he had put into collecting books and so that the administrators could enjoy the collection and remember to pray to God for the soul of the founder¹⁰¹.

Although not very present in the written traces, the non-written elements of the entail archive fulfilled essential functions in the construction, consolidation, assimilation, transmission, and perpetuation of identity.

97 Will (extract) (1446-06-14) – VINC001635 LMAV EA/004a; TT-CA-086-259-4843, fl. 22v.

98 Will (1685-08-14) – VINC007261 LS EA/001; TT-HSJ-020, fl. 323v.

99 Will (1383-03-20) – VINC004970 JL EA/001a; TT-GCL-RV-94, fls. 157v-169.

100 Raines, 2013.

101 Entail foundation deed (1697-08-22) – VINC004326 MFC EA/001; ADGRD-GCG-RV-4, fls. 238-239.



They were visual and visible testimonies to power, wealth, nobility, and piety¹⁰². They were “places of memory” in that they stimulated memories of ancestors and reflected the genealogical way of perceiving reality¹⁰³. They were places of identity. As Maria de Lurdes Rosa writes, when the administrator entered into possession of the entail and of the family symbols, they also entered into the uninterrupted line of ancestors that formed part of the family body¹⁰⁴.

This steady line, which linked the past, present and future, was not broken by the biological extinction of bodies and the end of earthly life. It continued in the spiritual realm and in the duty of looking after the dead, whose memory and will resisted oblivion through the archive. It is precisely the life of the soul and the management of the dead that will be discussed in the next chapter.

102 Rosa, 2020, p. 22.

103 Rosa, 1995, p. 132.

104 Rosa, 1995, p. 104.



The life of the soul and the management of the dead

CHAPTER 6

6





The life of the soul and the management of the dead

One of the key cultural factors for understanding the societies in question, including the phenomenon of entailment, is religion. Religion was embedded in all dimensions of daily life, becoming part of the pattern of existence, both in symbolic and actual terms, Clive Burgess writes¹. In a culture permeated by religion, individuals and bodies found and created devotional meanings in various aspects of their lives, in spaces and objects, connecting the earthly and the spiritual worlds in diverse ways².

The impact and longevity of this “totalising religious vision³” can be explained, according to Burgess, in the hope of salvation and fear of the alternative⁴. What worried the women and men of the time was not just death, the biological extinction of bodies, but the health and eternal life of the soul⁵. The words written in 1599 by Maria Rebelo help us understand these ideas:

“em protestaçon da verdadeira ressurreiçon de Jesus redentor bom e senhor nosso em ele cabeça do que nós somos membros no número dos quais por sua misericórdia houve por bem de me admitir por muita veracidade e com muita fé e com muita esperança espero no mesmo Jesus e no valor do preciosíssimo sangue ressuscitar no

1 Burgess, 1999, p. 46.

2 Kowaleski; Goldberg, 2008, p. 9.

3 Rosa, 2017, p. 229.

4 Burgess, 1999, p. 48.

5 Rosa, 2016, p. 560.



último dia da ressurreição das carnes para gozar dela para sempre que é em que consiste a vida eterna que não tem fim como nunca teve princípio⁶”.

The laity then developed their own mechanisms to guarantee the health of their souls, customising salvation through multiple resources such as prayer, charity, or the construction of funerary chapels⁷. These mechanisms, based on the central idea that it was possible to transform matter, earthly goods, into spiritual benefits, allowed the laity to emancipate themselves from the prescriptions set by the church, taking on the task of managing their own dead⁸. This management could include not only the souls of the founders, but of their family of the dead⁹, whom they often called “my dead”, those to whom they felt obliged. In fact, like family names, arms, archives, and the administrators themselves, suffrages were another way of perpetuating memory and incorporating ancestors into daily life, making them present through prayer; in other words, they were another way of constructing, transmitting, and perpetuating identity. Returning to Burgess, the author writes that “religion made past things present by constant and vivid reenactment¹⁰”.

For salvation to be possible, the souls in Purgatory needed this intercessory prayer through the voices of the community of the living. The devotional practices of the laity were then part of a collective and structured social system, which involved not only other members of the family, but also a wide network of intercessors from the parish or local community. To ensure this community intercession, the laity perpetuated the identity of their dead by integrating them into the religious experiences of the living. One of the ways in which the dead were integrated was by being included in the annual liturgy according to the particular devotions of each individual,

6 Codicil (1599-08-26) – VINC000857 MR EA/001c; TT-AA-RA-36, fls. 297v-298. My translation: “in protestation of the true resurrection of Jesus, our good and Lord Redeemer who is the head of whom we are members, in the number of which, by His mercy, He has deemed fit to admit me with great veracity, and with much faith and hope, I await in the same Jesus and in the value of His most precious blood to be resurrected on the last day of the resurrection of the flesh, to enjoy it forever, which is the essence of eternal life that has no end, as it never had a beginning”.

7 Rosa, 2017, p. 229.

8 Rosa, 2012b, pp. 626-627.

9 Rosa, 2012b, p. 398. My translation: “family of the dead”.

10 Burgess, 1999, p. 48; Anderson, 2007, p. 198.



which allowed these souls to be celebrated alongside the saints¹¹. Through gifts, alms, charitable practices, liturgical embellishment, and other benefits, the community was rewarded for its collective effort in the salvation of souls, mutually beneficial for the living and the dead¹².

It is not possible, therefore, to understand entailment nor entailment identity without this devotional dimension, without this hope in salvation, and without this desire to be remembered and to remember through suffrages. Of all the dimensions of entailment identity, this is undoubtedly the most transversal and the one that is most present in foundation documents. It is therefore independent of socio-economic status and profiles of the founders and their family groups, the patrimonial dimension or wealth of the entail, chronology, geography, or the existence of other concerns linked to the perpetuation of the name, the construction of the heir, or the regulation of the administration of the entail.

The database makes it possible to retrieve information on some aspects related to the life of the soul and the management of the dead using the index term “pious”, which indicates the presence of pious obligations of a general nature, and the term “pious special”, which indicates pious determinations of a more specific nature. The large number of occurrences of the term “pious” (c. 5800) – which can be explained by the central role that the search for the salvation of the soul played in the foundation of entails – makes it not very operative to the construction of the sample, so the term “pious special” was favoured¹³. In addition to these two terms, there is a third, “PL – masses”, which identifies the court sentences that took place due to non-compliance with mass obligations. The markedly small number of sentences of this type in the database (c. 90) compared to the huge number of suffrages left by the founders is probably due to the constraints of the heuristic survey and not exactly to the irreproachable zeal of the administrators. In any case, of the seven chapters in this book, this was the least connected to the index terms, precisely for the same reason that explains the number of occurrences for the term “pious”.

¹¹ Rosa, 2017, p. 229.

¹² See Chapter 7 – Being a *morgado* in the community, pp. 297–310.

¹³ See Chapter 2 – Information and documentation, p. 119.



The overwhelming majority of the documents in the sample contained information related to the life of the soul, regardless of indexing.

Thus, the considerable amount of documentary evidence gathered on this subject allowed for a general glimpse of the devotional dimension of entailment, also supported by the central work of Maria de Lurdes Rosa, *As almas herdeiras*, on the funerary chapels of Lisbon. Based on this general overview, and closely following the aforementioned work, I will focus on the components that were considered most relevant to understanding how identity was constructed, transmitted, and perpetuated within family bodies through entail determinations relating to the life of the soul and the management of the dead. The first section of the chapter demonstrates some of the aspects of the customisation of salvation (as Maria de Lurdes Rosa calls it), looking at the devotional motivation behind various choices about the life of the soul¹⁴. The second section analyses the founders' family of the dead, a more or less extensive network of souls that the founders felt obliged to look after. It will be important to examine, among other things, who was included or excluded from this family and why, and how the social, political, or affective bonds cultivated in life extended beyond death. The third section is dedicated to some of the material components of the houses of the soul, that is, the funeral spaces where the founders chose to have their mortal remains deposited and leave the pious obligations. It will be seen that these choices carry an identity charge and are often the result of careful, detailed, and time-consuming planning. Finally, the chapter ends with brief reflections on the apparent contradiction of changes to the wishes of the dead which, due to circumstances, necessity, or the actions of imperfect heirs, sometimes occurred throughout the life of the entails.

6.1. The customisation of salvation

The way in which each founder customised their own salvation carries an individual, corporate, and collective identity. Individual because it could respond to founders' particular devotions, for example, to the saints of

¹⁴ Rosa, 2017, p. 229.



their name, or to events in their lives to which they attributed deep religious significance; corporate because it could be linked to ancestral devotional traditions, as well as binding administrators in the legal obligation to watch over the souls of the founders; collective because, as we have seen, salvation also depended on the community of the living. This identity can be seen in all aspects involved in the process which, in the eyes of founders, began when the “soul left the body” or was “released from its prison” until it finally reached God. This explains why the preparation for death, or for the life of the soul, formalised in the wills and foundation deeds, often included detailed instructions on funeral ceremonies (processions, alms, funeral masses, among others), the foundation of funerary chapels, perpetual suffrages (how many, on what days, for whose soul, for how much) and other obligations to which the heirs were subject concerning the souls of the founders, or charitable and welfare practices.

It should be emphasised that the weight that these matters occupied in foundation documents, despite their cross-cutting nature, varied considerably. Wills, by their nature, tend to contain more information on the subject than foundation deeds. Some founders indicate that they purposely omitted certain matters related to funeral ceremonies from the foundation deed, which they would later deal with in their wills. This shows that for some founders there were matters that were not to be included in the deeds. The two entails instituted simultaneously by Gil Eanes da Costa, *vedor da Fazenda* (overseer of the Treasury) and member of the king's council, and his wife, Joana da Silva, in 1560, are a good example of this compartmentalisation of matters: in one of the entails, which they call “morgado”, the founders deal with the regulation of the entail, including the rules of succession in administration and the clauses for the construction of the heir¹⁵; in the other, which is designated “capela” (chapel), they address matters related to perpetual obligations and the salvation of the soul¹⁶. Similarly, some founders placed greater importance on matters related to the regulation of the entail and the entailed properties than to spiritual matters, and vice versa. Ecclesiastics are

15 Entail foundation deed (1560-07-05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002aa; TT-IMC-NA-190, fls. 1-16.

16 Chapel foundation deed (1560-07-05) – VINC001816 GECJS EA/002ad; TT-IMC-NA-190, fls. 21-29.



generally those who show a more careful investment in managing their own salvation, although some laypeople rival them in terms of dedication and ecclesiastical literacy.

Because of their markedly communal dimension, funeral ceremonies and charitable and welfare practices will be analysed in the next chapter, while we focus for now on the choices behind the founding of funerary chapels and suffrages for the souls of the founders. This doesn't mean that these choices didn't also have a communal dimension. The salvation of souls was a collective matter. And the foundation of funerary chapels, while reflecting the devotional preferences of the founders, could also respond to other types of supra-individual motivations, as will be seen.

However, it is not possible to fully understand the foundation of a funerary chapel without first assessing its devotional dimension. The founders' devotion could shape a broad range of choices, starting with the establishment of the entail itself. Some founders expressly stated that one of the reasons, or the main reason, for founding a chapel was devotion to a particular saint. In this sense, the foundation served as an expression of gratitude to the saint for the blessings that the founders had received from them; and also as a plea for intercession with God during the life of the soul.

The most paradigmatic example of the sample invites us to take a moment to look at the life story of Father Gil Eanes Pereira, as told by him in his will, dated 1611. Gil Eanes Pereira was born in Elvas in 1539, the son of Mateus Lopes and Catarina Pires. He had a brother, Pedro Vaz Crato, who died in Granada under the banner of King John of Austria, brother of King Philip II, probably in the context of the Alpujarras Revolt. Following an ecclesiastical career, he spent four years singing masses in the Cathedral of Elvas until, in 1567, he set sail for India on ships commanded by João Gomes da Silva. It was in these distant parts of the kingdom that, for forty-four continuous years, he served as vicar and curate of souls, sometimes in places where there was no other priest besides himself. This is how he rose to the position of Prior and President of the Bishopric of Cochin, as well as inspector general of the Archbishopric of Goa. However, this journey



was not without mishaps. While at the court of the Grand Mogul, working on the conversion of the emperor and his vassals, Gil Eanes Pereira was poisoned twice by opponents driven by jealousy of his proximity to the Muslim emperor. The poison affected him so severely that he was hardly recognised by the priests of the Society of Jesus, whom Gil Pereira had summoned to help him in his conversion efforts. Seeing his condition, the Jesuits sent him to India for treatment. Due to his weakened state, it wasn't possible to travel by land, so the crossing was made via the Ganges River. After forty-three days of uneventful journey, the ship was besieged and taken by a captain who had rebelled against the Grand Mogul, partly because he believed the emperor had already been converted. This was when the first miracle attributed by Gil Eanes Pereira to Santa Ana, mother of the mother of God, occurred – the fact that the besiegers did not know that he was the priest responsible for the emperor's conversion efforts. The second miracle took place a few months later, in the kingdom of Patane, where the priest was held captive. After becoming accustomed to his presence, the jailers allowed him to beg from door to door, an experience that Gil Eanes Pereira describes as follows:

“suposto ser verdade que em algumas (portas) achava alguma esmola em outras achava cuspirem-me no rosto e atirarem-me com canas de coco chamando-me Cafir que quer dizer homem sem lei e arrenegado porque tão cegos estão com a sua falsa seita que a todos os que vivem fora dela têm por errados¹⁷”.

In addition to this mistreatment, the experience of captivity had become particularly intolerable due to the conditions in which the priest was housed, a pigsty. Although the testator acknowledged that he deserved to be in such a place and in such company, he nevertheless longed to be free of the torments caused by the lice transmitted to him by his companions (the pigs). Which is when he decided to escape:

17 Will (1611-06-10) – VINC000903 GEP EA/002ad; TT-AA-RA-32, fls. 208v-220. The account of the miracles can be found on fls. 210v-211v. My translation: “Although it was true that at some doors I would receive some alms, at others I was spat on and struck with coconut canes, being called *Cafir*, which means lawless man or renegade, for they are so blinded by their false cult that they see all who live outside of it as lost”.



“Uma quarta-feira ao meio-dia me saí da pocilga em que estava e com a devida confiança na Virgem Nossa Senhora e a sua Gloriosa Mãe Santa Ana disse com os olhos cheios de lágrimas postos nos céus:

«Gloriosa Santa Mãe da Mãe de Deus a vós me entrego e a vós tomo por minha verdadeira guia e norte com protestaço e voto de que se puserdes a salvamento e me livrardes neste grande perigo a que me exponho sereis minha universal herdeira para o que vos prometo fazer e situar uma capela e deixar-lhe toda a minha fazenda móveis e de raiz havidos e por haver repartida pelo melhor modo e maneira que o Espírito Santo me ditar e me parecer que vós minha Santa fiqueis melhor servida».

E ditas estas palavras com a devida confiança comecei a caminhar passando por muitas guardas sem ninguém me perguntar sendo de todos muito conhecido, para onde ia, o que na verdade me deu a entender que lhe ficava sendo invisível não por meus merecimentos mas da minha Gloriosa Santa Ana de maneira que daquela hora a vinte e quatro eu estava posto a salvamento...”.

In fulfilment of his vow, in payment for the two miracles granted to him by Santa Ana, Gil Eanes Pereira left not his soul, but the Saint herself as his universal heir. He also founded a chapel under her invocation in the Cathedral of Elvas, promising to leave it well-endowed with many indulgences, so that the religious institution where the priest had been raised and had served from a from a young age, would be much more frequented¹⁸.

18 Will (1611-06-10) – VINC000903 GEP EA/002ad; TT-AA-RA-32, fls. 208v-220. The account of the miracles can be found on fls. 210v-211v. My translation: “One Wednesday at noon, I left the pigsty where I was held, and with due trust in Our Lady the Virgin and Her Glorious Mother, Saint Anne, I said with my eyes full of tears raised to the heavens:

‘Glorious Saint Mother of the Mother of God, I place myself in your hands and take you as my true guide and protector, with the promise and vow that if you deliver me from this great danger I am about to face, you shall become my universal heir. To this end, I promise to build and endow a chapel in your honor and to leave all my worldly possessions, both movable and immovable, those I have and those I will acquire, to be distributed in the best way that the Holy Spirit may inspire me, ensuring that you, my Saint, are best served.’

And having spoken these words with due trust, I began to walk, passing through many guards without anyone questioning me, even though I was well known by all. This made me understand that I had become invisible to them, not by my own merit, but through the grace of my Glorious Saint Anne, so much so that within twenty-four hours I was safely delivered from harm...”.



While most founders did not experience the same kind of miracles reported by Gil Eanes Pereira, their devotion to the saints associated with their chapels was no less fervent. This can be seen, for example, in the foundation of the chapel of St John the Baptist in the church of Santiago de Besteiros, in Tondela, by Gaspar de Figueiredo, a nobleman from the king's household, and his wife, Beatriz de Carvalho, in 1570. As the founders write, they had long had a particular devotion to the blessed St John the Baptist, regarding him as their patron saint and provider, and asking him to grant them bodily health while they lived and, after their deaths, to present their souls before God to be taken to the glory of Paradise¹⁹.

As we saw in the chapter dedicated to the construction of the heir, some founders tried to pass on their devotional identity through entails, recommending or requiring their successors to perpetuate this devotion²⁰. This form of intra-family identity transmission was complemented by others, such as that which took place in the domestic sphere, both in the daily life of the house and in domestic chapels. In the context of lay piety, which, as mentioned above, involved attributing religious meanings to spaces and objects²¹, material culture played an important role in the construction of a “corporate household identity²²”, shared and cultivated by all those who used, lived in and were educated in the house. Foundation documents sometimes allow us to identify some of the characteristics of this domestic sphere through references to hermitages and chapels or liturgical objects of various kinds. The latter were generally donated for use in the ceremonies celebrated in the funerary chapels, and could also be distributed among relatives. Another option was to entail one or more items of particular (material or spiritual) value, such as relics, which could form part of the entail's archive²³. An example of the crossover between house, objects and entail is one of the *morgadios* established in 1676 by Father António Dias Temudo. Among the various entailed assets was an oratory he had in his house, which he left as the head of the *morgadio* with the

¹⁹ Chapel foundation deed (1570-04-19) – VINC008284 GFBC EA/001; TT-CVACM-005-0022; fls. 57v-58.

²⁰ See Chapter 5 - The (im)perfect heir, pp. 200-201.

²¹ Kowaleski; Goldberg, 2008, p. 9.

²² Anderson, 2007, vol. I, p. 192.

²³ See Chapter 5 - The power of the archive, pp. 249-250.



stipulation that it must never be removed from its place, nor should any of the images be moved²⁴.

Devotion to a patron saint, which permeated both house and chapels, could also extend to religious communities and institutions named after them. This is precisely what Gaspar de Melo, captain of Sofala and *vedor da Fazenda* of India, stated in his will, dated 1630. After indicating that he wished to be buried in the monastery of São Domingos in Lisbon, he showed his devotion to the Dominicans and hoped for the favour of all the saints of that Order. He also asks the friars of St Dominic to help him obtain forgiveness of his sins and, as a sign of his devotion, to bury him in the habit of St Dominic beneath the mantle of the Order of Christ, in whose wounds he hoped to find salvation²⁵. The spiritual benefits that founders longed to receive from these communities and institutions were rewarded through a wide range of benefits²⁶, as material wealth was spiritualised to make salvation possible²⁷.

Thus, one of the reasons driving the choice of location for funerary chapels was precisely this devotion to the saints, and the institutions and communities that represented them on a temporal level. As will be seen in the next chapter, on the community insertion of entailment, several founders indicated that their aim was to promote community devotion to a particular saint by founding a funerary chapel. At the same time, they also sought to encourage members of the community to visit the institution where it was located, making it “much more frequented”, as Gil Eanes Pereira wrote. In the latter case, it is noteworthy that the priest chose to found a chapel in his hometown, despite having lived most of his life in distant kingdoms. The emotional connection to the land of their origins and to certain institutions that marked the path of the founders was therefore another reason for the choice of foundation sites. The same connection is also evident in the places of family memory, where the graves of ancestors were located, as will be shown later in this chapter. Finally, there is one last reason behind the choice of foundation site, namely the social

24 Will (1676-10-03) – VINC005077 ADTADC EA/001a; ADPTG-PCP-003, fl. 456v.

25 Will (extract) (1630-04-27) – VINC005843 GM EA/001; TT-HSJ-011, fls. 59v-62.

26 See Chapter 7 – Being a *morgado* in the community, pp. 297-304.

27 Rosa, 2016, p. 560.



prestige of the institution that housed the chapel. Founding a funerary chapel or making a grave in an institution that housed the bodies of the most prestigious members of the local elite conveyed a social message, which invites us to interpret religious institutions as spaces of power and publicity²⁸. As a result, as Maria de Lurdes Rosa states, the foundation of a chapel was, in most cases, a project with a history, which begins precisely with the choice of the foundation site²⁹: life history, family history, social history, and devotional (and identity) history.

These devotional histories and identities are also reflected, in particular, in the practices on which the redemption of the soul depended – suffrages, which were, the fuel of salvation, in the words of Maria de Lurdes Rosa³⁰. The level of detail on this matter varied considerably, but the overwhelming majority of founders indicated at least the number and type (sung, prayed) of funeral and perpetual masses that should be said for their souls and, as will be seen in the next section, for the souls of a more or less extended group of dead, depending on the case.

The more meticulous founders left ample instructions in this regard in their foundation documents. Some stipulated how much was to be paid for the masses and who was to say them. Funeral masses were attended by ecclesiastics from the institution where the founder would be buried, who could be joined by ecclesiastics from various other institutions in the parish, town, village, or city. Perpetual masses could also be performed by the ecclesiastics of the religious institution (occasionally which ones and how many could be determined by the founders), or by a chaplain appointed for the purpose. The chaplains attached to the chapels were usually relatives of the founders or members of their patronage network. In fact, the appointment of family chaplains was one of the ways of fostering family solidarity and ensuring the livelihood of non-administrators of entails, by promoting an ecclesiastical career³¹. This was precisely the choice made by Captain Miguel Luís Peleja and his wife Domingas Nunes, who in 1667 founded a chapel in the church of São Miguel de Alfama in

28 See Chapter 7 – Being a *morgado* in the community, pp. 301–302.

29 Rosa, 2012b, p. 280.

30 Rosa, 2012b, p. 627.

31 Herreros Moya, 2012, pp. 131–132.



Lisbon. The founders appointed António Luís Peleja, the youngest son of the captain's eldest nephew, as the first chaplain, who was to assume the position as soon as he reached the required age. They then set out the rules for succession to the role, in a manner similar to the succession in the administration of the entail and including the construction of the perfect chaplain. If the first appointee died, any other sons of the eldest nephew could succeed him. If there were none, one of the sons of his niece, Joana Batista, would succeed him and, also failing these, one of the sons of another nephew, Francisco Luís Peleja. All those chosen had to be born of legitimate marriage and have clean blood. The descendants of Captain Miguel Luís Peleja's lineage would always be favoured over others and, if his lineage were to end, those of his wife's lineage would succeed³².

Other founders also provided additional details regarding the locations where masses were to be said. Contrary to what one might expect, the funeral and perpetual masses ordered by the founders were not solely concentrated in their burial sites. In fact, the distribution of masses took several factors into account. Funeral masses could be divided between a religious institution located at the place of death and another located at the place of burial, in cases where the founders foresaw the possibility of death far from their tomb. Some funeral arrangements also stipulate the celebration of multiple masses spread across various institutions in the parish, town, or city where the founders died and/or were buried. Within the same institution, masses could also be said or sung at different altars, depending on the saint invoked and whether or not they were privileged altars, i.e. whether or not they granted indulgences. The place where the funeral or perpetual suffrages were celebrated also depended on the location of the tombs of the ancestors and the dead to whom the founders were obliged. Worthy of note, by way of illustration, are the more than 2,000 funeral masses ordered to be said by Father Gaspar da Fonseca Pacheco, abbot of the church in Chacim, and the 60 perpetual masses, some distributed among various institutions and for the salvation of various others³³.

32 Chapel foundation deed (1667-03-14) – VINC007192 MLPDN EA/001; TT-HSJ-128, fls. 499-499v.

33 Will (1623) – VINC000970 GFP EA/001; TT-AA-RA-23, fls. 263-266v.



Alongside these issues, a number of founders also took care to leave instructions on the type of prayers that should be said for their souls and the souls of their dead, and on which days they should be said. These instructions reveal the depth of the founders' liturgical literacy, as well as the extent of the control they could exercise over their own salvation. Father Gil Eanes Pereira's entail is also curious in this respect. Addressing the ecclesiastics who would be saying his funeral masses, he asked that, at the end of certain masses, they should recite a responsory of the *pater noster*, followed by the prayer of the Holy Shroud, which he transcribed in full in the foundation document. He also recalls that this prayer had the miraculous power of releasing a soul from the fires of Purgatory every time it was prayed, so priests should say it with the intention of a specific deceased person³⁴. Among many other similar examples is also the entail founded in 1608 by Brás Rodrigues Pita, a knight of the Order of Christ, and his wife, Isabel Mendes Dantas. In the chapel they had founded in the church of Santa Clara de Caminha, they left a charge of three perpetual masses a week. On every Monday in the world a *requiem* mass was to be said for the souls of the founders, their ancestors and other people to whom they might be obligated. This mass was to include the first prayer *Inclina Domine*, the second *Deus venie largiter* and the third *Fidelium Deus*; on Thursday of every week in the world a sung mass in honour of the Holy Spirit would be performed, with a commemoration for the souls of the founders using the prayer *Inclina Domine* and another prayer to Our Lady. On every Saturday in the world another mass in honour of Our Lady would be recited, also with a commemoration for the founders using *Inclina Domine*, followed by a prayer to the Holy Spirit with a responsory at the end of the mass. The only exception allowed was on Mondays that fell on a holy day; in this circumstance, the *requiem* mass could be replaced by the holy day mass with a commemoration for the souls using *Inclina Domine* and a prayer to the Holy Spirit or Our Lady³⁵.

This integration into the liturgy and this parallel celebration of the founders and the saints played, as has been stated, a mnemonic role, activating

34 Will (1611-06-10) – VINC000903 GEP EA/002ad; TT-AA-RA-32, fl. 210.

35 Entail and chapel foundation deed (1608-02-20) – VINC005231 BRPIMD EA/001; SGMAI-GCVC-RV-9611, fls. 5-5v.



memory. This role is fully recognised by Rodrigo Álvares dos Santos, *alcaide-mor* of Penela, and his wife, Leonor Ribeiro, who founded the chapel of the Madalena in the church of Santa Eufémia de Penela in 1515. The perpetual masses ordered to be said for their souls were to be celebrated with a lamp lit before the altar on the feast days of *Corpus Christi*, Santa Maria Madalena (in honor of the chapel's patron saint, this mass being sung), Santa Maria de Agosto and Santa Maria de Setembro, Santa Eufémia (the church's patron saint), on Sundays, on the feast days of Our Lord and Our Lady, and all the days of the Apostles. On all these days, the founders should be named and remembered: “sempre a oferta de nós se fará memória sendo nomeados e comentados por nossos nomes como é regra e costume se fazer pelos finados testadores fazendo por nós prerrogativa”. Their aim, they added, was for their memory to be perpetuated through the suffrages³⁶.

This was perhaps one of the reasons behind the clauses that obliged administrators to be present at the celebrations of the masses, performing a function of perpetuating memory in this sense identical to the use of family names and arms. Another reason was to ensure that suffrages were said in accordance with the wishes of the founders, as Nuno Martins da Silveira, knight, *escrivão da puridade* (secretary for the purity) of prince Duarte, rich man of the council and *vedor-mor* (overseer) of the works of the *comarcas* (provinces) of Estremadura and Entre Tejo e Guadiana, and his wife, Leonor Gonçalves de Abreu, state in 1431. One of the obligations of the administrator of the chapel of the Salvador, which they established in the monastery of São Domingos de Évora, was to attend as many masses as possible, or at least one every eight days, if they were in that city. If, for some reason, they couldn't attend, they had to send their wife or child, even if the child was small, as they could go hear the said mass on the nurse's lap. As a last resort, the administrator would send a relative or servant from his household in his stead, to find out if the masses were being sung continuously as they should³⁷.

36 Entail foundation deed (1515-03-25) – VINC000704 RASLR EA/003aaaaa; TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 15v-16. My translation: “the offering on our behalf will be made memory forever, with us being named and remembered as is the rule and custom for deceased testators, with a special prerogative for us”.

37 Chapel foundation deed (1431-08-10) – VINC000062 NMSLGA EA/001aaaa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 149v-156.



6.2. The family of the dead

Although, as a rule, the foundation of an entail prioritised the salvation of the soul of its founder, there are relatively few examples in which the salvation of a wider or smaller group of souls was not also considered, depending on the case. This concern for the salvation of souls was present both in the liturgical obligations that had to be celebrated on the founder's death and funeral, and in the perpetual obligations associated with the entail. In fact, many founders took on the responsibility of looking after their family of the dead³⁸. The statement made by Luís de Carvalho in his will, dated 1605, is illustrative of this. When stating which masses should be celebrated for the souls of his parents, he adds:

“e considerando eu o muito amor que meu Pai me tiveram (sic) em sua vida e obrigação em que lhe estou mais que de todos meus irmãos pela confiança que de mim tiveram encarregando-me o des-carrego de sua consciência e conhecendo eu isto e a devoção que meu Pai e Mãe que Deus tem em glória sempre tiveram em mandarem dizer estas missas...³⁹”.

Of the various groups of souls that made up this family of the dead, the ones chosen to be included in the pious charges depended on the relationships that organised the founder's life socially, politically, and affectively, and the sense of obligation and debt that resulted from them⁴⁰. The conscience of the founders required them to pay this debt, a matter of the utmost importance. There was a transversal concern not to allow the soul to leave the body with a “burdened” conscience, so that it could more freely travel the path towards God. This prolongation in death of the bonds that had been cultivated in life helped to consolidate a sense of identity that

38 Rosa, 2012b, p. 398.

39 Will (extract) (1605-08-23) – VINC005601 LCIF EA/001; TT-AA-RA-26, fl. 363. My translation: “Considering the great love my Father had for me during his life and the obligation I have towards him, greater than that of all my siblings, due to the trust he placed in me by entrusting me with the care of his conscience, and recognizing the devotion that my Father and Mother, who are in glory with God, always had in having these masses said...”.

40 Rosa, 2012b, pp. 397-417.



went beyond the biological extinction of bodies. Thus, analysing the pious charges and assessing who was included (or excluded) from the suffrages offers one of the possible ways of understanding these social and affective relationships during life.

In addition to the sense of responsibility and obligation, suffrages for the family of the dead also contributed, as was the case above, to prolonging their memory. In fact, the family of the dead could include not only people who had already died when the entail was founded, but also people who had not yet been born. This was especially the case when perpetual obligations were left for the souls of the future administrators of the entail, in a continuous line that connected past, present, and future.

The souls favoured in the obligations left to the family of the dead were those with whom the founders had kinship ties. Relatives are contemplated far more often than any other souls in funeral and perpetual masses, especially first-degree ascendants and descendants (parents and children) and spouses. There are also less frequent references to grandparents, siblings, grandchildren, nephews, cousins, uncles, and in-laws, generally not going beyond the fourth degree of kinship. This limit of kinship in suffrages is in line with that which often characterises the idea of the closest relative – up to the fourth degree – called upon to administer the entails in the event of the extinction of the line of direct descent; and which also limits, as a rule, the group of relatives to whom the founders leave the bulk of alms and donations in their wills. Despite the prevalence of relatives in the overall description of the family of the dead, the amount of funeral and perpetual suffrages prescribed for them was almost always less than that provided for the salvation of the founder's own soul, which, as has been stated, was prioritised. This was evident in the foundation of the entail of Father Francisco Gonçalves Torres, who wished to be buried in the church of Sacavém, where his father and mother were also buried. When he founded a chapel, he ordered that two perpetual daily masses be said, offered to the wounds of Christ, to whom he was very devoted: one for his soul, and another for the souls of his parents, his sister, his niece, and other relatives to whom he was obliged. However, Francisco Torres contemplated the possibility that the estate wouldn't have enough to pay for the two masses, and asked the



vicar-general to suspend the mass for the souls of his relatives for as long as he thought it was necessary, but to never suspend the one for his soul⁴¹.

In fact, the assets left by the deceased weren't always enough to fulfil the obligations. Managing the dead also meant dealing with these kinds of financial problems, which could ultimately lead to the will of the deceased being changed, as we'll see in the last section of this chapter. Some founders tried to avoid this outcome, as was the case of Francisco Mexia, who established a chapel in 1614 in the church of Madalena, in Monforte, where his father and father-in-law were buried. His father had left the *Misericórdia* certain properties with a mass as obligation, but the founder says that the institution didn't want to accept these properties because they would not cover the costs of the masses. Francisco Mexia then donated more property to the *Misericórdia* so that his deceased father's wishes could be fulfilled⁴².

In addition to kinship, ties of friendship, neighbourliness, or patronage also justified the inclusion of various souls in funeral obligations and, more rarely, in perpetual charges. Particularly noteworthy in this group are the obligations left for the souls of kings, queens and their royal families. In 1515, Rui de Pina, a nobleman from the king's household, chief chronicler of the kingdom and keeper of the *Torre do Tombo*, and his wife, Catarina Vaz Gouveia, founded the chapel of the Espírito Santo in Cathedral of Guarda, with the obligation of perpetual masses for the souls of the parents of both founders, king João II, his wife Leonor, their son Afonso, and king Manuel I. They justified these obligations by the fact that they had received from the royal family the assets and estates that they were now entailing⁴³.

41 Will chart (1608-05-05 – 1608-05-08) – VINC000890 FGT EA/001; TT-AA-RA-20, fl. 226.

42 Will chart (1614-01-24) – VINC006207 FM EA/001; ADPTG-PCP-014, fl. 401v.

43 Entail foundation deed (1515-05-21) – VINC006126 RPCVG EA/001a; Radulet, C. S. (1989). See other examples of founders who left pious charges for the souls of monarchs or the royal family: Entail foundation deed (1378-09-09) – VINC005656 ADBMDPA EA/002; TT-AA-RA-16, fl. 149. Will chart (1520-09-06) – VINC000176 BAC EA/001a; TT-GCL-RV-104, fls. 96-113. Chapel foundation deed (1431-08-10) – VINC000062 NMSLGA EA/001aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 149v-156. Will (extract) (1377-11-08) – VINC002472 MDG EA/002aa; TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 44-46.



Finally, the family of the dead could also be made up of a group of unspecified or anonymous souls to whom the founders felt obliged. Some left charges for the souls in Purgatory, as did Baltasar Mendes dos Reis. In the entail he instituted in Évora in 1639, he provided for masses for his soul, for the souls of his father, mother, grandparents and siblings, and three others: one for the soul in Purgatory who was closest to God's presence, another for the most destitute soul, and a third for the one who was in the greatest pains⁴⁴. Other founders, imbued with the pragmatic spirit that characterised many foundations, chose to have masses said for the souls of all the people they might be obliged to, but not specifically named in foundation documents. This was the case of Gaspar da Fonseca Pacheco. Of the more than 2,000 funeral masses left by him, mostly for the salvation of his own soul and, to a lesser extent, for the salvation of the souls of his parents, siblings, cousins, friends identified by name, and the anonymous souls in Purgatory, he reserves 50 for the people to whom he might have been obliged by some means that he couldn't remember⁴⁵.

6.3. Materialities

Concern for pious charges for the salvation of the souls of founders and their families of the dead was often accompanied by careful and, in several cases, very detailed indications regarding burial sites and funerary chapels, the material houses of the soul, in Maria de Lurdes Rosa's words⁴⁶. Several founders carefully planned the most varied aspects of the configuration of their eternal home, often several years prior to founding the entail. For many of them, it was a project that they developed during their lifetime, ensuring the purchase of tombs, accompanying the construction of chapels, or signing contracts with religious institutions, among other actions.

Even in cases where foundation documents don't reveal a particular investment in planning the material houses of the soul, almost all founders

44 Will chart (1639-04-27) – VINC001534 BMR EA/001; TT-AA-RA-29, fl. 46v.

45 Will (1623) – VINC000970 GFP EA/001; TT-AA-RA-23, fl. 264.

46 Rosa, 2012b, p. 635.



indicated the precise place where they wished to be buried, naming not only the religious institution, but also the specific space within the church, monastery, or convent where the body was to be deposited, along with other relevant information on the matter. In 1615, Father Luís Pinheiro, a beneficiary at the church of Santa Maria da Graça in Setúbal, asked the prior of that institution to grant him a tomb next to the railings of the chapel of the Holy Sacrament, adjacent to the *porta agnes* (door related to specific types of interments and burial ceremonies) of the tomb located in that chapel. Although Luís Pinheiro considered that he deserved to be given the tomb due to the number of years he had served as a beneficiary, he provided an alternative if the prior did not grant his request. In this circumstance, his body should be interred in the grave where his mother lay, which was just outside the railing in the Epistle side of the nave, title 10, as could be seen in the church's map of the graves and in a paper signed by Simão Álvares, clerk of the burial plots⁴⁷.

The fact that Luís Pinheiro preferred to be buried in his own tomb, despite having the possibility of sharing his mother's grave, is a reminder that the choice of burial site is significant in many ways. As we saw at the beginning of the chapter, it could respond to devotional principles. For example, some founders requested that their tombs be placed next to the altars of saints of their particular devotion. This physical proximity between tomb and altar would reinforce the divine protection guaranteed by the suffrages. The choice of burial site could also be part of a socio-political message that was intended to be conveyed to the community. Within the same institution, burial sites were not all equal. Privileged places, such as the main chapels, were usually reserved for patrons or main benefactors of the religious institution. It should also be noted that the visibility of the tombs was also a factor taken into account by the founders. In 1578, Fernando Barreto, son of Belchior Barreto and administrator of the entail that the latter had founded ten years earlier⁴⁸, asked to have the tomb moved to where the bones of his father, mother, and siblings rested, and where he also wanted to be buried. Initially located in the crossing nave of the monastery of São Domingos in Lisbon, the tomb was to be transferred

47 Will (1615-09-16) – VINC000976 LP EA/001; TT-AA-RA-24, fls. 58-58v.

48 Will chart (1568-08-30) – VINC000367 BB EA/001aaaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fls. 200-206.



to the chapter of the same monastery so that it would be in a place where the deceased and their tombs would be more visible⁴⁹.

Finally, the choice of burial site could also reinforce the position that founders wanted to assume in the family genealogical time, continuing traditions that preceded them or inaugurating new dynamics. On this last point, it is interesting to inquire with whom the founders chose to be buried, analysing the policy of sepulchral choice, as Solignat writes⁵⁰, and the extension or rupture of family solidarities beyond death. The variability in the choices made by the founders is considerable and can be divided into two main groups.

The first concerns founders who chose to be buried in pre-existing funeral spaces, where the remains of one or more ancestors were located. This could happen when there was a chapel or family mausoleum where the symbolic and financial investment of family politics was concentrated⁵¹. Often marked with heraldry, these funeral spaces were part of the family's memory and identity, just like manor houses or family homes. By choosing to be buried in these places of memory and identity, the founders were continuing and reinforcing the heritage of their ancestors, extending the past into the present. Even when family tombs had not received any particular symbolic or financial investment, the mere presence of the bodies of their ancestors and the existence of a family burial tradition guided the founders' choices. In 1572, licenciante Manuel Rodrigues ordered that a chapel in veneration of Santa Catarina be built in the parish church of Torrão, where his parents and grandparents were buried, with funeral and perpetual masses for his soul and the souls of those family members. He explains that he chose this location precisely because it was where the bodies of his ancestors rested and, for this reason, it is where he had the most devotion⁵². A few years earlier, Bento Gonçalves de Sequeira, a knight of the king's household, determined that his body should be buried in the church of Nossa Senhora dos Mártires in Lisbon, where he was a

49 Will chart (1578-06-02) – VINC000368 FB EA/002aaaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fl. 211v.

50 Solignat, 2012, p. 155.

51 Solignat, 2012, p. 154.

52 Will chart (1572-03-15) – VINC002117 MRJC EA/006a; TT-FC-CC-5, fl. 2.



parishioner and where there were two tombs, his and his deceased wife's, that belonged to them since ancient times because they had been in the possession of his grandparents⁵³.

The second group of burial options involved the inauguration of new burial sites, usually associated with the construction of a funerary chapel, regardless of the existence of a family mausoleum. The new tomb or funerary chapel could signal a break, or a symbolic bifurcation, in the family's genealogical continuity, and a corresponding desire to affirm the founder as a figure of reference in their lineage. This rupture led to particularly relevant possibilities in terms of identity. One such was control of the specific configurations of the grave, namely the type of tomb, materials, signage and epitaphs, heraldry, figures, symbols, and messages. Many foundation documents don't mention these aspects. Several others only provide information on the content of the signage or epitaphs⁵⁴, the affixing of arms, or the type of stone with which the funerary monument was to be done (Estremoz marble stone being particularly appreciated). The more detailed ones also stipulate the height of the tombs, their location in the chapels, or other architectural elements.

The founder's tomb that stands out the most in the collected sample is actually barely mentioned in the foundation document. Before 1699, Manuel de Moura Manuel, counsellor to the king, *sumilher da cortina* (chaplain of honour) and bishop of Miranda do Douro, founded the house and temple of Nossa Senhora da Penha de França, in fulfilment of a promise he had made to Our Lady, whose blessing and mercy had saved him from several life-threatening dangers. In his will, dated 1699, he mentions only that he had his tomb made in the chancel of the church, his eternal grave, where the administrators of the entail, their wives, and other people of quality could be buried with the administrator's authorisation. The scant written references do not reveal the magnificence of the tomb, which is a reminder of the importance of including unwritten material traces in the conception of entail archives (Image 7 – Tomb of Manuel de Moura Manuel (Vista Alegre)). Art historians would better know how to interpret the

⁵³ Will chart (1568-06-22 - 1568-06-24) – VINC008226 BGS EA/001aa; TT-HSJ-059, fl. 153.

⁵⁴ On signage and epitaphs see Chapter 3 - For the immortality of memory: family names and arms, pp. 165-166.



iconographic messages left on the tomb, whether by the bishop and/or the sculptor responsible for the work, the Frenchman Claude Laprade. However, the message of affirmation is clear. It is an external affirmation to the community, as also shown by the instructions for funeral ceremonies, which will be analysed in the next chapter; and internal, intra-family affirmation, as the brother of a *morgado*, Luís de Moura Manuel, representative of the *morgadio* and the house of their grandparents⁵⁵.



Image 7

Tomb of Manuel de Moura Manuel (Vista Alegre)⁵⁶

Another possibility opened up by the creation of a new burial site was the establishment of burial regulations. The most common practices were negotiated with religious institutions and implied exclusive rights to burial

⁵⁵ Will chart (1699-08-04) – VINC001283 MMM EA/002a; TT-AA-RA-28, fls. 132v-133, 134v.

⁵⁶ Source: http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=653.



in the designated tomb or funerary chapel, prohibiting access to anyone not authorised by the founders. Strangers, unrelated to the founders, were never allowed into their burial sites. Representatives of religious institutions were usually forbidden by contract to authorise any such people to be buried in those spaces, regardless of their socio-economic position. Some founders, particularly those who belonged to the upper classes of the nobility, were more restrictive, also preventing the burial of some relatives, depending on the case.

One of the two most interesting examples of this can be found in the foundation document of the entail of Rui de Pina and Catarina Vaz de Gouveia. In the description of the chapel they intended to build, the founders established that two separate stone monuments should be made, one for the grave of Rui de Pina and the other for the grave of Catarina Vaz de Gouveia. On the former would be placed the Pina coat of arms, as the founder had used them, and as the administrators were required to use alongside the family name, and on the second, a shield of honour, *per pale*, with the Pina and Gouveia arms. In Rui de Pina's tomb, male heirs could be buried, while in Catarina Vaz de Gouveia's tomb, female heirs and those of the lineage were to be interred. Members of the true lineage of the Pina family and who bore the Pina family name, along with their wives, could also be buried in the chapel floor, which was to be well-paved. All other individuals, including those who were related by blood and kinship to the Pina, were excluded⁵⁷.

The second example, even more restrictive than the previous one, can be seen in the foundation deed of the entail of Brás Rodrigues Pita and Isabel Mendes Dantas. In the chancel of the monastery of Santa Clara de Caminha, which they had built, they ordered the construction of three tombs. In one of them, located on the Gospel side, the bodies of the founders were to be buried, since it was their will and devotion that at no time in the world should anyone else be buried; in the second tomb, located on the Epistle side, all the administrators of the entail and their wives were to be buried, and no one else; the third tomb, built at the foot of the steps of the high altar, was reserved exclusively for the unmarried

⁵⁷ Entail foundation deed (1515-05-21) – VINC006126 RPCVG EA/001a; Radulet, C. S. (1989).



children of the administrators, as indicated by the inscription. All other relatives, including the married children of the administrators, were forbidden from being buried in any part of the chapel. The founders also forbade the administrators from adding arms other than those already present in the chapel and belonging to the founders, even if the administration fell to an illustrious person or someone of higher quality. This was because the chapel had been ordered for the honour and praise of God and for the preservation and memory of their lineage⁵⁸.

Brás Rodrigues Pita and Isabel Mendes Dantas added a final prescription regarding burial regulations. It was noted in the chapter dedicated to the (im)perfect heir that the power of the founders in conditioning the behaviour of the administrators could include their attitudes towards death (or the life of the soul). In this case, the couple instructs the administrators to deposit their mortal remains in the tomb designated for the purpose. Contrary to what was envisaged by Rui de Pina and Catarina Vaz de Gouveia, burial in the chapel founded by Brás Rodrigues Pita and Isabel Mendes Dantas was not optional, but mandatory. The same obligation had been imposed by Mécia Mendes de Aguiar, widow of Gonçalo Gil Barbosa. In the contract she had signed with the priests of the monastery of Santo Agostinho de Santarém, she stipulated that the administrators of her *morgado* would be obliged to be buried in her chapel under penalty of five hundred *cruzados* (a type of currency); if they died outside of Santarém, the heirs of the deceased administrators would have three years to bring their bones to the chapel, under the same penalty. However, by the time of writing her will, Mécia Mendes de Aguiar kept the same obligations, but removed the punishment of five hundred *cruzados*, replacing it with the penalty of losing her blessing; she therefore removed the financial consequences of non-compliance, but emphasised the moral ones⁵⁹.

The requirement for a transfer of the bones of the deceased in this foundation is a reminder that the management of the dead could also be reflected in the care taken of the remains of family members. Mortal remains can,

58 Entail and chapel foundation deed (1608-02-20) – VINC005231 BRPIMD EA/001; SGMAI-GCVC-RV-9611, fls. 7-8.

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



in fact, be classified as one of the three main subjects of duty towards the dead, in addition to the soul and the memory of the name. The entail foundation document of Rui de Pina and Catarina Vaz de Gouveia uses the suggestive expression “reverência dos ossos”, reverence towards the bones⁶⁰. In addition to this example, one of the many others that testify to this zeal for the remains of family members can be found in the will of João Afonso, squire to the Marquis of Valença and *feitor* to the Duke of Bragança, dated 1477. João Afonso chose the convent of São Francisco in Lisbon as his burial site, assigning to it the perpetual obligations associated with the entail. As stated by the testator, his grave was located in front of the altar of Nossa Senhora Santa Maria da Piedade and was designed to receive the remains of the founder and one of his sons. Before João Afonso's body was taken to the grave, it was his wish that his son's bones be placed in his death bed, next to his heart, so that they would enter through the main door of the convent together and be buried side by side⁶¹.

Other founders didn't stipulate that the bones of their relatives should be moved to a new burial site, but showed some care for the state of the tombs where their bodies rested, or for the construction or reconstruction of the burial sites. This was the case, for example, with João Afonso de Azambuja, Archbishop of Lisbon. In his will dated 1409, the archbishop ordered that he should be buried in the monastery of Salvador, in Lisbon, which he himself had founded a few years earlier by expanding the pre-existing church. Also buried there were his father and uncle, João Esteves, a knight of the king's household, *alcaide-mor* of Lisbon, privy counselor to King Fernando and founder of an entail whose administration passed to João Afonso de Azambuja⁶². Despite the investment in this funeral space in Lisbon, the archbishop didn't forget the family tomb in the church of Azambuja, where the bodies of his mother and grandparents lay. By his command, the administrator of his entail was to order a stone monument with an arch made in the chapel of that church, where the bones of his ancestors were to be moved⁶³. Also worthy of note are the instructions left by Leonor de Meneses, first wife of Fernando II, future

60 Entail foundation deed (1515-05-21) – VINC006126 RPCVG EA/001a; Radulet, C. S. (1989).

61 Will (1477-08-30) – VINC000264 JABP EA/001; TT-CSFL-m027-d002, fls. 3v-4.

62 Will (1372-09-16) – VINC004993 JEAE EA/002aa; TT-HSJ-1189, fls. 64v-68.

63 Will (1409-04-20) – VINC007035 JAA EA/001a; TT-HSJ-1190, fls. 175v-176.



3rd Duke of Bragança, about the tomb that should be built in the convent of Santo Agostinho de Santarém, now Igreja da Graça, for her father, Pedro de Meneses, 1st Count of Vila Real and 2nd Count of Viana⁶⁴. Although she later reformulated these instructions, the level of detail in Leonor de Meneses' original plan and the care taken with the details of the tomb – from the precise location, the colours, the arms, the content of the inscription, the objects – show the zeal for preserving the memory of ancestors in funeral spaces⁶⁵.

As the example of Leonor de Meneses shows, founders' concerns about their funerary chapels or those of their ancestors were not limited to tombs or graves, but in several cases covered a wide range of components of the material houses of the soul: architectural outlines, decorations, heraldic symbols, lighting, ornaments, altarpieces, liturgical implements, books, various objects. As a whole, these different components reflect the particular relationship that was established between the spiritual and the material at the time, calling into question a strict division between the two planes, as Maria de Lurdes Rosa has shown⁶⁶. The salvation of souls through suffrages depended on structures and objects that, in a certain sense, acted as a bridge between the spiritual and the material. Drawing on Caroline Anderson's interpretations of domestic space and private oratories, the material components of funerary chapels can also be understood as expressions of individual and family identity through religion and devotion⁶⁷.

This is why, as stated in the first section of this chapter, the range of options is wide, depending on the particular devotion of each founder and the social and religious context in which they lived. It is true that foundation documents are often silent on the material characteristics of the funerary chapels. This doesn't mean, however, that founders who don't mention these features weren't careful when preparing their chapels; plans may have been formalised in other written records or orally. Among the group of founders who include information about these aspects in

64 Will (extract) (1446-06-14) – VINC001635 LMAV EA/004a; TT-CA-086-259-4843, fls. 5-28.

65 Rosa, 1995, pp. 124-131.

66 Rosa, 2012b, pp. 635-669.

67 Anderson, 2007, pp. 212, 223.



their foundation documents, many simply mention, for example, the set of liturgical implements they bequeathed to the chapel or the altarpieces that were to be painted. The level of detail increases when the chapels had not yet been built at the time the entail was established and this task was left to the successors.

The main chapel built by Maria de Vilhena, widow of Simão da Silveira, in 1562 at the Convent of Nossa Senhora do Carmo in Évora, is one of the most unique in the sample, on several levels. According to her will, the chapel was to be the same size as the chancel of the monastery of São Domingos in Évora, whose design was in the hands of a stonemason. The altarpiece was to be in keeping with the height and width of the chapel and be Roman in style, as was the custom at the time according to the founder, with blue curtains for Lent and other white linen ones. There was to be a choir and very well-crafted, finished pews of two tiers on each side of the chapel. The floor of the chapel could be made well and as honourably as possible. The founder left silver to endow the chapel with a cross similar to that of São Francisco in Évora; two lamps like those in the monastery of Nossa Senhora da Graça in the same city; a thurible identical to the best found in any of the churches of Évora or the Cathedral, with a boat and spoon; a golden chalice with bells like the one in São Francisco; a holy water font similar to the one in Nossa Senhora da Graça. The founder also donated to the chapel a small chalice, a golden pax of Nossa Senhora do Coral; a holy water basin; a *gomil*; two good cruets; four silver candlesticks like those used at Nossa Senhora da Graça for feasts; four carpets, two silver and two gold, to serve as frontals; two large Castillian carpets from her house; four altar cloths; four blue damask pieces; four door curtains; a full liturgical vestment of crimson satin including a chasuble, dalmatic, alb, maniple, and stole; and a chasuble and pulpit and lectern cloth. The founder named her uncle, Jerónimo de Carvalho, and a nephew, Sancho de Faria, as her first administrators, stipulating that both these and future administrators could only use the income from the entail once the chapel was finished and all objects were in its possession⁶⁸.

68 Will chart (1562-10-23) – VINCO08281 MVJCSF EA/001aa; TT-FF-01, fls. 6-6v.



Maria de Vilhena's will is today preserved as a copy in a factitious codex that contains dozens of other documents relating to the process of building the chapel. This process began shortly after the founder's death in 1562 and only ended some 48 years later under the administration of Francisco de Faria, *alcaide-mor* of Palmela and son of Sancho de Faria. The different documents gathered in the codex – lists, contracts, receipts, petitions, letters, sentences, declarations, authorisations, among others – offer a rare glimpse into the enormous complexity of the practical execution of the will of the deceased and the deep investment it required on the part of the administrators. There are also rare testimonies to the extent of information production on entails and the importance of management through writing. The documents include, for example:

- receipts produced by the painter of the altarpiece (fls. 51–56);
- contract to gild the altarpiece and respective receipts (fls. 59–76);
- certificates from two painters and the chaplain attesting that the altarpiece had been very well gilded (as the chaplain puts it, so perfect that no one will fault it except those who would fault everything) (fls. 78–80);
- contract with carpenters to make the choir chairs (fls. 83–85v);
- note of the weight of one of the lamps (fl. 89);
- list of the costs of producing the different components of the liturgical vestment (fls. 92–94);
- the stonemason's obligations, including what was to be paid for each letter that was carved on the inscription (fl. 96);
- accounts for the iron rods for curtains and windows (fls. 101–102);
- drawing of the chapel ceiling (fl. 143).

These documents are much less likely to be preserved than foundation documents or records relating to entailed estates, which explains their uniqueness. Most of them are annotated by one or more hands, including the copy of the will. The most present voice is that of Francisco de Faria, who was responsible for finalising the process of building the chapel begun by his predecessors.



The codex would merit an in-depth analysis, which is beyond the scope of this work. However, I can't fail to mention two singular episodes that demonstrate, through the materiality of the chapels, the possible obstacles to the fulfilment of the will of the dead, even under the most zealous administrators. One such took place around 1570, when the prior and priests of the Convent of Nossa Senhora do Carmo asked the Pope to authorise them to sell the Castillian carpets that Maria de Vilhena had left to the chapel to serve as frontals. According to the ecclesiastics, it wasn't customary in the Portuguese kingdom to use carpets as frontals, which, in their opinion, would be indecent) and quite ugly. They then asked for permission to buy frontals and other ornaments with the money from the sale of the carpets, which Pius V authorised by bull and the Archdeacon of *Sexta* of Évora's See confirmed by sentence⁶⁹. It is not known whether the then administrator, Sancho de Faria, tried to prevent this change to his aunt's orders. However, the Archdeacon's sentence states that the administrator could not prevent the sale of the carpets by virtue of higher ecclesiastical authority.

The second episode took place almost immediately afterwards, in 1571, and is recounted in a petition sent by Sancho de Faria to the definitory of the Convent of Nossa Senhora do Carmo. The administrator explains that, with the consent of the present and precedent priors of the convent, he had gone ahead with the construction of the chapel in accordance with Maria de Vilhena's wishes: that the chapel should be similar to that of the monastery of São Domingos de Évora and that it should be built according to the design that was in the possession of a stonemason. The chapel thus imagined included, among other things, a pulpit, which had recently been built. On the very night that the work was completed, which coincided with the eve of Shrovetide, one of the priests of the convent jumped on top of the pulpit in an aggressive manner and, without any more justification than using his absolute power, dismantled it and threw it to the ground. This understandably left the administrator very affronted and insulted, as it was a public matter⁷⁰. It's not clear whether the destruction of the pulpit was involuntary or intentional. What is certain is that, in their response to the petition, the definitors reversed their earlier consent for

69 Sentence (1570-09-05) – TT-FF-01, fls. 103-105v.

70 Petition (a. 1571-05-02) – TT-FF-01, fl. 115.



the construction of the pulpit, claiming that lay people were not allowed in the main chapels⁷¹. Despite Maria de Vilhena's great care in imagining and designing her chapel, the actual realisation of her wishes was significantly different from the original plan. In fact, the changes to the carpets and the pulpit are of little significance when compared to the disaster that occurred in 1663, when the Convent of Nossa Senhora do Carmo, and with it Maria de Vilhena's chapel, were destroyed during the Restoration War.

It should be emphasised that concern for the spiritual dimension – for the health of souls – was always more present than a concern for the materiality of the spaces. However, some founders went beyond imagining the chapels, seeking to guarantee their future conservation. An example of this is the entail established in 1507 by Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, a knight of the king's household, *feitor* of India and commander of the Order of Christ, and his wife, Mécia Mendes de Aguiar⁷². After her husband's death, Mécia de Aguiar revised some of the provisions of the joint will of 1507, including the couple's burial site, which was to be in the chapel of Jesus in the monastery of Santo Agostinho in Santarém. Addressing the priests of the monastery and the administrators of the entail, the founder left certain obligations regarding the conservation of the space: the priests were required to always have the altar of the chapel well-maintained and repaired, providing it with frontals, altarpieces, cloths, candlesticks, books, corporal cloths, and lamps; the administrators, for their part, were obliged to repair the chapel, including the walls, vault, and roof, as well as the altarpiece and architectural elements, so that it would always remain undamaged. The widow also instructed the priests to keep an eye on the administrators, guaranteeing that they would fulfil this task, and ended by reminding the administrators to always abide by her wishes under penalty of losing her blessing⁷³. Florência de Albuquerque, who in 1551 instituted an entail in the church of São Brás in Lisbon, provided a harsher penalty for administrators who failed to take care of the altarpiece

71 Reply to a petition (1571-05-02) – TT-FF-01, fls. 115v.

72 Will (1507-02-01) – VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/003; TT-MC-V-STR-17-27, fls. 39-42. About this entail, see the text produced in the context of the "Entail of the month" outreach initiative: SOARES, et al., "Morgadio de Gonçalo Gil Barbosa e Mécia Mendes de Aguiar. Santarém, 1507", available online at <https://www.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/entail-of-the-month/morgadio-of-goncalo-gil-barbosa-and-mecia-mendes-de-aguiar/>.

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



in her chapel: “e o retábulo da dita capela será renovado e concertado quando necessário for sob pena do que o que o contrário fizer e a dita capela não mandar cantar e as missas dizer e que alguma coisa da fazenda alhear que logo perca a administração da dita capela e morgado⁷⁴”.

Even with these clauses of obligation, many chapels have not survived the passage of time, spiritually or materially. This was the case, for example, with the chapel established in 1578 by Diogo da Costa Cabral in the church of São Domingos in Lisbon⁷⁵, which, some 130 years later, was very dark, lacked a roof and was exposed because only the flagstones of a balcony remained, with rain falling inside. The deterioration of the space led the then-administrator to request the replacement of the chapel by another in the same church, changing the intent of the founder with royal authorisation⁷⁶.

6.4. Changing the wishes of the dead

Finally, the management of the dead also included the apparent contradiction of the commutation, subrogation and derogation of their wishes, reducing, replacing, or modifying funeral and entailment provisions. It has been noted several times that, despite the moral, spiritual, and legal power of the wishes of the dead and the supposed immutability of the principles established in the legal act of founding an entail, reality did not always correspond to the founding intention. Multiple factors have justified the alteration of the unalterable⁷⁷, as demonstrated by various authors who have analysed the requests and claims about commutations and derogations regarding entails⁷⁸. With the passage of time or in certain political and economic circumstances (wars, plagues, agricultural crises), income from the assets that made up the entail could decrease, making

74 Will (extract) (1551-01-09) – VINC008240 JCFA EA/001; TT-HSJ-139, fls. 5v-6. My translation: “and the altarpiece of the said chapel shall be renovated and repaired when necessary, under penalty that anyone who fails to do so, or does not ensure that the chapel is used for singing and saying the Masses, or who alienates any of the estate, shall immediately forfeit the administration of the said chapel and *morgado*”.

75 Will (extract) (1578-06-10) – VINC002716 DCC EA/002; TT-HSJ-010, fls. 36v-37v.

76 Subrogation deed (1707-03-17) – TT-HSJ-010, fls. 47v-48v.

77 Luchía, 2014, p. 323.

78 Cogné, 2013; Abreu, 2004.



it impossible for administrators to cover the costs of the obligations and leading them to request authorisation to commute them. With the aim of increasing profitability and/or facilitating asset management, administrators could also be authorised to exchange or sell entailed properties, actions which are theoretically contrary to the essence of entailment⁷⁹.

Adapting the suggestions of Peter Heat, the financial insufficiency of the entailed assets to fulfil the obligations could, in the opposite direction, be a problem of origin. In his analysis of wills of the Hull region in England from the late Middle Ages, the author noted that several testators overestimated the value of their assets, making it impossible or unfeasible to execute their final wishes⁸⁰. The examination of the sample also reveals that some founders were aware of the weight of their funeral and entailment dispositions, both economically and logistically, which explains a certain flexibility in some founding determinations. The economic weight exerted on future generations was clearly demonstrated by Anne-Valérie Solignat in her study of pious foundations among the Auvergne nobility in the 16th century. According to the author, this weight lies at the heart of the apparent paradox of these foundations, which jeopardise the material resources of future generations in the name of perpetuating memory and saving the soul. The material cost justified the symbolic benefits that came from the foundations because, as Solignat writes, aristocratic memory was priceless⁸¹. The administrators therefore maintained a precarious balance between managing the wishes of the dead and satisfying the needs of the living.

Such needs, associated with the payment of dowries, the feeding and education of the administrator's relatives, the fulfilment of their professional, political or military duties, or the costs of legal proceedings over the possession of the administration were also used as arguments for commutations or derogations. Quintanilla Raso notes that, in the late medieval Castilian context, the liquidity needed for political and military activities in the service of the king was one of the reasons for the alienation of property⁸². Solignat, meanwhile, concludes that one of the reasons most

79 Quintanilla Raso, 2004, p. 497.

80 Heat, 1984, p. 213.

81 Solignat, 2012, p. 151.

82 Quintanilla Raso, 2004, p. 497.



often cited by the Auvergne nobles to justify their inability to perform military service was precisely their ancestors' pious foundations and the impoverishment that resulted from them. She writes that between loyalty to their ancestors and loyalty to the king, the former was favoured⁸³.

One or more of these reasons led, in a manner duly authorised by royal and ecclesiastical authorities, to a reduction in the number of masses, the sale, exchange, or alienation of entailed properties, the merger of entails, or the replacement of chapels, among various other alterations to the unalterable wishes of the founders. This is what happened, by way of illustration, in the chapel established at an unknown date by Joana Ferreira in the church of São Silvestre de Unhos. In the 16th century, one of the administrators, Francisco de Aguiar, obtained from Pope Clement VIII a bull commuting the daily masses ordered to be said for the soul of the founder and her husband, reducing the suffrages to four masses a week. As an argument for the petition, it was stated that the income from the entailed assets was so light that due to the scarcity of the times and of things it was not enough to support the chaplain⁸⁴. There was no alternative but to override the founder's wishes.

In addition to these duly authorised commutations and derogations, the wishes of the deceased were also altered through non-compliance on the part of the administrators: funeral arrangements that were not carried out, masses that were not said, founding clauses that were not observed. Some non-compliance can be explained by the deterioration of memory, usually associated with the destruction or disappearance of the foundation document. Without written support, the likelihood that the intents of the dead would be forgotten increased. Hence the importance attributed by many founders to document conservation and transmission, as seen in the chapter dedicated to the power of the archive. Another entirely different type of non-compliance was that carried out consciously and voluntarily by the administrators. In the eyes of the founders and the authorities who looked after the dead, these were the “bad” administrators, “unworthy” of administering the entail. This is precisely how Pedro de Mesquita, administrator

83 Solignat, 2012, p. 138.

84 Court sentence (1595-11-08 – 1595-12-05) – VINC001230 JFAA EA/007a; TT-FC-CC-6, fl. 252.



of the entail set up in 1593 by António Fernandes, the blind man⁸⁵, was described in the judgement that ordered the administration to be sequestered in 1625⁸⁶. Even after the royal authorities had ordered Pedro de Mesquita to produce an inventory of the entail and execute the obligations, he continued to fail to fulfil his duties without providing explanation for two and a half years, and was eventually judged as a bad administrator who did not fulfil his obligations and was unworthy of the administration⁸⁷.

Analysing the sample collected does not allow us to accurately assess the motivations behind this type of non-compliance which, on a moral and spiritual level, jeopardised the health of the founders' souls. The arguments generally used by administrators are the same ones that justify commutations and derogations, although they don't always convince the judicial authorities, who accuse them of taking advantage of the income from the entail without fulfilling their obligations. In the case of the entail of António Fernandes, the founder did not appoint an administrator, so the administration was successively assigned by the Crown. These appointments were usually made in return for services rendered to the king and could be awarded to people who had no kinship ties or other relationship with the founders. For this reason, there was little or no identity link between the administrators and the founders. The intergenerational transmission of the cult of the ancestors and the practices of preserving their memory within the family, as seen in the example of Leonor de Meneses, was also absent or not very present. This identity, corporate, family, and emotional dimension, along with moral, spiritual, and legal imperatives, may have influenced the degree to which the administrators were likely to fulfil their obligations. It follows that the legal force of the entail and the respective foundational threats against defaulters, and the risk of damning the souls of the founders, did not always guarantee the fulfillment of the entailment provisions. It is in this context that authorities outside the family play an important role in protecting the will of the dead, revealing one of the aspects of the community extension of the entails and of entailment identity, as will be seen in the following chapter.

85 Will chart (1593-11-19) – VINC001489 AFPM EA/007a; TT-FC-CC-1, fls. 122-123.

86 Acórdão em relação (1625-07-29) – VINC001489 AFPM EA/007b; TT-FC-CC-1, fls. 126v-127.

87 Acórdão em relação (1625-07-29) – VINC001489 AFPM EA/007b; TT-FC-CC-1, fl. 127.



Being a *morgado* in the community

CHAPTER 7







Being a *morgado* in the community

In addition to the salvation of souls and the preservation of the memory of the name, the third argument most used by some founders to justify the foundation of an entail was the service to God, the king and the Republic. This idea that entails served a common good refers to the community dimension of the entailment system, which is in fact a transversal characteristic: the salvation of souls depended on the community of the living; the preservation of the memory of the name was also carried out within the community; the most important documents were kept in the archives of other institutions; and the belief in the benefits that the entails offered to “public” interests took several centuries to be contested, socially, politically, and culturally. While entails tended to favour and benefit a restricted group of people linked by kinship, the community, made up of people and institutions, was rarely forgotten. As Hernández Franco and Rodríguez Pérez put it, “la familia tiene poco sentido separada de la comunidad que le proporciona recursos materiales y morales¹”. Consequently, the process of building, consolidating, transmitting, and perpetuating identity within the family makes little sense apart from the community.

It is therefore useful to think of entailment as a community phenomenon that has impacted and been impacted by extra-family community structures. It is likewise important to reflect on the weight that entails have had on the community and, conversely, on the weight that the community has had on entails, from their conception to their actual functioning. This reflection

¹ Hernández Franco; Rodríguez Pérez, 2015, p. 17. My translation: “Family has little meaning when separated from the community that endows it with material and moral resources”.



requires dispelling the images, progressively built up between the 18th and 19th centuries by opponents of the entailment system, of the “selfish” and “oppressive” founder, concerned only with the salvation of their soul and the privileges of their line of descent; and of the entail as an “obstacle” that hindered economic development by immobilising assets and “wasting” a significant portion of income on pious obligations². Analysing the documentary traces left by entails reveals a different reality. People and institutions that were important in the founder's life at a social, emotional, economic, or political level were generally benefited – spiritually and materially – at the time of preparation for death and the life of the soul. The ideals of charity and piety drove the protection of the most vulnerable members of the community. The founders believed that everyone would play a crucial role in the salvation of their soul and in the functioning and health of the entail, not only in practical and logistical terms, but also in the important function of monitoring and punishing imperfect heirs.

It was therefore considered that the community insertion of entails is particularly visible in four distinct dimensions, which will be explored throughout this chapter. The first is manifested in the death of the founder, which is in many cases carefully planned in foundation documents. Death, as a social and communal event, could involve a wide range of people and institutions that were called upon by founders to ensure a good death. The salvation of souls was also, as it was demonstrated, a collective matter. Each of these people and institutions fulfilled a specific role in the funeral ceremonies and were duly rewarded for their participation, both in the moral and religious sense of helping to save souls, and in the economic and material sense. The second community dimension comes from what Maria de Lurdes Rosa called liturgical benefactions³. These benefactions resulted not only indirectly from the very existence of funerary chapels, but also directly, through different determinations specifically conveyed by the founders. They also resulted from the sponsorship or private foundation of religious institutions, which complemented the existing parish network. Thirdly, there were the various charitable and welfare activities planned by the founders and aimed at the most socially

² Rosa, 2012b, pp. 23–24.

³ Rosa, 2012b, p. 670.



and economically disadvantaged groups. These actions, which tended to favour a specific idea of the “poor”, could include, for example, one-off or perpetual almsgiving or the founding of charitable and welfare institutions. Finally, the role attributed to the community in the functioning of entails is revealed in the clauses stipulating the control, surveillance, and possible punishment of the administrators by institutions outside the family. These examples show that, in the minds of the founders, the management of entails was not confined to the kinship group, but in several cases depended on extra-familiar organisations.

The database offers five index terms that allow the evaluation of some of these facets, divided into two main groups. The first concerns pious obligations. As previously mentioned, the terms “pious” and “pious special” indicate the existence of a wide range of pious obligations, both of a general nature (“pious”) and of a more specific nature (“pious special”). This latter group includes, for example, the founding of religious or welfare institutions, private instructions on burial or the obligation to keep lamps permanently lit. The large number of occurrences recorded in the database for the term “pious” makes it, as stated, not very operative. The term “pious special” was therefore favoured to assess the community dimension of some of the pious obligations. The second set of index terms indicates the existence of clauses that establish a surveillance mechanism by institutions outside the family (including the custody of copies of the entail’s documents), associated with the Crown, the Church or municipalities. In the last section of this chapter, some conclusions will be drawn from these last index terms.

7.1. The death of the founder

The funeral ceremonies of a founder, particularly those belonging to higher social strata, served, in part, to communicate with the community and convey certain messages. Like other family rituals, such as baptism or marriage, funeral ceremonies were not only personal and private devotional acts, but also instruments of power, representation, and integration⁴.

⁴ Atienza Hernández, pp. 26–37; Alfani, 2013.



As Atienza Hernández states, these ceremonies acted within social relationships, enhancing the symbolic transmission of messages in a directed but participatory way, and reinforcing the integration and adherence of the participants⁵. Many founders made no reference to funeral ceremonies in their foundation documents, while others left it up to their successors and executors. However, a significant number of founders left specific instructions regarding the configuration of these rituals, revealing a demonstrable investment during their lifetime in preparation for death. In fact, among the various markers of historical otherness, which remind us of the profound differences that separate premodern societies from our own, the personal and communal importance given to preparing for death (and the life of the soul) is one of the most obvious.

In many cases, the death of a founder and the corresponding funeral ceremonies had a significant impact on the community. Social, economic, and also sensory impact. Of particular note were the funeral processions that accompanied the corpse to its burial site. These processions could involve many people, with an emphasis on the most disadvantaged in socio-economic terms: men and women, orphaned children, widows, and elderly people living in poverty. Many founders requested the presence of one or more of these groups, often indicating the specific number of individuals from each group. In exchange for taking part in the procession, during which they would carry lit torches in their hands and pray to God for the founder's soul, these groups received alms in currency and/or kind, in precise amounts indicated by the founders in their wills or foundation deeds. The processions could also include the presence of different ecclesiastical communities, not only from the institution where the body was to be buried, but also from other religious spaces within the boundaries of one or more parishes. All were also given the alms due for their participation. Finally, lay brotherhoods and confraternities could join the procession. Several founders were brethren of one or more confraternities or brotherhoods and therefore had the prerogative of being accompanied by the group at the time of their death. In fact, as Pablo Vásquez Bello has shown, confraternities and brotherhoods did not merely serve a purpose of local affirmation of the courtly nobility in life, but extended it beyond

⁵ Atienza Hernández, pp. 26-37.



the disappearance of the bodies⁶. When organising death, the founders didn't forget these connections, redistributing part of their wealth to pay alms to these corporations.

The rituals that followed death became more complex in cases where founders foresaw the possibility of dying at a considerable distance from the burial site. The most paradigmatic example of this is found in the will of Manuel de Moura Manuel, bishop of Miranda do Douro, member of the king's council and *sumilher da cortina* (chaplain of honour), dated 1699. Manuel de Moura Manuel had founded a church to the veneration of Nossa Senhora da Penha de França in Vista Alegre, Ílhavo, where he wanted to be buried. In the event of his death in Miranda do Douro, some 300 kilometres from Ílhavo, he ordered that his body be embalmed, dressed in decent vestments and sealed in a coffin after the funeral ceremonies. He then appointed three people – referred to as “condutores do meu cadáver” – who were to be responsible for transporting the body to the church in Vista Alegre. According to the founder's instructions, the coffin was to be placed on a bier and carried by two mules, with a third to stand by as the road was rough and long. Accompanying the body would be at least six clergy members on horseback with torches that should remain lit at all times. When night fell, the body was to be taken to one of the along the route for a stop-over, until the journey was resumed the following day. Finally, the arrival of the body in Vista Alegre would be marked by three continuous days of services in the church of Nossa Senhora da Penha de França⁷.

After the funeral procession, which could vary in size depending on the case, the burial took place and was also “performed” in community. It has already been noted that many of the masses celebrated on the occasion of the burial not only contemplated the soul of the founder and their “family of the dead”, but also anonymous souls wandering in Purgatory⁸. Some founders requested an impressive amount of suffrages, spread across various churches and religious spaces in the city, town, or place where they wished to be buried. The death of the founder was thus announced

6 Vázquez Bello, 2018.

7 Will chart (1699-08-04) – VINC001283 MMM EA/002a; TT-AA-RA-28, fls. 133 and 137v. My translation: “conductors of my corpse”.

8 See Chapter 6 - The life of the soul and the management of the dead, p. 272.



in an extended geographical circuit, which could go far beyond the limits of the burial site itself. Organ music and church bells contributed to this overflow, signalling through sound that a founder had died. The note left by Gaspar Barreto Cabral, a nobleman of the king's household, in his will dated 1595, is curious in this respect. Choosing to be buried in the monastery of São Francisco de Évora, he leaves the following instruction regarding the ringing of bells on the occasion of his death and burial:

“Mais mando quando falecer me façam três sinais, mas com todos os sinos, e outros três quando me enterrarem, e não havendo de ser com todos os sinos não me façam sinal algum porquanto sou de qualidade para me poderem tanger todos⁹”.

However, not all the founders wanted their funeral ceremonies to be magnificent. Seeking to imitate the poverty of Christ, some renounced the practices expected of the nobility. This renunciation could take different forms. As it was seen in the chapter dedicated to the life of the soul and the management of the dead, some founders requested that their graves not be built high up, but rather shallowly above the ground¹⁰. They chose inscriptions that would not identify the deceased by name. They asked to be buried at night and that the processions not use horses or shields, symbols, or wordly pomp. They wanted the masses and litanies to be quiet and dignified, without the wailing or weeping of family members and servants, to reduce the noise of the ceremonies. They ordered that their bodies be buried barefoot and in the poorest garments, leaving the better clothes for the poor or the Church. The most peculiar example in the sample is that of the nobleman João Gramacho, who established an entail in Silves in 1521. At the beginning of his will, he stipulates that, on the day of his death, “o levem em uma tábua nu como veio a este mundo somente sobre sua vergonha um pano de linho que lha cubra e assim nu o enterrem”. Later on, he changes this stipulation and asks that he be carried on the plank covered

9 Will chart (1595-06-23) – VINC000856 GBC EA/003aaa; TT-AA-RA-2, fl. 209. My translation: “Furthermore, when I die, I order that three signals be made, but with all the bells, and another three when I am buried, and if it is not to be done with all the bells, then it should not be done at all, because I am of enough quality to have all the bells rung in my honour”.

10 See Chapter 6 – The life of the soul and the management of the dead, pp. 272-276.



by his two best sheets, to be buried still naked, with the sheets being offered to the poor. Finally, he rethinks the funeral plan and chooses to be buried, like many other founders, in the habit of São Francisco, but with nothing else¹¹. Although João Gramacho's initial idea was *sui generis*, together with other founders who renounced worldly pomp, it reveals the diversity of options and profiles when it comes to funeral ceremonies.

7.2. Liturgical benefactions

As it was seen in the chapter dedicated to the life of the soul and the management of the dead, the foundation of an entail combined two structuring elements: the individual mark of the founder linked to their desire for religious prominence, and the necessary intervention of the community of the living in the salvation of their soul¹². In exchange for this intervention, the founders offered a series of benefits to the community, in the form of liturgical benefactions¹³.

One must first consider the liturgical enrichment and embellishment provided by the legacies left by the founders. The masses they ordered to be said increased and diversified the celebrations available in each religious institution. The notion of improving the service offered by the institution where the chapel was located was present, for example, in the entail founded in 1691 by António das Póvoas e Brito, a nobleman of the king's household and a knight of the Order of Christ, by his wife, Isabel de Sousa, and her brother, Doutor Manuel de Sousa Oliva, magistral canon of the Cathedral of Guarda. When planning the daily mass that they required for the chapel in the cathedral, they stipulated that the celebrations should alternate between the chapel and the choir of the cathedral choir to better serve the Holy See and divine worship¹⁴. The same occurred with Domingos Ferreira do Souto, a familiar of the Holy Office, and his wife,

11 Will (1521-08-12) – VINC001976 JGAT EA/001a; TT-FC-CC-4, fls. 330v and 331v. My translation: “they should carry him on a plank, naked as he came into this world, with only a linen cloth covering his modesty, and so bury him naked”.

12 See Chapter 6 – The life of the soul and the management of the dead.

13 Rosa, 2012b, p. 670.

14 Entail and chapel foundation deed (1691-12-10) – VINC004451 APBISMSO EA/001a; ADGRD-GCG-RV-14, fl. 203v.



Cristina da Silva, who established an entail in 1698. Among the three chapels they founded was one located in the place of Souto, where Domingos Ferreira do Souto had been born, dedicated to St Dominic, after whom he was named. In order to meet the needs experienced by the inhabitants of that parish, who often missed masses on feast days due to the great distance from the parish church, they ordered that on those days, after the parish mass was over, another mass should be said with a responsory for the souls of the founders' parents, grandparents, and relatives¹⁵.

If the founders' priority was the salvation of their own souls, as it was seen when the life of the soul and the management of the dead was analysed, many included an extensive network of souls beyond kinship in their perpetual obligations for their family of the dead. Ties of friendship, neighbourliness, or patronage motivated a sense of obligation, of debt, in relation to the suffrage. As demonstrated by Maria de Lurdes Rosa, the continuation of the relationships that organised the founder's life socially, politically, and affectively, even after death, helped to consolidate a sense of identity that transcended the biological extinction of the body¹⁶. Some founders also sought to ensure the health of unknown and anonymous souls, taking on the responsibility of looking after them. This was the determination, for example, of Baltasar Mendes dos Reis who, as mentioned in chapter 6, provided for, among other things, a perpetual mass for the soul in purgatory that was closest to seeing God, another for the most destitute soul and a third for the one in greatest pains¹⁷. But Baltasar Mendes dos Reis's intention was not only to benefit the dead, but also the living. The perpetual masses he had left were to be celebrated in the chapel invoking Our Lady of the Kings, namesake saint of the founder's family name (Reis), which he had built next to the jail in Évora. The aim was that the prisoners be able to hear and take part in the masses, “porque por amor de Deus e por deles e para eles” he ordered the masses to be said. On the feast of the Epiphany (day of the Three Kings), the administrators were obligated to give alms to prisoners who had confessed and received Holy Communion. Furthermore, three or four days prior to

15 Will chart (1698-06-26) – VINCO01263 DFSCSDGS EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-48, fls. 48v-49.

16 Rosa, 2012b, pp. 397-417.

17 Will chart (1639-04-27) – VINCO01534 BMR EA/001; TT-AA-RA-29, fl. 46v.



the Feast, they were required to send a priest to the prison with the purpose of preaching to the inmates about the benefits of confession and communion, to persuade them to adhere to the sacrament and to instruct them on the proper procedures¹⁸.

Alongside the masses, liturgical enrichment and embellishment also came from a vast array of donations made by the founders, including alms for works and improvements to the churches. In a will dated 1501, Fernando Álvares left alms to help finish the construction of the chancel of the church of São Lourenço de Azeitão, where his father's tomb was located and where the founder intended to be buried¹⁹. Another example is found in Fernando Velho's entail. In 1533, Fernando Velho's executors formalised a contract and bond deed with the beneficiaries of the church of São Nicolau, in Lisbon, where Fernando Velho intended to build his chapel. This contract states that the beneficiaries and many of the church's parishioners had asked the founder to build his chapel in São Nicolau, not only for the greater nobility of the religious space, but also to increase the size of the church. To this end, the executors of the will obtained an authorization from the municipal officials to occupy a plot of land next to São Nicolau, taking it over for the construction of the chapel. This was on the condition that the churchmen would not use Fernando Velho's chapel to store refuse that could spoil the said chapel, such as ladders, coffins, tombs, benches or chests²⁰.

The founders' donations also took the form of objects donated to the chapels, including ornaments, works of religious art, and liturgical implements. The latter could, in some cases and in specific situations, be used on other altars of the religious institution. Diogo de Castro do Rio, a nobleman in the king's household, provided for this loan in his will dated 1575, in which he specified that the ornaments and pieces from his chapel, located in the monastery of São Francisco de Lisboa, could be used on the high altar of the monastery on the main feasts of Our Lord and Our Lady, as well as on the

18 Will chart (1639-04-27) – VINC001534 BMR EA/001; TT-AA-RA-29, fl. 48v. My translations: “for the love of God, theirs, and for their sake”.

19 Will chart (1501-08-16) – VINC000696 FAAA EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-7, fl. 275v.

20 Contract and bond deed (1533-12-02) – VINC000728 FV EA/003; TT-HSJ-032, fls. 38v-39v.



days and eve of the feasts of São Francisco and Santo António. In all other situations, the implements remained for the exclusive use of the chapel and could not leave the monastery, unless they were needed in the hermitage of São Roque, located in the founder's Quinta de Sacavém, on the day of and the eve of the feast of the said saint²¹. As it was seen in the chapter exploring heraldic symbols, these implements were sometimes marked with the arms of the founders, reminding the community attending the celebrations of the name, identity, and power of the benefactor and his family group²².

As with the loan of liturgical implements, several founders also allowed the private chaplains of their chapels to aid in the religious services of the institution where they were located²³. Some also stipulated that these chaplains should carry out teaching duties, sharing knowledge of various kinds both with the group of religious men and women from the church or monastery where the chapel was located, and with the community in general. One of the most illustrative examples is the *morgadio* instituted in 1621 by Luís de Figueiredo Falcão, former Secretary of State to King Filipe II, at the monastery of São Luís, which he himself had founded a few years earlier. In the event of his lineage becoming extinct, the foundation document stipulates that the monastery's nuns should take over the administration. In that case, the income from the entail was to be used to pay for six more chaplains in addition to the one already provided for. One of these chaplains was required to be a theologian and would act as chief chaplain; another should be a good Latinist, to teach Latin to anyone who wished to learn; the third and fourth were required to know how to play the organ and how to perform organ music, respectively, to teach both the nuns and anyone else who wished to learn; the fifth would work the procurator for the nuns; and the sixth would serve as the sacristan of the church. In addition to these ecclesiastics, the assets of the entail were to go towards paying twelve *merceeiros*, six men and six women, to help the chaplains. These *merceeiros* were to be chosen from among natives of Pinhel over the age of 50 and, if possible, blood relatives of the founder. They would be joined by a *donato* in the habit of São Francisco, whose job

21 Will (extract) (1575-07-23) – VINC001637 DCRBVMCR EA/009; TT-HSJ-003, fl. 32v.

22 See Chapter 3 – For the immortality of memory: family names and arms, p. 175.

23 Rosa, 2012b, pp. 676-677.



it would be to help keep the space clean and in order, as well as ensuring that three lamps were permanently lit in various areas of the monastery²⁴.

In fact, while the foundation of churches, monasteries and other religious institutions served devotional purposes and the salvation of the souls of the founders, their deceased families and members of the community, they also fulfilled the function of promoting and representing the power and social status of the founders and their families (Table 9: Examples of religious foundations mentioned in foundation documents, p. 344). In the words of Tamara González López, religious institutions also served as advertising spaces for noble families, who used them to assert themselves within the local community²⁵. The presence of heraldry in these sacred places is, as it was seen, one of the visual examples of this desire for affirmation. The status of founder of a religious institution could also carry a wide range of privileges that contributed to their social distinction. Among these are patronage, the ability to appoint clergymen and women, the reservation of privileged burial sites, exclusive access to certain spaces, special rights in funeral ceremonies and other celebrations, among others. Francisco Manuel Carmona Carmona fully demonstrated this socio-political, communitarian, and propagandistic dimension that was at the root of the foundation of religious institutions through the example of the Madre de Dios de Baena convent, established by the Counts of Cabra. Founded partly to accommodate the large number of their daughters who were unable or unwilling to marry, this convent mainly welcomed women from the founder's family and from Baena, Cabra, or the Count's lands, benefiting the family's patronage network. The successive burials in this religious space, which obeyed the funeral protocols ordered by the founding family, transformed the convent into a family pantheon, marked with the heraldry of the deceased; the arms not only identified the dead, but also delimited the space and signalled the private uses of the family group. These privileges, associated with patronage, strengthened the bond between the family group and the convent, a bond that became part of the family identity and was passed down from generation to generation²⁶.

24 Entail foundation deed (1621-10-29) – VINC002603 LFF EA/001aa; TT-C-F3-D-5, fls. 90v-91.

25 González López, 2018, p. 971.

26 Carmona Carmona, 2019, pp. 191-208.



The foundations of religious institutions and chapels also helped to promote the saint of their veneration among the local community, as Maria de Lurdes Rosa has shown in the case of the Lisbon chapels²⁷. Some founders indicate that this was precisely one of their objectives, as the example of the entail established by Manuel de Moura Manuel illustrates. In the donation deed to the church he founded, of the invocation of Nossa Senhora de Penha de França, he explains that his intention was not only to found the church, but also to preserve it so that “por toda a posteridade fosse a Virgem Senhora Nossa venerada no dito templo com culto de excelência e asseio devido²⁸”. This desire to promote the saint, closely linked to the founder's devotional identity and, in some cases, to family devotional traditions, was also expressed, as shown in the chapter dedicated to the (im)perfect heir, in the incentive (or obligation) for the perpetuation and continuation of devotion and the protection of religious communities by successors²⁹.

The devotional and communal intensity associated with a particular institution was further promoted by some founders through the donation of relics and the acquisition of papal indulgences, which increased visits to places of worship and could even turn them into places of pilgrimage³⁰. As demonstrated in the chapter exploring the power of the archive, several founders who owned relics – which should be seen as an integral part of the archive of the entail – entailed them to the *morgadio* or chapel, ensuring that they remained within the family group in perpetuity³¹. Even if they weren't explicitly entailed, these religious objects generally deserved special attention from the founders, who dedicated to them passages varying in extension, depending on the case, in their foundation documents. This is what happened in the will of Margarida Nunes de Horta, produced in 1619 and unique on several levels, including in the demonstration of the community dimension of relic ownership. The founder informs that she owned a gold reliquary, a treasured and valuable

27 Rosa, 2012b, p. 671.

28 Donation deed (1669-07-25) – VINCO01283 MMM EA/001; TT-AA-RA-28, fl. 129. My translation: “for all posterity the Virgin Mary Our Lady would be venerated in the said church with excellence and due reverence”.

29 See Chapter 4 – The (im)perfect heir, pp. 200-201.

30 Rosa, 2012b, pp. 672-673.

31 See Chapter 5 – The power of the archive, pp. 249-251.



piece, which held a cross made of the Most Holy Wood of the Cross and the bones of various saints. It had two doors through which the relics could be seen, one with the image of Christ Crucified and the other of Our Lady of the Conception. The reliquary was to be placed in a frame of gilded wood lined with crimson satin, which would fit onto the chest of the Madonna that was on the altar of the chapel of Margarida Nunes de Horta in the hermitage of the Holy Spirit in Lisbon, so that it could be seen. However, the relics were only to be publicly displayed on the feast days of Our Lady, the Cross, São Cristóvão, Christmas, and Easter. If the founder was unable to do so during her lifetime, the executors of the will were to try to obtain indulgences for the relics from the Pope. The chaplain of the chapel was responsible for making the public aware of the existence of the indulgences and the day on which they could be obtained, by posting notices on the doors of the churches in the city³².

This link between the chapels and the community was also present in many domestic chapels set up on the founders' manors or estates. When analysing the architecture of the chapels of the noble house in the Azores and Madeira archipelagos, Isabel Albergaria noted precisely that the relationship with the community “explica, no plano físico, a relação privilegiada da capela com o espaço público, normalmente articulada com adros, largos e vias públicas e só muito raramente voltada para o interior de pátios ou recintos murados com acesso exclusivo pelo interior³³”. The same author also noted that, in the requests for permission to build domestic chapels in those spaces, one of the most used arguments was precisely the service to the community and the benefits they would bring to neighbours. For the English case in the Middle Ages, Rawlinson found something similar, emphasising that these domestic chapels were not intended to replace community worship in the parishes, but to complement it. This communal dimension does not take away from the domestic chapels' symbolic function of demonstrating the power, wealth, and nobility of the founders. They also fulfilled the important task of consolidating the

³² Will chart (1619-07-26) – VINC000901 MNHMH EA/005; TT-AA-RA-13, fls. 71-72.

³³ Albergaria, 2017, p. 789. My translation: “explains, on a physical level, the privileged position of the chapel in relation to public space, usually integrated with courtyards, squares, and public roads, and only very rarely oriented towards the interior of courtyards or walled enclosures with exclusive access from the inside”.



common life of all those who lived in the houses of the founders, reinforcing the identity ties they shared³⁴.

7.3. Charity and assistance

The ties of identity built between the founders and the community were also solidified through a diverse range of charitable and welfare actions. As Maria de Lurdes Rosa explained, in a strongly communal and corporate society, assistance was not provided privately; charitable and welfare activities were neither acts of disinterested philanthropy nor selfish mechanisms aimed at saving one's soul³⁵, but rather were part of a collective effort that mutually benefited those who provided assistance and those who received it. The participation of different groups of poor individuals in funeral processions is an example of this, with those who contributed to the salvation of the soul of the deceased being rewarded with alms.

The same applies to the (sometimes) extensive list of people to whom the testators, whether founders of entails or not, bequeathed various alms in coins, kind, movable or immovable goods or chattel. The “testadores eram tão generosos quanto práticos, deixando instruções concretas sobre quem devia ser assistido e como”, writes Lurdes Rosa³⁶. In the case of the entail founders, these alms could be one-off or perpetual, i.e. they were given only once to a particular person or group of people on the occasion of death or repeated until the end of the world, in perpetual charity. An in-depth study of the economic dimension of entails would make it possible to determine exactly what percentage of the wealth of the founders and the income from the entail was allocated to charitable purposes, its relative weight compared to the income left to heirs and to pay funeral and pious expenses, and the economic impact of the entails at a local level. As this is not the aim of this work, I would simply like to emphasise that a considerable number of foundations in the sample provided that part of the income from the entails be used for the benefit of people and

34 Rawlinson, 2008, p. 274; Clarke, 2008, p. 26.

35 Rosa, 2016, p. 525.

36 Rosa, 2016, p. 528. My translation: “Testators were as generous as they were practical, leaving specific instructions about who should receive assistance and how”.



institutions outside the family, simultaneously fulfilling the purpose of immobilising assets within the family and distributing wealth to the local community.

As a rule, the favoured recipients of the founders' charity were those with whom they shared a blood relationship and who lived in a situation of poverty, need, or lack of protection. References to poor relatives, widows, unmarried girls, or orphans are common. Ties of spiritual kinship, patronage, and neighbourliness were also often taken into account when giving alms. From the 16th century onwards, there were also many references to enslaved people who were the property of the founder and whom they freed upon their death. Not all founders opted for manumission, but those who did usually left some kind of alms to be given along with it. This was especially common when the enslaved persons had been born into the founder's household or had been brought to it as children. Several founders justified the manumission and the provision of alms by stating that they had raised the enslaved people as children or with the love of children, as in the case of Francisco Pires and Bárbara Fernandes. When they established an entail in 1627, they manumitted Violante, a black Brahmin woman, whom they had “em lugar de filha”. For this reason, and because of the many obligations they owed her, they also appointed her as universal heir and administrator of their chapel³⁷. In fact, in various situations, the founders considered it necessary to add a justification for giving alms to specific people, almost always evoking emotional and sentimental reasons: love, friendship, a sense of obligation.

Outside the circle of kinship, patronage, and neighbourhood relations, the founders' charity was mostly directed, as it has been stated, towards different anonymous groups of socially and economically unprotected people: widows, single women, the elderly, orphans, captives, prisoners, converts, the sick, all of them encompassed in the generic image of the “poor”. Serving the poor was tantamount to serving God, as Maria Rebelo explains when justifying the perpetual alms she left to the convent of São Francisco and the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon:

37 Will chart (1627-01-23) – VINC001783 FPBF EA/003b; TT-FC-CC-1, fl. 37. My translations: “as children” or “with the love of children”; “in the place of a daughter”.



“Posto que o intento meu em tudo agradar e servir a Deus porque estou certa que pode que ele é muito servido socorrer e acudir às necessidades dos pobres porque ele disse por sua voz agradao quando na terra que o que se fazia a um dos pobrezinhos a ele se fazia e ele tomara a sua conta para pagar e guardar doar do céu³⁸”.

For this reason, the founder ordered her administrator not to give the perpetual alms to any man or woman to whom he or she might have any obligation, such as the payment of debts or services, since it was his or her duty “cumprir com a verdadeira caridade³⁹”. Like Maria Rebelo, several other founders urged the administrators to be “friends to the poor”. They wanted them to continue the actions of the founders, incorporating charity as a component of their identity. It was precisely this expression – “friends to the poor” – that Belchior da Costa, vicar of the parish of Santa Maria de Alijó, used when establishing his entail, asking the heirs to be charitable towards them, as it was their obligation⁴⁰.

Alongside the generic image of the “poor”, some founders were more specific, reserving their alms for the “ideal poor” or the “good poor”, those who, despite their poverty, were noble, honourable, of good life and manners, preferably born in or living in the city, town, or place with which the founder had some particular connection or where the entail was located. The “poor” were not all equal and the founders' just charity rewarded those who deserved it. According to Doutor Luís Correia's foundation, dated 1598, if his lineage became extinct, the entail should be administered by the *Misericórdia* of Coimbra and the proceeds applied to the marriage of eighteen orphans every year, who had to be from Coimbra, honourable and virtuous⁴¹. Jerónimo de Gouveia, Bishop of Ceuta, determined that part of the income from his entail should be spent on

38 Codicil (1599-08-26) – VINC000857 MR EA/001c; TT-AA-RA-36, fl. 293v. My translation: “Since my intention in everything is to please and serve God, because I am certain that it is very pleasing to Him to assist and attend to the needs of the poor, as He said with his own voice when he was on earth, that whatever was done to one of the poor was done to him, and He will take it upon Himself to repay and guard them from heaven”.

39 Codicil (1599-08-26) – VINC000857 MR EA/001c; TT-AA-RA-36, fl. 292v. My translation: “to fulfil true charity”.

40 Will chart (1649-04-20) – VINC001069 FVSACBC EA/001; TT-AA-RA-38, fl. 265v.

41 Will (extract) (1598-05-13) – VINC005751 LC EA/001; TT-HSJ-002, fls. 169-169v.



giving alms to Jews, Moors, and Gentiles who willingly came to be baptised at the *Casa dos Catacumenos* in Lisbon, namely those who were more noble, old, sick, poor, virtuous, good Christians, and who were not or had not been captives⁴². There were frequent requests to ecclesiastical or municipal authorities to determine which poor people were the most in need and deserving, and it was up to them to choose those who should receive the alms.

Several religious and welfare institutions also benefited from the charity of their founders (especially ecclesiastical founders), both for the use of the institution itself and to carry out pious and charitable works for the community. Of particular note in this regard is the extraordinary will of Doutor António Francisco de Varejão, provisor of the archbishopric of Braga and former abbot of several institutions in the north of Portugal, finalised in 1585. The bulk of the document is dedicated to the distribution of alms, which includes a few dozen people, namely relatives, servants, the poor, orphans, parishioners, pious women, friends, royal and ecclesiastical officials, and several others identified only by name; his enormous generosity also included more than forty religious and welfare institutions throughout the kingdom, including hospitals, hermitages, monasteries, churches, *misericórdias*, brotherhoods, and colleges⁴³.

In addition to these alms to individuals and institutions, which were usually listed in foundation documents, some founders opted for more structured forms of charity and assistance by founding welfare institutions such as *mercearias*, shelters, or hospitals (Table 10: Examples of welfare foundations mentioned in foundation documents, p. 345). These “private” foundations added to the welfare networks in the kingdom’s towns and cities, joining similar institutions sponsored by the municipalities, the Church and the Crown. If they worked for the benefit of the community, they also symbolically built up the power and piety of their founders, visible in the urban landscape and often perpetuated through heraldry, as was the case with religious foundations. For example, there was the hospital with a chapel dedicated to São Paulo that was to be built in Lisbon if the lineage of

42 Donation deed (1622-04-21) – VINC007760 JG EA/001; TT-HSJ-069, fls. 26v-27.

43 Will chart (1585-04-01) – VINC000826 AFV EA/001; TT-AA-RA-27, fls. 280v-287v.



founder Afonso de Torres, a noble knight of the king's household, became extinct and the administration therefore passed to the Lisbon city council, in accordance with the founder's wishes. The hospital was to have two permanent chaplains saying mass for the souls of Afonso de Torres, his son Gaspar de Torres, and his wife Leonor Alarcão, as well as five *merceeiros*, a surgeon, and a physicist. At the entrance to the hospital, above the door, there was to be a shield with the arms of Afonso de Torres⁴⁴.

As a rule, foundation documents do not allow us to ascertain more than the properties, alms, and sometimes movable assets that the founders left for the construction of these welfare institutions. The aforementioned example of Margarida Nunes de Horta is therefore unique in that, in addition to establishing the entail, she also established a *mercearia* in Lisbon to house four women. This determination includes what can be classified as a “regulation” for the *mercearia*, which meticulously details the characteristics of the institution, the duties of the administrator of the entail as the person responsible for the *mercearia* and the rights, duties, and rules of moral conduct to be followed by the women who were to live in it.

The people chosen by the administrator for the four spots should be, firstly, the founder's poorest relatives who were most in need, followed by maids and their daughters and, finally, neighbours and their daughters. Before making their choice, the administrator should first ask the parish curate if the women lived virtuously, as the founder didn't want her *mercearia* to become a den of depravity. For this reason, men were forbidden from entering the house for longer than strictly necessary, and should preferably speak to the women at the main entrance to the house. This is also why the administrator was given the task of visiting the *mercearia* several times a week to check that the women were living honestly. In the event that any of them were “descompоста de língua ou notada de bebedice ou de outro vício escandaloso”, they would be immediately removed and replaced. To prove that the administrator had not ordered the removal and replacement lightly or out of passion, Margarida Horta remarks that the administrator should write down an enquiry which could be shown to whoever

44 Entail foundation deed (1561-12-30) – VINCO01306 ATGTLA EA/003a; AMLSB-CMLS-BAH-CSA-002-01-01, fls. 8-8v.



would supervise the administrator. Still according to the founder's wishes, each woman would have her own home and would also have a common room for recreation and spiritual and corporal exercises. If they were ill, they were to be visited by a doctor, who would provide them with everything they needed. They would also receive a *tença* (weekly or monthly payment), which had to be paid on time so that the *merceeiras* could live happily and without complaint and also fulfil their obligations on time. These included going every morning to the hermitage of the Holy Spirit, where the founder wished to be buried, where they would attend the chapel's mass of obligation in front of the altar of the Virgin Mary. Taking care not to join the other *merceeiras* of the Holy Spirit, they were also to pray a daily rosary to Our Lady and a chaplet to Christ Our Lord and another to Our Lady for the souls of Margarida Nunes de Horta, her father, mother, and sisters. They could only leave the church when these prayers had been fully fulfilled. On All Souls' Day on Maundy Thursday, they were obliged to pray extra rosaries and chaplets, which had to be said on their knees, except when they were unable to do so due to illness or old age. In addition to their pious duties, the four *merceeiras* were also responsible for sweeping the chapel, reminding the chaplain to provide the altar with clean linens and frontals (or reporting to the administrator if the chaplain did not comply) and ensuring the holy water font was filled. This was so that the chapel service would be perfect, without fault. In order to make the women aware of their obligations, the administrator had to read the "regulation" to each one of them before they were admitted, reminding them that they were not allowed to leave the city without their authorization and always for periods of less than twenty days⁴⁵.

The same concern with the quality and behaviour of those who received charity from the founders – or, if preferred, the same tendency to build the "perfect poor" – is present in other charitable foundations, such as the one planned by Gonçalo Esteves Tavares and his wife, Leonor Rodrigues. In the foundation document, dated 1349, the couple planned to build a church and hospital on their Correga estate in Mangualde. According to the founders, this new building should not be to the detriment of the

45 Will chart (1619-07-26) – VINC000901 MNHMH EA/005; TT-AA-RA-13, fls. 69-70v. My translation: "loose-tongued or noted for drunkenness or other scandalous vices".



existing church in the area, ensuring the aforementioned complementarity with local institutions. The hospital, for its part, was to take in 24 poor persons in perpetuity, old men and women who had fallen into poverty or young people who had nothing of their own, with preference given to knights, clerics, noblemen, and squires. These paupers were obliged to go to church to hear mass and could not bring companions⁴⁶.

In 1501, Fernando Álvares also foresaw the foundation of a welfare institution, namely a hostel that would be built on his property in Sesimbra. This hostel would receive pilgrims and wanderers and would have four straw mattresses with blankets and lamps the guests could light at night. The administrator of the entail would be in charge of the hostel for as long as the world lasted, and it is for this reason that Fernando Álvares excludes women from the succession, “por não serem más estando em casa com estrangeiros ou pobres”. He also excludes what he calls “bad men”, so that they wouldn’t cause harm to the poor⁴⁷.

7.4. Monitor and punish

Finally, the community played a central role in ensuring the fulfilment of the founders’ will, monitoring the administrators and punishing those who failed to accomplish their obligations. The institutions of power with which the entails were related – the Crown and the Church – developed their own mechanisms for controlling pious obligations and ensuring that the wishes of the deceased were observed. From the 15th century onwards, the Crown formalised a set of institutions with powers to inspect pious obligations and ensure that the will of the deceased was met⁴⁸, such as the *provedorias das capelas*⁴⁹, the *provedorias das comarcas*⁵⁰, and in

46 Will (1349-01-25) – VINC000019 GETLRV EA/001aa; TT-C-F-2, fls. 4-5.

47 Will chart (1501-08-16) – VINC000696 FAAA EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-7, fls. 275v-276. My translation: “so that they are not turned bad by being at home with foreigners or the poor”.

48 Rosa, 2012b, pp. 165-290.

49 VISG - <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/provedor-das-capelas-hospitais-albergarias-e-confrarias-de-lisboa-e-termo-1493-1564/>;
<https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/provedoria-das-capelas-residuos-de-lisboa-e-termo-1564-1832/>.

50 VISG - <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/provedorias-das-comarcas-final-sec-xv-1832/>.



the 17th century, the *juízo das capelas da Coroa*⁵¹. The disputes between Crown and Church over jurisdiction over testamentary matters preceded a period of consolidation of the entails and continued for much of the entailment system's duration. Through successive agreements, the areas of intervention of the two institutions were shared, with the Church having functions similar to those claimed by royal officials in the protection of the determinations of the dead and the health of souls, as well as in the control of administrators⁵².

In the sample gathered, most founders make no mention of external authorities monitoring and punishing administrators. Some may not have considered such intervention necessary, while others may have assumed it to be implicit. A minority of founders expressly forbid any authority from demanding accounts and satisfactions from administrators. Take, for example, the will of Pedro Esteves do Hospital, dated c. 1395, through which he established an entail in the Lisbon Cathedral. The founder forbids any bishop, citizen or person of any condition to ask the administrators for accounts, with the only exception being the Pope, if he is present in person in Lisbon⁵³.

Conversely, a third group of founders provided for external control of the administrators, requesting that various institutions and their representatives “take care” of the entail. If the founders' expectation and desire was that the successors would fulfil their role perfectly, several of them took precautions against possible careless administrators and defaulters (the imperfect heirs). They therefore assumed that the successors should be monitored by external institutions and, if necessary, brought to justice by them. In this sense, the functioning of entails in these cases was *a priori* thought of as a matter that didn't just concern the family group, but involved the intervention of other social bodies and institutions of power. As Margarida Nunes de Horta wrote when she asked the abbot of São Bento de Lisboa to take care of her chapel, “é minha intenção que o administrador tenha dependência de quem o obrigue a satisfação das condições

51 VISG - <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/juizo-das-capelas-da-coroa-1643-1832/>.

52 VISG - <https://visg.vinculum.fcsh.unl.pt/instituicoes/dioceses/> (Competences).

53 Will [c. 1395-04-10] – VINCO07257 PEHVM EA/001a; TT-HSJ]-020, fl. 155.



desta administração e não gaste mal a renda”, thus preventing him from taking advantage of the entail’s revenue and forgetting his obligations⁵⁴.

By analysing the index terms “church”, “crown” and “municipality”, it is possible to conclude that religious institutions (439 occurrences) were the most frequently called upon to monitor and punish administrators. This group included churches, convents, monasteries, and brotherhoods, as well as ecclesiastical representatives, from priors and bishops to the pope, as seen in the entail of Pedro Esteves do Hospital. Multiple factors may have contributed to this preference, including a greater daily proximity to religious institutions during the founders' lives; a proximity that would continue after their earthly death, since these were the institutions that would guard the bodies of the founders and ensure the suffrages. The second most requested authority was the Crown (237 occurrences). This group includes institutions such as the aforementioned *provedorias*, *misericórdias* or the All-Saints Hospital, in the case of Lisbon; representatives of royal power, such as the *provedores*; and the king himself. Much less frequent were the requests for vigilance from municipal authorities (46 occurrences, all prior to 1576). Although, in most cases, only one of these three authorities was called upon to provide surveillance, some founders requested the intervention of two or, more rarely, three authorities simultaneously. The notable example of the declarations made by Diogo Fernandes de Almeida, *rico-homem* (nobleman), member of the king's council and executor of his late wife Teresa de Nogueira's will, was also identified. Fulfilling the wishes of the deceased, Diogo Fernandes de Almeida established an entail in 1426, determining, among other clauses, that for the good of the entail, the judges of the town where most properties were located should force the administrators to fulfil their obligations. If the judges themselves were negligent, or if they feared exercising authority over the administrators because they were powerful people, then the royal court’s accountant should correct the judges' failings, in a form of surveillance over the surveillants⁵⁵.

54 Will chart (1619-07-26) – VINC000901 MNHMNH EA/005; TT-AA-RA-13, fl. 74. My translation: “it is my intention that the administrator should be dependent on someone who obliges him to fulfil the conditions of this administration and not misspend the rent”.

55 Will (1426-11-01) – VINC000334 TN EA/001aa; TT-HSJ-014, fls. 167-174.



These official and “public” institutions were not, however, the only ones on whom the founders depended in their quest to ensure compliance on the part of the administrators. In fact, the community in general could also be invited (and encouraged) to keep an eye on those responsible for administering the entail and, if necessary, accuse them of non-compliance. This was the strategy of Francisco de Sousa Tavares, a nobleman of the king's household, in the entail he set up before 1541. In the foundation deed, he determined that in order for the administrators to be more careful in fulfilling their obligations, any person, no matter how much of an enemy, could accuse them in the event of negligence. The accuser would receive a third of the estate's income until the administrator corrected their misdeeds. To strengthen this vigilance, Francisco de Sousa Tavares ordered that the *provedor das capelas e resíduos* of the district where the administrator lived should annually inquire into the administrator's actions. For this, the *provedor* should be provided with a copy of the foundation document and the inventory of the entail, which was to be recorded in the registry of the *provedoria das capelas*⁵⁶.

In the chapter dedicated to the power of the archive, it was noted that another way of guaranteeing the exercise of external control was through writing and keeping custody of documentation. The handing over of copies of foundation documents, inventories, and other documents relevant to the life of the entails to various royal, municipal, or religious institutions fulfilled this objective⁵⁷. At the same time, several founders requested the intervention and support of specific institutions or officials. They were asked, for example, to annually confirm whether administrators were fulfilling their duties, masses were being said as they should, the accounts and inventories were correct, chapels were well looked after, and so on. Some institutions were also tasked, along with the administrator, with the safekeeping of the entail's patrimony, keeping for this purpose one of the keys to the vaults or other deposits where liturgical implements, documents, money, or other objects owned by the entail were kept. Religious institutions, particularly those with which the founders had a closer connection – devotional or as patrons or benefactors – were sometimes asked to also look after the spir-

56 Entail foundation deed [before 1541–11–24] – VINC002987 FST EA/001aa; TT-C-J3-D-38, fl. 17v.

57 See Chapter 5 – The power of the archive, pp. 227–233.



itual and moral education of the administrators. Out of the love he always had for the Capuchin Fathers of the Verderena monastery, Father António Pires de Azambuja entrusted them in 1604 with the task of taking particular care of his son and first administrator, teaching and counselling him as the founder deserved⁵⁸. As compensation for the contributions that the various institutions made to the entail, the founders set aside part of the foundation's income to pay for their services. Some were particularly generous, with the express aim of motivating the institutions and officials to be careful in their duties. In this way, part of the wealth from the entails was also channelled to a wide range of institutions outside the family group, contributing to the economic impact of these foundations at a local level.

The community was also called upon to manage and mediate any conflicts that might arise in the succession of the entail. An example of this is the solution found in 1560 by Doutor Rui Gago de Andrade, counsellor to the king and member of his court, and his wife, Catarina de Brito, to resolve the possible problem of there being two heirs in equal circumstances who could take over the administration of the entail:

“então adiante do corregedor da corte e presente ele se meterão os nomes dos que pretenderem ter direito em um barrete ou em um vaso qualquer e chamarão um menino pequeno e tirará um escrito só e qualquer que tirar esse será o sucessor do morgado e se por erro trouxer dois não valerá e tornar-se-á a meter e baralhar e tire um só dele e disso se fará um auto presente o dito corregedor em que ele assinará e assim as partes e escrivão, depois disto assim ser feito não poderá algum deles dizer que o corregedor era suspeito⁵⁹”.

In the event that biological fate led to the extinction of the founder's lineage, one of the options was to entrust an institution outside the family with

58 Will chart (1604-06-20) – VINC000882 APA EA/001; TT-AA-RA-31, fl. 340v.

59 Will chart (1560-07-29) – VINC000785 RGACB EA/001aa; TT-AA-RA-29, fl. 129v. My translation: “then in front of the *corregedor da corte* (magistrate of the court) and in his presence, the names of those who claim to have a right (to the estate) will be placed in a cap or any other vessel, and a small child will be called to draw one name only. Whoever's name is drawn will be the successor to the *morgado*. If by mistake two names are drawn, the process will be void, and the names will be returned and shuffled again, with the child drawing only one name. A formal record will be made in the presence of the said magistrate, which he, the involved parties, and the notary will sign and after this process is completed, none of the parties may claim that the magistrate was biased”.



the selection of the administrator. This is precisely what João Afonso, *sesmeiro* (receiver of a *sesmaria*, an uncultivated land) of Ribeira de Erra, near Santarém, decided in 1536. Faced with a lack of descendants, he ordered that the judges, councillors, officials, and prominent men of the Erra town council elect an administrator, provided that this individual was a person of good reputation, leading a good and honest life, with a clear conscience. João Afonso doesn't mention it explicitly, but several other founders added that the administrators chosen or elected in the event of the lineage dying out should be native or resident in the town or administrative district where the entail was located, both in cases where the administrators were relatives of the founder and in those where there were no kinship relations. From the 17th century onwards, there was a preference for the boundaries of the parish to be delimiters, not only in the choice of administrators, but also in the distribution of alms and other benefits. According to João Afonso's wishes, the municipal officials were also tasked, along with the administrator, with choosing the cleric who would say mass. As a reward for their work in taking care of the chapel, these officials would receive “um bom beberete de meio almude de vinho” each year in January⁶⁰.

Other founders preferred to hand over the administration of their entails directly to an institution if the lineage died out, including city councils, confraternities, *misericórdias*, churches, or convents, among others. In these cases, most founders stipulated that the income from the *morgadio* or chapel should be used for the benefit of the community, namely for charitable works and assistance. The example of the entail established by Luís de Figueiredo Falcão was analysed above, entrusting its the administration to the monastery of São Luís de Pinhel, which he founded, in the event of his lineage becoming extinct. Father António Pires de Azambuja envisaged something similar, handing over the administration to the confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in Barreiro and determining that it was required to build a hospital for the sick or to shelter wanderers, particularly the poorest, most needy, and those who were ashamed to go begging from door to door⁶¹.

60 Will chart (1536-11-05) – VINC000734 JAJA EA/001a; TT-AA-RA-38, fls. 109v and 111. My translation: “a good drink of half an *almude* (measure) of wine”.

61 Will chart (1604-06-20) – VINC000882 APA EA/001; TT-AA-RA-31, fls. 339v and 340v.





CONCLUSION

This book was about identity. An identity that no longer exists and that was characteristic of pre-modern societies, so different from ours, but not at all *strange* or *bizarre*. It was about corporate identity and the specific way in which it is built, consolidated, transmitted, and perpetuated through entails. An identity, therefore, that made sense in a historical context in which entails, legal institutions that framed kinship structures, organised the transmission of inheritance and guaranteed control of families' material and symbolic heritage, were a deep-rooted social phenomenon.

The historiographical heritage on which this work is anchored is suggestive, rich, and diverse. The conception of the study and the readings developed from it were influenced by social history, family history, and anthropological history, to the detriment of other possible perspectives from the history of law or economic history. It thus benefited from a historiographical legacy that had already drawn attention to the symbolic and identity component of entails, which was consensually accepted by the different historiographical currents. In the wake of this historiographical context, it was therefore sought to fill a gap in monographic knowledge about how identity was built, consolidated, transmitted, and perpetuated within family bodies through entails.

This study also benefited from the VINCULUM project database and the entire theoretical-methodological structure behind the construction of this tool. These foundations revealed the complexity of the information system created by entails, which brought together not only the entails themselves, but also dozens of entities associated with the two institutions of power with which they were related, the Church and the Crown. It was



from this database that the sample for analysing entailment identity was drawn up, made up of around 600 documents produced by approximately 500 entails between the 14th and 17th centuries. The constitution of the sample was anchored in the thematic access points offered by the database, which indexed the presence of a set of themes or subjects in a specific group of documents. Within this group, this study favoured foundation documents, which formalised the establishment of an entail in writing. These methodological choices condition the analysis that can be constructed from the sample. Readings on entailment identity were based on an archival mediation that represents only part of the information produced and preserved by, and about entails. The foundation documents, on the other hand, limit the field of vision to a particular moment in the life of the entails, the foundation. Their strong notary component makes it difficult to discern the voice of the founders from that of the notaries. Their silences and omissions make it impossible to assume that they represent the full extent of the actions related to the act of founding an entail. And they can only express intentions, which did not always materialise and therefore should not be confused with actual practices.

Based on these departing points and on the awareness of their limits, it was possible to move on to analysing the five main dimensions of entailment identity. Firstly, the way in which some founders sought to immortalise their memory through the compulsory use of family names (and sometimes first names) and arms by administrators was examined. Although this proved to be a rare practice, these symbolic elements played a central role in the entails in which they are mentioned. The choice of family names and arms to be perpetuated carried identity significance. Some founders evoked the desire to preserve the memory of their ancestors' symbolic legacy, while others used these symbolic family names and arms to assert themselves as figures of authority and reference in the genealogical *continuum* of the family group. The regulation of the use of family names and arms showed a preference for the “main places” – right after the baptismal name, in the quarter at the top right – which could make it difficult for the same administrator to accumulate other entails with the same obligations. However, a certain flexibility prevailed, which meant that the use of symbolic elements didn't hinder the accumulation



of wealth and prestige. Some administrators didn't comply with these founding determinations; others adapted them, even in the face of the punishments prescribed by the founders. But family names and arms weren't only relevant to shaping the perfect heir; they also served to prove legitimacy or to restrict the potential circle of close relatives who could administer the entail, if they used a certain family name. These symbols also extended beyond people's bodies, playing important roles in the materiality of the family's symbolic places, such as graves, family houses, prestigious objects that formed part of the body's identity, or the written documents that structured the entail.

Foundations that are more concerned with symbolic elements also generally contain more restrictive clauses regarding the identity of the perfect heir in the eyes of the founder. Or, if preferred, the imperfect heir, who under no circumstances should administer the entail. In terms of the successor's physical and mental abilities, founders endeavoured to ensure that they had the necessary skills to administer the assets without jeopardising the patrimony; to marry and procreate, giving biological continuity to the family; to serve the king, the Republic and God; and to represent the founder and the family body in a dignified manner. The founding documents also regulated a wide range of behaviours on the part of the heirs, the most relevant of which for the founders were the crimes of divine and human *lèse-majesté*, marriage without the consent of the *pater familias*, and clean blood. Many other types of behaviour were regulated, such as the obligation to reside in the family home or in the seat of the *morgadio*, the way of relating to other members of the family body, devotion, burial places, information and archiving practices, the profession held or university education. Anyone who didn't fulfil these requirements was excluded from the administration, as they jeopardised the health, the longevity, and the very *raison d'être* of the entail.

Faced with the possibility of imperfect heirs succeeding in the administration, the founders included contingency, control, and surveillance mechanisms in the foundation documents, among which the archive stands out. In fact, entails were entities that produced information and created archives, archives with archival legality, archives that were also



designed for perpetuity, archives as places of memory and identity. Even before the entail was founded, the archive was often a determining factor in the entailment project itself, proving to be an auxiliary tool in the act of founding. Several founders, particularly members of the upper social strata, those who held bureaucratic or administrative positions, merchants, and widows, demonstrated a remarkable informational and archival awareness, realising the importance of writing and preserving written documents for the life of the entail. Many of them showed careful informational and archival preparation, gathering in advance the written documents they considered relevant because they contained information about, for example, the entailed assets, debts and contracts for the construction of chapels. Many also left “archival guidelines” for their successors, indicating which records they should consult, their contents, or their location. The main concern, however, was to ensure that certain written records were produced and preserved by regulating the informational and archival behaviour not only of the heirs (under penalty of exclusion), but also of other institutions. Most clauses on this matter deal with the production of copies of the foundation document, the internal law of the entail. The existence of copies improved the chances of preserving the founder's will and guaranteed the authenticity of the documents. The production of inventories was equally important. These records listed all the assets that were entailed and therefore inalienable, and could also include copies of other documents that were deemed important, such as the foundation document. The inventories were tools that accompanied the life of the entail and aided the management of the estate, ensuring no confusion between the free assets and those that belonged to the entail. Both the foundation documents and the inventories were also designed to strengthen the surveillance of the administrators by external institutions, acting as legal weapons to denounce non-compliance. However, the archives of the entails weren't limited to written records, but encompassed various objects that were entailed, such as relics, devotional objects, rings (with heraldry), swords, or precious objects, all of which were an integral part of entailment identity.

This identity is also visible through the links that were established with the spiritual world. In a context where the world was understood through



religion, the biological death of the body gave rise to the eternal life of the soul. Moved by hope, the laity created their own mechanisms to ensure the salvation of their souls, freeing them from the fires of Purgatory. Thus, the founders made a series of decisions guided by devotion, from the very foundation of the entail to the location of funerary chapels. It was therefore crucial for the living to look after the dead through suffrages, which were prescribed in great detail by various founders: how many, on what days they would be celebrated, by whom, on which altars, how much alms would be paid, what prayers and in what order, masses prayed or sung, among other details. The urgency of salvation involved not only founders, but also their family of the dead, for whom the former felt responsible. The souls that were included or excluded from this family made it possible to recover in death the ties that regulated the founders' lives. Relatives up to the fourth degree were privileged, but inclusion in the family of the dead could be motivated by relationships of friendship, affection, neighbourliness, or patronage. This family also included anonymous souls, for whom the founders felt required to look after. The planning of salvation also touched on the material houses of the soul, where the mortal remains of the founders and, in some cases, a group of duly authorised (or forced) people would rest. Examining the "sepulchral policy" allowed to find meaning in the ways of prolonging identity beyond death. If some founders chose to have themselves buried in the chapels or tombs of their ancestors, others inaugurated new funeral spaces, in a movement of affirmation similar to the imposition of family names and arms. The materiality of the graves and funeral spaces also conveyed symbolic and devotional messages, which could be read through epitaphs and heraldry, liturgical implements, altarpieces and religious art. However, the will of the dead wasn't always carried out, and the unalterable was altered. Some souls weren't prayed over due to the carelessness of the administrators. Others left property whose income deteriorated to the point where it was impossible to pay the pious charges. The price of saving the dead could be heavy, affecting the daily experiences of the living.

The living and the dead formed a community within a structured system which, while it favoured a group united by kinship, didn't leave out the other members of the parish, town, village, or city. The death of the found-



er was a community event, attended by various people and institutions, and where the figure of the “poor” played a prominent role. These were occasions to reveal individual identities and to perform demonstrations of power and identity. The redistribution of wealth through funeral alms highlights the social and economic impact of entails, far beyond the family. The same applies to the so-called liturgical benefactions that came from the entails. These included liturgical enrichment and embellishment; construction works and improvements to religious institutions; the loan of liturgical implements and objects; or the obligation of some private chaplains to participate in the life of the institutions, including teaching how to read and write or music to anyone who wanted to learn. In some cases, the status of founder of an entail was combined with that of founder of religious institutions, fulfilling various purposes. On the one hand, the patronage of the institution conferred special privileges and prerogatives (such as exclusive burial in the main chapels or the appointment of new religious members), contributing to the local affirmation of the founder and their family group; on the other hand, these institutions could promote devotion to certain saints, reinforced by the donation of relics and the obtainment of indulgences, or fill gaps in the parish network. Similar community benefits were associated with the founding of charitable and welfare institutions, such as hospitals, shelters, or *mercearias*, which responded to the moral obligation of exercising charity. It’s curious to note that some founders shaped the “perfect poor” in a similar way to the heir, excluding from the usufruct of their charity anyone who didn’t correspond to the image of the honourable, honest, true Christian, clean-blooded poor. The founders expected something in return for all these benefits, both in the salvation of the soul and in the task of looking after the entail, disciplining, and punishing, if necessary, non-compliant administrators, and arbitrating disputes. The Church, the Crown and, to a lesser extent, the local councils were often called upon by the founders to ensure the health of the entail and the fulfilment of the will of the deceased. Certain royal or ecclesiastical officials were asked to make regular visitations, heirs were forced to render accounts, representatives of external institutions were given the keys to the safes where the “treasures” of the entails were kept (liturgical implements, money in kind, precious objects, documents), copies of the foundation documents and inventories were de-



posited in multiple archives. Ultimately, the administration of the entail could be entrusted to these same institutions in the event of the administrators' dereliction or, more often, the biological extinction of the lineage.

At the intersection of all these dimensions, there are four axes that structure entailment identity. The first is the extent of the founder's power, in legal, spiritual, moral, chronological and, by extension, identity terms. The second is the centrality of memory. In fact, immortalising memory wasn't just avoiding oblivion, but being remembered in a certain way. And entails made it possible to have greater control over how one was remembered. The third axis is the deep concern for the life of the soul, which meant that entails acted simultaneously in the earthly and spiritual worlds. If, in the earthly world, an heir alienated a certain asset or failed to fulfil some of the other substantial clauses, the consequences would have a cascading effect in the spiritual world. The fourth and final point is the community scope of the entail. Identity was always defined in relation to the Other. Symbolic elements were a form of communication with the Other. The heir represented the founder to the Other. The salvation of souls depended on the intercession of a wide network of the living, and charity towards the Other was part of the salvation process. This Other – the community – watched over and punished, guarded the most important documents, and took care of the entails.

Several avenues remain to be explored. The study of practical experiences beyond the founding intentions would merit further study, analysing how the administrators put into practice and incorporated the identity prescriptions formalised in the foundation documents; or, conversely, how they adapted or rejected them. How has the balance between the individual and the corporate body been maintained over the life of the entail? Some possibilities for analysis would be to follow, for example, the use of family names and arms, both in written records and on graves or buildings; the rigour in fulfilling pious duties and paying alms and charitable works; the custodial and archival history of documents whose production and conservation was obligatory, among others. A large part of the answers to these questions could be found in family archives, which are, in this respect, privileged repositories for assessing the process of managing entails within the family group.



The same potential of these sets of documents could be used to assess the functioning of the corporate identity through the behaviour of the large number of descendants who weren't appointed as administrators of entails and were therefore not legally bound by the determinations of the founders. What role did these “non-heirs¹”, omitted from genealogies and family narratives and excluded from the burial spaces reserved for the founders and administrators, play in the construction, consolidation, transmission, and perpetuation of the corporate identity? It's known that they exercised vigilance over the administrators, as can be seen in the intra-family disputes over control of the entail; but the strategies for promoting consensus within the corporate body, based precisely on the notion of identity, deserve to be explored in greater depth.

Another of the paths left open could be traversed through an exercise of connecting the documentary traces with the other material traces left by the entails, in a totalising vision of the materiality of entailment. This exercise would make it possible to fill in some of the gaps in the written records, as well as broaden the perception of the extent of entailment identity. Using the VINCULUM project database, it would be possible to select some case studies that, based on the written records, would refer to this archive beyond writing, making it possible to identify the various objects, spaces, and buildings produced and preserved following the establishment of an entail. The entails founded in Guimarães, for example, are one of these potential case studies, benefiting in particular from the quantity and quality of scientific production, and existing description and dissemination tools, on the city's cultural heritage.

A final path to follow is related to examining the semantics of the discourses and narratives that were produced in the context of the extinction of entails. Among the arguments in favour of the permanence and continuity of the entailment system, what weight was given to the idea of identity? This examination would allow, among other aspects, to reflect on the long journey that led to the progressive overlap of national identity over corporate identities, of which the entails were possibly one of the last strongholds.

¹ Hicks, 2007.



Tables

Table 1
Examples of entails with obligatory use of two or more family names

Name of founder(s)	Required family names	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Pedro Botelho da Fonseca, Catarina Moreira de Araújo	Botelho da Fonseca	Will chart	1641-05-26	VINC001043 PBFCMA EA/002	TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 334-342
António de Novais Machado	Novais Machado or Orta	Will chart	1629-05-12	VINC000992 ANM EA/002	TT-AA-RA-9, fls. 63-66v
João Correia de Lacerda	Correia de Lacerda	Entail foundation deed	1678-11-19	VINC001158 JCL EA/001	TT-AA-RA-31, fls. 2-3
Pedro Tavares de Mesquita	Tavares de Mesquita	Will	1647-01-26	VINC005633 PTM EA/001a	ADPTG- PCP-006, fls. 475-476
Margarida Aires de Almeida	Aires de Almeida	Will	1620-09-09	VINC005179 MAA EA/001a	ADPTG- PCP-004, fls. 461v-466v
Francisco Pereira de Vasconcelos	Pereira de Vasconcelos	Entail foundation deed	1648-08-17	VINC001064 FPV EA/002	TT-AA-RA-1, fls. 54-56v
Fernando de Álvares da Cunha	Álvares da Cunha	Will chart	1570-08-28	VINC001710 FAC EA/004aa	TT-IMC- NA-191, fls. 1v-10
Gaspar de Magalhães de Meneses, Catarina Barbosa	Magalhães e Meneses	Entail foundation deed	1658-01-20	VINC004072 GMMCB EA/001	ADPRT-GCP- RV-C/4/1/4830, fls. 72-74
Manuel da Fonseca Coelho	Fonseca Coelho	Entail foundation deed	1697-08-22	VINC004326 MFC EA/001	ADGRD-GCG- RV-4, fls. 232v-240v
Maria Teixeira de Almeida	Barros Caiado de Gamboa (male succession) or Teixeira de Almeida e Gamboa (female succession)	Will chart	1655-09-29	VINC001086 MTA EA/001	TT-AA-RA-15, fls. 297-299v



Table 2
Table 2

Examples of entails whose founders have more than one family name and force the use of only one of the family names

Name of founder(s)	Required family name	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Fernando de Andrade Zuzarte	Andrade	Entail foundation deed	1647-01-31	VINC001049 FAZ EA/001aa	TT-AA-RA-1, fls. 46-49
Isabel Vaz, João de Barros Pinto de Figueiredo, Isabel Girão	Barros	Will	1616-05-23	VINC001259 IVJBFIG EA/002ada	TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 5v-8v
Manuel de Moura Manuel	Moura	Will chart	1699-08-04	VINC001283 MMM EA/002a	TT-AA-RA-28, fls. 132-137v
Francisco Botelho Chacon	Botelho	Will	1652-03-19	VINC002824 FBC EA/002aa	TT-MSDL-48, fls. 189v-200
Baltasar Leitão de Azevedo, Joana de Andrade Leitão	Leitão	Entail foundation deed	1610-11-11	VINC005808 BLAJAL EA/001	TT-HSJ-009, fls. 6v-10v
Belchior Barreto	Barreto	Will chart	1568-08-30	VINC000367 BB EA/001aaaa	TT-AA-RA-2, fls. 200-206
Francisco Velasco de Gouveia	Velasco	Will (extract)	[1651-12-04]	VINC000630 FVG EA/001	TT-AA-RA-56, fls. 113-114v
António Mahia de Lima, Luísa de Lima	Mahia	Will chart	1644-08-07	VINC001053 AMLLL EA/001	TT-AA-RA-14, fls. 133-134
João Borges de Morais, Maria da Silva	Borges	Will chart	1674-09-29	VINC001144 JBMMS EA/001	TT-AA-RA-38, fls. 302-305
João Vieira Matoso	Vieira	Will chart	1698-02-24	VINC001257 JVM EA/003a	TT-AA-RA-32, fls. 91v-95v
António Varela Rangel	Varela	Will chart	1603-12-09	VINC004255 AVR EA/003aa	ADVIS-GCV-RV-7, fls. 134v-147
João de Meira Carrilho	Meira	Dowry deed	1687-07-15	VINC004425 JMC EA/001a	UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-14, fls. 1-7v.
Fernando de Sequeira de Monroy	Sequeira	Entail foundation deed	1640-03-17	VINC001039 FSM EA/002aaba	TT-AA-RA-4, fls. 308-310v
Gaspar da Fonseca Pacheco	Fonseca or Pacheco	Will	1623-00-00	VINC000970 GFP EA/001	TT-AA-RA-23, fls. 263-266v
Ana Galvão de Abreu	Abreu or Galvão / Pais	Will chart	1578-05-20	VINC004717 AGAA EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-8, fls. 4-5v



Name of founder(s)	Required family name	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Manuel Ribeiro Coelho, Maria Coelho	Ribeiro or Coelho	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1631-08-07]	VINC004071 MRCMC EA/001	ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/4830, fls. 14v-17v
António Dias Chamusco	Chamusco	Will	1648-10-31	VINC001067 ADC EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-26, fls. 354-357
Fernando Pereira Barreto, Catarina de Sequeira	Barreto(a) or Sequeira	Entail foundation deed	1499-07-15	VINC001326 FPBCS EA/002	TT-LN-16, fls. 75v-77v
João Duarte de Resende	Resende	Will	NULL	VINC001154 JDR EA/001	TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 262-266
Jorge de Sousa de Alvim, Manuel de Sousa de Alvim	Alvim or Costa	Will chart	1606-07-06	VINC002013 JSAMSA EA/001aa	TT-IMC-NA-204, fls. 1-14v
Manuel Álvares de Castro, Francisca Covelo	Castro	Entail foundation deed	1640-10-17	VINC001041 MACFC EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-39, fls. 223v-225v
Gaspar Gonçalves de Ribafria	Ribafria	Addition and declaration deed	1541-09-10	VINC001348 GGR EA/001ab	TT-C-J3-D-34, fls. 67-68
João Teixeira de Araújo, Águeda de Sousa	Araújo	Entail foundation deed	1698-11-21	VINC002006 JTAAS EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 86v-91
Fernando Lopes Lobo	Lobo	Will (extract)	1422-09-18	VINC000056 FLL EA/001aa	TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 101-102v
Fernando Gonçalves de Baião, Inês Gonçalves	Baião	Entail foundation deed	1470-10-26	VINC000082 FGBIG EA/001a	TT-LN-11, fls. 1-1v
Baltasar Soares Magro	Magro	Will (extract)	1672-00-00	VINC000549 BSM EA/001	TT-AA-RA-28, fls. 405v-407
Nuno Martins Segurado, Helena Martins Segurado	Segurado	Will chart	1521-06-30	VINC000708 NMSHMS EA/001	TT-AA-RA-50, fls. 1v-4
Martinho Vaz de Almeida	Almeida	Will (extract)	1555-04-12	VINC000757 MVA EA/004	TT-AA-RA-27, fls. 305v-306
André Rodrigues dos Mosquitos	Mosquitos	Entail foundation deed	1531-08-29	VINC000820 ARM EA/001aa	TT-C-J3-D-73, fls. 13-15
António Gomes de Moura	Moura	Entail foundation deed	1671-05-21	VINC001143 AGM EA/001	TT-AA-RA-22, fls. 238-242
Manuel Afonso da Guerra	Guerra	Entail foundation deed	[before 1622-03-05]	VINC004293 MAG EA/001aa	UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-10, fls. 196v-204.
João Rodrigues Cansado	Cansado	Entail foundation deed	1667-10-31	VINC001128 JRC EA/002a	TT-AA-RA-27, fls. 127-131v
Diogo Gomes Pereira, Catarina Francisca	Pereira	Entail foundation deed	1566-08-05	VINC004333 DGPCF EA/001b	ADGRD-GCG-RV-8, fls. 212-214v



João Gomes Leitão, Helena de Moura Leitão Entail foundation deed 1629-07-03 VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002ba TT-IMC-NA-194, fls. 4-8

Table 3

Examples of epitaph/signage taken from foundation documents

Names of founder(s)	Text on the epitaph/signage (Portuguese)	Text on the epitaph/signage (English)	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Pedro da Silva	“e na campa de minha cova, se faça menção que fui Inquisidor Apostólico e mais antigo da Inquisição de Lisboa, Deão da Sé de Leiria, Bispo do Brasil do Conselho de sua Majestade”	“and on the tombstone of my grave, let it be mentioned that I was Apostolic Inquisitor and senior member of the Inquisition of Lisbon, Dean of the Cathedral of Leiria, Bishop of Brazil of His Majesty’s Council”	Will (extract)	1648-07-13	VINC000360 PS EA/005	TT-HSJ-077, fl. 132
Fernando Velho	“esta capela instituiu Fernão Velho e mandou pela renda dos bens conteúdos no tombo lhe dissessem uma missa cantada cada domingo e outra cada dia rezada e esta para todo sempre com responso e água benta”	“Fernão Velho instituted this chapel and ordered that, from the income of the assets contained in the tombo, a sung Mass be said every Sunday and another daily Mass, and this for ever and ever, with responsories and holy water”	Acórdão em relação	[before 1545-02-11]	VINC000728 FV EA/001b	TT-AA-RA-3, fl. 306v
Luís de Andrade	“aqui jaz Luís de Andrade que Deus haja a sua alma”	“here lies Luís de Andrade, may God rest his soul”	Will chart	1558-00-00	VINC000763 LA EA/002a	TT-AA-RA-3, fl. 146v
Rui Godinho	“esta sepultura é de Rui Godinho criado del Rei D. Pedro de Aragão cuja alma Deus tem escudeiro del Rei D. Miguel, o qual se finou a tanto dia e ano”	“this tomb belongs to Rui Godinho, a servant of King Pedro of Aragon, whose soul is with God, a squire of King Miguel, who died on this day and year”	Will (extract)	1593-00-00	VINC000851 RG EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-9, fl. 1v
Domingos Fernandes	“aqui jaz o Padre Domingos Fernandes cura que nesta igreja 37 anos onde jaz seu irmão Pedro Fernandes Marinho almoxarife que foi de sua majestade na cidade de Lisboa e seu moço da câmara”	“here lies Father Domingos Fernandes, curate in this church for 37 years, where his brother Pedro Fernandes Marinho lies, who was His Majesty’s steward in the city of Lisbon and his chamberlain”	Will chart	1620-06-19	VINC000946 DF EA/002a	TT-AA-RA-13, fl. 379
Luís Pinheiro	“sepultura do Padre Luís Pinheiro Beneficiado nesta igreja e seus herdeiros”	“tomb of Father Luís Pinheiro beneficiary of this church and his heirs”	Will	1615-09-16	VINC000976 LP EA/001	TT-AA-RA-24, fl. 58v



Names of founder(s)	Text on the epitaph /signage (Portuguese)	Text on the epitaph /signage (English)	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Francisco da Mota Madureira	“aqui jaz Francisco da Mota Madureira, fidalgo da Casa de Sua Magestade e comendador e cavaleiro professo da Ordem de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo, Familiar do Santo Officio e criado do Excelentissimo Dom Miguel de Meneses, primeiro duque de Caminha”	“here lies Francisco da Mota Madureira, nobleman of His Majesty’s Household and commander and professed knight of the Order of Our Lord Jesus Christ, a Familiar of the Holy Office and servant of the Most Honourable Dom Miguel de Meneses, first Duke of Caminha”	Will chart	1639–04–07	VINC001036 FMM EA/001	TT-AA–RA–37, fl. 178
Mateus Vieira	“campa com um letreiro que diga que na dita sepultura estão enterados meus pais e lhe porão o foro de cavaleiro fidalgo e o nome de Mateus Vieira”	“a tomb with an inscription stating that my parents are buried in said tomb, and that it should bear the title of knight and nobleman, and the name of Mateus Vieira”	Will chart	1644–11–13	VINC001054 MV EA/001	TT-AA–RA–15, fls. 386–386v
Simão Freire Pereira	“sepultura de Simão Freire Pereira familiar do Santo Officio”	“tomb of Simão Freire Pereira, a familiar of the Holy Office”	Codicil	1676–06–02	VINC001100 SFP EA/002ad	TT-AA–RA–49, fl. 324
Francisco Rodrigues da Silva, Francisca Falcoa da Rosa	“aqui jaz Francisco Rodrigues da Silva e sua mulher Francisca Falcoa da Rosa, os quais deixaram duas missas quotidianas neste convento por suas almas para sempre”	“here lies Francisco Rodrigues da Silva and his wife Francisca Falcoa da Rosa, who left two daily masses in this convent for their souls in perpetuity”	Will chart	1665–10–12	VINC001123 FRSFRR EA/005	TT-AA–RA–9, fl. 25
Amaro de Lemos Mascarenhas	“aqui jaz o Padre João de Lemos Mascarenhas que serviu esta igreja mais de trinta anos e com muita satisfação e também aqui jaz Frei Amaro de Lemos Mascarenhas seu irmão indigno sacerdote pede uma Ave Maria”	“here lies Father João de Lemos Mascarenhas who served this church for more than thirty years and with great satisfaction and also here lies Friar Amaro de Lemos Mascarenhas, his unworthy brother priest who requests a Hail Mary”	Will	1666–11–11	VINC001126 ALM EA/001	TT-AA–RA–31, fl. 223v
Antónia Henriques	“aqui jaz Gaspar de Sampaio do Conselho del Rei Nosso Senhor e Dona Antónia Henriques sua mulher, a qual deixa dotada esta capela com setenta mil réis de juro e censo para nove merceiras e outros cento para casamento de orfãs pobres e sessenta para cativos tudo perpetuamente pelas almas destes defuntos a qual Dona Antónia Henriques tudo deixou da sua fazenda porquanto os herdeiros de Gaspar de Sampaio levaram sua legítima”	“here lies Gaspar de Sampaio of the Council of Our Lord the King and Dona Antónia Henriques his wife, who leaves this chapel endowed with seventy thousand réis in interest and annuity for nine <i>merceiras</i> and another hundred for the marriage of poor orphaned girls and sixty for captives, all in perpetuity for the souls of these deceased, the said Dona Antónia Henriques left all of this from her estate, since the heirs of Gaspar de Sampaio took her <i>legítima</i> ”	Will	1573–09–26	VINC001376 LVSGE EA/006a	TT-CS–TRL–105, fl. 139



Names of founder(s)	Text on the epitaph /signage (Portuguese)	Text on the epitaph /signage (English)	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Afonso da Cunha	“aqui jaz Afonso da Cunha capitão- mor da vila de Alvor que por lhe mandar el Rei Dom Sebastião se achou com ele na batalha de Alcácer aonde foi cativo e resgatado à sua custa faleceu em tal dia a tantos de tal mês e em tal ano”	“here lies Afonso da Cunha, chief captain of the town of Alvor, who was sent by King Sebastião to be with him at the battle of Alcácer, where he was taken captive and ransomed at his own expense, and who died on this day in this month and in this year”	Will chart	[1592]	VINC001385 AC EA/001aa	TT-FC- -CC-4, fl. 334
Damião Dias Magro	“sepultura de Damião Dias Magro cónego que foi nesta Sé e tem sua capela na casa da Misericórdia da vila de Alvito”	“tomb of Damião Dias Magro, who was a canon in this cathedral and has his chapel in the house of Misericórdia in the town of Alvito”	Will chart	1611- 01-05	VINC001629 DDM EA/005aa	TT-FC- -CC-5, fl. 67v
Fernando de Álvares da Cunha	“aqui jaz Fernão de Álvarez da Cunha e Joana Vaz sua mulher ambos naturais de Coimbra foram em tempo del Rei Dom João o terceiro faleceram etc”	“here lies Fernão de Álvarez da Cunha and Joana Vaz his wife, both born in Coimbra, in the time of King João the third they died etc”	Contract and bond deed	1568- 12-21	VINC001710 FAC EA/004ce	TT-IMC- -NA-191, fl. 508
Manuel Rodrigues	“Sepultura do Licenciado Manuel Rodrigues que mandou fazer esta capela com missa quotidiana cada ano e mês”	“Tomb of Licentiate Manuel Rodrigues who had this chapel built with daily mass every year and month”	Will chart	1572- 03-15	VINC002117 MR EA/006a	TT-FC- -CC-5-1, fl. 3
Pedro de Eça, Maria da Silva	“aqui se mandou (...) lançar Dom Pedro de Eça filho de Dom Francisco de Eça quarto neto do infante Dom João filho de el rei Dom Pedro o primeiro deste nome em Portugal sem até ele haver nenhum bastardo”	“here it was ordered (...) to be buried Dom Pedro de Eça son of Dom Francisco de Eça fourth grandson of the infante Dom João son of King Dom Pedro the first of this name in Portugal without there being any bastard until him”	Will	[b.1548- 01-30]	VINC002292 PEMS EA/001aa	TT-HSJ-161, fs. 50-50v
Vicente Simões Valarinho, Leonor de Sárrea	“aqui jaz Vicente Simões Valarinho e sua mulher Leonor da Sárrea que mandaram fazer esta capela e se finaram em tal dia de tal mês e ano”	“here lies Vicente Simões Valarinho and his wife Leonor da Sárrea who had this chapel built and died on this day of this month and this year”	Will	1545- 12-09	VINC002415 VSVLS EA/001aa	TT-FC- -CC-4, fl. 288v
Ana de Ataíde	“este altar é privilegiado para se tirar nele com cada missa uma alma do Purgatório a instância de Dona Ana de Ataíde fundadora e padroeira deste Mosteiro”	“this altar is privileged to have a soul released from Purgatory with each mass, at the request of Dona Ana de Ataíde, the founder and patroness of this monastery”	Will (extract)	1627- 03-20	VINC002751 AA EA/005	TT- -HSJ-076, fl. 262v



Names of founder(s)	Text on the epitaph /signage (Portuguese)	Text on the epitaph /signage (English)	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Antônio Lopes	“aqui jaz António Lopes cirurgião e familiar do Santo Ofício que faleceu a tantos de tal mês, e ano, e sua mulher Inês Salvada que faleceu a seis de março de mil seiscentos e quarenta e nove”	“here lies António Lopes, surgeon and familiar of the Holy Office, who died on this day of this month and year, and his wife Inês Salvada, who died on the sixth of March of the year one thousand six hundred and forty-nine”	Will	1651-08-29	VINC002922 ALFF EA/002	TT- -HSJ-051, fl. 251
Manuel Soares	“aqui jaz Manuel Soares e Dona Maria de Sequeira sua mulher o qual faleceu em tal era e a tantos de tal mês”	“here lies Manuel Soares and Dona Maria de Sequeira, his wife, who died on such and such a day and on such and such a month”	Will (extract)	1583-08-13	VINC002946 ASMB EA/005a	TT-CS- TRL-104, fl. 322v
João Afonso from Alenquer	“aqui jaz João Afonso de Alenquer, cavaleiro e vedor que foi del Rei Dom João da Boa Memória, e mandou que pela renda dos bens conteúdos no tombo lhe mantivessem um hospital, que é na freguesia dos Mártires e lhe alumiassem em esta capela uma alâmpada para todo o sempre”	“here lies João Afonso de Alenquer, knight and overseer for King Dom João da Boa Memória, and ordered that from the income of the assets contained in the tombo a hospital be maintained in his name in the parish of Mártires, and that a lamp be kept burning for him in this chapel for ever and ever”	Tombo	1509-10-08	VINC003124 JAA EA/002	T-CS- FL-003, fl. 330
João de Oliveira Ferreira	“jaz aqui mais João de Oliveira Ferreira cavaleiro figaldo da casa del rei nosso senhor que faleceu a tantos dias de tal mês e tal ano pedevos um pater noster”	“here lies João de Oliveira Ferreira, knight and nobleman of the house of our lord the King, who died on so such a day and such a month and year, asking you for a pater noster”	Will chart	1585-09-07	VINC003910 JOF EA/001	AUC- -PCC-108, fl. 186v
Simão Vaz de Camões	“aqui jaz Simão Vaz de Camões com sua mulher primeira Joana Perestrelo e Dona Francisca segunda” e na dita campa porão suas armas”	“here lies Simão Vaz de Camões with his first wife Joana Perestrelo and second wife Dona Francisca, and on said tomb they will place their arms”	Will chart	1574-07-13	VINC003933 SVC EA/002a	AUC-C- -NSGC-Cx. 2-doc.14.14, fl. 9
Gaspar da Rocha Pais	“sepultura do Doutor Gaspar da Rocha Pais logotente que foi do reverendissimo senhor arcebispo primaz Dom Frei Agostinho de Castro e de seus pais e avós e herdeiros”	“tomb of Doutor Gaspar da Rocha Pais, deputy of the Reverend Archbishop Primate Dom Frei Agostinho de Castro and of his parents, grandparents, and heirs”	Will	1618-05-03	VINC004746 GRP EA/001aa	UM-ADB- -MAB-JR- -B-738, fls. 17v-18
Gaspar Garção	“esta sepultura é dos administradores que administrarem e sucederem na capela que eu Gaspar Garção ordenei e instituo neste mosteiro”	“this tomb is for the administrators who administer and succeed in the chapel that I, Gaspar Garção, ordered and institute in this monastery”	Will	1596-11-15	VINC004889 GG EA/001	ADPTG-P- CP-003, fls. 52-55



Names of founder(s)	Text on the epitaph /signage (Portuguese)	Text on the epitaph /signage (English)	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Antônio Gomes	“sepultura de António Gomes, escrivão da chancelaria da Casa da Suplicação, e de sua mulher Catarina Luís, e de Vicente Gomes seu filho”	“tomb of António Gomes, clerk of the chancellery of the Casa da Apelação, and his wife Catarina Luís, and Vicente Gomes their son”	Will (extract)	1558-10-23	VINC005705 AGMF EA/001	TT-CS-FL-001, fl. 4v
Miguel Leitão de Andrade	“sepultura perpétua onde o corpo de Miguel Leitão de Andrade indigno cavaleiro de cristo jaz esperando o final juízo o qual deixou neste convento quinze missas rezadas para sempre e uma cantada faleceu tal dia, e ano”	“perpetual tomb where the body of Miguel Leitão de Andrade, unworthy knight of Christ, lies awaiting the final judgement who left in this convent fifteen masses said forever and one sung died on this day and year”	Will	1627-09-28	VINC005871 MLA EA/001	TT-HSJ-013, fls. 49v-60
Francisco de Alva Brandão	“sepultura de Francisco de Alva morador de São Tomé padroeiro deste mosteiro faleceu em tal ano”	“tomb of Francisco de Alva, resident of São Tomé, patron of this monastery, who died in such year”	Will chart	1623-11-23	VINC005970 FABRNB EA/001aa	ADPTG-P-CP-012, fl. 25v
Antônio Gonçalves Vila	“sepultura do Licenciado Antônio Gonçalves Vila clérigo de missa o qual instituiu uma capela de vinte missas rezadas em cada um ano que se hão-de dizer nesta igreja”	“tomb of Licentiate Antônio Gonçalves Vila, a clergyman who instituted a chapel of twenty masses to be said every year in this church”	Will chart	1614-11-21	VINC005994 AGV EA/001a	ADPTG-P-CP-014, fl. 141v
Catarina Martins	“todo o mundo é nada se não amor de Deus e a sua Madre”	“the whole world is nothing if not the love of God and his Mother”	Will chart	1566-07-15	VINC006255 CMCS EA/001a	ADPTG-P-CP-017, fl. 434
Jorge Botelho	“aqui jaz Jorge Botelho primeiro instituidor que mandou fazer esta capela por sua devoção”	“here lies Jorge Botelho, the founder who had this chapel built for his devotion”	Will	1551-02-23	VINC006762JB EA/001	ADLRA-G-CL-1-54, fl. 5-5v
Miguel Frade	“aqui jaz Miguel Frade que deixou um moio de trigo e um saco de marmelos a sua filha Maria Carvalha para seus herdeiros [...] de foro para sempre com o encargo de três missas rezadas cada um ano ditas na dita Igreja se disserem por minha parte virão com responso à dita cova, e de minha mulher e de seu pai e mãe”	“here lies Miguel Frade, who left a moio of wheat and a sack of quinces to his daughter Maria Carvalha for her heirs (...) in perpetuity with the charge of three masses said every year in the said church if they say it on my behalf, they will come with a responsory to the said grave, and that of my wife and her father and mother”	Will (extract)	1560-04-10	VINC007135 MF EA/001	TT-HSJ-098, fl. 374



Names of founder(s)	Text on the epitaph /signage (Portuguese)	Text on the epitaph /signage (English)	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
João Pestana Pereira, Violante Pereira	“aqui jaz João Pestana o qual na Crónica del Rei Dom Afonso o Quinto se pode ver quem foi e quão grandemente serviu com tão assinlados serviços nas guerras de Castela, África que parecem por merecer lembrança com ele jaz a muito virtuosa senhora Dnna Violante Pereira sua mulher na era de mil e quatrocentos e oitenta”	“here lies João Pestana, of whom it can be seen in the Chronicle of King Afonso the Fifth the valiant service he rendered in the wars of Castile and Africa, deserving of remembrance with him lies the very virtuous Lady Violante Pereira, his wife in the years of fourteen hundred and eighty”	Auto de vistoria	1616-12-09	VINC007332 JPPVP EA/002	TT- -HSJ-156, fls. 39-40
Francisco Serrão de Almeida	“aqui jaz um grande pecador [...] o qual pede se lhe rezem um Padre Nosso e uma Avé Maria pela sua alma”	“here lies a great sinner (...) who asks that an Our Father and a Hail Mary be said for his soul”	Will	1675-01-14	VINC007661 FSA EA/001	TT- -HSJ-024, fl. 361
Henrique de Noronha	“sepultura de Dom Henrique de Noronha que fez morgado da sua quinta Boução com trinta missas em cada um ano nesta Igreja com seus resposos e uma cantada no oitavário de Todos os Santos”	“tomb of Dom Henrique de Noronha, who founded the <i>morgado</i> of his farmstead of Boução, with thirty masses to be said each year in this church with responso-ries, and one sung on the Octave of All Saints”	Will	1573-09-27	VINC007664 HN EA/001a	TT- -HSJ-024, fl. 135v
Guiomar de Novais	“sepultura de Pedro Correia da Silva e sua mulher Dona Guiomar de Novais”; “e na parede se porá um letreiro que diga esta capela é de Pedro Correia da Silva, e de sua mulher Dona Guiomar de Novais, tem uma missa quotidiana para sempre com duas missas cantadas e tem cento e quarenta e duas missas em cada um ano para sempre, pertence o padroado ao possuidor do morgado de Jorge Nogueira primo e herdeiro da (...) fundadora Dona Guiomar de Novais de que há escritura na Provedoria das Capelas”	“tomb of Pedro Correia da Silva and his wife Dona Guiomar de Novais”; “and on the wall there will be an inscription stating that this chapel belongs to Pedro Correia da Silva, and his wife Dona Guiomar de Novais it is to have a daily mass forever, with two sung masses, and one hundred and forty-two masses every year forever, the patronage belongs to the administrator of the <i>morgado</i> of Jorge Nogueira, cousin and heir of (...) founder Dona Guiomar de Novais, as documented in a deed in the Provedoria das Capelas”	Court sentence	1645-11-16	VINC007815 GN EA/002	TT- -HSJ-079, fl. 501
Grace of Leon	“aqui jaz Dona Graça de Leão filha do doutor João Martins Pinto a qual deixou a este convento por esmola para lhe dizerem quarenta missas rezadas por sua alma de seus defuntos em cada um ano”	“here lies Dona Graça de Leão, daughter of doutor João Martins Pinto, who left this convent alms to say forty masses for her soul and her dead every year”	Codicil (partial)	1646-12-05	VINC007816 GL EA/002b	TT- -HSJ- -ESCR PON- 20-111, fl. 57v-58



Names of founder(s)	Text on the epitaph /signage (Portuguese)	Text on the epitaph /signage (English)	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Gaspar Rebelo de Abreu, Helena Bota	<p>“nesta capela me enterrarão no meio dela e por-me-ão uma campa sobre a cova com um re baxaimento e com um letreiro que diga que jazo ali e por amor de Deus me diga quem mo ler um <i>Pater Noster</i> e uma <i>Avé Maria</i>, nesta mesma cova se quer enterrar Elena Bota minha mulher quando eu falecer por-lhe-ão mais na campa o seu nome abaixo do meu e na parede defronte da entrada da porta da capela se porá uma pedra com um letreiro que diga que aquela capela é minha e de minha mulher Elena Bota e de nossos herdeiros e successores para sempre uma missa quotidiana para isso vinte mil réis de juro assentados na Alfândega desta cidade de Lisboa”</p>	<p>“I am to be buried in the middle of this chapel, and they will put a tombstone for me over the grave with a recess and with an inscription that says that I lie there and for the love of God, may whoever reads it say a <i>Pater Noster</i> and a Hail Mary for me in this same grave Elena Bota, my wife, will be buried when I die they will put her name below mine on the tomb and on the wall in front of the chapel door a stone will be placed with an inscription saying that this chapel belongs to me, my wife Elena Bota, and our heirs and successors forever a daily mass shall be said, funded by twenty thousand réis of interest placed in the Alfândega of this city of Lisbon”</p>	Will	1578-05-14	VINC007844 GRAHB EA/001	TT-CS-TRL-104, fl. 420v
Isabel Afonso	<p>“esta campa é de João Pires, cavalheiro [sic] da Casa de El Rei Nosso Senhor e se sua mulher Isabel Afonso”</p>	<p>“this tomb is that of João Pires, gentleman (sic – <i>cavalheiro</i>) of the Household of Our Lord the King and his wife Isabel Afonso”</p>	Codicil	1559-05-09	VINC007861 IADVJQ EA/001b	TT-HSJ-ESCR PON-198-2-1367, fl. 201
Maria de Tovar	<p>“aqui jaz Dona Maria de Tovar mulher de Dom Henrique Pereira instituidora do morgado anexo a esta capela com obrigação de missa quotidiana que nela se dirá com responso sobre a cova faleceu a tantos de tal mês e de tal ano”</p>	<p>“here lies Dona Maria de Tovar, wife of Dom Henrique Pereira, founder of the <i>morgado</i> attached to this chapel, with the obligation of daily mass, which will be said in it with a responsory over the tomb she died on such a day of such and such a month and year”</p>	Will (extract)	1642-05-20	VINC007902 MT EA/001	TT-HSJ-087, fls. 227v-230v



Table 4
Examples of references to objects with arms in foundation documents

Name of founder(s)	References to objects with arms (Portuguese)	References to objects with arms (English)	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Afonso da Cunha	“e no escudo de cima [do turbulo] onde andam as cadeias se abrirão as suas armas”	“and in the upper shield [of the thurible] where the chains hang, their weapons will be displayed”	Will chart	[1592]	VINC001385 AC EA/001aa	TT-FC-CC-4, fl. 334v
João Rodrigues de Leão	“todos os ornamentos e peças desta capela em a parte delas que melhor parecer se porá um Leão por divisa para se conhecerem”	“all the ornaments and pieces of this chapel, in the part of them that seems best, will have a Lion for a motto so that they can be known”	Will chart	1581-06-01	VINC002658 JRL EA/004a	TT-MSDL-49, fls. 52-61
Francisco Botelho Chacon	“Na Igreja da Madalena desta cidade na capela maior dela pus uma lâmpada de prata grande igual com a da mesa grande e está da parte do evangelho com as minhas armas”	“In the Church of Madalena in this city, in its largest chapel, I have placed a large silver lamp like the one on the large table, and it is on the Gospel side with my arms”	Will	1652-03-19	VINC002824 FBC EA/002aa	TT-MSDL-48, fls. 189v-200
Madalena de Almada	“Item mais disse ela instituidora que ela metia neste morgado nove panos de tapeçaria grandes, que foram do senhor Rui Fernandes de Almada seu pai que tem as suas armas os quais andarão neste morgado e seguirão as condições dele”	“She further said, as the founder, that she would include in this <i>morgado</i> nine large tapestries that belonged to Sir Rui Fernandes de Almada, her father, which bear his arms, and which will be used in this <i>morgado</i> and will follow its conditions”	Entail foundation deed	1596-06-22	VINC004974 MA EA/001	TT-GCL-RV-94, fls. 220v-221
Maria da Costa Noronha	“e para que sempre se saiba que as três vestimentas com que os ditos três capelães hão de dizer missa, são as da dita capela, mando que nestas se ponham as armas dos Alcáçovas e Costas”; “Item declaro que um anel que tenho em meu poder de ouro, e nele engastado uma esmeralda, com as armas nela abertas dos Costas, mando que ele fique vinculado ao morgado dos Costas”	“and so that it may always be known that the three vestments with which the said three chaplains are to say mass are those of the said chapel, I order that the arms of the Alcáçovas and Costas be placed on them”; “I further declare that a gold ring I have in my possession, set with an emerald and bearing the arms of the Costas, is to be entailed to the <i>morgado</i> of the Costas”	Will	1658-01-20	VINC004983 MCN EA/001a	TT-GCL-RV-98, fls. 33-54v



Name of founder(s)	References to objects with arms (Portuguese)	References to objects with arms (English)	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Gaspar Leitão	“outro anel das minhas armas”	“another ring bearing my arms”	Will	1569-07-20	VINC005864 GL EA/002a	TT-HSJ-012, fls. 59-69v
Tomás Tavares	“e farão o dito retábulo com que eu mais folgarei e porão neles minhas armas assim como estão na campa e com letras que digão que eu o mandei fazer”	“and they will make the said altarpiece with which I will be most pleased, and they will place my arms on them just as they are on the tomb and with letters that say that I ordered it to be so done”	Will chart	1532-03-14	VINC006223 TT EA/001aa	ADPTG-P-CP-018, fls. 56-60
Fernando da Silveira	“e assim mais lhe dotam para a dita capela uma (...) lâmpada de prata (...) a qual lâmpada terá as armas do dito Fernão da Silveira defunto”	“and so they endow the said chapel with a (...) silver lamp (...) which will bear the arms of the said Fernão da Silveira, deceased”	Agreement deed	1561-03-27	VINC006996 FS EA/001a	TT-HSJ-151, fl. 48v
Francisco Serrão de Almeida	“uma salva de prata grande que tem as minhas armas”	“a large silver salver bearing my arms”	Will	1675-01-14	VINC007661 FSA EA/001	TT-HSJ-024, fl. 360v
Constança de Castro	“com tal condição e declaração que ele dito Cristovão de Melo assim por isto e principalmente por o que pertence à honra dos ditos seus pai e mãe e sua dele e de seus irmãos ele será obrigado de ter continuamente sobre a sepultura do dito seu pai à sua custa dele mesmo a bandeira e cota d’armas e o escudo”	“with the condition and declaration that the said Cristovão de Melo, for this reason and especially for what pertains to the honour of his said father and mother, and himself and his brothers, will be obliged to continuously maintain the banner and coat-of-arms and shield over the tomb of his said father, at his own expense”	Chapel foundation deed	1484-08-20	VINC006288 CC EA/001aa	TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 88-90



Table 5
Examples of entails where founders request a copy/ies
of the foundation document

Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Entail foundation deed	1477-03-03	VINC000090 MVMIC EA/001a	TT-LN-12, fls. 110v-113
Declaration deed	1492-01-10	VINC000096 MV EA/001b	TT-LN-18, fls. 294v-295
Will chart	1520-09-06	VINC000176 BAC EA/001a	TT-GCL-RV-104, fls. 96-113
Will	1484-01-20	VINC000329 RFBT EA/001	TT-HSJ-042, fls.15-20v
Will chart	1568-08-30	VINC000367 BB EA/001aaaa	TT-AA-RA-2, fls. 200-206
Will	1567-07-19	VINC000460 BA EA/003	TT-AA-RA-9, fls. 259-260v
Declaration deed	1529-06-30	VINC000584 MEC EA/001	TT-AA-RA-43, fls. 262v-265
Will	1334-03-25	VINC000647 VE EA/003	TT-MSDL-12
Will	1516-12-12	VINC000705 RGMFRIR EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-43, fls 88-89v
Will	1560-10-16	VINC000705 RGMFRIR EA/001ba	TT-AA-RA-43, fls. 89v-92
Will chart	1521-06-30	VINC000708 NMSHMS EA/001	TT-AA-RA-50, fls. 1v-4
Will	1551-02-27	VINC000750 DPES EA/001	TT-AA-RA-8, fls. 7v-10
Will chart	1558-00-00	VINC000763 LA EA/002a	TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 146v-147v
Dowry deed	1564-10-18	VINC000773 IG EA/001	TT-AA-RA-24, fls. 1v-7
Will chart	1570-07-29	VINC000785 RGACB EA/001aa	TT-AA-RA-29, fls. 127-131
Entail foundation deed	1570-11-18	VINC000786 RM EA/002a	TT-AA-RA-33, fls. 299-302
Entail foundation deed	1572-08-01	VINC000793 FMFS EA/001aba	TT-LN-29, fls. 221v-228
Will chart	1578-08-20	VINC000823 JC EA/001	TT-AA-RA-51, fls. 16-18
Entail foundation deed	1582-01-31	VINC000824 BPAL EA/001	TT-AA-RA-48, fls. 225v-228
Will chart	1585-04-01	VINC000826 AFV EA/001	TT-AA-RA-27, fls. 280v-287v
Will chart	1591-08-02	VINC000848 AC EA/001	TT-AA-RA-46, fls. 332-337



Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Codicil	1596-02-22	VINC000857 MR EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-36, fls. 288-289v
Will chart	1596-11-19	VINC000860 DF EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-14, fls. 94-104v
Will chart	1604-06-20	VINC000882 APA EA/001	TT-AA-RA-31, fls. 337v-341
Will	1611-06-10	VINC000903 GEP EA/002ad	TT-AA-RA-32, fls. 208v-220
Will	1645-03-08	VINC000929 GNCFV EA/002aa	IANCV-ACP-350, fls. 58-63v
Entail foundation deed	1618-10-26	VINC000936 DSIM EA/002a	TT-AA-RA-4, fls. 24-31
Will chart	1620-06-19	VINC000946 DF EA/002a	TT-AA-RA-13, fls. 378v-382v
Will chart	1627-10-12	VINC000986 DPS EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-7, fls. 245-247
Will chart	1630-04-26	VINC000998 CSPPM EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-12, fls. 41-43
Entail foundation deed	1640-01-17	VINC001037 ACMAC EA/001	TT-AA-RA-49, fls. 355-358
Will chart	1641-05-26	VINC001043 PBFCA EA/002	TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 334-342
Entail foundation deed	1648-08-17	VINC001064 FPV EA/002	TT-AA-RA-1, fls. 54-56v
Will	1648-10-31	VINC001067 ADC EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-26, fls. 354-357
Entail foundation deed	1649-08-31	VINC001071 MMF EA/001	TT-AA-RA-10, fls. 230-235v
Will	1659-03-09	VINC001096 ARFMRF EA/002aca	TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 78v-82
Will chart	1669-10-02	VINC001132 JFA EA/003	TT-AA-RA-50, fls. 332-335v
Will	1678-01-18	VINC001154 JDR EA/001	TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 262-266
Will chart	1683-10-24	VINC001168 LC EA/002acaa	TT-AA-RA-2, fls. 183v-187
Will	1684-09-24	VINC001173 MFR EA/001	TT-AA-RA-18, fls. 230v-235
Will chart	1696-02-01	VINC001239 MSFLP EA/001aa	TT-AA-RA-4, fls. 135-137
Will chart	1698-02-24	VINC001257 JVM EA/003a	TT-AA-RA-32, fls. 91v-95v
Will chart	1699-08-04	VINC001283 MMM EA/002a	TT-AA-RA-28, fls. 132-137v
Entail foundation deed	1561-12-30	VINC001306 ATGTLA EA/003a	AMLSB-CMSBAH-C-SA-002-01-01, fls. 1-30
Contract deed	1527-05-17	VINC001379 RMHM EA/001aa	TT-C-J3-D-17, fls. 123-124



Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Entail foundation deed	1537-06-16	VINC001381 FC EA/001aa	TT-C-J3-D-26, fls. 85v-87v
Entail foundation deed	1536-07-22	VINC001382 MCJM EA/001aa	TT-C-J3-D-26, fls. 98-100
Will chart	1611-01-05	VINC001629 DDM EA/005aa	TT-FC-CC-5, fls. 67-83
Entail foundation deed	1568-05-19	VINC001637 DCRBV EA/005a	TT-GCL-RV-98, fls. 143v-157
Will (extract)	1575-07-25	VINC001637 DCRBV EA/009	TT-HSJ-003, fls. 131v-133v
Entail foundation deed	1531-10-26	VINC001641 DT EA/001aa	TT-C-J3-D-20, fls. 167-171v
Will	1573-02-17	VINC001648 DMCL EA/001daa	TT-IMC-NA-192, fls. 11v-25v
Chapel foundation deed	1679-11-21	VINC001661 DCF EA/001acaa	TT-IMC-NA-187, fls. 5-15
Will chart	1570-08-28	VINC001710 FAC EA/004aa	TT-IMC-NA-191, fls. 1v-10
Will chart	[c. 1546-11-22]	VINC001725 FS EA/004aa	TT-IMC-NA-195, fls. 1v-14v
Entail foundation deed	1560-07-05	VINC001816 GECJS EA/002aa	TT-IMC-NA-190, fls. 1-16
Entail foundation deed	1629-07-03	VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002ba	TT-IMC-NA-194, fls. 4-8
Entail foundation deed	1698-11-21	VINC002006 JTAAS EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 86v-91
Will chart	1606-07-06	VINC002013 JSAMSA EA/001aa	TT-IMC-NA-204, fls. 1-14v
Entail foundation deed	1630-04-02	VINC002018 JLG MN EA/001ab	TT-C-F3-D-24, fls. 231v-236v
Entail foundation deed	1620-12-19	VINC002082 MSFMSF EA/001aa	TT-C-F3-D-2, fls. 177-184
Will	[before 1548-01-30]	VINC002292 PEMS EA/001aa	TT-MC-V-LSB-18, fls. 13-21
Entail foundation deed	1613-12-05	VINC002299 PSRBB EA/001ba	TT-LN-8, fls. 158-161v
Entail foundation deed	1554-02-03	VINC002319 PMHM EA/001daa	TT-IMC-NA-210, fls. 3v-11v
Will chart	1612-04-12	VINC002386 TC EA/001aa	TT-FC-CC-4, fls. 219-221
Entail foundation deed	1556-09-19	VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001a	TT-C-J3-P-3, fls. 214-222
Dowry deed	1537-09-13	VINC002581 GF EA/003	TT-HSJ-013, fls. 119-123
Entail foundation deed	1622-05-04	VINC002603 LFF EA/001aa	TT-C-F3-D-5, fls. 82v-92v
Entail foundation deed	1560-03-25	VINC002755 CB EA/012	ADPRT-GCP- RV-C/4/1/4-4833, fls. 18-25



Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Entail foundation deed	[before 1541-11-24]	VINC002987 FST EA/001aa	TT-C-J3-D-38, fls. 17-18v
Entail foundation deed	1612-06-22	VINC003377 MM EA/001aa	TT-C-F2-D-28, fls. 157-160
Entail and chapel foundation deed	1580-11-26	VINC003528 FPMGP EA/002	ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-34, fls. 103v-108v
Declaration deed	1560-05-07	VINC004075 LAMJMIM EA/003	ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/3-4806, fls. 186-191
Entail foundation deed	1585-07-30	VINC004197 LV EA/001a	UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-10, fls. 68-69v.
Entail foundation deed	1602-03-05	VINC004277 PGL EA/001a	UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-7, fls. 102-105v
Chapel foundation deed	1640-09-24	VINC004290 JDL EA/001a	UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-10, fls. 129-133.
Will	1670-04-17	VINC004959 MDP EA/001	ADGRD-GCG-RV-1, fls. 152v-155v
Will	1650-07-09	VINC004961 JSCB EA/001	ADGRD-GCG-RV-1, fls. 239v-243v
Dowry deed	1630-08-23	VINC004996 MFGA-SAMV EA/002a	TT-GCL-RV-100, fls. 301v-308
Entail and chapel foundation deed	1608-02-20	VINC005231 BRPIMD EA/001	SGMAI-GCVC-RV-9611, fls. 4v-29
Entail foundation deed	1688-07-10	VINC005269 ABF EA/001b	UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-747, fls. 144-147v
Entail foundation deed	1378-09-09	VINC005656 ADBMDPA EA/002	TT-AA-RA-16, fls. 145-151
Exemplification of a will (extract)	1597-05-06	VINC005755 LV EA/001	TT-HSJ-002, fls. 177-179
Will (extract)	1569-08-06	VINC005760 LG EA/001	TT-HSJ-002, fls. 219v-221
Will chart	1631-08-20	VINC005904 HP EA/001a	ADPTG-PCP-007, fls. 186-187v
Will chart	1623-11-23	VINC005970 FABRNB EA/001aa	ADPTG-PCP-012, fls. 14v-27
Will (extract)	1574-07-23	VINC006132 GN EA/001	TT-HSJ-004, fls. 156-158v
Will chart (extract)	1498-06-21	VINC006722 IFB EA/001aa	TT-FC-TD-276, fls. 286-287
Will	1555-08-30	VINC007059 MABV EA/001a	TT-HSJ-032, fls. 199-203
Will chart	1598-11-26	VINC007082 JELA EA/001	TT-CNSCL-091, fls. 149-151v
Entail foundation deed	1571-04-04	VINC007259 PFJL EA/002a	TT-HSJ-020, fls. 207v-212
Will chart	1554-02-10	VINC007345 MAF EA/001	TT-HSJ-159, fls. 1v-12v



Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Entail foundation deed	1581-11-10	VINC007357 MJHG EA/001a	TT-HSJ-159, fls. 208-219
Will (extract)	1603-06-09	VINC007427 AA EA/001	TT-HSJ-078, fls. 315v-318
Will (extract)	1657-01-20	VINC007609 VC EA/001	TT-HSJ-153, fls. 491v-492

Table 6
Examples of entails where founders request the deposit and/or registration of foundation documents and/or inventories at the Torre do Tombo

Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Entail foundation deed	1550-10-03	VINC001401 AM EA/001a	TT-IMC-NA-213, fls. 1-7v
Will (extract)	1548-03-19	VINC007380 VCJC EA/001	TT-HSJ-161, fls. 268-271v
Will chart	1578-08-20	VINC000823 JC EA/001	TT-AA-RA-51, fls. 16-18
Entail foundation deed	1620-12-19	VINC002082 MSFMSF EA/001aa	TT-C-F3-D-2, fls. 177-184
Entail foundation deed	1648-08-17	VINC001064 FPV EA/002	TT-AA-RA-1, fls. 54-56v
Will	1334-03-25	VINC000647 VE EA/003	TT-MSDL-12
Dowry deed	1564-10-18	VINC000773 IG EA/001	TT-AA-RA-24, fls. 1v-7
Will chart	1698-02-24	VINC001257 JVM EA/003a	TT-AA-RA-32, fls. 91v-95v
Entail foundation deed	1698-11-21	VINC002006 JTAAS EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 86v-91
Will chart	1520-09-06	VINC000176 BAC EA/001a	TT-GCL-RV-104, fls. 96-113
Entail foundation deed	1554-02-03	VINC002319 PMHM EA/001daa	TT-IMC-NA-210, fls. 3v-11v
Will chart	1570-08-28	VINC001710 FAC EA/004aa	TT-IMC-NA-191, fls. 1v-10
Entail foundation deed	1572-08-01	VINC000793 FMFS EA/001aba	TT-LN-29, fls. 221v-228
Entail foundation deed	1629-07-03	VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002ba	TT-IMC-NA-194, fls. 4-8



Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Entail foundation deed	1560-07-05	VINC001816 GECJS EA/002aa	TT-IMC-NA-190, fls. 1-16
Will chart	[1546]	VINC001725 FS EA/004aa	TT-IMC-NA-195, fls. 1v-14v
Will	1548-01-30	VINC002292 PEMS EA/001aa	TT-MC-V-LSB-18, fls. 13-21
Will chart	1570-07-29	VINC000785 RGACB EA/001aa	TT-AA-RA-29, fls. 127-131
Will	1678-01-18	VINC001154 JDR EA/001	TT-AA-RA-3, fls. 262-266
Chapel foundation deed	1679-11-21	VINC001661 DCF EA/001aaa	TT-IMC-NA-187, fls. 5-15
Entail foundation deed	1556-09-19	VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001a	TT-C-J3-P-3, fls. 214-222
Entail foundation deed	1612-06-22	VINC003377 MMHS EA/001aa	TT-C-F2-D-28, fls. 157-160
Entail foundation deed	1630-04-02	VINC002018 JLGMM EA/001ab	TT-C-F3-D-24, fls. 231v-236v
Contract deed	1527-05-17	VINC001379 RMHM EA/001aa	TT-C-J3-D-17, fls. 123-124
Entail foundation deed	1531-10-26	VINC001641 DT EA/001aa	TT-C-J3-D-20, fls. 167-171v
Will	1573-02-17	VINC001648 DMCL EA/001aaa	TT-IMC-NA-192, fls. 11v-25v
Entail foundation deed	1613-12-05	VINC002299 PSRBB EA/001ba	TT-LN-8, fls. 158-161v
Entail foundation deed	[before 1541-11-24]	VINC002987 FST EA/001aa	TT-C-J3-D-38, fls. 17-18v

**Table 7**

Examples of petitions to deposit or register copies of foundation documents and/or inventories at the *Torre do Tombo*

Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Petition	[1586]	VINC002319 PMHM EA/001b	TT-IMC-NA-210
Petition	[1621]	VINC001648 DMCL EA/001b	TT-IMC-NA-192, fl. 1v
Petition	[1621]	VINC002082 MSFMSF EA/002c	TT-IMC-NA-193, fls. 8-8v
Petition	1613-00-00	VINC002299 PSRBB EA/001aa	TT-LN-8-158
Petition	[1619]	VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001d	TT-IMC-NA-208, fl. 5
Petition	[1630]	VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002aa	TT-IMC-NA-194, fls. 2v-3
Petition	[1620]	VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001c	TT-IMC-NA-208, fls. 4-4v
Petition	[1620]	VINC001594 CS EA/004b	TT-IMC-NA-202
Petition	[1617]	VINC001654 DVPCT EA/001a	TT-IMC-NA-197
Petition	[1609]	VINC002086 ML EA/001a	TT-IMC-NA-203, fl. 1
Petition	[1629]	VINC002328 PGJG EA/002bb	TT-FC-CC-5, fl. 312v
Petition	[1617]	VINC001481 WINGS EA/003	TT-IMC-NA-197

Table 8

Examples of entails in which founders request the registration of the foundation document in notaries' books

Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Will chart	1683-10-24	VINC001168 LC EA/002acaa	TT-AA-RA-2, fls. 183v-187
Will chart	1554-02-10	VINC007345 MAF EA/001	TT-HSJ-159, fls. 1v-12v
Entail foundation deed	1622-05-04	VINC002603 LFF EA/001aa	TT-C-F3-D-5, fls. 82v-92v
Entail foundation deed	1560-07-05	VINC001816 GECJS EA/002aa	TT-IMC-NA-190, fls. 1-16
Entail foundation deed	1572-08-01	VINC000793 FMFS EA/001aba	TT-LN-29, fls. 221v-228
Will	1684-09-24	VINC001173 MFR EA/001	TT-AA-RA-18, fls. 230v-235
Will chart	1596-11-19	VINC000860 DF EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-14, fls. 94-104v



Table 9
Examples of religious foundations mentioned in foundation documents

Name of the founder(s)	Religious foundation	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Gonçalo Esteves de Tavares, Leonor Rodrigues de Vasconcelos	Church of Santa Maria (Mangualde)	Will	1349-01-25	VINC000019 GETLRV EA/001aa	TT-C-F-2, fls. 3-7
Baltasar Fernandes Sodré	Chapel of Nossa Senhora da Consolação (Campo de Feira, Guimarães)	Will chart	1575-12-03	VINC000800 BFS EA/002aa	TT-AA-RA-25, fls. 206v-211v
Afonso Eanes Hortelão, Maria Fernandes	Church of São Martinho (Funchal)	Will	1581-07-14	VINC000822 AEHMF EA/001	TT-AA-RA-38, fls. 80-83
Cosme Dias	Hermitage of Nossa Senhora das Neves (Vila Nova de Monsarros)	Declaration deed	1607-09-17	VINC000889 CD EA/001aa	TT-AA-RA-49, fls. 273v-283
Diogo Saraiva, Isabel Mendes	Hermitage of Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Penelas)	Entail foundation deed	1618-10-26	VINC000936 DSIM EA/002a	TT-AA-RA-4, fls. 24-31
Manuel de Moura Manuel	Church of Nossa Senhora da Penha de França (Vista Alegre)	Will chart	1699-08-04	VINC001283 MMM EA/002a	TT-AA-RA-28, fls. 132-137v
João Gramacho, Ana Taborda	Church of São Brás (Silves?)	Will	1521-08-12	VINC001976 JGAT EA/001a	TT-FC-CC-4, fls. 330v-332
Vicente Álvares	Church of the Espírito Santo (Portimão?)	Will chart	1586-03-15	VINC002408 VA EA/001a	TT-FC-CC-4, fls. 285-285v
Luís de Figueiredo Falcão	Monastery of São Luís (Pinhel)	Entail foundation deed	1622-05-04	VINC002603 LFF EA/001aa	TT-C-F3-D-5, fls. 82v-92v
Ana de Ataíde	Convent of Santa Maria de Jesus (Vale de Figueira, Arrábida)	Will (extract)	1627-03-20	VINC002751 AA EA/005	TT-HSJ-076, fls. 259v-273



Table 10

Examples of welfare foundations mentioned in foundation documents

Name of the founder(s)	Welfare foundation	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Archival reference
Gonçalo Esteves de Tavares, Leonor Rodrigues de Vasconcelos	Hospital for 24 poor people	Will	1349-01-25	VINC000019 GETLRV EA/001aa	TT-C-F-2, fls. 3-7
João Afonso; Beatriz Pires	<i>Mercearia</i> for two poor women	Will	1477-08-30	VINC000264 JABP EA/001	TT-CSFL-m-027-d002
Fernando Gonçalves, Iria Esteves	Hospital for poor travellers	Will	1494-06-13	VINC000692 FGIE EA/001	TT-AA-RA-18, fls. 288-290
Fernando Álvares	Hostel for pilgrims and wanderers	Will chart	1501-08-16	VINC000696 FAAA EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-7, fls. 275v-276
João Afonso	Hospital and hostel	Will chart	1536-11-05	VINC000734 JAJA EA/001a	TT-AA-RA-38, fls. 109-115
António Pires de Azambuja	Hospital for the sick or wanderers	Will chart	1604-06-20	VINC000882 APA EA/001	TT-AA-RA-31, fls. 337v-341
Margarida Nunes de Horta, Mécia Nunes de Horta	<i>Mercearia</i> for four women	Will chart	1619-07-26	VINC000901 MNHMNH EA/005	TT-AA-RA-13, fls. 66v-76
Afonso de Torres, Gaspar de Torres, Leonor de Alarcão	Hospital for the sick	Entail foundation deed	1561-12-30	VINC001306 AT- GTLA EA/003a	AMLSB-CML-SBAH-C-SA-002-01-01, fls. 1-30





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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

CÂMARA MUNICIPAL DE ALMADA – *Almada na História. Boletim de Fontes Documentais*, nrs. 13–14 (2007). p. 15–31.

FERREIRA, Godofredo – *Algumas achegas para a história do correio em Portugal*. Lisboa: CTT, 1964.

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
Ferreira, 1964, 11–27	Will	1607-05-01	VINC007647 LGM EA/001	n/a

PEGAS, Manuel Alvares – *Tractatus de exclusione, inclusione, successione, & erectione maioratus ... - Ulyssipone : ex Typographia Michaelis Deslandes sumptibus Antonii Leyte Pereyra, 1685–1739. - 5 vol.*

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
PEGAS-1685-1-62	Acórdão (transcription)	1683-11-04	VINC002056 LM EA/001a	https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/fddigital/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5_item2/UCFD-H-D-19-3/UCFD-H-D-19-3_item2/index.html
PEGAS-1685-1-276-277	Acórdão em Relação (transcription)	1642-09-18	VINC003847 AMN EA/001a	https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/fddigital/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5_item2/UCFD-H-D-19-3/UCFD-H-D-19-3_item2/index.html
PEGAS-1685-1-276-277	Acórdão em Relação (transcription)	1642-09-18	VINC003848 FC EA/001a	https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/fddigital/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5_item2/UCFD-H-D-19-3/UCFD-H-D-19-3_item2/index.html
PEGAS-1685-1-276-277	Acórdão em Relação (transcription)	1642-09-18	VINC001854 HNFN EA/001a	https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/fddigital/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5/UCFD-H-D-19-3_5_item2/UCFD-H-D-19-3/UCFD-H-D-19-3_item2/index.html
PEGAS-1687-2-284-288	Court sentence (transcription)	1656-02-12	VINC001482 ATMG 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



RADULET, Carmen (introdução e notas) – *Instituição de capela e morgado do cronista Rui de Pina: códice quinhentista iluminado, atribuído a António de Holanda*. Lisboa: Inapa, 1989.

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
Radulet, C. S. (1989)	Entail foundation deed	1515-05-21	VINC006126 RPCVG EA/001a	https://purl.pt/34922

b) Manuscript documents

Abbreviations:

UM-ADB – Arquivo Distrital de Braga

ADEVOR – Arquivo Distrital de Évora

ADGRD – Arquivo Distrital da Guarda

ADLRA – Arquivo Distrital de Leiria

ADPRT – Arquivo Distrital do Porto

ADPTG – Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre

ADVIS – Arquivo Distrital de Viseu

AMLSB – Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa

AUC – Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra

BPARPD – Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional de Ponta Delgada

IANCV – Instituto do Arquivo Nacional de Cabo Verde

SGMAI – Ministério da Administração Interna, Secretaria-Geral

TT – Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo



Arquivo Distrital de Braga (UM-ADB)

Abbreviations:

MAB-JR – Mitra Arquiepiscopal de Braga, Juízo dos Resíduos

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-5-73-87	Entail foundation deed	1539-04-10	VINC004259 LBBB EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-01/001/0005
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-7-102-105v	Entail foundation deed	1602-03-05	VINC004277 PGL EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-01/001/0007
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-8-5-10v	Will	1546-08-16	VINC004279 RMM EA/001aaa	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-01/001/0008
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-10-129-133	Chapel foundation deed	1672-05-26	VINC004290 JDL EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-01/001/0010
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-10-196v-204	Entail foundation deed	[before 1622-03-05]	VINC004293 MAG EA/001aa	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-01/001/0010
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-10-68-69v	Entail foundation deed	1585-07-30	VINC004197 LV EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-01/001/0010
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-11-169-169v	Will (extract)	[16-----]	VINC004306 AJG EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-01/001/0011
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-12-145-146v	Will (extract)	1672-04-11	VINC004344 GSP EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-01/001/0012
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-13-72v-74	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1652-07-22	VINC004350 GJ EA/001c	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-01/001/0013
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-14-1-7v	Dowry deed	1687-07-15	VINC004425 JMC EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-01/001/0014
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-733-103v-107	Will	1622-09-02	VINC004445 CMV EA/001aa	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0733
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-736-133v-138	Will	1554-08-07	VINC004686 AG EA/001aa	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0736
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-736-5-66v	Exemplification of Tombo	1609-01-05	VINC004651 PG EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0736
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-737-197-197v	Foundation deed (extract)	1595-09-29	VINC004742 ST EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0737
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-737-214-216	Will (extract)	1623-09-08	VINC004744 AM EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0737



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-737-224-226v	Will (extract)	1616-02-28	VINC004745 IC EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0737
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-738-20-21v	Inventory	[161-----]	VINC004746 GRP EA/001ab	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0738
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-738-7v-19	Will	1618-05-03	VINC004746 GRP EA/001aaa	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0738
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-741-59-61	Will	1553-08-22	VINC004768 FB EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0741
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-743-108v-110v	Chapel foundation deed	1672-08-15	VINC002529 PRPR EA/002aaa	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0743
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-743-117-119	Will	1555-10-10	VINC004789 PPMB EA/001aa	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0743
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-743-30-32v	Will	1532-06-28	VINC000725 LDL EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0743
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-744-133v-138	Chapel foundation deed	1560-12-11	VINC004798 APPME EA/001c	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0744
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-747-102-106v	Entail foundation deed	1650-01-17	VINC005267 MGAIF EA/001a	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0747
UM-ADB-MAB-JR-B-747-144-147v	Entail foundation deed	1688-07-10	VINC005269 ABF EA/001b	PT/UM-ADB/DIO/MAB/JR-02/001/0747

Arquivo Distrital de Évora (ADEVR)

Abbreviations:

GCE-RV - Governo Civil de Évora, Registo Vincular

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADEVR-GCE-RV-1-76-84	Entail foundation deed	1378-09-09	VINC000667 ADBMDJD EA/002a	PT/ADEVR/AC/GCEVR



Arquivo Distrital da Guarda (ADGRD)

Abbreviations:

GCG-RV – Governo Civil da Guarda, Registo Vincular

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADGRD-GCG-RV-1-31v-34	Entail foundation deed	1608-03-09	VINC004463 AMCS EA/001	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00001
ADGRD-GCG-RV-1-76-81	Will	1653-04-15	VINC004953 AM EA/002a	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00001
ADGRD-GCG-RV-1-152v-155v	Will	1670-04-17	VINC004959 MDP EA/001	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00001
ADGRD-GCG-RV-1-156-157v	Will	1658-08-28	VINC004960 FTFM EA/001a	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00001
ADGRD-GCG-RV-1-159-159v	Will	1697-02-09	VINC004958 PM EA/002	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00001
ADGRD-GCG-RV-1-239v-243v	Will	1650-07-09	VINC004961 JSCB EA/001	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00001
ADGRD-GCG-RV-1-248v-250v	Will	1647-08-16	VINC004963 MB EA/001	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00001
ADGRD-GCG-RV-1-271v-273v	Will	1667-07-08	VINC004964 JGMA EA/001a	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00001
ADGRD-GCG-RV-2-108v-111v	Will	1632-03-08	VINC004317 AGFS EA/001	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00002
ADGRD-GCG-RV-4-232v-240v	Entail foundation deed	1697-08-22	VINC004326 MFC EA/001	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00004
ADGRD-GCG-RV-4-232v-240v	Entail foundation deed	1697-08-22	VINC004327 MF EA/001	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00004
ADGRD-GCG-RV-5-104-110v	Entail foundation deed	1517-11-10	VINC004330 LTC EA/001a	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00005
ADGRD-GCG-RV-8-3v-16v	Confirmation letter	1630-11-25	VINC002811 PSCA-FC EA/003a	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00008
ADGRD-GCG-RV-8-212-214v	Entail foundation deed	1566-08-05	VINC004333 DGP-CF EA/001b	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00008
ADGRD-GCG-RV-14-198-205	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1691-12-10	VINC004451 AP-BISMSO EA/001a	PT/ADGRD/ACD/GC/NA/001/00014



Arquivo Distrital de Leiria (ADLRA)

Abbreviations:

GCL-RV – Governo Civil de Leiria, Registo Vincular

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADLRA-GCL-I-54-5-8	Will	1551-02-23	VINC006762 JB EA/001	PT/ADLRA/AC/GCL-RA/I/054

Arquivo Distrital do Porto (ADPRT)

Abbreviations:

CSFP – Convento de São Francisco do Porto

GCP-RV – Governo Civil do Porto, Registo Vincular

PCP – Provedoria da Comarca do Porto

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADPRT-CSFP-K-20-6-97-332v-365	Entail foundation deed	1568-11-24	VINC002772 RB EA/002	PT/ADPRT/MON/CVS-FPRT/002/6051/51332
ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/3-4806-173v-183	Entail foundation deed	1541-06-10	VINC004075 LAMJMIM EA/001	PT/ADPRT/AC/GCPR-T/J/078/4806
ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/3-4806-186-191	Declaration deed	1560-05-07	VINC004075 LAMJMIM EA/003	PT/ADPRT/AC/GCPR-T/J/078/4806
ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/3-4806-195v-204	Entail foundation deed	1563-06-05	VINC004076 AMMFP EA/001	PT/ADPRT/AC/GCPR-T/J/078/4806
ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/4-4833-18-25	Entail foundation deed	1560-03-25	VINC002755 CB EA/012	PT/ADPRT/AC/GCPR-T/J/078/4833
ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/4-4833-8-14v	Entail foundation deed	1547-11-07	VINC004082 LBIFB EA/001	PT/ADPRT/AC/GCPR-T/J/078/4833
ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/4-4833-90v-97v	Will	1685-12-21	VINC003176 MOC EA/002	PT/ADPRT/AC/GCPR-T/J/078/4833
ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/4830-72-74	Entail foundation deed	1658-01-20	VINC004072 GMMCB EA/001	PT/ADPRT/AC/GCPR-T/J/078/4830



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/4830-144v-147v	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1608-02-13	VINC004073 GLMJC EA/001	PT/ADPRT/AC/GCPR-T/J/078/4830
ADPRT-GCP-RV-C/4/1/4830-14v-17v	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1631-08-07	VINC004071 MR-CMC EA/001	PT/ADPRT/AC/GCPR-T/J/078/4830
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-33-59-71v	Composition deed	1478-11-03	VINC000671 LFCE EA/002	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRV-CPRT/004/0036
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/1-33-62-62v	Exemplification of will (extract)	1388-06-03	VINC000671 LFCE EA/002a	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRV-CPRT/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/PRV-CPRT/004/0039
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/2-43-13-19	Foundation deed	1492-09-10	VINC001981 JMF EA/002a	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRV-CPRT/004/0031
ADPRT-PCP-K/21/2-43-2-12v	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1566-09-11	VINC003877 PF EA/002	PT/ADPRT/AC/PRV-CPRT/004/0031

Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre (ADPTG)

Abbreviations:

PCP – Provedoria da Comarca de Portalegre

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADPTG-PCP-001-167v-169	Will	1652-01-03	VINC004357 JPM EA/001aa	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/1/00065
ADPTG-PCP-001-255v-259v	Will	1568-08-09	VINC004367 AST EA/001a	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/1/00100
ADPTG-P-CP-003-452-457	Will	1676-10-03	VINC005077 AD-TADC EA/001a	PT/ADPTG/PCPTG/2/3/00187
ADPTG-P-CP-003-52-55	Will	1596-11-15	VINC004889 GG EA/001	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/3/00023
ADPTG-PCP-004-461v-466v	Will	1620-09-09	VINC005179 MAA EA/001a	
ADPTG-P-CP-006-475-476	Will	1647-01-26	VINC005632 PTMJ EA/001a	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/6/00195
ADPTG-P-CP-006-475-476	Will	1647-01-26	VINC005633 PTMP EA/001a	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/6/00195
ADPTG-PCP-007-105-107v	Will chart	1585-10-14	VINC005688 GS EA/001	PT/ADPTG/PCPTG/2/7
ADPTG-PCP-007-186-187v	Will chart	1631-08-20	VINC005904 HP EA/001a	PT/ADPTG/PCPTG/2/7



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADPTG-PCP-008-435v-436v	Will	1569-05-16	VINC005941 DDMA EA/001a	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/8/00122
ADPTG-PCP-012-14v-27	Will chart	1623-11-23	VINC005970 FA-BRNB EA/001aa	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/12/00003
ADPTG-PCP-012-30v-39	Will chart	1622-08-23	VINC003620 BS EA/002	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/12/00004
ADPTG-PCP-013-385v-386	Agreement deed	[16--]-03-27	VINC005986 BF EA/002fb	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/13/00053
ADPTG-PCP-013-487-493v	Will chart	1617-09-11	VINC005982 DAMD EA/002aa	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/13/00069
ADPTG-PCP-014-135v-141	Will chart	1614-11-21	VINC005994 AGV EA/001a	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/14/00020
ADPTG-P-CP-014-143-144	Codicil	1631-08-12	VINC005994 AGV EA/002a	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/14/00020
ADPTG-PCP-014-400v-402	Will chart	1614-01-24	VINC006207 FM EA/001	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/14/00094
ADPTG-PCP-017-433-435v	Will chart	1566-07-15	VINC006255 CMCS EA/001a	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/17/00081
ADPTG-P-CP-018-56-60	Will chart	1532-03-14	VINC006223 TT EA/001aa	PT/ADPTG/PCP-TG/2/18/00011

Arquivo Distrital de Viseu (ADVIS)

Abbreviations:

GCV – RV – Governo Civil de Viseu, Registo Vincular

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
ADVIS-GCV-RV-7-134v-147	Will chart	1603-12-09	VINC004255 AVR EA/003aa	n/a

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



Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra (AUC)

Abbreviations:

CNSCC – Colégio de Nossa Senhora do Carmo de Coimbra

CNSGC – Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Coimbra

PCC – Provedoria da Comarca de Coimbra

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
AUC-CNSCC-3	Chapel foundation deed	1665-02-10	VINC003924 MRA EA/001	n/a
AUC-CNSGC-Cx.2-doc.13.7-139-142v	Chapel foundation deed	1618-02-15	VINC003930 RLP EA/001	n/a
AUC-CNSGC-Cx.2-doc.14.14-2-10	Will chart	1574-07-13	VINC003933 SVC EA/002a	n/a
AUC-PCC-108-138v-139v	Will chart	1645-06-09	VINC003906 MC EA/001	n/a
AUC-PCC-108-186-190	Will chart	1585-09-07	VINC003910 JOF EA/001	n/a

Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional de Ponta Delgada (BPARPD)

Abbreviations:

MEC – Manuscritos Ernesto do Canto

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
BPARPD-MEC-81-86-93	Will	1552-12-26	VINC004216 FG EA/001a	n/a

Instituto do Arquivo Nacional de Cabo Verde (IANCV)

Abbreviations:

ACP – Administração do Concelho da Praia

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
IANCV-ACP-350-58-63v	Will	1645-03-08	VINC000929 GNC-FV EA/002aa	n/a



Ministério da Administração Interna, Secretaria-Geral (SGMAI)

Abbreviations:

GCVC-RV – Governo Civil de Viana do Castelo, Registo Vincular

Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
SGMAI-GCVC-RV-9609-211v-223	Entail foundation deed	1634-06-19	VINC005224 JSCC-NH EA/001a	PT/SGMAI/GCVCT/N-A/001/9925
SGMAI-GCVC-RV-9611-4v-29	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1608-02-20	VINC005231 BR-PIMD EA/001	PT/SGMAI/GCVCT/N-A/001/9927

Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (TT)

Abbreviations:

AA-RA – Arquivo do Arquivo, Livros de Registo

CA – Casa de Abrantes

C-F1-D – Chancelaria Régia, D. Filipe I, Doações, Ofícios e Mercês

C-F – Chancelaria Régia, D. Fernando

C-F2-D – Chancelaria Régia, D. Filipe II, Doações, Ofícios e Mercês

C-F3-D – Chancelaria Régia, D. Filipe III, Doações, Ofícios e Mercês

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

CA – Casa de Abrantes

CNSCL – Convento de Nossa Senhora do Carmo de Lisboa

CSFL – Convento de São Francisco de Lisboa

C-SH-D – Chancelaria Régia, D. Sebastião e D. Henrique, Doações, Ofícios e Mercês

CSI – Casa de Santa Iria

CSTRL – Convento da Santíssima Trindade de Lisboa

CVACM – Casa da Várzea de Abrunhais e Castelo Melhor

FC-CC – Feitos da Coroa, Capelas da Coroa

FC-TD – Feitos da Coroa, Tombos e Demarcações

FF – Francisco de Faria

GCL-RV – Governo Civil de Lisboa, Registo Vincular

HSJ – Hospital de São José

HSJ – ESCR BOT – Hospital de São José, Escrivão Botelho

HSJ – ESCR PON – Hospital de São José, Escrivão Pontes

IMC-NA – Instituição de Morgados e Capelas, Núcleo Antigo

LN – Leitura Nova

MC-V-LSB – Morgados e Capelas, Vínculos, Lisboa

MC-V-STR – Morgados e Capelas, Vínculos, Santarém

MSDL – Mosteiro de São Domingos de Lisboa



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-1-54-56v	Entail foundation deed	1648-08-17	VINC001064 FPV EA/002	PT/TT/AA/002/0001
TT-AA-RA-2-147-147v	Will chart	1434-01-18	VINC000669 JB EA/003aaca	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-2-183v-187	Will chart	1683-10-24	VINC001168 LC EA/002acaa	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	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-2-239-240	Will chart	1663-10-07	VINC001114 FSB EA/002aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0002
TT-AA-RA-3-1v-4	Renunciation deed and entail foundation deed	1615-01-10	VINC001259 IVJBPFIG EA/002aba	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-5v-8v	Will	1616-05-23	VINC001259 IVJBPFIG EA/002ada	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-8v-9v	Approval deed of the will	1616-09-08	VINC001259 IVJBPFIG EA/002adb	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-11-14	Entail foundation and dowry deed	1604-01-27	VINC003085 DM EA/004aaaa	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-15v-18	Entail foundation deed	1515-03-25	VINC000704 RASLR EA/003aaaaa	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-53v-55v	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1621-08-05	VINC001274 MC EA/001aaa	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-78v-82	Will	1659-03-09	VINC001096 ARFMRF EA/002aca	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-86v-91	Entail foundation deed	1698-11-21	VINC002006 JTAAS EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-124v-126	Will	1586-04-23	VINC000832 FRCJ EA/002aaa	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-126v	Codicil	1590-10-29	VINC000832 FRCJ EA/002aab	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-146v-147v	Will chart	1558-00-00	VINC000763 LA EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-178-180v	Entail foundation deed	1567-04-12	VINC000778 JRMNJC EA/001aaa	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-217v-220	Will chart	1561-06-20	VINC000767 JM EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/02



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-AA-RA-3-253-255	Will	1638-10-18	VINC001034 GJ EA/001	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-255-255v	Approval deed of a will	1638-11-03	VINC001034 GJ EA/002	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-257-258	Will	1632-04-23	VINC001007 ABS EA/001	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-262-266	Will	1678-01-18	VINC001154 JDR EA/001	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-276v-277	Will	1577-04-27	VINC000807 GG EA/001	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-292v	Codicil (extract)	1509-06-04	VINC000697 JE EA/001ab	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-297-298	Will	1574-11-01	VINC000796 JAB EA/002	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-299-306v	Tombo	1545-02-11	VINC000728 FV EA/001	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-299v-301	Will	1533-04-23	VINC000728 FV EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-306-306v	Acórdão em relação	[before 1545-02-11]	VINC000728 FV EA/001b	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-329v-332	Will	1325-10-22	VINC000652 AEL EA/004a	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-334-342	Will chart	1641-05-26	VINC001043 PBFEMA EA/002	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-343-345v	Will chart	1625-04-29	VINC000974 CPR EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-352v-354	Will	1662-12-23	VINC000402 ARN EA/001b	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-356v-359	Will chart	1659-12-14	VINC001101 JFM EA/001	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-360-360v	Codicil	1659-12-19	VINC001101 JFM EA/002	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-364v-366	Will (extract)	1577-00-00	VINC000804 JJP EA/001	PT/TT/AA/02
TT-AA-RA-3-388-389v	Declaration and foundation deed	1543-02-22	VINC000741 AM EA/002aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0003
TT-AA-RA-4-24-31	Entail foundation deed	1618-10-26	VINC000936 DSIM EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/002/0004
TT-AA-RA-4-37v-38v	Codicil	1577-04-11	VINC000806 AFC EA/003	PT/TT/AA/002/0004
TT-AA-RA-4-78-80	Will chart	1569-07-12	VINC000782 FLMD EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0004
TT-AA-RA-4-120-120v	Will chart (extract)	1568-00-00	VINC001105 RCBC EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0004
TT-AA-RA-4-135-137	Will chart	1696-02-01	VINC001239 MSFLP EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0004



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-AA-RA-4-308-310v	Entail foundation deed	1640-03-17	VINC001039 FSM EA/002aaba	PT/TT/AA/002/0004
TT-AA-RA-5-46v-49v	Entail foundation deed	1615-11-26	VINC000921 BFFRC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0005
TT-AA-RA-5-56v-58	Will chart	1590-03-03	VINC000839 FS EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0005
TT-AA-RA-5-153v-154v	Will chart	1649-01-04	VINC000341 ASPF EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0005
TT-AA-RA-5-153v-154v	Will chart	1649-01-04	VINC001068 ASVM EA/016aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0005
TT-AA-RA-5-261-261v	Approval deed	1631-06-13	VINC000430 AO EA/002fb	PT/TT/AA/002/0005
TT-AA-RA-7-124v-126v	Will chart	1679-06-29	VINC001159 FFA EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-7-128-130	Will chart	1557-04-15	VINC000762 AM EA/001b	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-7-132v-133	Will chart	1619-01-06	VINC006146 GRMC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-7-132v-133	Will chart	1619-01-06	VINC000938 GR 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-7-195-196v	Will chart	1661-01-12	VINC001104 JHV EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-7-245-247	Will chart	1627-10-12	VINC000986 DPS EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-7-267v-268	Will chart	1640-10-23	VINC001042 DM EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-7-275v-276	Will chart	1501-08-16	VINC000696 FA EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0007
TT-AA-RA-8-4-5v	Will chart	1578-05-20	VINC004717 AGAA EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0008
TT-AA-RA-8-4-5v	Will chart	1578-05-20	VINC004718 AGABP EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0008
TT-AA-RA-8-7v-10	Will	1551-02-27	VINC000728 FV EA/004	PT/TT/AA/002/0008
TT-AA-RA-8-7v-10	Will	1551-02-27	VINC000750 DPES EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0008
TT-AA-RA-8-83-87v	Will chart	1662-08-22	VINC001111 ALB EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0008
TT-AA-RA-8-122v-124	Chapel foundation deed	1637-06-18	VINC001027 HH EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0008
TT-AA-RA-8-217v-219v	Will	1637-07-09	VINC001028 JMC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0008
TT-AA-RA-9-1v	Will (extract)	1593-00-00	VINC000851 RG EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0009



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TT-AA-RA-9-7-8	Will chart	1510-06-08	VINC000698 PEP EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0009
TT-AA-RA-9-25-26	Will chart	1665-10-12	VINC001123 FRSFFR EA/005	PT/TT/AA/002/0009
TT-AA-RA-9-63-66v	Will chart	1629-05-12	VINC000992 ANM EA/002	PT/TT/AA/002/0009
TT-AA-RA-9-112-114v	Dowry deed	1647-06-15	VINC001061 BRCFMS EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/002/0009
TT-AA-RA-9-193-195	Adoption deed	1489-08-06	VINC000689 PVCPC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0009
TT-AA-RA-9-252v-254v	Will	1621-01-13	VINC005201 BAV EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0009
TT-AA-RA-9-259-260v	Will	1567-07-19	VINC000460 BA EA/003	PT/TT/AA/002/0009
TT-AA-RA-10-230-235v	Entail foundation deed	1649-08-31	VINC001071 MMF EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0010
TT-AA-RA-10-308v-309	Will (extract)	[b.1611]	VINC000470 DL EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0010
TT-AA-RA-10-353v-354	Will (extract)	[b.1562-10-24]	VINC000473 GP EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0010
TT-AA-RA-11-56v-59	Will chart	1643-04-08	VINC001050 DFH EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0011
TT-AA-RA-11-201-202v	Entail foundation deed	1604-01-16	VINC000879 IPF EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/002/0011
TT-AA-RA-11-350v-352	Will chart	1635-08-17	VINC001021 LLPBL EA/001aaa	PT/TT/AA/002/0011
TT-AA-RA-12-3v-5	Will chart	1622-01-17	VINC000955 GG EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0012
TT-AA-RA-12-41-43	Will chart	1630-04-26	VINC000998 CSPPM EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0012
TT-AA-RA-13-60-63v	Contract and bond deed	1610-10-02	VINC000901 MNHM- NH EA/002	PT/TT/AA/002/0013
TT-AA-RA-13-66v-76	Will chart	1619-07-26	VINC000901 MNHM- NH EA/005	PT/TT/AA/002/0013
TT-AA-RA-13-378v-382v	Will chart	1620-06-19	VINC000946 DF EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/002/0013
TT-AA-RA-13-382v-383	Approval deed	1620-07-08	VINC000946 DF EA/002b	PT/TT/AA/002/0013
TT-AA-RA-14-94-104v	Will chart	1596-11-19	VINC000860 DF EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0014
TT-AA-RA-14-117-123	Will	1438-01-01	VINC000322 PELCE EA/004	PT/TT/AA/002/0014
TT-AA-RA-14-133-134	Will chart	1644-08-07	VINC001053 AMLLL EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0014
TT-AA-RA-14-211-213	Will chart	1614-06-20	VINC000915 ERBAR EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0014



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TT-AA-RA-14-213v-216	Will chart	1617-11-15	VINC000915 ERBAR EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/002/0014
TT-AA-RA-14-282-284	Will	1529-03-26	VINC000745 RG EA/001aba	PT/TT/AA/002/0014
TT-AA-RA-14-378v-380v	Will	1615-04-20	VINC000919 JT EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0014
TT-AA-RA-15-133-138v	Will	1670-12-29	VINC001136 DVB EA/001aaa	PT/TT/AA/002/0015
TT-AA-RA-15-297-299v	Will chart	1655-09-07	VINC001086 MTA EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0015
TT-AA-RA-15-95-98v	Will chart	1593-10-07	VINC000850 DD EA/002	PT/TT/AA/002/0015
TT-AA-RA-15-386-387v	Will chart	1644-11-13	VINC001054 MV EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0015
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-16-145-151	Entail foundation deed	1378-09-09	VINC005656 ADBMDPA EA/002	PT/TT/AA/002/0016
TT-AA-RA-16-184v-186	Will chart	1605-02-04	VINC000883 HHSJH EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0016
TT-AA-RA-16-187v-189v	Will chart	1631-10-31	VINC000883 HHSJH EA/002	PT/TT/AA/002/0016
TT-AA-RA-17-27v-32	Will	1658-09-04	VINC001093 DC EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0017
TT-AA-RA-17-33v-34v	Court sentence	1681-10-31	VINC001093 DC EA/002	PT/TT/AA/002/0017
TT-AA-RA-18-230v-235	Will	1684-09-24	VINC001173 MFR EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0018
TT-AA-RA-18-264-265v	Will	1608-08-30	VINC000892 BA EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0018
TT-AA-RA-18-288-290	Will	1494-06-13	VINC000692 FGIE EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0018
TT-AA-RA-20-220v-221	Will chart	1608-05-05	VINC000890 FGT EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0020
TT-AA-RA-21-298v-304	Will chart	1655-08-05	VINC001085 BMSMIA EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0021
TT-AA-RA-21-347-348v	Will	1673-07-21	VINC001142 BD EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0021
TT-AA-RA-22-10v-13v	Will chart	1594-03-06	VINC000854 SD EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0022
TT-AA-RA-22-190v-192v	Will	1675-04-27	VINC001147 MAB EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0022
TT-AA-RA-22-238-242	Entail foundation deed	1671-05-21	VINC001143 AGM EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0022



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TT-AA-RA-23-263-266v	Will	1623-00-00	VINC000970 GFP EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0023
TT-AA-RA-24-1v-7	Dowry deed	1564-10-18	VINC000773 IG EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0024
TT-AA-RA-24-58-62	Will	1615-09-16	VINC000976 LP EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0024
TT-AA-RA-24-64-65	Will chart	1531-08-16	VINC000976 LP EA/005	PT/TT/AA/002/0024
TT-AA-RA-25-206v-211v	Will chart	1575-12-03	VINC000800 BFS EA/002aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0025
TT-AA-RA-25-330-331v	Will chart	1689-09-06	VINC001000 MB EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0025
TT-AA-RA-26-19-20	Will chart	1700-02-20	VINC001290 JC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0026
TT-AA-RA-26-354-357	Will	1648-10-31	VINC001067 ADC EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0026
TT-AA-RA-26-362v-364	Will (extract)	1605-08-23	VINC005601 LC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0026
TT-AA-RA-27-127-131v	Entail foundation deed	1667-10-31	VINC001128 JRC EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/002/0027
TT-AA-RA-27-206-210v	Will chart	1602-07-09	VINC000877 BMAAP EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0027
TT-AA-RA-27-280v-287v	Will chart	1585-04-01	VINC000826 AFV EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0027
TT-AA-RA-27-305v-306	Will (extract)	1555-04-12	VINC000757 MVA EA/004	PT/TT/AA/002/0027
TT-AA-RA-27-334v-336	Entail foundation deed	1670-08-16	VINC001134 JMCAS EA/002	PT/TT/AA/002/0027
TT-AA-RA-27-360	Will (extract)	1664-07-23	VINC001052 IL EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0027
TT-AA-RA-28-129-131	Donation deed	1669-07-25	VINC001283 MMM EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0028
TT-AA-RA-28-132-137v	Will chart	1699-08-04	VINC001283 MMM EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/002/0028
TT-AA-RA-28-138v-139	Codicil	1699-08-30	VINC001283 MMM EA/002d	PT/TT/AA/002/0028
TT-AA-RA-28-405v-407	Will (extract)	1672-00-00	VINC000549 BSM EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0028
TT-AA-RA-29-127-131	Will chart	1570-07-29	VINC000785 RGACB EA/001aa	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-29-296-298v	Will chart	1608-04-03	VINC002918 AD EA/007aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0029
TT-AA-RA-29-328v-329v	Will (extract)	1441-08-09	VINC005414 MSMA EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0029
TT-AA-RA-30-243-246	Will chart	1530-09-04	VINC000719 PG EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0030



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TT-AA-RA-30-331-332v	Declaration deed	1610-10-01	VINC000900 ADV EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0030
TT-AA-RA-31-2-3	Entail foundation deed	1678-11-19	VINC001158 JCL EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0031
TT-AA-RA-31-223-228	Will	1666-11-11	VINC001126 ALM EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0031
TT-AA-RA-31-337v-341	Will chart	1604-06-20	VINC000882 APA EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0031
TT-AA-RA-32-91v-95v	Will chart	1698-02-24	VINC001257 JVM EA/003a	PT/TT/AA/002/0032
TT-AA-RA-32-153v-155	Will (extract)	1623-10-23	VINC000969 ALDJ EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0032
TT-AA-RA-32-208v-220	Will	1611-06-10	VINC000903 GEP EA/002ad	PT/TT/AA/002/0032
TT-AA-RA-32-254v-257	Will chart	1568-04-30	VINC000781 RFVF EA/001aaa	PT/TT/AA/002/0032
TT-AA-RA-33-2-4v	Will chart	1595-06-16	VINC000855 BLDE EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0033
TT-AA-RA-33-190v-191	Codicil	1601-11-18	VINC000872 VGB EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0033
TT-AA-RA-33-299-302	Entail foundation deed	1570-11-18	VINC000786 RM EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/002/0033
TT-AA-RA-34-2-8v	Entail foundation deed	1663-06-03	VINC001113 BAS EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0034
TT-AA-RA-34-60-61	Will (extract)	1617-09-12	VINC005657 BB EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0034
TT-AA-RA-36-288-289v	Codicil	1596-02-22	VINC000857 MR EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0036
TT-AA-RA-36-290v-298	Codicil	1599-08-26	VINC000857 MR EA/001c	PT/TT/AA/002/0036
TT-AA-RA-36-299-308v	Codicil	1599-08-26	VINC000857 MR EA/001f	PT/TT/AA/002/0036
TT-AA-RA-37-177v-180	Will chart	1639-04-07	VINC001036 FMM EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0037
TT-AA-RA-38-47-48v	Will chart	1612-08-18	VINC000908 APL EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0038
TT-AA-RA-38-50-50v	Dowry deed	1642-03-07	VINC001045 AF EA/001b	PT/TT/AA/002/0038
TT-AA-RA-38-80-83	Will	1581-07-14	VINC000822 AEHMF EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0038
TT-AA-RA-38-109-115	Will chart	1536-11-05	VINC000734 JAJA EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0038
TT-AA-RA-38-264-267	Will chart	1649-04-20	VINC001069 FVSACBC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0038
TT-AA-RA-38-302-305	Will chart	1674-09-29	VINC001144 JBMMS EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0038



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TT-AA-RA-38-307-309	Contract and bond deed	1674-09-29	VINC001144 JBMMSEA/004	PT/TT/AA/002/0038
TT-AA-RA-39-112v-118v	Entail foundation deed	1690-02-22	VINC001198 FMP EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0039
TT-AA-RA-39-223v-225v	Entail foundation deed	1640-10-17	VINC001041 MACFCEA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0039
TT-AA-RA-39-243v-244	Will (extract)	1533-09-08	VINC000729 GREA/001b	PT/TT/AA/002/0039
TT-AA-RA-39-260-261v	Chapel foundation deed	1644-02-04	VINC001051 ESAAMEA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0039
TT-AA-RA-39-328v-331v	Will chart	1616-11-11	VINC000925 DCEA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0039
TT-AA-RA-42-92v-93v	Will chart (extract)	[1607]	VINC003671 NFS EA/002	PT/TT/AA/002/0042
TT-AA-RA-43-109-110v	Will	1587-11-03	VINC000833 AF EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0043
TT-AA-RA-43-116-116v	Will chart	1626-11-26	VINC000978 SLTEA/004	PT/TT/AA/002/0043
TT-AA-RA-43-173v-174v	Chapel foundation deed	1615-01-19	VINC000917 BCVGEA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0043
TT-AA-RA-43-262v-265	Declaration deed	1529-06-30	VINC000584 MEC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0043
TT-AA-RA-43-263-264	Donation deed	1525-05-23	VINC000584 MEC EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0043
TT-AA-RA-43-88-89v	Will	1516-12-12	VINC000705 RGMFRIR EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0043
TT-AA-RA-43-89v-92	Will	1560-10-16	VINC000705 RGMFRIR EA/001ba	PT/TT/AA/002/0043
TT-AA-RA-43-92v-93	Will	1530-04-01	VINC000705 RGMFRIR EA/002a	PT/TT/AA/002/0043
TT-AA-RA-44-3v-5v	Will chart	1447-07-27	VINC000673 PNEA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0044
TT-AA-RA-44-3v-5v	Will chart	1447-07-27	VINC001302 PNEA/003aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0044
TT-AA-RA-46-201v-202v	Will chart	1638-11-06	VINC001035 PE EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0046
TT-AA-RA-46-39-43	Will chart	1687-12-06	VINC001186 AGSEA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0046
TT-AA-RA-46-332-337	Will chart	1591-08-02	VINC000848 ACEA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0046
TT-AA-RA-47-165-166	Will chart	1682-03-14	VINC001164 MLEA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0047
TT-AA-RA-47-216v-217	Will	1556-12-01	VINC000760 LE EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0047



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TT-AA-RA-48-181v-185v	Will chart	1563-05-10	VINC000772 FFJM EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0048
TT-AA-RA-48-225v-228	Entail foundation deed	1582-01-31	VINC000824 BPAL EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0048
TT-AA-RA-48-305-306	Will chart	1655-08-01	VINC001084 LBF EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0048
TT-AA-RA-48-330v-332v	Entail foundation deed	1642-12-29	VINC001048 DCLE EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0048
TT-AA-RA-48-350v-351	Will chart (extract)	1547-12-20	VINC000747 GC EA/003	PT/TT/AA/002/0048
TT-AA-RA-48-48-51	Will chart	1698-06-26	VINC001263 DFSCSD-GS EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0048
TT-AA-RA-48-48-51	Will chart	1698-06-26	VINC005650 DFSCSIF EA/001a	PT/TT/AA/002/0048
TT-AA-RA-49-273v-283	Declaration deed	1607-09-17	VINC000889 CD EA/001aa	PT/TT/AA/002/0049
TT-AA-RA-49-292v-293v	Chapel foundation deed	1587-04-22	VINC000835 APBG EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0049
TT-AA-RA-49-322-323v	Will chart	1659-03-17	VINC001100 SFP EA/002ab	PT/TT/AA/002/0049
TT-AA-RA-49-323v-324v	Codicil	1676-06-02	VINC001100 SFP EA/002ad	PT/TT/AA/002/0049
TT-AA-RA-49-324v-325	Codicil	1676-06-12	VINC001100 SFP EA/002af	PT/TT/AA/002/0049
TT-AA-RA-49-355-358	Entail foundation deed	1640-01-17	VINC001037 ACMAC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0049
TT-AA-RA-50-1v-4	Will chart	1521-06-30	VINC000708 NMSHMS EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0050
TT-AA-RA-50-1v-4	Will chart	1521-06-30	VINC005663 NMSJMS EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0050
TT-AA-RA-50-332-335v	Will chart	1669-10-02	VINC001132 JFA EA/003	PT/TT/AA/002/0050
TT-AA-RA-51-16-18	Will chart	1578-08-20	VINC000823 JC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0051
TT-AA-RA-51-18v-19	Codicil	1581-07-28	VINC000823 JC EA/003	PT/TT/AA/002/0051
TT-AA-RA-51-27v-28v	Will	1698-08-24	VINC005665 JRV EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0051
TT-AA-RA-51-32v-34	Will (extract)	1574-00-00	VINC000614 HB EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0051
TT-AA-RA-51-32v-34	Will (extract)	1574-00-00	VINC005666 DCBC EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0051
TT-AA-RA-53-307-309v	Will chart	1614-04-04	VINC000913 FGVCMT EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0053
TT-AA-RA-53-307-309v	Will chart	1614-04-04	VINC005668 FGVCMT EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0053



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TT-AA-RA-54-295v-296v	Will (extract)	1565-12-05	VINC005578 AMLIT EA/004a	PT/TT/AA/002/0054
TT-AA-RA-56-110v-111v	Chapel foundation deed	1610-03-24	VINC000897 BG EA/002	PT/TT/AA/002/0056
TT-AA-RA-56-113-114v	Will (extract)	[1651-12-04]	VINC000630 FVG EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0056
TT-AA-RA-56-75v-80v	Entail foundation deed	1667-10-03	VINC001127 JS EA/001	PT/TT/AA/002/0056
TT-C-F-2-3-7	Will	1349-01-25	VINC000019 GETLRV EA/001aaa	PT/TT/CHR/F/001/0002
TT-C-F1-D-13-467	Entail foundation deed	1592-03-05	VINC003200 MC EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/N/001/0013
TT-C-F2-D-1-92v-94	Entail foundation deed	1589-10-02	VINC003386 LACBLP EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/O/001/0001
TT-C-F-2-D-11-160-162	Entail foundation deed	1589-05-24	VINC002746 DSMM EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/O/001/0011
TT-C-F2-D-15-92v-96	Contract and entail and chapel foundation deed	1604-04-03	VINC001669 DGAO EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/O/001/0015
TT-C-F2-D-24-125-127v	Entail foundation deed	1606-01-27	VINC003362 BACBPV-SAACB EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/O/001/0002
TT-C-F-2-D-28-157-160	Entail foundation deed	1612-06-22	VINC003377 MMHS EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/O/001/0028
TT-C-F-3-D-2-177-184	Entail foundation deed	1620-12-19	VINC002082 MSFMSF EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/P/1/2
TT-C-F3-D-5-82v-92v	Entail foundation deed	1622-05-04	VINC002603 LFF EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/P/1/5
TT-C-F3-D-19-207-209v	Entail foundation deed	1627-08-07	VINC003068 MPIT EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/P/1/19
TT-C-F3-D-24-231v-236v	Entail foundation deed	1630-04-02	VINC002018 JLGMN EA/001ab	PT/TT/CHR/P/1/24
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-10-175v-177	Approval and addition deed	1518-03-24	VINC000263 JSVECR EA/003ac	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/10
TT-C-J3-D-11-40v-41	Entail foundation deed	1527-12-12	VINC001959 JEEA EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/11
TT-C-J3-D-14-10v-12	Entail foundation deed	1527-12-02	VINC002983 LM EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/14
TT-C-J3-D-14-53v-56v	Will	1526-06-11	VINC002982 JP EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/14
TT-C-J-3-D-17-123-124	Contract deed	1527-05-17	VINC001379 RMHM EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/17



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-C-J3-D-20-167-171v	Entail foundation deed	1531-10-26	VINC001641 DT EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/20
TT-C-J3-D-26-85v-87v	Entail foundation deed	1537-06-16	VINC001381 FC EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/26
TT-C-J-3-D-26-98-100	Entail foundation deed	1536-07-22	VINC001382 MCJM EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/26
TT-C-J3-D-31-89-89v	Public debt instrument	1541-05-08	VINC001324 SG EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/31
TT-C-J3-D-34-65	Entail foundation deed	1536-05-07	VINC001348 GGR EA/001aaa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/34
TT-C-J3-D-34-67	Addition and declaration deed	1541-09-10	VINC001348 GGR EA/001ab	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/34
TT-C-J3-D-38-17-18v	Entail foundation deed	[before 1541-11-24]	VINC002987 FST EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/38
TT-C-J3-D-40-169-170v	Entail foundation deed	1540-06-23	VINC000830 FFL EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/40
TT-C-J3-D-53-142-142v	Declaration deed	1547-11-05	VINC001341 VT EA/002ab	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/53
TT-C-J3-D-55-109v-110	Declaration deed	1547-11-05	VINC001341 VT EA/003ab	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/55
TT-C-J-3-D-73-13-15	Entail foundation deed	1531-08-29	VINC000820 ARM EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/L/1/73
TT-C-J-3-P-3-214-222	Entail foundation deed	1556-09-19	VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/L/3/3
TT-C-J3-P-3-222-226v	Agreement and obligation deed	1558-06-20	VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001b	PT/TT/CHR/L/3/3
TT-C-J3-P-3-252v-253	Provision	1594-11-21	VINC002397 VFCIGB EA/001i	PT/TT/CHR/L/3/3
TT-C-J-4-D-3-252-256	Confirmation letter	1646-03-20	VINC000063 MAB EA/001a	PT/TT/CHR/Q/1/3
TT-CA-086-259-4843-5-28	Will (extract)	1446-06-14	VINC001635 LM EA/004a	PT/TT/CABT/002/0259/004843
TT-CNS-CL-090-109-111	Will (extract)	1567-04-09	VINC007424 AF EA/001	PT/TT/CNS-CRL/005/0001
TT-CNS-CL-091-62-64	Will	1680-01-20	VINC007098 JGMS EA/001	PT/TT/CNS-CRL/005/0002
TT-CNSCL-091-149-151v	Will chart	1598-11-26	VINC007082 JELA EA/001	PT/TT/CNS-CRL/005/0002
TT-CSFL-001-51v-54	Will (extract)	1635-09-10	VINC005743 GLM EA/003	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0001
TT-CSFL-002-8-8v	Declaration deed	1618-07-10	VINC001979 DMLBL-JML EA/004	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0002
TT-CS-FL-002-300-301	Will (extract)	1614-05-21	VINC006147 GCFP EA/003	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0002



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TT-CS-FL-004-299-304	Bond	1645-11-18	VINC006173 MD EA/002	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0004
TT-CSFL-004-381v-389	Will	1609-01-17	VINC000263 JSVECR EA/004a	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-004-470v-472v	Donation deed	1545-06-13	VINC000263 JSVECR EA/009	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0004
TT-CSFL-005-263-266v	Will	1563-03-08	VINC007248 ML EA/001a	PT/TT/CSFL/002/0005
TT-CSFL-m-027-d002	Will	1477-08-30	VINC000264 JABP EA/001	PT/TT/CSFL/008/0021/00002
TT-C-SH-D-33-184	Entail foundation deed	1574-09-09	VINC002994 MMGH EA/001aa	PT/TT/CHR/M/1/33
TT-CSI-011-0059	Contract and bond deed	1542-02-13	VINC001816 GECJS EA/003	PT/TT/CSI/A-A/019/0011
TT-CSTR-104-322v-323	Will (extract)	1583-08-13	VINC002946 ASMB EA/005a	PT/TT/CSTR/LI04
TT-CS-TRL-104-419-424	Will	1578-05-14	VINC007844 GRAHB EA/001	PT/TT/CSTR/LI04
TT-CSTR-105-60v-65	Contract and bond deed	1583-11-08	VINC007834 AFEMF EA/001	PT/TT/CSTR/LI05
TT-CSTR-105-98-104v	Contract and bond deed	1633-12-29	VINC007008 CR EA/005aa	PT/TT/CSTR/LI05
TT-CS-TRL-105-113-116	Auto de vistoria	1635-08-18	VINC007008 CR EA/006	PT/TT/CSTR/LI05
TT-CSTR-105-267v-270v	Will	1598-06-26	VINC000441 JGGIR EA/004	PT/TT/CSTR/LI05
TT-CSTR-105-312-346v	Will	1649-02-12	VINC003127 JA EA/002a	PT/TT/CSTR/LI05
TT-CSTR-106-310v-316	Will chart	1604-10-26	VINC001730 FS EA/004	PT/TT/CSTR/LI06
TT-CVACM-005-0022-57-65v	Chapel foundation deed	1570-04-19	VINC008284 GFBC EA/001	PT/TT/CVACM/LO22
TT-FC-CC-1-126v-127	Acórdão em relação	1625-07-29	VINC001489 AFPM EA/007b	PT/TT/FC/7/1
TT-FC-CC-1-315v-316v	Will chart	1464-02-01	VINC002348 RV EA/002a	PT/TT/FC/7/1
TT-FC-CC-1-329-330	Administration letter	1545-11-20	VINC002398 VFS EA/003a	PT/TT/FC/7/1
TT-FC-CC-2-228-228v	Administration letter	1489-03-12	VINC002239 MPG EA/005a	PT/TT/FC/7/2
TT-FC-CC-2-253-254	Will	1553-01-02	VINC001645 DG EA/007a	PT/TT/FC/7/2
TT-FC-CC-4-94v-96	Will	1345-11-02	VINC000377 EVFE EA/006a	PT/TT/FC/7/4



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-FC-CC-4-183v-185v	Will	1522-04-27	VINC001243 DRTMF EA/003a	PT/TT/FC/7/4
TT-FC-CC-4-185v	Codicil	1522-05-11	VINC001243 DRTMF EA/003b	PT/TT/FC/7/4
TT-FC-CC-4-186-186v	Codicil	1522-06-02	VINC001243 DRTMF EA/003c	PT/TT/FC/7/4
TT-FC-CC-4-219-221	Will chart	1612-04-12	VINC002386 TC EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/7/4
TT-FC-CC-4-285-285v	Will chart	1586-03-15	VINC002408 VA EA/001a	PT/TT/FC/7/4
TT-FC-CC-4-288-289	Will	1545-12-09	VINC002415 VSVLS EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/7/4
TT-FC-CC-4-330v-332	Will	1521-08-12	VINC001976 JGAT EA/001a	PT/TT/FC/7/4
TT-FC-CC-4-333v-336	Will chart	[1592]	VINC001385 AC EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/7/4
TT-FC-CC-5-1-3v	Will chart	1572-03-15	VINC002117 MR EA/006a	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-CC-5-67-83	Will chart	1611-01-05	VINC001629 DDM EA/005aa	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-CC-5-83v-87v	Codicil	1611-01-24	VINC001629 DDM EA/005ab	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-CC-5-88-89	Declaration deed	1612-09-11	VINC001629 DDM EA/005ac	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-CC-5-95	Acórdão	1634-08-23	VINC001629 DDM EA/005b	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-CC-5-249v-252	Will chart	1580-12-05	VINC002348 RV EA/003a	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-CC-5-312v	Petition	[1629]	VINC002328 PGJG EA/002bb	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-CC-5-355-358	Will	1573-09-26	VINC001376 LVSGE EA/006a	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-CC-5-355-358	Will chart	1573-09-27	VINC001464 AH EA/008a	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-CC-5-358v-359	Codicil	1580-05-25	VINC001464 AH EA/008b	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-CC-6-251-258	Court sentence	1595-11-08	VINC001230 JFAA EA/007a	PT/TT/FC/007/00005
TT-FC-TD-272-137v-141	Entail foundation deed	1430-08-04	VINC000116 GLMJG EA/004a	PT/TT/FC/005/272
TT-FC-TD-272-694-698v	Will	1438-06-24	VINC003917 BVBV EA/003aa	PT/TT/FC/005/272
TT-FC-TD-274-25-27v	Will	1492-03-20	VINC002535 IRG EA/003d	PT/TT/FC/005/274
TT-FC-TD-276-44-46	Will (extract)	1377-11-08	VINC002472 MDG EA/002aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
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-276-88-90	Chapel foundation deed	1484-08-20	VINC006288 CC 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- -276-149v-156	Chapel foundation deed	1431-08-10	VINC000062 NMSLGA EA/001aaaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC-TD- -276-157v-159v	Will chart	1463-10-29	VINC000062 NMSLGA EA/001abaa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FC- -TD-276-286-287	Will chart (extract)	1498-06-21	VINC006722 IFB EA/001aa	PT/TT/FC/005/276
TT-FF-01-2-14	Will chart	1562-10-23	VINC008281 MVJCSF EA/001aa	PT/TT/FRFR/L01
TT-GCL-RV- -94-157v-169	Will	1383-03-20	VINC004970 JL EA/001a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV- -94-219-232v	Entail foundation deed	1596-06-22	VINC004974 MA EA/001	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV- -98-33-54v	Will	1658-01-20	VINC004983 MCN EA/001a	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- -98-143v-157	Entail foundation deed	1568-05-19	VINC001637 DCRBV EA/005a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL- -RV-98-165-174	Inventory	1641-01-05	VINC001637 DCRBV EA/008a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV- -100-17-17v	Will (extract)	1593-02-18	VINC004994 TNHS EA/001a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL- -RV-100-167-171	Entail foundation deed	1516-04-12	VINC000301 MR EA/001a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV- -100-301v-308	Dowry deed	1630-08-23	VINC004996 MFGA- SAMV EA/002a	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- -103-215v-227v	Will chart	1647-05-08	VINC004998 SFG EA/001a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV- -103-228v-232	Codicil	1650-09-23	VINC004998 SFG EA/001b	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-104-96-113	Will chart	1520-09-06	VINC000176 BAC EA/001a	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV- -104-156v-161	Will	1526-12-04	VINC005204 CV EA/001	PT/TT/AC/GCL
TT-GCL-RV- -105-176v-189	Entail foundation deed	1558-08-04	VINC005207 ICMC EA/001aa	PT/TT/AC/GCL



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-HSJ-001-72-74	Will (extract)	1558-10-23	VINC005705 AGMF EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0001
TT-HSJ-001-121v-124v	Will (extract)	1575-10-05	VINC005715 AFS EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0001
TT-HSJ-001-132-140v	Entail foundation deed	1564-10-25	VINC005717 ABIM EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0001
TT-HSJ-002-1-1v	Will (extract)	1604-12-13	VINC006104 BC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0002
TT-HSJ-002-166-169v	Will (extract)	1598-05-13	VINC005751 LC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0002
TT-HSJ-002-177-179	Exemplification of a will (extract)	1597-05-06	VINC005755 LV EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0002
TT-HSJ-002-219v-221	Will (extract)	1569-08-06	VINC005760 LG EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0002
TT-HSJ-003-131v-133v	Will (extract)	1575-07-25	VINC001637 DCRBV EA/009	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0003
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-004-10-11v	Will (extract)	1620-08-20	VINC005789 FG EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0004
TT-HSJ-004-25-27v	Will chart (extract)	1571-12-15	VINC000343 FD EA/005	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0004
TT-HSJ-004-156-158v	Will (extract)	1574-07-23	VINC006132 GN EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0004
TT-HSJ-004-180v-183	Will (extract)	1600-10-02	VINC005743 GLM EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0004
TT-HSJ-005-238v-244v	Will (extract)	1563-08-20	VINC002127 ML EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0005
TT-HSJ-006-3-7	Will (extract)	1700-03-15	VINC006404 NCE EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0006
TT-HSJ-006-36v-37v	Tombo (extract)	1684-04-17	VINC006411 PALMC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0006
TT-HSJ-006-53v-57	Entail and chapel foundation deed	1608-11-13	VINC006413 PCLNM EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0006
TT-HSJ-008-100v-103v	Chapel foundation deed	1666-01-17	VINC005802 ABPCPC EA/001	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-008-182v-187	Will	1580-08-19	VINC003361 AC EA/004	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0008
TT-HSJ-009-6v-10v	Entail foundation deed	1610-11-11	VINC005808 BLAJAL EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0009
TT-HSJ-009-374-374v	Will (extract)	1659-06-08	VINC005837 FCLMBC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0009
TT-HSJ-010-68-70v	Will	1661-08-11	VINC005816 DGICMF EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0010



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TT-HSJ-010-137v-145v	Will	1562-06-03	VINC005832 EL EA/001aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0010
TT-HSJ-010-276-283v	Contract and bond deed	1612-02-14	VINC005834 BNGRENE EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0010
TT-HSJ-011-55-58	Will (extract)	1552-05-04	VINC000237 GPAD EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0011
TT-HSJ-011-313-317v	Will	1574-10-03	VINC005852 JBICV EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0011
TT-HSJ-012-8-18v	Will	1538-02-05	VINC005856 LGGR EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0012
TT-HSJ-012-59-69v	Will	1569-07-20	VINC005864 GL EA/002a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0012
TT-HSJ-012-111-124	Will	1583-05-12	VINC002767 LB EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0012
TT-HSJ-012-193-197v	Will (extract)	1669-06-16	VINC002050 LBM EA/003	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-013-49v-60	Will	1627-09-28	VINC005871 MLA EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0013
TT-HSJ-013-90-97v	Will chart	1599-01-09	VINC005875 MLLFCB EA/002aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0013
TT-HSJ-013-119-123	Dowry deed	1537-09-13	VINC002581 GF EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0013
TT-HSJ-013-255-265v	Will	1647-07-10	VINC005834 BNGRENE EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0013
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-014-164v-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	VINC006427 ACLC EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0015
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-016-101-130	Will	1652-10-09	VINC001945 JC EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0016
TT-HSJ-016-173v-178v	Will	1625-06-14	VINC006438 HMLLPC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0016
TT-HSJ-016-197-198v	Auto de vistoria	1664-05-03	VINC006438 HMLLPC EA/006	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0016
TT-HSJ-016-244v-267	Will	1503-11-06	VINC000266 JC EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0016
TT-HSJ-019-186v-191v	Will	1631-11-16	VINC007253 LB EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0019



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT- -HSJ-020-114-117	Will	1379-05-11	VINC000140 PEUCA EA/003aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0020
TT-HSJ-020-62- 77v	Will (extract)	1662-05-19	VINC003581 MMIF EA/002a	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0020
TT-HSJ-020-152v- 157v	Will	[c. 1395- 04-10]	VINC007257 PEHMV EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0020
TT-HSJ- -020-207v-212	Entail foundation deed	1571-04-04	VINC007259 PFJL EA/002a	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0020
TT-HSJ-020-319v- -324v	Will	1685-08-14	VINC007261 LS EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0020
TT-HSJ-021-94v- -96v	Will	1587-04-07	VINC007266 CM EA/001aaa	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0021
TT-HSJ-021-186- 191v	Will chart	1552-00-00	VINC007274 CH EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0021
TT-HSJ-023-77v- -84v	Chapel foundation deed	1585-12-02	VINC002573 SGIA EA/002a	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0023
TT-HSJ-024-127v- -141v	Will	1573-09-27	VINC007664 HN EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0024
TT-HSJ-024-357v- -370v	Will	1675-01-14	VINC007661 FSA EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0024
TT-HSJ-031-18v- -28v	Will	1674-01-31	VINC002500 AC EA/006	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0031
TT-HSJ- -031-178v-186	Will	1636-09-05	VINC001717 FLDF EA/002aaac	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0031
TT-HSJ-031-203- 208v	Will	1634-03-13	VINC007048 NMB EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0031
TT-HSJ-031-208v- -217v	Contract and bond deed	1629-02-05	VINC007048 NMB EA/002a	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0031
TT-HSJ-032-38-42	Contract and bond deed	1533-12-02	VINC000728 FV EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0032
TT- -HSJ-032-199-203	Will	1555-08-30	VINC007059 MABV EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0032
TT-HSJ-032-205v- -210v	Will	1677-08-10	VINC007060 GGZMM EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0032
TT-HSJ-041-146v- -147v	Will (extract)	1603-04-25	VINC002740 CP EA/004	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0041
TT-HSJ-042-15-20v	Will	1484-01-20	VINC000329 RFBT EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0042
TT-HSJ-045-44v-59	Entail foundation deed	1565-09-13	VINC007969 JC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0045
TT-HSJ- -051-249v-253	Will	1651-08-29	VINC002922 ALFF EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0051
TT-HSJ-059-1v-11v	Will	1641-04-16	VINC002699 APNFFLS EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0059
TT-HSJ-059-152- 159v	Will chart	1568-06-22	VINC008226 BGS EA/001aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A- D-A/031-001/0059



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-HSJ-059-185v-203	Will	1655-05-12	VINC000925 DC EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0059
TT-HSJ-069-25-31	Donation deed	1622-04-21	VINC007760 JG EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0069
TT-HSJ-069-249v-263	Will	1622-05-15	VINC008072 JRNMA EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0069
TT-HSJ-070-39-46	Will	1624-11-01	VINC008093 JMB EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0070
TT-HSJ-075-294-297v	Will (extract)	1628-09-07	VINC008025 AV EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0075
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-076-259v-273	Will (extract)	1627-03-20	VINC002751 AA EA/005	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0076
TT-HSJ-077-129-134	Will (extract)	1648-07-13	VINC000360 PS EA/005	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0077
TT-HSJ-078-315v-318	Will (extract)	1603-06-09	VINC007427 AA EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0078
TT-HSJ-078-318-326v	Entail foundation deed	1605-12-29	VINC007427 AA EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0078
TT-HSJ-079-235v-248v	Entail foundation deed	1588-07-09	VINC002996 FFAIA EA/003	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0079
TT-HSJ-079-500-501v	Court sentence	1645-11-16	VINC007815 GN EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0079
TT-HSJ-081-16-19v	Will (extract)	1655-07-17	VINC007097 GMMS EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0081
TT-HSJ-081-179-183v	Donation deed	1672-07-07	VINC007106 MTL EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0081
TT-HSJ-081-199-209	Dowry deed	1613-05-22	VINC007107 GCCA EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0081
TT-HSJ-081-210v-213v	Will (extract)	1643-12-03	VINC007114 LSML EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0081
TT-HSJ-083-45-56	Contract and bond deed	1552-06-18	VINC007827 AC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0083
TT-HSJ-083-57v-58v	Will (extract)	1632-03-20	VINC007828 AGMAV EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0083
TT-HSJ-086-1v-24	Entail foundation deed	1676-05-20	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-098-372v-374	Will (extract)	1560-04-10	VINC007135 MF EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0098
TT-HSJ-105-1-1214-MÇ8-1-11v	Will	1622-09-14	VINC000382 EBF EA/013	
TT-HSJ-128-497v-503	Chapel foundation deed	1667-03-14	VINC007192 MLPDN EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0128



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-HSJ-139-2-6	Will (extract)	1551-01-09	VINC008240 JCFA EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0139
TT-HSJ-139-227v-236v	Entail foundation deed	1525-12-04	VINC008242 FMIA EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0139
TT-HSJ-151-45-52	Agreement deed	1561-03-27	VINC006996 FS EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0151
TT-HSJ-153-22-32v	Contract and bond deed	1530-07-16	VINC001339 LS 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-153-491v-492	Will (extract)	1657-01-20	VINC007609 VC EA/001	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-157-37v-38	Termo de juramento	1616-08-06	VINC007332 JPPVP EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0157
TT-HSJ-157-45v-46	Auto de vistoria	1616-12-09	VINC007332 JPPVP EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0157
TT-HSJ-159-1v-12v	Will chart	1554-02-10	VINC007345 MAF EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0159
TT-HSJ-159-208-219	Entail foundation deed	1581-11-10	VINC007357 MJHG EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0159
TT-HSJ-161-268-271v	Will (extract)	1548-03-19	VINC007380 VCJC EA/001	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0161
TT-HSJ-162-255v-258v	Will (extract)	1633-12-04	VINC002936 CP EA/006	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-001/0162
TT-HSJ-1188-142v-145v	Exemplification of a will chart	1462-12-10	VINC000225 GMP EA/002a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1188
TT-HSJ-1189-64v-68	Will	1372-09-16	VINC004993 JEAE EA/002aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1189
TT-HSJ-1189-161v-167v	Tombo	1509-10-08	VINC003124 JAA EA/002	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1189
TT-HSJ-1190-131-133v	Exemplification of a will	1492-09-22	VINC000257 IMPE EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1190
TT-HSJ-1190-171-176v	Will	1409-04-20	VINC007035 JAA EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-A/031-010/1190
TT-HSJ-ESCR BOT-31-6-577-43-51v	Will chart	1607-02-22	VINC006419 SML EA/001a	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-C/018/0031/00006
TT-HSJ-ESCR PON-20-111-1226-10-11v	Codicil (partial)	1646-12-05	VINC007816 GL EA/002b	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-C/020/0111/00001
TT-HSJ-ESCR PON-198-2-1367-35-42v	Will chart	1600-06-27	VINC007859 JQ EA/001aa	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-C/020/0198/00002
TT-HSJ-ESCR PON-198-2-1367-200-201	Codicil	1559-05-09	VINC007861 IADVJQ EA/001b	PT/TT/HSJ/A-D-C/020/0198/00002



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-IMC-NA-187-5-15	Chapel foundation deed	1679-11-21	VINC001661 DCF EA/001acaa	PT/TT/MC/1/187
TT-IMC-NA-187-38-164	Land measurement deed	1682-07-25	VINC001661 DCF EA/001ad	PT/TT/MC/1/187
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-191	Provision	1578-03-06	VINC001710 FAC EA/004e	PT/TT/MC/1/191
TT-IMC-NA-191-1v-10	Will chart	1570-08-28	VINC001710 FAC EA/004aa	PT/TT/MC/1/191
TT-IMC-NA-191-11-11v	Certificate	1573-04-20	VINC001710 FAC EA/004b	PT/TT/MC/1/191
TT-IMC-NA-191-12-519v	Declaration deed	1578-05-26	VINC001710 FAC EA/004c	PT/TT/MC/1/191
TT-IMC-NA-191-498-504v	Contract and bond deed	1562-07-13	VINC001710 FAC EA/004cd	PT/TT/MC/1/191
TT-IMC-NA-191-505-509	Contract and bond deed	1568-12-21	VINC001710 FAC EA/004ce	PT/TT/MC/1/191
TT-IMC-NA-191-509v-516	Contract and bond deed	1572-07-30	VINC001710 FAC EA/004cf	PT/TT/MC/1/191
TT-IMC-NA-191-521-528	Inventory	[1578]	VINC001710 FAC EA/004d	PT/TT/MC/1/191
TT-IMC-NA-192-1	Provision	1621-03-02	VINC001648 DMCL EA/001a	PT/TT/MC/1/192
TT-IMC-NA-192-1v	Petition	[1621]	VINC001648 DMCL EA/001b	PT/TT/MC/1/192
TT-IMC-NA-192-11v-25v	Will	1573-02-17	VINC001648 DMCL EA/001daa	PT/TT/MC/1/192
TT-IMC-NA-193-8-8v	Petition	[1621]	VINC002082 MSFMSF EA/002c	PT/TT/MC/1/193
TT-IMC-NA-194-10-12v	Declaration deed	1630-08-27	VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002c	PT/TT/MC/1/194
TT-IMC-NA-194-2v-3	Petition	[1630]	VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002aa	PT/TT/MC/1/194
TT-IMC-NA-194-4-8	Entail foundation deed	1629-07-03	VINC001970 JGLHM EA/002ba	PT/TT/MC/1/194
TT-IMC-NA-195-1v-14v	Will chart	[1546]	VINC001725 FS EA/004aa	PT/TT/MC/1/195
TT-IMC-NA-195-16-19	Will chart	1548-04-18	VINC001725 FS EA/004ad	PT/TT/MC/1/195
TT-IMC-NA-195-21-22	Exemplification of a codicil	1548-04-18	VINC001725 FS EA/004ag	PT/TT/MC/1/195



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-IMC-NA-197	Petition	[1617]	VINC001481 ASAS EA/003	PT/TT/MC/1/197
TT-IMC-NA-197	Petition	[1617]	VINC001654 DVPCT EA/001a	PT/TT/MC/1/197
TT-IMC-NA-202	Petition	[1620]	VINC001594 CS EA/004b	PT/TT/MC/1/202
TT-IMC-NA-203-1	Petition	[1609]	VINC002086 ML EA/001a	PT/TT/MC/1/203
TT-IMC-NA-203-4v-6v	Contract and bond deed	1579-01-24	VINC002086 ML EA/001cba	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-208-4-4v	Petition	[1620]	VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001c	PT/TT/MC/1/208
TT-IMC-NA-208-5	Petition	[1619]	VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001d	PT/TT/MC/1/208
TT-IMC-NA-208-6-6v	Exemplification of a will chart (extract)	1620-08-18	VINC001555 BDPAN EA/001e	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-IMC-NA-210	Petition	[1586]	VINC002319 PMHM EA/001b	PT/TT/MC/1/210
TT-IMC-NA-210-1	Grace warrant	1554-03-28	VINC002319 PMHM EA/001ca	PT/TT/MC/1/210
TT-IMC-NA-210-3-12v	Declaration deed	1586-04-25	VINC002319 PMHM EA/001d	PT/TT/MC/1/210
TT-IMC-NA-210-3v-11v	Entail foundation deed	1554-02-03	VINC002319 PMHM EA/001daa	PT/TT/MC/1/210
TT-IMC-NA-213-1-7v	Entail foundation deed	1550-10-03	VINC001401 AM EA/001a	PT/TT/MC/1/213
TT-LN-8-158	Petition	1613-00-00	VINC002299 PSRBB EA/001aa	PT/TT/LN/0008
TT-LN-8-158-161v	Entail foundation deed	1613-12-05	VINC002299 PSRBB EA/001ba	PT/TT/LN/0008
TT-LN-8-161v-162	Declaration deed	1614-04-04	VINC002299 PSRBB EA/001bb	PT/TT/LN/0008
TT-LN-9-258-258v	Donation deed	1502-01-30	VINC001379 RMHM EA/002	PT/TT/LN/0009



Archival reference	Title	Date	VINCULUM reference code	Digital identifier
TT-LN-11-1-1v	Entail foundation deed	1470-10-26	VINC000082 FGBIG EA/001a	PT/TT/LN/0011
TT-LN-12-110v-113	Entail foundation deed	1477-03-03	VINC000090 MVMIC EA/001a	PT/TT/LN/0012
TT-LN-12-120-121	Will	1476-07-13	VINC000088 NM EA/001a	PT/TT/LN/0012
TT-LN-16-75v-77v	Entail foundation deed	1499-07-15	VINC001326 FPBCS EA/002	PT/TT/LN/0016
TT-LN-18-290-294v	Entail foundation deed	1483-04-29	VINC000096 MVRT EA/001a	PT/TT/LN/0018
TT-LN-18-294v-295	Declaration deed	1492-01-10	VINC000096 MV EA/001b	PT/TT/LN/0018
TT-LN-20-259v-260v	Entail foundation deed	1362-10-10	VINC000026 MNS EA/003aa	PT/TT/LN/0020
TT-LN-29-221v-228	Entail foundation deed	1572-08-01	VINC000793 FMFS EA/001aba	PT/TT/LN/0029
TT-LN-29-232v-234	Contract	1568-04-08	VINC000793 FMFS EA/001aga	PT/TT/LN/0029
TT-LN-29-235	Warrant	1597-10-18	VINC000793 FMFS EA/001b	PT/TT/LN/0029
TT-MC-V-LSB-5-137v-150	Will chart	1521-09-10	VINC000244 HL EA/002aa	PT/TT/MC/3-007/00005
TT-MC-V-L-SB-18-13-21	Will	1548-01-30	VINC002292 PEMS EA/001aa	PT/TT/MC/3-007
TT-MC-V-STR-17-14v-26v	Will	[before 1532-09-27]	VINC001836 GGBMMA EA/002aaa	TT/MC/3-011/00017
TT-MSDL-12	Will	1334-03-25	VINC000647 VE EA/003	PT/TT/MSDL/L012
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-48-189v-200	Will	1652-03-19	VINC002824 FBC EA/002aa	PT/TT/MSDL/L048
TT-MSDL-49-32-35v	Will	1648-01-21	VINC007001 DLU EA/001	PT/TT/MSDL/L049
TT-MSDL-49-42-47	Will	1609-11-17	VINC007012 BMBSF EA/001	PT/TT/MSDL/L049
TT-MSDL-49-52-61	Will chart	1581-06-01	VINC002658 JRL EA/004a	PT/TT/MSDL/L049
TT-MSDL-49-192-197	Will chart	1615-02-28	VINC007008 CR EA/001	PT/TT/MSDL/L049
TT-MSDL-54-92-95	Agreement deed	1548-12-01	VINC001401 AM EA/004	PT/TT/MSDL/L054





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