

BORDERS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POWER IN THE MEDIEVAL CITY: THE PERCEPTION OF COIMBRA'S PAROCHIAL NETWORK THROUGH THE CASE OF THE PARISH OF THE MONASTERY OF SANTA CRUZ (ELEVENTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURIES)

LAS FRONTERAS DEL PODER ECLESIAÍSTICO EN LA CIUDAD MEDIEVAL: LA PERCEPCIÓN DE LA RED PARROQUIAL DE COÍMBRA A TRAVÉS DEL CASO DE LA PARROQUIA DEL MONASTERIO DE SANTA CRUZ (SIGLOS XI-XIV)

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Abstract²

The twelfth century was an important period in the political and territorial definition of the Portuguese Kingdom. Coimbra was chosen by Afonso Henriques – the prince who would become the first Portuguese king – as his seat at that time and saw the foundation of the Augustinian monastery of Santa Cruz outside the city walls. During the establishment of this monastery, multiple documents were written that allow us to demarcate the parish of São João, under the monastery's

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jurisdiction. Drawing on the study of this and other documents produced in Coimbra during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this paper will examine the process of territorialisation of the parish of São João and the contemporary definition of a parochial network in Coimbra. Besides studying the boundaries of the city's nine parishes, as far as the sources allow, an examination of the feeling of 'belonging' shown by lay parishioners will be undertaken.

Keywords

Medieval City; Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; Urban Form; Ecclesiastical Tithes; Urban Parishes.

Resumen

El siglo XII fue importante para la definición política y territorial del reino de Portugal. Durante esa centuria, Coímbra fue elegida por Alfonso Enríquez –el primer rey portugués– como sede de la monarquía y asistió a la fundación del monasterio de Santa Cruz, a extramuros de la ciudad. En el periodo de establecimiento de este monasterio fueron emitidos documentos que nos permiten demarcar el área correspondiente a la parroquia de São João, bajo la jurisdicción de Santa Cruz. Mediante el análisis de estas y otras fuentes escritas en los siglos XII, XIII y XIV, en este trabajo se examinarán el proceso de territorialización de la parroquia de São João y la definición de una red parroquial en Coímbra. Además de estudiar los límites de las nueve parroquias de la ciudad, hasta donde las fuentes lo permitan, se tratarán de examinar los sentimientos de pertenencia de los habitantes de dichas parroquias.

Palabras clave

Ciudad medieval; jurisdicción eclesiástica; forma urbana; diezmo eclesiástico; parroquias urbanas.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The definition of Coimbra's parish network, which survived until the end of the Ancien Régime, is visible from the 12th century onwards³, through documentation produced in the context of jurisdictional conflicts between the main ecclesiastical institutions of the city. The main goal of this study is the characterisation of this process with a special emphasis on the analysis of the implicit territorialisation. The article will start by defining the concept of parish, and by presenting the 'state of the art' of the history of the medieval parish and the definition of medieval ecclesiastical administration. It will then proceed to problematise the case of the city of Coimbra through the following questions: what was the ecclesiastical organisation of the city like in the period before the Reformation? how did the definition of the parochial network develop throughout the 12th and 13th centuries? how was the territorialisation of this network implemented? how is the territorialisation of this network perceptible throughout the Middle Ages? what role did the prelate and other ecclesiastical dignitaries play in this process?

To answer these questions, the thirteenth-century notarial records produced by the Cathedral⁴ and the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra⁵, will be analysed, as well as loose documents produced in the context of communication with the Papacy⁶, and others from the archives of ecclesiastical institutions in the city and the region, written for various reasons⁷. Although our main focus is on the chronology of the Central Middle Ages, to answer the questions posed we will extend the analysis to the mid-fourteenth century. As the best documented case in the city, the foundation and territorialisation of the parish of the Monastery of Santa Cruz will be subject to a deeper analysis, from which a problematisation of the whole urban parochial network and the articulation of the ecclesiastic powers during its formation will be undertaken.

The parish is the first of the jurisdictions of the Church, – the smallest and closest to the population. Of the multiple dimensions that define parochial jurisdiction, the territorial and social provide the most structure, since the parish corresponds simultaneously to a space and a population attached to a church. The temple

3. Campos, Maria Amélia: «Coimbra's parochial network: aspects of its definition in the 12th century», in Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos and Branco, Maria João: *Ecclesiastics and political state building in the Iberian monarchies, 13th-15th centuries*. Lisbon, Publicações do Cidehus, 2016, pp. 246-258.

4. Rodrigues, Manuel Augusto and Costa, Avelino de Jesus da: *Livro Preto: Cartulário da Sé de Coimbra: edição crítica: texto integral*. Coimbra, Arquivo da Universidade, 1999 (onwards LP).

5. Ventura, Leontina and Faria, Ana Santiago (eds.): *Livro Santo de Santa Cruz: cartulário do Séc. XII*. Coimbra, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1990 (onwards LS).

6. Costa, Avelino de Jesus da and Marques, Maria Alegria Fernandes (eds): *Bulário português: Inocência III: 1198-1216*, Coimbra, INIC, 1989 (onwards *Bulário*).

7. The documentation published in the works referred above was systematically examined. Due to time constraints, it was not possible to systematically look through all the archival holdings of the ecclesiastical institutions of Coimbra. Nonetheless, an effort was made to complement the systematic research undertaken with information from loose documents brought forward and analysed under this and other studies of the parochial network of Coimbra.

was the aggregating core of a population that received ecclesiastical sacraments there⁸ and, for this reason, was obliged to pay certain taxes, of which the tithe was the most important. However, although the parochial attributions and tax obligations had been established since the Carolingian period, their more systematic determination was made in the framework of the broad ecclesiastical reform, conventionally known as «Gregorian Reform» and that today we consider having occurred between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 13th century. In fact, the relation of the Church with space and the definition of the different territorial circumscriptions was one of the most important aspects of this reformation, which Florian Mazel⁹ called the construction of the ecclesiastical *dominium*. In turn, in an urban context, this process was integral to the Church's investiture of the city – a dynamic that was doubly transformative for both entities and contributed profoundly to the structuring of urban, late medieval and modern Europe¹⁰.

The study of the definition of parochial jurisdiction and circumscription in the medieval West has undergone important developments over the last few years. The publication of the thematic feature «*Formation et transformations des territoires paroissiaux*» (Formation and transformation of parish territories) by Iogna-Prat and Zadora-Rio¹¹, which resulted from a set of scientific meetings around the sacredness of medieval space in its territorial, administrative and organisational aspects, was a relevant moment for the strengthening of the debate around the definition and characterisation of the European parish network. This debate has been fed by case studies in rural¹² and urban¹³ areas, carried out throughout Western Europe, as well as by works on the evolution of both ecclesiastical administration¹⁴ and taxation¹⁵, at the scale of all Western Christendom – it has been further fuelled by the need to better understand the Gregorian Reformation in its multiple

8. Iogna-Prat, Dominique: «L'espace sacramental de l'Église». *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre - BUCEMA*, 7 (2013) online: <https://doi.org/10.4000/cem.12773>.

9. Mazel, Florian: «Introduction. Une « révolution totale »? Penser la réforme grégorienne par-delà des frontières historiographiques», in Martine, Tristan and Winandy, Jérémy: *La réforme grégorienne, une «révolution totale»? Paris*, Classiques Garnier, 2021, pp. 15-25.

10. Iogna-Prat, Dominique: *Cité de Dieu, cité des hommes. L'Église et l'architecture de la société*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, pp. 61-79.

11. Iogna-Prat, Dominique and Zadora-Rio, Élisabeth: «Formation et transformations des territoires paroissiaux», *Médiévales. Langues, Textes, Histoire*, 49 (2005), pp. 5-10, online: <https://doi.org/10.4000/medievales.1200>

12. Lunven, Anne: *Du diocèse à la paroisse: Évêchés de Rennes, Dol et Alet/Saint-Malo (Ve-XIIIe siècle)*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2019, online: <http://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.49302>.

13. Noizet, Hélène: *La fabrique de la ville: espaces et sociétés à Tours, IX^e-XIII^e siècle*. Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2007 and Vuillemin, Pascal: *Parochiæ Venetiæ. Les paroisses de Venise au Moyen Âge*. Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2018.

14. Fournié, Michelle, Le Blévec, Daniel and Mazel, Florian: *La réforme «grégorienne» dans le Midi, milieu XI^e - début XIII^e siècle*. Toulouse, Privat, 2013; Mazel, Florian (ed.): *L'espace du diocèse: Genèse d'un territoire dans l'Occident médiéval (V^e-XIII^e siècle)*. Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2015, online: <http://books.openedition.org/pur/4622> and *Idem: L'évêque et le territoire: L'invention médiévale de l'espace*. Paris, Seuil, 2016.

15. Viader, Roland: «La dime dans l'Europe des féodalités. Rapport introductif», in *La dime dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne. Actes des XXX^e Journées Internationales d'Histoire de Flaran, 3 et 4 octobre 2008*, Viader, Roland (ed.). Toulouse, Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2010, pp. 7-36 and Lauwers, Michel, *La dime, l'Église et la société féodale*. Turnhout, Brepols, 2012.

impacts and long duration¹⁶. Both historians and archaeologists have participated, and toponymy and the lexicon¹⁷ of documents associated with the early days of parochial jurisdiction have been primary sources for understanding the evolution of this reality. In Iberian Peninsula, continuing approaches on territory, led by José Ángel García de Cortázar, and several works on ecclesiastical institutions history, carried out in late 20th century, parish analysis served recent studies on the construction of important dioceses of the kingdoms of León and Castile¹⁸.

Studying this subject in Portugal benefits from existing works on the ecclesiastical organisation of the whole territory¹⁹ and from shorter articles on the medieval Portuguese parish²⁰, which offer some guidelines for the problematisation of the different dimensions and potentialities of its analysis. In turn, the study of the parish network in urban context has been carried out through regional²¹ and diocesan research²², as well as in research on institutional and ecclesiastical history and urban history²³. The analysis of the *direito de padroado* (right of patronage) and its logic of implementation and evolution over the centuries has also been a fundamental historiographical framework for «questioning» the Portuguese parish network in the medieval period²⁴.

16. Martine, Tristan and Winandy, Jérémy: *La réforme grégorienne...*

17. Lauwers, Michel: «Paroisse, paroissiens et territoire. Remarques sur parochia dans les textes latins du Moyen Âge», *Médiévales. Langues, Textes, Histoire*, 49 (2005), pp. 11-32 <https://doi.org/10.4000/medievales.1260> and Grélois, Emmanuel: «Habitans, commorans, parrochianus, residens: «habiter» en Basse-Auvergne de l'an mil au XIV^e siècle. Étude sémantique», in *Écritures de l'espace social: mélanges d'histoire médiévale offerts à Monique Bourin*. Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2010, pp. 117-137.

18. See, for instances, García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre, José Ángel: *La construcción de la diócesis de Calahorra en los siglos X a XIII: la iglesia en la organización social del espacio*. Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2018; Perez, Mariel: «Enquadramento del clero local y reorganización eclesial en la diócesis de León (siglos XI-XIII)». *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval*, 36/1 (2018), pp. 57-84. <https://doi.org/10.14201/shhme20183615784> and Guijarro González, Susana and Díez Herrera, Carmen: *La construcción de la parroquia medieval en la diócesis de Burgos: Cantabria entre los siglos IX al XV*. Madrid, Sílex Universidad, 2022.

19. Azevedo, Carlos Moreira: *História Religiosa de Portugal*. Rio de Mouro, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, online: <http://repositorio.ucp.pt/handle/10400.14/13490>.

20. Mattoso, José: «A história das paróquias em Portugal», in *Portugal medieval: novas interpretações*. Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1992, pp. 37-57 and Rodrigues, Ana Maria S. A.: «A Formação da rede paroquial no Portugal medieval», in *La Península ibérica entre el mediterráneo y el atlántico: siglos XIII-XV: Cádiz, 1-4 de abril de 2003*, González Jiménez, Manuel and Montes Romero-Camacho, Isabel. Cádiz, Diputación de Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones; Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2006, pp. 37-57.

21. Mendes, Francisco José dos Santos: *O nascimento da margem Sul: paróquias, concelhos e comendas (1147-1385)*. Lisbon, Colibri, 2011.

22. Marques, José: *A Arquidiocese de Braga no séc. XV*. Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1988; Costa, Avelino de Jesus da: *O bispo D. Pedro e a organização da diocese de Braga*. Braga, Irmandade de S. Bento da Porta Aberta, 1997; Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos: *As dimensões de um poder: a Diocese de Évora na Idade Média*. Lisbon, Estampa, 1999 and Paiva, José Pedro (ed.): *História da Diocese de Viseu*. Viseu, Diocese de Viseu and Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2016.

23. Viana, Mário: *Espaço e povoamento numa vila portuguesa: Santarém 1147-1350*. Casal de Cambra, Caleidoscópio, 2007 and Silva, Manuel Fialho: *Mutação urbana na Lisboa Medieval: das Taifas a D. Dinis*, (PhD thesis unpublished). Lisbon, Universidade de Lisboa, 2017, online: <https://repositorio.ul.pt/handle/10451/29987>.

24. Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos: «Réseau paroissial et droit de patronage dans le diocèse d'Évora (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles)», in Bourin, Monique and Boisselier, Stéphane (eds.): *L'espace rural au Moyen Âge: Portugal, Espagne, France (XII^e-XIV^e siècle)*. Mélanges en l'honneur de Robert Durand. Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, pp. 125-140, online: <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.19898> and Farelo, Mário: «O direito de padroado na Lisboa medieval», *Promontoria*, 4, (2006), pp. 267-289.

The definition of Coimbra's parish network took place during a decisive period for the political affirmation of Portugal's autonomy as a kingdom in relation to León and Castile. By then, the city was the main residence of the chief Portuguese political authorities, in a region bordering the territory of Muslim occupation. In this period, at the same time as it sponsored the military conquest of the southern territories, Rome promoted the constitution of great cathedral chapters, with canons coming from the centre of Europe to standardise the rite and organise the effective control of the church in the far west of its jurisdiction. For this reason, the ecclesiastical organisation of Coimbra has been addressed in broader studies of this political process and in studies on the history of the city's ecclesiastical institutions²⁵. More recently, the approach to the definition of the parish network, in its entirety or in the specificity of its parishes²⁶, has allowed reflection upon the various dimensions of that process.

2. THE PERCEPTION OF THE TERRITORIALISATION OF THE COIMBRA PARISH NETWORK

As already mentioned, the definition of the ecclesiastical territory was a major concern in the context of the Church reform of the 12th and 13th centuries. The establishment of the spaces of jurisdiction and influence represented a decisive step in the construction of ecclesiastical authority, which would allow the Church not only to manage jurisdictions and tributes, but also to be a political agent, close to the populations and lay decision-makers²⁷. Restored in c. 1080, between the beginning of the 12th century and the middle of the 13th century, the diocese of Coimbra and its bishops worked hard to solve border disputes and issues with the dioceses of Porto, Guarda and Lisbon²⁸. This territorial definition was naturally assumed as a step towards the maturation of the diocesan statute.

The urban landscape of the city of Coimbra was characterised by its hillside location on the north bank of the river Mondego²⁹. On the hill, enclosed by walls

25. For example, Gomes, Saul António: *In limine conscriptionis: documentos, chancelaria e cultura no Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (séculos XII a XIV)*. Viseu and Coimbra: Palimage and Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, 2007 and Morujão, Maria do Rosário Barbosa: *A Sé de Coimbra: a instituição e a chancelaria (1080-1318)*. Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2010.

26. Campos, Maria Amélia Álvaro: *Cidade e Religião: a colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra na Idade Média*. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2017 <https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-1316-1>; *Idem*: «Um equilíbrio de poderes: distribuição populacional e direitos paroquiais em Coimbra (1377-1385)», in Andrade, Amélia Aguiar et al.: *Espaços e poderes na Europa urbana e medieval*. Lisbon, Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2018, pp. 397-420, online: <https://estudogeral.sib.uc.pt/handle/10316/81326>; *Idem*: «La parroquia de São Bartolomeu de Coimbra en la Edad Media: paisaje, sociedad y relación con el río de un área urbana (siglos XII-XV)», *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 51/2 (2021) pp. 601-628, online: <https://doi.org/10.3989/aem.2021.51.2.04>.

27. Iogna-Prat, Dominique: *Cité de Dieu...*, pp. 45-60.

28. Morujão, Maria do Rosário Barbosa: *A Sé de Coimbra...*, pp. 55-64.

29. On the territorial organisation of Coimbra, please see, among others, Rossa, Walter: *DiverCidade: urbanografia do espaço de Coimbra até ao estabelecimento definitivo da Universidade*. Coimbra: Faculdade de Ciências e

since at least the Islamic period, were the cathedral and four other churches which would come to take on parochial functions: São João de Almedina, São Salvador, São Pedro and São Cristóvão. Outside the city walls, by the river, along an old Roman road that crossed the river at this point, were another four parishes, around which was structured a population that, from the 12th century, showed a tendency for growth and economic dynamism: São Bartolomeu, Santiago, São João of the Monastery of Santa Cruz and Santa Justa.

After the restoration of the diocese (c. 1080), the cathedral was the most important centre of religious power in Coimbra. Between 957 and 1139, seven other churches, with different origins and institutional histories can be identified, whose parochial status seems irrefutable. The documents show that between 1106 and 1199, each had an ecclesiastical community which gave them the status of collegiate churches³⁰, which they would preserve until very late. Among the holders of the right of patronage of these churches, there are prominent ecclesiastical institutions, both Peninsular and European: the churches of São Pedro and São Bartolomeu belonging to the Monastery of Santa Maria do Lorvão; the church of São Salvador to the Monastery of Vacariça; the church of Santa Justa belonging to the Cluniac priory of Charité-sur-Loire, a right later exercised by the Monastery of São Pedro de Rates; and the church of Santiago belonging to the archbishopric of Santiago de Compostela³¹.

With the intention of constituting his *dominium ecclesiae*, the concern of the bishop of Coimbra to reserve his right to the Pontifical Third is clear – from very early on – even when he was the donor of ecclesiastical rights relative to churches in his city. When in 1102/1103, Bishop Maurício donated Santa Justa to the Cluniac priory of Charité-sur-Loire, he reserved one third of the ecclesiastical rights for himself³². In turn, Bishop Gonçalo, when confirming the donation of the churches of São Pedro and São Bartolomeu to the Monastery of Lorvão, reserved episcopal rights in these churches³³. In the same way, by an agreement established with the prelate of Coimbra in 1183, the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela renounced the parochial rights over the church of Santiago³⁴. But this understanding with the holders of the right of patronage of the churches of Coimbra was not always

Tecnologia, 2001. <https://estudogeral.sib.uc.pt/handle/10316/2110>. Alarcão, Jorge de: *Coimbra: a montagem do cenário urbano*. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2008.

30. Campos, Maria Amélia Álvaro de: «Les collégiales de Coimbra dans le contexte des collégiales médiévales portugaises. Typologie des institutions et organisation des chapitres (12^e-15^e s.)», *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 114/3-4 (2019): pp. 615-644, online: <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RHE.5.119135>.

31. *Ibidem*, pp. 631-637.

32. *LP*, doc. 22 and Campos, Maria Amélia Álvaro de: *Cidade e Religião...*, pp. 63-76.

33. *LP*, doc. 61.

34. *LP*, doc. doc. 7 and Gomes, Saul António: «Coimbra e Santiago de Compostela: aspectos de um inter-relacionamento nos séculos medievais», *Revista Portuguesa de História*, XXXIV (2000): pp. 470-472, online: <https://estudogeral.sib.uc.pt/handle/10316/12729>.

easy, as is shown in the conflicts between the bishop and the priory of Charité in 1180³⁵, and the Monastery of Lorvão at the beginning of the 13th century³⁶.

As the borders were being defined within the diocesan territory, it would also be useful to define the cells of ecclesiastical power within the episcopal city with authority over all the Christian inhabitants – the parishes. However, there are few processes of parochial territorialisation which can be clearly identified in these centuries. At the beginning of the 12th century, the sources bring echoes of territorial division within the city³⁷, with terms like *recurrentia* – a word derived from the Latin verb *recurrere*³⁸, meaning belonging to an institutional jurisdiction – which, in this context, would certainly refer to the parish circumscription. In 1119, a house in the walled city is identified by its location in the *recorrentia Sancti Christophori*³⁹. Later, the term *collatione*, derived from *collatio*, that is, collection of a right or tribute, would also appear to designate these jurisdictional spaces with fiscal attributes within the city⁴⁰.

In the documents, the indication of parishes fulfils several purposes: to refer to the location of a property and the residence of one or several individuals. Therefore, in the early period after the diocese had been restored, the ecclesiastical division of the space is perceived in the documentation through the terms «*ecclesia, ae*»⁴¹, «*recurrentia, ae*»⁴², «*collatione, i*»⁴³ and, in the cases of the parishes outside the wall, «*suburbus, i*»⁴⁴ or «*arravalde*»⁴⁵. The first time the term «parish» and/or «parishioner» appears in this documentation was in 1137/1139⁴⁶, in the register of territorial circumscription of a new parish that was put under the jurisdiction of the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra. This document is considered the oldest known record of parochial circumscription for Portugal and, as such, has been studied within the scope of other research.

35. LP, doc. 3.

36. *Bulário*, doc. 85 (1202, July 16).

37. Ventura, Leontina: «Eis a Coimbra que acolheu as relíquias dos Mártires de Marrocos», in Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz et al.: *Mártires de Marrocos nos 800 anos do seu martírio. História, espiritualidade e materialidade*. Coimbra, Igreja de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, 2021, pp. 74-76.

38. Niermeyer, Jan Frederik: *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus: lexique latin médiéval-français/anglais = a medieval Latin-French/English dictionary*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976, s.v. «recurrere»: to belong to the jurisdiction of an authority, an institution.

39. Matos, João da Cunha: *A colegiada de São Cristóvão de Coimbra (séculos XII e XIII)* (academic work unpublished). Tomar, Instituto Politécnico, doc. 7.

40. Niermeyer, Jan Frederik: *Mediae Latinitatis...*, s.v. «collatio»: collation to ecclesiastical benefices.

41. LP, doc. 175 (1094) and 174 (1095).

42. Matos, João da Cunha: *A colegiada de São Cristóvão...*, doc. 7 (1119 October 29); 13 (1147 September) and 36 (1194 August).

43. LP, doc. 449 (1153 May), 557 (1164 December); Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (onwards Lx, ANTT), Colegiada de São Pedro de Coimbra, c. 5, n. 6 (1165 January), document published by Varandas, Carla Patrícia Rana: *A colegiada de S. Pedro de Coimbra das origens ao final do século XIV: estudo económico e social*. Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras, 1999, doc. 6.

44. LP, doc. 61 (1147 September).

45. Lx, ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra (onwards CabSC), 1ª incorporação, m. 4, n. 2 (1126 November).

46. LS, doc. 1B (1134-1137); Azevedo 1941: doc. 172, note XXXV: the author dates the document to 1139.

2.1. CONTEXT OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE PARISH OF THE MONASTERY OF SANTA CRUZ (11TH TO 14TH CENTURIES)

In order to understand the process of territorialisation of this parish and the conflicts which this situation provoked, we must at least understand the founding context of the monastery of Santa Cruz itself. Following the restoration of the diocese, the community life of the cathedral's chapterhouse was also restored and soon after, in 1116–1117, reformed with the institution of thirty canonicates⁴⁷. It was from this chapter that the main founders of the Monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra emerged: archdeacon Telo and the schoolmaster João Peculiar. The construction of the monastery began in 1131 and the communal life of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine was inaugurated in 1132. In 1134, Teotónio was recognised as the first prior of the monastery and, in 1135, Pope Innocent II – at the request of Telo and João Peculiar – granted the privilege of diocesan exemption to the monastery⁴⁸.

From 1139, João Peculiar became archbishop of Braga – the highest ecclesiastical dignity of the territory in which the new kingdom was being established – and began the long process leading to the autonomy of this archdiocese from that of Santiago de Compostela⁴⁹. While he was fighting for this separation, Peculiar advised the kingdom's political elites in their dealings with the Holy See, with a view to having the independence of the territory of *Portucale* recognised⁵⁰. Afonso Henriques, *príncipe portucalensis*, leader of the military party that wanted Portugal recognised as a kingdom, had been living in Coimbra for around ten years, and from that location he was advancing the military takeover of the southern territories⁵¹. After the 25th of July 1139, the date of the victory against the Almoravids in the Battle of Ourique⁵², he appears in the documentation with the title of *Rex* and the proximity to the archbishop of Braga is very evident. Thus, Afonso Henriques was certainly following Dom João Peculiar's advice when he began to sponsor this monastery, granting it important donations and privileges.

Needing the recognition of the Holy See to strengthen his power as king on the Iberian Peninsula's political scene, Alfonso Henriques supported the entry of the new monastic movements – Cistercians and Canons Regular of St Augustine – into his territory. For the Holy See, the establishment of the new monastic

47. LP, doc. 627 [1116/1117] and Morujão, Maria do Rosário Barbosa: «Estatutos do cabido da Sé de Coimbra de 1454», in *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*, vol. IV. Porto, Faculdade de Letras, pp. 85-108, online: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/4910.pdf> and *Idem*, *Sé de Coimbra...*, pp. 195-206.

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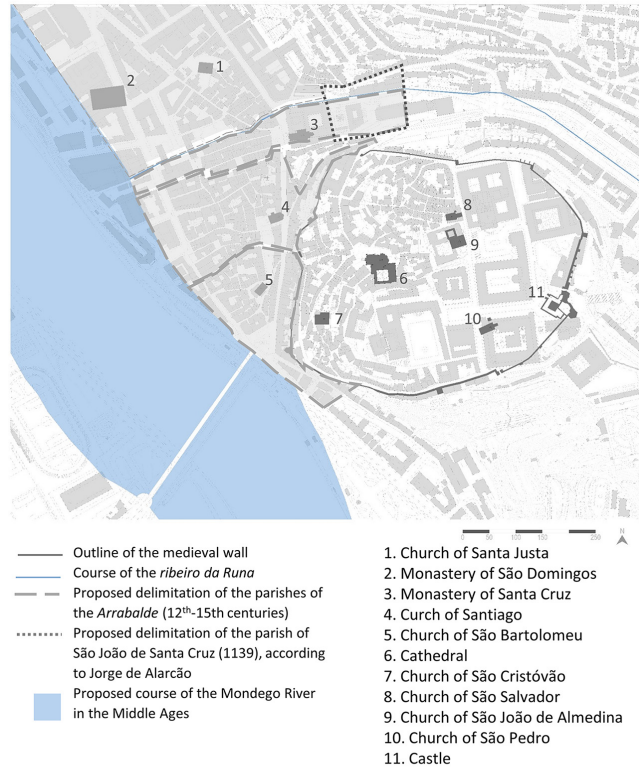


FIGURE 1. CARTOGRAPHIC SCHEME SHOWING THE PARISHES OF COIMBRA'S SUBURBS, TAKEN FROM THE BASE CARTOGRÁFICA: LEVANTAMENTO AEROFOTOGRAFÉTRICO DE 1993/1999 (AEROPHOTOGRAMMETRIC SURVEY) OF THE CITY OF COIMBRA, 1993/1999, CARRIED OUT BY THE MUNICIPALITY OF COIMBRA

house in Coimbra represented a further demonstration of the strength of Rome and of the «Reformation» in territories that had so recently been taken from Islam. For the clergymen who founded it, it would represent an act of faith and aggrandisement of the ecclesiastical structure in which they had been trained. For Afonso Henriques, the monastery would be yet another element of grandeur and prestige for the city where he lived and it, having been chosen as his place of burial, would be the sacred monument holding his hope of safeguarding his legacy and the memory of his lineage. It is easy to see, therefore, how in a few years a bastion of power and influence grew in the heart of the diocese of Coimbra – one highly competitive with the power of the bishop and his cathedral.

The monastery was built outside but next to the wall, close to the Jewish quarter and relatively close to the main gate of the city. The monastery's fence followed the wall to the east, up a valley well supplied with water and fertile land. The front of the church faced the river, and, for its construction, the monarch

had ceded the royal baths⁵³ which, built by the Romans, would have continued to operate during the Islamic period. On the southern side of the monastery was the church of Santiago, and on the northern side, in an area which at that time had more rural than urban characteristics, was the church of Santa Justa. Once military tensions moved away from Coimbra, from the early 12th century, these suburbs showed territorial and population growth, and the implantation of the monastery in this space was a relevant mechanism for the definition of the urban form that has defined this territory until today.

It is in this context that, in 1139, by order of Afonso Henriques, the borders between the parish of São João and the Monastery of Santa Cruz were established and a circumscription free of diocesan jurisdiction was demarcated within the Coimbra parish network⁵⁴.

2.2. THE TERRITORY OF THE PARISH OF THE MONASTERY OF SANTA CRUZ BETWEEN 1139-1203

From the record of that demarcation⁵⁵ we know that the terms of the parish were determined by the said archbishop of Braga together with the bishop of Coimbra and twelve citizens (*civibus*) of the city, following orders from Afonso Henriques (*per mandatum infantis Portugalis domni Alfonsi*). We also learn that this parish was drawn between the pre-existing parishes of Santa Justa and Santiago, as the determination of the new parish was made with the agreement of the parishioners of the other two.

The concern of the parish's founders to register the boundaries for the exercise of spiritual and material rights in its jurisdiction is implicit in the determination of the territory attached to it. A concern which, as already mentioned, is very early in the context of Portugal and expresses the reformist norms emanating from Rome in this region of Christianity. The concern of the clergymen of Santa Cruz de Coimbra with the demarcation of the territory in which they exercised their parochial rights is also evident in other territories of their extensive domain⁵⁶.

The new monastic institution of the Canons Regular of St Augustine, implanted in the heart of the diocese of Coimbra, with the patronage of the monarch of Portugal and the archbishop of Braga, accumulated numerous donations. Among them was a significant set of lands, rights and privileges granted by the bishop of

53. *LS*, doc. 6 (1131 June 29).

54. Martins, Armando Alberto: *O Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Idade Média*. Lisbon, Centro de História da Universidade, 2003, pp. 248-251.

55. *LS*, doc: 1B (p. 106-107); Azevedo, Rui de: *Documentos medievais portugueses*. v. 1, t. 2, *Documentos régios*. Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa de História, 1941, doc. 172 (p. 209-201 and 667-669).

56. Gomes, Saul António: «Organização paroquial e jurisdição eclesiástica no Priorado de Leiria nos séculos XII a XV», *Lusitania Sacra*, 4 (1992): pp. 163-309, online: <http://repositorio.ucp.pt/handle/10400.14/4869>.

Coimbra, Miguel Salomão (1158-1176), around 1162, in a document called *Karta Libertatis*. This concession was made at the expense of the properties and rights of the Cathedral of Coimbra: this institution was so damaged that, between 1198 and the end of 1203, the bishop Pedro Soares (1192-1232) sought its complete reversal from the Pope⁵⁷. Among the complaints of the bishop of Coimbra, those related to the usurpation of parochial and episcopal rights, within the city of Coimbra are highlighted⁵⁸. The Canons of Santa Cruz were accused of interfering in the parish life and usurping the tithes of the servants who worked in their houses but resided in other parishes. Furthermore, they were also accused of not paying the funerary rights to the parishes of origin of the deceased who were buried in the monastery. Finally, they faced the serious accusation of having used force to bury the body of a knight, a parishioner of the See, in the abbey.

For over a year, Innocent III corresponded extensively with the prelate of Coimbra and appointed several procurators (chosen mainly from among the abbots of the main Cistercian monasteries and cathedral chapters) to investigate the reasons and the allegations of both institutions – the Cathedral and the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra. At the end of 1199, the Supreme Pontiff ordered an enquiry to be carried out within a year, so that he could definitively deliberate on this conflict. In this enquiry⁵⁹, about sixty testimonies were collected: from the witnesses in favour of the See; from the canons of the See on their claims; from the canons of the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra on the claims of the canons of the See; from the canons of Santa Cruz on their claims; and from the canons of the See on the claims of the canons of Santa Cruz.

Against the community of the said monastery, there were many witnesses who referred to the appropriation of undue tithes in the parishes of Santa Justa and Santiago, as well as in the parish of the Cathedral, in houses located near the *Porta Nova* (a door that was opened in the city wall specially to serve the new monastery). Several witnesses explained that at the time of the bishop João Anaia (1148-1154) – again by order of the archbishop of Braga, João Peculiar – the parish was extended to the North, South and West, to the detriment of territory and parishioners of the other circumscriptions.

In this context, the testimonies are divergent since, on the part of the canons of Santa Cruz, some said that the enlargement took place when the Cardinal Legate Guido de Vico came to Portugal in 1143⁶⁰. And even more detailed, Soeiro de Santa Justa⁶¹, from the list of testimonies of the Canons of Santa Cruz, said that after proceeding to enlarge the parish of São João de Santa Cruz, the archbishop of

57. *Bulário*, doc. 10, 20, 26, 27.

58. *Bulário*, doc. 14, 16, 25, 38, 39.

59. *Bulário*, doc. 71 (p. 116-149).

60. *Bulário*, doc. 71, (p. 134) – João César.

61. *Bulário*, doc. 71 (p. 140).

Braga came to Coimbra on another date and, following a quarrel with the Canons of the monastery, stayed in Santa Justa and, there, cancelled that enlargement to the satisfaction of the clergymen of that church. However, a few days later, he also annulled that decision, which meant that the enlargement was left in effect.

In turn, and as expected, the Canons of Santa Cruz justified the tithes they were accused of collecting by invoking the privileges received from the bishop Miguel Salomão, and properties acquired with the patronage of Afonso Henriques. Indeed, they said that the houses they were accused of usurping in the area of Porta Nova had been legitimately bought with money from the monarch, and since their property was privileged enjoying the right of exemption, they owed nothing to the Cathedral from the tithe.

On the side of Santa Cruz, the accusations against the Canons of the See were also numerous. For example, by order of the men of the See, the servants of the monastery were often outraged and beaten, and despite the excommunication imposed on a parishioner of Santa Cruz, they had given him an ecclesiastical burial. In what concerns the territorialisation of parochial rights, the Canons of Santa Cruz also had reason to complain, since the Canons of the See had built and consecrated an altar, within the parish of Santa Cruz, without asking permission⁶².

Mandated by the Pope to issue a sentence in this matter, the bishop and the dean of Zamora ordered that the limits of the parish of São João be restored to those at its foundation, and that the Canons of Santa Cruz respect the right of the church of Coimbra in that territory and near the Porta Nova⁶³. Regarding respect for the rights of the See in the parish of São João de Santa Cruz, the judges even seemed to forget the right of diocesan exemption that the monastery held. Furthermore, in that sentence, the monastery would be ordered to reimburse the Cathedral the sum of two thousand *morabitanos*, for the damage caused by the *Karta Libertatis* of Bishop Dom Miguel. However, in June 1203, Innocent III issued a definitive judgement on the matter⁶⁴. In it, he recalled and affirmed the privileges of exemption granted and confirmed by his predecessors to the monastery of Santa Cruz and tried to reconcile the interests of both parties. Regarding the boundaries of the parochial circumscription to which we have referred he made no reference, but the privilege of exemption of the Monastery of Santa Cruz was clearly respected.

The foundation of the parish of the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra – more precisely the documents produced in the scope of the resolution of the conflicts it generated with the pre-existing jurisdictions – allow us to illustrate today, in the context of Portugal, a fundamental stage in the territorial definition

62. *Bulário*, doc. 71 (p. 140), «Insuper dixit quod in quadam albergaria, que est in loco qui dicitur Ortus Regius, erexerunt altare et sub appellatione facta illud consecraverunt cum sit in sua parochia».

63. *Bulário*, doc. 88.

64. *Bulário*, doc. 89.

of ecclesiastical rights that took place throughout Christendom between the 11th and 13th centuries⁶⁵. Among the multiple characteristics that draw attention in this process, the precociousness with which it took place stands out. At a time when, across the whole of Europe, historiography portrays a reality of little perception of parochial rights and their territoriality, the ecclesiastical agents in this process are perfectly aware of the importance of fixing and knowing the borders of this circumscription. It is not only the territorial limits (and the population within them) that are invoked, but also the tithes that were usurped, the dead who were improperly buried or the improper construction and consecration of altars.

Naturally, the vigilance of the Cathedral of Coimbra over the property of the monastery of Santa Cruz within the city was also constant and rigorous in the following centuries⁶⁶, but the configuration of the latter's parish circumscription does not seem to have caused any further conflict.

3. OTHER CASES OF PAROCHIAL TERRITORIALISATION IN COIMBRA

From the end of the 12th century and throughout the 13th century, the designation parish and parishioner started to become more frequent in documentation from Coimbra, and the identification of individuals according to their parish circumscription became common⁶⁷. The identification of the parties to contracts or the authors of donations and wills as residing in their respective parishes certainly resulted from the adoption of a formal document registration structure, but it still evidenced a general feeling of belonging and attachment of an individual and a community to a space and church. Regarding this aspect, it is important to state that from the beginning of the 14th century, rather than the title of parishioner or parish, it is the designation of *freguês* or *freguesia* that appears in documentation written in Portuguese⁶⁸. Even today, in Portugal, these words, resulting from the agglutination of the Latin words «*filius ecclesiae*», are the most used in a religious and civil context.

The conflicts motivated by the collection of parochial taxes constitute an important part of the judicial processes taken to the Episcopal audience of Coimbra. Many of them see opposition between the different parishes of the city and, in some

65. Grélois, Emmanuel: 'Habitans, commorans, ...', pp. 117-137.

66. See, for instances, Lx, ANTT, CabSC, 2ª incorp., m. 92, n. 4403 (1276-1314, January 16); m. 47, n. 1858 (1314 January).

67. See, for instances, Matos, João da Cunha: *A colegiada de São Cristóvão...*, doc. 23 [1171-1176], «...ecclesie Sancti Christofori unde sum parrochianus relinquo ipsas nostras domos...»; Lx, ANTT, Colegiada de São Salvador de Coimbra (ColSS), m. 3, s/n (1200?) «...domos quas habeo in parrochia Sancti Salvatori...»; Lx, ANTT, Colegiada de Santiago de Coimbra (ColST), m. 9, s/n (1280, January 4) «in parrochia ecclesie sancti Bartolomei».

68. See for instances, Lx, ANTT, Colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra (ColSJ), m. 15, n. 303 (1311 April 29), «...Stevam Martinz sobredito seendo freegues da dicta eygreja...»; and Lx, ANTT, ColSJ, m. 17, n. 353 (1312, June 12) «...Dona Guyomar, vizinha de Coimbra, moradora na freeguesia da eygreja de Santa Justa...».

cases, adjoining parishes. For example, agreements for the sharing of tithes when a parishioner of one parish worked and/or produced in a territory under the jurisdiction of another parish can be identified from very early on⁶⁹. However, the analysis of the documentation of the Coimbra collegiate does not allow us to recognise other processes of parochial territorialisation or of border definition within the city⁷⁰.

Perhaps as an «exception that confirms the rule», reference can be made to an unusual document in which the church of São Cristóvão registered an act of extreme unction in a house near the Almedina Gate, as the person in question was its parishioner⁷¹. This is a document that was certainly ordered as a form of proof of a jurisdictional border, but current knowledge of 14th century documentation from Coimbra does not allow a better way to frame it. In fact, no other documents whose wording points to the need to recognise a particular house as part of a given parish are known, nor is the context in which this need became evident. Given that the overwhelming majority of the processes relating to the parochial rights of the churches of Coimbra deal with ecclesiastical taxation and, more precisely, the collection of parish taxes⁷², it is reasonable to believe that this document was within the context of the collection of parish taxes – in this case, funerary costs and the rights to bury the body.

From what has been demonstrated, it cannot be concluded that the parochial limits within the city of Coimbra crystallised after the definition of the parish of São João, in the lower part of town. In fact, the conflicts regarding the collection of parochial revenues are so numerous that it is unthinkable that the different institutions did not try to take advantage of some ambiguity in the territorialisation of their jurisdictions. However, none of the conflicts analysed made reference to the territorial boundaries of the different parishes within the city – they would therefore be a known quantity and eventually respected or at least excluded from the grounds for litigation.

The same cannot be said for the territory of the outskirts. There, the parish churches saw that the possibility of enlargement was very much controlled by another institution interested in that territory – the cathedral chapter. In a document dated

69. See, for instances, Lx, ANTT, ColST, m. 8, s/n (1282 September 28) «...si aliquis homo vadit de parrochia in qua moratur ad aliam parrochiam ad laborandum ut ad gaanhandum panem ad segandum debet illuc lexare medietatem decime et aliam medietatem debet ducere ad ecclesiam cuius est parrochianus...».

70. It is believed that a systematic survey of all the documentation from the Cathedral Chapter of Coimbra could provide further data. However, for this article, an exhaustive survey of the Coimbra collegiate archives was made and some information from the collection of the cathedral was integrated, but the latter was not fully analysed.

71. Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos: *A Vivência da Morte no Portugal Medieval. A Estremadura Portuguesa (1300 a 1500)*. Redondo, Patrimonia Historica, 1995, doc. 1.

72. Moreover, these processes have allowed relevant analyses of the social characterisation of Coimbra, the history of work and craft production and to further the understanding of ecclesiastical authority upon the organisation of labour and the control of work and income from production, see Campos, Maria Amélia Álvaro de: «Vigilância e controlo do trabalho dos mesteiros através da fiscalidade paroquial: o caso de Coimbra no século XIV», Andrade, Amélia Aguiar de e Silva, Gonçalo Melo da (eds.): *Governar a cidade na Europa medieval*. Lisbon, IEM and Castelo de Vide, Câmara Municipal, 2021, pp. 287-303.

around 1116⁷³, the bishop Gonçalo Pais (1109-1127†) reorganised the Chapter of the Cathedral of Coimbra and, among other rights, attributed to it a third of the estates, incomes, and tithes of the entire bishopric⁷⁴. The collection of these revenues and the definition of the territories that constituted the said part also motivated processes to be resolved by the ecclesiastical justice, outside the city and territory of Coimbra.

In this urban nucleus, problems arose between the confines of the urban parishes and the territories of the peri-urban rim. Especially illustrative is the dispute between the chapter and the parochial churches in the territory outside the walls of Coimbra, which led to the excommunication of the latter by the chapter in 1307⁷⁵, during the tenure of Raimundo de Ébrard (1293-1318)⁷⁶ as dean and the episcopate of Estêvão Anes Brochardo (1303-1318†)⁷⁷. The Chapter of the Cathedral of Coimbra had the priors of the churches of Santa Justa, Santiago and São Bartolomeu summoned to the episcopal audience, citing them as sacrilegious for collecting tithes from those who worked on the rim. According to the Chapter, that territory, not belonging to any of the circumscribed parishes of the city, was subject to the jurisdiction of the Mother of all churches in the diocese – the See. Regarding that issue, it was a matter of determining where the territory of those parishes ended – and of prohibiting them from exercising parochial rights in the undivided territories of the rural rim – invoking that, in that zone, the jurisdiction belonged to the Chapter. Thus, among the reference to other localities where parishioners from these churches went to work every day, the territories on the other bank of the river, to the South and, to the North, the *Figueira Velha* farmlands, were also marked as extremes of the urban nucleus and milestones from which these churches would no longer have the right to exercise their parochial jurisdiction.

In turn, in the middle of the 14th century a conflict was resolved between the church of São Bartolomeu and the monastery of São Francisco for the exercise of parochial jurisdiction in the territories on the more underpopulated (left) bank of the river⁷⁸. This case illustrates not only the dispute of rights between institutions, but also the plasticity of the parochial circumscription in a city that was growing outside the walled perimeter. In this case, the claims for territorial expansion of the urban parish of São Bartolomeu also failed, and the parish rights of the territory across the bridge were given to the monastery of São Francisco⁷⁹.

73. Morujão, Maria do Rosário Barbosa: «*Sé de Coimbra...*», pp. 205.

74. *LP*, doc. 627.

75. *Lx*, ANTT, CabSC, 2.ª incorporação, m. 100, doc. 4815.

76. Morujão, Maria do Rosário Barbosa: «*Sé de Coimbra...*», pp. 216.

77. *Ibidem*, pp. 170-181.

78. *Lx*, ANTT, Colegiada de São Bartolomeu de Coimbra (ColSB), c. 6, m. 14, n. 6 (1321 May 2); *Lx*, ANTT, ColSB, c. 1, m. 1, n. 6 (1357 August 8). Documents edited by Guardado, Maria Cristina Gonçalves: *A colegiada de S. Bartolomeu de Coimbra em tempos medievais: das origens ao início do séc. XV* (Master thesis unpublished). Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2000, vol. 2, docs. 19 and 51.

79. Campos, Maria Amélia Álvaro de: «La parroquia...».

4. FINAL REFLECTIONS

In Coimbra, the 12th century was a period of structuring of ecclesiastical institutions, following the Christian conquest and the restoration of the seat of the diocese. In this context, the division of the urban territory by different parish seats is perceptible through words in the documentation that refer to spaces from which taxes were collected. The foundation of the monastery of Santa Cruz and the privilege of diocesan exemption attributed to it led to the foundation of a «parochial enclave», exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction, within the very seat of the diocese.

In the peri-urban rim, the definition of the territories whose ecclesiastical revenues reverted to the cathedral chapter led to great conflicts between this institution and the parishes of the suburbs, until the beginning of the 14th century. Furthermore, in the middle of that century, the establishment of the monastery of São Francisco on the other bank of the river forced different institutions to review the parochial rights over that territory.

Contrary to the establishment of the parish of São João do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz, which was created by the will of the main ecclesiastical dignitaries of the city and with the intermediation or influence of the emerging king of Portugal, the other eight parishes in the city defined their areas of influence more gradually, as the city grew and the definition of ecclesiastical institutions was consolidated. Throughout the medieval centuries, the distribution of the city's population by different jurisdictions – and the zeal of the different parishes in controlling their populations and tributes – can clearly be viewed.

From the context presented, it can be seen that although the process of territorialisation of the parishes of Coimbra dates back to the beginning of the 12th century, the borders of this network were frequently subject to negotiations and alterations motivated by the appearance of other ecclesiastical institutions, the constitution of new jurisdictional agreements and changes in the distribution of the population. In this city, as in the rest of Christendom, there were several economic, social and political aspects that interfered with the configuration of even the smallest cell of ecclesiastical administration and, thus, the construction of the diocese and of all the ecclesiastical *dominium*. Of these aspects, those which have produced the most documentary evidence constrain studies on the parish to an analysis, almost exclusively, of the dynamics associated with ecclesiastical taxation. This fact should not discourage, however, a continuation of investigative analysis of this field, and to further question the sources on the sociological, spiritual and religious dimensions that made up this urban cell.

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