

Practise and the *Periculoso* in the Convent of Odivelas (Lisbon): Royal Statutes and Female Enclaustration in Medieval Portugal (c. 1295-1319)

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Abstract

The monastery of Odivelas, located within the environs of Lisbon, was founded by King D. Dinis in 1295, a royal initiative implemented in the wake of the celebration of the Concordat of 1289 by which the monarch overcame the conflict between the Portuguese Crown and Rome and secured the lifting of the interdict on the kingdom. This pious act, along with the grandeur of the monastic building itself, strengthened the image of a magnanimous and legitimate sovereign embodied in a work that guaranteed the perpetuation and glorification of his memory. This article analyses the exceptionality of the statutes of the monastery of Odivelas in the Cistercian female context in Portugal, as well as the evolution of this legislation over time, taking account of changes introduced in 1306 when they were revised by founder Dinis, and in 1319 following his decision to be entombed in the monastery (1318). Further, to enable a deeper understanding of these statutes and their context, we will

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examine the tradition subsisting in other contemporary Cistercian nunneries in the kingdom of Portugal in conjunction with the reformist current which, far from being a novelty, was rooted in promotion of the strict observance of time-honoured female monastic enclaustration, and which was expressed in the decretal *Periculoso* of 1298.

Keywords

Cistercian monasticism; nuns; statutes; enclosure; *Periculoso* decretal.

Resumo

Localizado no termo de Lisboa, o Mosteiro de Odivelas deve-se à iniciativa régia, tendo sido fundado por D. Dinis, em 1295. Tal iniciativa surgiu, aliás, na sequência da celebração da Concordata de 1289, através da qual o monarca ultrapassou os diferendos que opunham a Coroa portuguesa a Roma e garantiu o levantamento do interdito sobre o reino. Assim, tal ato piedoso, associado à grandeza da construção, contribuía para reforçar a imagem de um soberano magnânimo e para a afirmação do rei, através de uma obra que garantia a perpetuação e glorificação da sua memória.

No presente artigo pretende-se perscrutar a singularidade dos estatutos do Mosteiro de Odivelas no contexto cisterciense feminino português, bem como a sua evolução ao longo do tempo, tendo em atenção as alterações que sofreram em 1306, quando foram revistos pelo seu fundador, e em 1319, na sequência da decisão do referido monarca aí se mandar sepultar (1318). Para melhor compreender esses estatutos e o seu contexto, teremos em conta a tradição existente nas restantes casas de monjas cistercienses do reino português e a corrente reformista que, não sendo nova, radicava na apologia da estrita observância da clausura monástica feminina, e que ficou expressa na decretal *Periculoso*, em 1298.

Palavras-chave

Monaquismo cisterciense; monjas; estatutos; clausura; *Periculoso*.

As the present conference is dedicated to the territories of Lisbon, we considered it fitting to take a fresh look at the monastery of Odivelas which is located within the environs of the city². Indeed, as we demonstrated in a paper we presented at the *II Colloquium da Nova Lisboa Medieval* (2004), the monastery of Odivelas is intimately linked to the History of Lisbon and its ruling elites, both on account of its location and the composition of its community³.

From this perspective, it seems to us important to reflect on those features that distinguish the nunnery of Odivelas from its sister houses: specifically, it being of royal foundation (in 1295), its idiosyncratic and unique statutory regime, and the fact that the mortal remains of its founder, King Dinis, were monumentally entombed in its abbey church. Accordingly, we shall seek herein to examine the exceptional nature of the statutes of Odivelas in the Portuguese Cistercian feminine context, and their evolution over time, contemplating the changes introduced by Dinis when he revised them in 1306 and in 1319, following his decision in the previous year (1318) to have himself buried there. To better understand these statutes and their context, we shall take into account of traditions existing in the other houses of Cistercian nuns in Portugal in conjunction with the reformist current which, far from being a novelty, was based on the promotion of the strict observance of the female monastic enclaustration as expressed in Pope Boniface VIII's 1298 decretal *Periculoso*.

² Since this is not the first time we have addressed this subject, the text herein is not completely unprecedented in-so-far as it reprises some of the reflections presented at two earlier congresses and later published in the respective proceedings (RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – “Entre o mosteiro e a cidade: o recrutamento social das ‘donas’ de Odivelas”. In KRUS, Luís; OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe; FONTES, João Luís (eds.) – *Lisboa Medieval. Os rostos da Cidade*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2007, pp. 232-238 and RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – “O Sagrado e o Profano nos Mosteiros Femininos Cistercienses: espaços e ritos”. In SILVA, Carlos Guardado da (ed.) – *História do Sagrado e do Profano – Turres Veteras X*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Torres Vedras / Instituto de Estudos Regionais e do Municipalismo Alexandre Herculano, 2008, pp. 43-56). Thus, the present text is the result of a fresh look at the monastery of Odivelas, which cross-references the information presented previously to which are added other ideas and information associated, on the one hand, with the preparations implemented by King D. Dinis for the foundation of that monastic house and, on the other hand, with the evolution of the Statutes the monarch introduced in that house, viewed in the context of the practice of enclaustration in the other Cistercian monasteries, or with the regulatory measures of the Church (some of which can also be found, although considered under a different approach, in our previous contributions: RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo. As Comunidades Cistercienses Femininas na Idade Média*. Vol. 1. Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2021, pp. 114-124 and 351-358. Phd in Medieval History, and RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – “As abadessas e as monjas do Mosteiro de Odivelas no tempo de D. Dinis”. In GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas: documentos fundacionais*. Odivelas: Câmara Municipal de Odivelas, 2021, pp. 51-77). This work is, of course, also indebted to other studies on female enclosure, of which we highlight, not least because it deals with the reality in neighbouring kingdoms, the analysis provided by COELHO, Maria Filomena – “Instituições, normas e monacato em Leão e Castela (séc. XIII)”. *Anos 90 (Online)* 20 (2013), pp. 127-149, and, more recently, the work of GOMES, Saul António – “D. Dinis e a fundação do Mosteiro de Odivelas”. In GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, pp. 25-49.

³ See RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – “Entre o mosteiro e a cidade”, pp. 232-238.

1. Foundation of the monastery of Odivelas

First of all, let us review the context of its foundation and the first years of its existence⁴. As we know, the monastery of Odivelas was the last of the medieval Cistercian foundations for women in Portugal⁵, established in 1295 in a moment which was the culmination of the “golden century” of Cistercian nunneries, just as it was simultaneously a temporal turning point in which the mendicant foundations, especially of Poor Clares, were beginning to become dominant⁶. However, King Dinis’s allegiance to the Cistercian Order is not anachronistic, or extemporaneous, since a little later, in 1297, his brother-in-law Jaime II of Aragon founded the

⁴ Among the works on the Foundation of this convent, see the article by VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos Alves; SILVA, Maria João Violante Branco Marques da – “A fundação do mosteiro de Odivelas”. In *Actas do Congresso Internacional sobre San Bernardo e o Cister en Galicia e Portugal*. Vol. I. Ourense: Ediciones Monte Casino, 1992, pp. 589-601; the Doctoral Dissertation by VAIRO, Giulia Rossi – *D. Dinis del Portogallo e Isabel d’Aragona in vita e in morte. Creazione e trasmissione della memoria nel contesto storico e artistico europeo*. Lisboa: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2014, especially pp. 66-88, concerning the Foundation of Odivelas; our own Doctoral Dissertation (RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 1, pp. 114-124) and GOMES, Saul António – “D. Dinis e a fundação”, pp. 25-49. See also NASCIMENTO, Aires A. – “Alcobaça e Odivelas, duas faces da observância cisterciense”. In CARREIRAS, José Albuquerque (ed.) – *Mosteiros cistercienses História, Arte, Espiritualidade e Património*. Vol. II. Alcobaça: Jorlis, 2013, pp. 449-469, and NASCIMENTO, Aires A. – “Reencontro com o rei D. Dinis, em Odivelas”. *Cadernos Culturais do Centro Cultural Eça de Queirós*. 2.ª Série. 9 (November 2016), pp. 237-257. It is also important to note the seventeenth and eighteenth-century authors who retain a prominent place in the historiography of this monastic house: CUNHA, D. Rodrigo da – *Historia Ecclesiastica da Igreja de Lisboa*. Lisboa: ed. by Manoel da Sylva, 1642, parte II, cap. LXXXII, fol. 229v.º and BRANDÃO, Fr. Francisco – *Monarquia Lusitana. Parte Quinta*. Lisboa: Oficina de Paulo Craesbeeck, 1650 [New edition with introduction by A. da Silva Rego and notes by A. Dias Farinha and Eduardo dos Santos. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1976], fols. 218v.º-227, and BRANDÃO, Fr. Francisco – *Monarquia Lusitana. Sexta parte*. Lisboa: Oficina de João da Costa, 1672 [New edition with introduction by A. da Silva Rego and notes by A. Dias Farinha and Eduardo dos Santos. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1980], fols. 272-273.

⁵ See RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – “Os mosteiros cistercienses femininos em Portugal: a herança medieval. Fundações e fundadores”. In VIFORCOS MARINAS, M.ª Isabel; CAMPOS SÁNCHEZ-BORDONA, M.ª Dolores (eds.) – *Fundadores, fundaciones y espacios de vida conventual. Nuevas aportaciones al monacato femenino*. [León]: Universidad de León, 2005, pp. 51-78.

⁶ The Franciscan Order, established in Portugal in 1217 and in continuous expansion from 1254, was opened during the 1250s to females and, due to the special fascination that mendicant piety and spirituality exerted on women, the Order quickly came to enjoy prodigious popularity especially among the nobility (see MATTOSO, José – “O enquadramento social e económico das primeiras fundações franciscanas”. In MATTOSO, José – *Portugal Medieval. Novas interpretações*. 2.ª ed., Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1992, pp. 329-345 and ROSA, Maria de Lurdes – “A religião no século: vivências e devoções dos leigos”. In AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (ed.) – *História Religiosa de Portugal*. Vol. 1. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2000, pp. 452-460 and 470-480). Note that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries alone, six new Dominican and eleven new Poor Clares houses appeared, out of a total of nineteen new monastic-conventual foundations for women (see ANDRADE, Maria Filomena – “*In Oboedientia, sine Proprio et in Castitate, sub Clausura*”: *A Ordem de Santa Clara em Portugal (sécs. XIII-XIV)*. Lisboa: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2011, p. 54. Phd in Medieval History: Quadro 1 – Fundações Monástico-Conventuais Femininas and SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e (ed.) – *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal. Das Origens a Trento – Guia Histórico*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2005, pp. 211, 402-403 and 434). This tendency is noticeable especially, from the second half of the thirteenth century, when three monasteries of Cistercian nuns were established (Cástris, Almoster and Odivelas), a number surpassed by the foundations of convents of Poor Clares (Lamego/Santarém, Entre-os-Rios, Coimbra and Lisbon).

Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria de la Valldigna in the province of Valencia, albeit for monks. In fact, Dinis's decision to found a monastery and his selection of the Cistercian observance should be viewed in terms of his relations with the Church and, in particular, with the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça, who personally presented the king's Odivelas initiative to the Cistercian General Chapter, requesting admission of the proposed house into the Order, with the abbot of Alcobaça duly receiving from the assembly the powers to conduct the canonical institution of the said convent⁷ and who assumed, from the outset, the responsibility of visiting, correcting and reforming the Odivelas community as the spiritual daughter of Alcobaça⁸.

It is of note that this initiative followed the conclusion of the Concordat of 1289, or of the 40 articles, by which Dinis overcame the differences between the Portuguese monarchs and Rome and secured the lifting of the interdict that had been placed on the kingdom⁹.

⁷ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 1, pp. 115-116 (Portuguese translation at pp. 117-118).

⁸ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 2, pp. 118-124 (Portuguese translation at pp. 124-129). We do not agree with Frei Francisco Brandão when he suggests that the choice of the Cistercian Order was due to the influence of D. Branca, older sister of D. Dinis and mistress of the monastery of Santa Maria la Real de las Huelgas de Burgos, of Cistercian nuns: "Tambem se pode crer, que a Infanta Dona Branca, irmã do delRey, & senhora do mosteiro das Huelgas de Burgos de Religiosas da nossa Ordem, inclinou a elRey seu irmão edificar o mosteiro de Odiuellas pera Religiosas da mesma Ordem como o das Huelgas" (BRANDÃO, Fr. Francisco – *Monarquia Lusitana. Parte Quinta*, fol. 222), especially since the said Infanta was only at the head of the Castilian monastery, as its mistress, from April 15, 1295 (see SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de – *Linhagens Medievais Portuguesas. Genealogias e Estratégias (1279-1325)*. Vol. 1. Porto: Centro de Estudos de Genealogia, Heráldica e História da Família da Universidade Moderna – Porto, 1999, p. 171; GAIBROIS DE BALLESTEROS, Mercedes – *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla*. Vol. I. Madrid: Typographia de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1922, pp. 377-378; and MONTEIRO, Sandra Amaral – "Da Infanta Branca Afonso à D. Branca de Garrett". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*. IIª série, vol. XV, tomo 2 (1998), p. 1607 (*IV Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval. As relações de fronteira no século de Alcanices. Actas*. Vol. II. Porto, 1998), that is to say at a date later than the foundation of the Convent of Odivelas.

⁹ The Concordat of 1289 was the result of a long process of negotiations, which had started in September 1281, in Guarda, and had been interrupted several times (mainly because of the two successions to the throne of St. Peter in Rome, and the consequent periods when the papal office was vacant), and at the same time it was the (decisive) beginning of a period of successive agreements with many of the Portuguese bishops: the Concordat of the five articles (1292), an agreement that Dinis made with the bishops of Oporto, Guarda, Lamego, and Viseu, which resolved some issues that had been left open, and the Concordat of 1309, between the king and the bishop and chapter of Lisbon. On the Concordat of 1289, or of the 40 articles (also sometimes referred to as the Concordat of the 51 articles, considering the 11 articles approved between the bishops and royal agents which, not being part of the pontifical bull of Nicholas IV, were ratified as additions by King D. Dinis), see, inter alia, COSTA, António Domingos de Sousa – "As concordatas portuguesas". *Itinerarium* 51 (1966), pp. 24-46; COSTA, António Domingos de Sousa – "Concordata". In SERRÃO, Joel (ed.) – *Dicionário de História de Portugal*. Vol. II. Lisboa: Iniciativas Editoriais, 1975, pp. 143-145; COSTA, António Domingos de Sousa – "D. Frei Telo, arcebispo-primaz, e as concordatas de D. Dinis". In *IX Centenário da Dedicção da Sé de Braga*. Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1990, pp. 283-316; LEITE, António – "Concordatas". In AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (ed.) – *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*. Vol. I. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2005, pp. 423-429; and also the highly useful synthesis by SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de – *D. Dinis*. Rio de Mouro: Círculo de Leitores, 2005, pp. 102-104. The text of the Concordat of 1289 was included in the *Ordenações Afonsinas. Livro II*. 2.ª Ed., Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1998, pp. 3-44 and the *Livro das Leis e Posturas*. Ed. Nuno Espinosa Gomes da Silva and Maria Teresa Campos Rodrigues. Lisboa: Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa, 1971, pp. 340-358 (40 articles) and 363-370 (11 articles).

Furthermore, Portuguese historiography has long overlooked the events which led to the foundation of the convent of Odivelas, and which help us to better understand the context in which this monastic house was born. In fact, the first efforts by King Dinis to create a convent in Odivelas date back to at least 16 April 1290, when he embarked upon a series of acquisitions of properties which, in 1295, were to constitute the dowry of the new cenoby¹⁰:

- On April 16, 1290, King Dinis bought an extensive property in Odivelas from Maria Martins, widow of Arnata Raimundes, a Lisbon local, for 2100 pounds in old coinage¹¹;
- On October 18, 1290, D. Dinis bought from João Mendes and his wife Maria Domingues two strips of land and an enclosure in Odivelas, for 15 pounds and a piece of land that lay near the lepers¹²;
- On August 28, 1293, D. Dinis bought from the sons of Gonçalo Anes da Charneca three strips of land in Odivelas, for 140 pounds in old coinage¹³.

The landholdings of Maria Martins (widow of Arnata Raimundes) and Gonçalo Anes da Charneca are expressly mentioned in the foundation letter of 27 February 1295¹⁴ and also in the donation that D. Dinis made in favour of Odivelas on 23 March 1295 and were contiguous with some other landholdings that belonged to a certain D. Egas that were also bought by the king and included in this donation¹⁵.

Thus, whilst Fr. Francisco Brandão had preferred to find the reasons leading D. Dinis to found the convent of Odivelas in a miracle of Saint Luís, bishop of Tolosa, by which the monarch was supposedly saved from the claws of a bear – an iconographic motif that, according to Brandão, is “carved in one of the marbles on which his tomb rests”¹⁶ –, it rather seems to us that this pious act, along with

¹⁰ These circumstances were first considered by Giulia Rossi Vairo who also linked the monarch's initiative with the pacification of relations between the Crown and the Church (VAIRO, Giulia Rossi – *D. Dinis del Portogallo e Isabel d'Aragona in vita e in morte*, pp. 27-32 and 66-67), followed later by RÉPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 1, p. 115 (notes 241 and 242).

¹¹ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. I, pp. 209-210.

¹² GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. II, pp. 210-211.

¹³ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. III, pp. 211-212 (Portuguese translation at pp. 212-213).

¹⁴ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 2, pp. 118-124 (Portuguese translation at pp. 124-129).

¹⁵ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 3, pp. 129-132 (from the original document: Lisboa, ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Alcobaça, Documentos Régios, mc. 2, n.º 32), donation which is also registered in *Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro II*. Ed. Rosa Marreiros. Coimbra: Palimage / Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, 2012, doc. 371, pp. 392-395. See, also, GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. I, pp. 209-210.

¹⁶ BRANDÃO, Fr. Francisco – *Monarquia Lusitana. Parte Quinta*, fols. 218v.º-220v.º. José Augusto de Sottomayor-Pizarro develops this argument in the pages treating of the foundation of the convent of Odivelas, included in his biography of D. Dinis (SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de – *D. Dinis*, pp. 136-138).

the grandeur of the Odivelas edifice itself, was principally intended to enhance the image of a virtuous and magnanimous sovereign and to boost his personal legitimacy, all embodied in a work that ensured the perpetuation and glorification of his memory. Indeed, Hermínia Vilar and Maria João Branco considered the invocation of Saint Denis as the convent's patron to be a deliberate component of this, justified by the monarch “because he was born on the day of the feast of Saint Denis and accordingly considered him his patron saint”¹⁷. His name was thus indelibly associated with the monastic house he had founded and where he would later be entombed, as well as being associated with the community of nuns who would keep watch over his mortal remains forever.

We should also remember that the conventual community of Odivelas was always protected, in an exceptional manner, by King Dinis¹⁸, precisely at a time when he had imposed heavy restrictions on the accumulation of “mortmain” property on the part of religious orders in the disentailment law of 1291¹⁹. Indeed, regarding the relationship between the Cistercian female monasteries of the kingdom and the Portuguese Crown, it is clear that the great abbeys of Arouca and Lorvão were considerably less favoured, an aspect made evident in their complete omission from the list of beneficiaries under the last wills of D. Dinis and Queen Isabel, his wife²⁰. On the contrary, the monarch was particularly concerned with recently founded convents – such as Almoester and Odivelas. In this direction, given their still meagre patrimony, D. Dinis allowed the convents of Odivelas and Almoester to inherit and receive goods from their professed and from those who wished to leave or bequeath goods for the benefit of their souls²¹, accordingly these convents

¹⁷ See VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos Alves; SILVA, Maria João Violante Branco Marques da – “A fundação do mosteiro”, pp. 590-592.

¹⁸ See GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, docs. 2-7, 9-16, 18, 20-21, 23-24, 26-32, 34 and 36-39, pp. 118-140, 146-153, 155, 164-167, 171-184, 187 and 189-203.

¹⁹ This law prohibited religious orders inheriting property from their professed members and limited suffrages for their souls to one third of their property: “sse algum destes algũa cousa quiser dar por ssa alma uenda o terço de seus herdamentos e das possiões. e as duas partes fiquem a sseus herdeyros e uendam o terço a taaes pessoas que nunca sse possam tornar aas ordeens E esses herdamentos e possiões fiquem ssenpre aa taaes pessoas que nom sseiam frades nem freyres nem donas dordem” (*Livro das Leis e Posturas*, p. 74).

²⁰ It should be noted that Queen Isabel in her will made on April 19, 1314 provided for the allocation of 50 pounds to the convent of Lorvão and another 50 pounds to the convent of Arouca, monastic communities that would end up receiving nothing under her last will (December 22, 1327). In turn, King Dinis, in his 1322 will, included the convents of Lorvão and Arouca in the lot of the *monasteries of Coimbra* (along with Santa Cruz, São Jorge, Santa Clara, Santa Ana (da Ponte), Celas de Guimarães and Semide), contemplated, apparently, with 200 pounds, yet two years later he also excluded these two important Cistercian female convents from his last will and testament of December 31, 1324 (see the most recent edition of these four wills in GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, docs. 25, 36, 39 and 40, pp. 168-171, 189-194 and 197-208). On the religious devotion and the practice of charity by Queen Isabel, see ANDRADE, Maria Filomena – *Rainha Santa, mãe exemplar: Isabel de Aragão*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2012, p. 191 et seq.

²¹ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 5, p. 134 (from the original document: Lisboa, ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Alcobaça, Documentos Régios, mç. 2, n.º 34), privilege of April 7, 1295, granted to the convent of Odivelas, which is also recorded in *Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro II*, doc. 376, pp. 400-401; BRANDÃO, Frei Francisco – *Monarquia Lusitana. Parte Quinta*, fol. 151a (this author dates the document in

being two exceptions to the disentailment law of 1291²². In the case of Odivelas, successive charters of donation and privilege are also noticeable²³, demonstrating how, from an early stage, the monarch sought to provide his foundation with all the resources necessary for the unencumbered subsistence of a conventual community, from which he withheld no support, resources and privileges, but from which he also demanded a redoubled rigour in adherence to the Rule and monastic principles, above all concerning the strictness of enclaustration.

2. Female monastic enclaustration: Cistercian regulations and practice in Portugal

Strictness of observance of monastic enclaustration has always been one of the most sensitive subjects in female monasticism since it involves moral questions with obvious repercussions for the chasteness of nuns.

It is well known that the Cistercian General Chapter was slow to admit female monasteries into the Order, such not taking place until 1213 with the imposition of enclaustration (whereby nuns could only go out with the authorisation of their abbot immediate)²⁴. Indeed, when the doors of the Cistercian Order were officially opened to monasteries of nuns, from then on, the General Chapter would have two main concerns over female communities. One was the heavy burden of spiritual stewardship (the *cura animarum*) which the abbots and monks of the men's abbeys necessarily assumed in relation to their female congeners admitted to the Order, entailing the duty of visiting and correcting the female houses (and often even

question – relative to the convent of Almoester – from July 12, 1300; curiously, we know the diploma only in translations and with differing dates: Lisboa, ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Almoester, mc. 4, n.º 29, dated July 14, 1300 – translated on March 15, 1310 – and Lisboa, ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Almoester, mc. 8, n.º 21, dated July 15, 1300 – translated on January 10, 1302).

²² The same was true, for example, among the Cistercians, with the monastery of Alcobaça (GONÇALVES, Iria – *O Património do Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos Séculos XIV e XV*. Lisboa: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1989, p. 28).

²³ Some of them were truly exceptional, such as that of September 9, 1319, in which D. Dinis allowed the abbess and the nuns of Odivelas, for a period of ten years, to buy all the immovable goods they wanted and that it was lawful for them to give them, during their lifetime, and leave them, at their death, to their convent; he also allowed the convent to own the estates that were thus given or left to it, as well as those that had hitherto been given or left to it by its nuns, without prejudice to the law (GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 34, p. 187). For other donations and privileges, see, *supra*, note 18.

²⁴ CANIVEZ, Josephus Maria – *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*. Tomo I: *Ab anno 1116 ad annum 1220*. Louvain: Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1933, p. 405: § 3: “*Item constituitur auctoritate Capituli generalis ut moniales quae iam etiam incorporatae sunt Ordini, non habeant liberum egressum, nisi de licentia abbatis sub cuius cura consistunt, quia omnino non expedit animabus earum. Si quae vero fuerint incorporandae de cetero, non aliter admittantur ad Ordinis unitatem, nisi penitus includendae. Inhibetur autem, auctoritate praedicta praemissa, ne praesumant mittere moniales suas ad aliquem locum construendum, nisi de licentia Capituli generalis. Quod si praesumptum fuerit, quae missae fuerint pro fugitivis habeantur. Abbates in singulis domibus monialium quas habent sub cura sua, auctoritate Capituli quae praedicta sunt satagant ordinare*”.

of aiding them in the management of their temporal goods)²⁵. The other was the need to secure a rigorous enclaustration for the avoidance of moral problems and scandals. On successive occasions, such questions prompted the General Chapter to take steps to restrict the incorporation of new foundations and to control the number of nuns in already existing nunneries²⁶.

These prohibitions did not have the expected success, however, not least because of the involvement of influential members of the aristocracy, royals, and the pope himself in the founding of new houses of nuns which they all desired should be subjected to the Cistercian Order.

As the nunneries incorporated into the Cistercian Order increased, so the General Chapter's demands for the rigorous observance of enclaustration were repeated, specifically in 1220 and 1228, when nuns who did not respect this principle were threatened with expulsion²⁷. Some years later, the Codifications of 1237 and 1257 would include an article entitled *De inclusione monialium* which expressly required the enclaustration of the Order's nuns²⁸.

It should be noted, however, that in this respect the Rule of Saint Benedict allowed monks to leave the cloister of the monastery, provided they had the permission of

²⁵ This concern was expressed in the 1228 *statutum*: “*Si quod vero monasterium monialium nondum Ordini sociatum vel etiam construendum, nostras institutiones voluerit aemulari, non prohibemus; sed curam animarum earum non recipimus, nec visitationis officium eis impendemus.*” (CANIVEZ, Josephus Maria – *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*. Tomo II: *Ab anno 1221 ad annum 1261*. Louvain: Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1934, p. 68: § 16). The problem of abbots and many Cistercian monks having to leave their monasteries to support the nuns, who were increasing in number, was not new, since the General Chapter, in 1222, had asked the Pope that the male monasteries be spared the obligation to send monks and lay brothers to work in the nunneries of the Order: “*Supplicandum Domino Papae, ne compellat nos ad mittendos monachos nostros et conversos ad cohabitandum cum monialibus, et in temporalibus eisdem providendis; vergit enim res ista ad praeiudicium Ordinis et periculum animarum.*” (CANIVEZ, Josephus Maria – *Statuta Capitulum*, t. II, p. 19: § 30). On this question, see BOUTON, Jean de la Croix; CHAUVIN, Benoît; GROSJEAN, Élisabeth – “L’Abbaye de Tart et ses Filiales aux Moyen-Age”. In CHAUVIN, Benoît (ed.) – *Mélanges Anselme Dimier*. Tomo II – Vol. 3. Arbois: Pulpillin, 1984, pp. 19-61 (p. 26).

²⁶ Maria Filomena Coelho has already emphasized the zigzagging character of the General Chapter's action regarding the admission of female monasteries into the Cistercian Order (“*Esta trayectoria, aparentemente inconexa*”), justifying it in the following way: “*La dificultad que estos hombres encontraban en controlar a las religiosas los llevó, en una primera instancia, a rechazar cualquier posible relación y lazo jurídico que se tradujese en responsabilidad, y en un segundo momento, cuando ya no les era posible eludir su existencia, a intentar enclaustrarlas para que no les causasen problemas morales*” (COELHO, Maria Filomena – *Expresiones del Poder Feudal: El Císter Femenino en León (Siglos XII y XIII)*. León: Universidad de León, 2006, p. 229). Thus the author explains why the Cistercian General Chapter, after ignoring the existence of monasteries of nuns who had followed the Cistercian observance for decades, decided to incorporate them into the Order in 1213, and a few years later (in 1220 and again in 1228), took measures restricting new admissions of nunneries.

²⁷ 1220: “*Moniales Ordinis nostri includantur, et quae includi noluerint, a custodia Ordinis se noverint eliminatas.*”; 1228: “*De his quae sunt iam Ordini sociatae a septem annis et infra, antiqua sententia teneatur, videlicet ut penitus infra triennium includantur; et quae includi noluerint, ubicumque fuerint, a custodia Ordinis se noverint separatas. Huic etiam sententiae additur, ut abbas, qui post triennium visitaverit non inclusas, irrefragabiliter deponatur.*” (CANIVEZ, Josephus Maria – *Statuta Capitulum*, t. I, p. 517: § 4; t. II, pp. 68-69: § 17).

²⁸ LUCET, Bernard – *Les codifications cisterciennes de 1237 et de 1257*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977, p. 352.

their abbot²⁹, and the Cistercian statutes of 1220 allowed abbesses, accompanied by two nuns, or cellarers to leave the monastery to attend to the affairs of their houses³⁰. This statutory rule was included in the Codifications of 1237³¹. The Codifications of 1257 maintained the principle but allowed the abbesses to be accompanied by two or three nuns and the cellarers to leave with one nun³². As a function of this scenario, the abbess, the cellarer, and other nuns were also allowed to talk to people from outside the community when they went out to attend to the relevant business³³. In fact, it was this permissiveness in the Rule and in the Cistercian regulatory framework that prevailed and became decisive in the practice of Portuguese Cistercian communities.

Thus, there is a long list of nuns from the convents of Arouca and Lorrvão who left the monastic space, with the permission of their abbesses³⁴. They did so frequently and almost always for economic reasons, especially to deal with issues associated with patrimony.

²⁹ *Rule of Saint Benedict*, Chapter 50, 4; Chapter 51, 1-3; and Chapter 67, 7. Nevertheless, the Rule also recommends that, “if possible, the monastery should be built so that it has everything necessary inside, namely: water, mill, vegetable garden, workshops where the various trades are carried out, so that the monks do not need to go outside, which is not at all beneficial for their souls.” (Chapter 66, 6-7).

³⁰ “*Liceat tamen abbatissae cum duabus, vel cellerariae ad procurandum negotia domus exire*” (CANIVEZ, Josephus Maria – *Statuta Capitulorum*, t. I, p. 517: § 4).

³¹ “[...] nisi abbatisse, tantum cum duabus monialibus et cellerarie, quibus exire conceditur ad procuranda domorum negocia et propter alias inevitabiles causas, de licentia tamen abbatis visitoris sui, si fieri potest, et hoc ipsum honeste et rarissime fiat” (LUCET, Bernard – *Les codifications cisterciennes*, p. 352).

³² “[...] nisi abbatisse tantum cum duabus monialibus vel ad plus cum tribus, et cellerarie cum una, quibus exire conceditur ad procuranda domorum negocia, et propter alias inevitabiles causas, de licentia tamen abbatis visitoris sui si fieri potest competenter” (LUCET, Bernard – *Les codifications cisterciennes*, p. 352). Female enclaustration had a double dimension since it was also intended to prevent outsiders, especially men, from entering the community. Thus, both the Constitutions of 1237 and 1257 gave instructions about who could enter the female cloister and in what situations: “*Ut nullus intret claustrum monialium. Nullus preter visitatores claustrum monialium ingrediatur, nisi fuerit tam reverenda et persona honesta, quod ei sine gravi scandalo et dampno ingressus nequeat denegari. Nec pueri in claustris monialium aliquatenus erudiantur. Abbas vero visitor taxet numerum personarum, quem quidem numerum personarum, quem quidem numerum si abbatisse vel priorisse transgredi presumpserit, sciant se deponendas*” (LUCET, Bernard – *Les codifications cisterciennes*, p. 351). That is, in the Constitutions of 1237, it was instituted that no one could enter the cloister of the nuns, except the visitors, unless he was a person so venerable and honorable that his entry could not be denied without grave offense and damage. The education of children in female monasteries was also forbidden. It was up to the visiting abbot to fix the number of persons (i.e. to identify the persons) [who could enter the monastery]. If the abbess or the prioress did not respect this restriction, they would be deposed. In the Constitutions of 1257, the two restrictions of 1237 were maintained and it was further determined that no lay woman should stay overnight in the cloister or in the infirmary (“*Mulieres autem seculares in claustris ipsarum vel in infirmitatis non pernotent*”).

³³ In the Constitutions of 1257, restrictions were introduced concerning nuns’ conversations with people outside the community. It was established, therefore, that no nun should speak to anyone except through a window with a solid grating made of woven iron, although at the same time it was provided that the abbess, the cellarer and other religious could do so when they went out to attend to the business of their monastery (“*Nulla monialis loquatur cum aliquo nisi per fenestram bene et spisse ferratam vel laqueis preparatam, exceptis abbatissis, cellerariis, et aliis, cum exierint ad domus negocia procuranda.*”). They were also allowed to speak with good and honorable persons in a suitable place (and with the visitors in another lawful place), the number of persons being fixed by the father-abbots or visitors, taking into account their characteristics. Should the abbess or the prioress intend to disregard this, without special permission from the father-abbot, they would be deposed (without any retraction) (LUCET, Bernard – *Les codifications cisterciennes*, p. 351: “*Ubi et quando liceat loqui monialibus et de taxatione personarum.*”).

³⁴ The question of defining the space of monastic life and its violation has been addressed by us elsewhere (RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – “O Sagrado e o Profano nos Mosteiros Femininos Cistercienses”, pp. 43-56). For present purposes we revisit some of the ideas presented there.

Table 1 – Sisters from Arouca and Lorvão who left the monastery (up to 1295)³⁵

Year	Local	Name	Monastery	Delegation
1264	Ponte de Lima	Maria Gonçalves [de Santarém] Urraca Gil	Arouca	With proxy
1264	Ponte de Lima	Fruilhe Anes	Arouca	Without proxy
1268	Penafiel	[Maria Gonçalves de Santarém]	Arouca	Without proxy
1269	Paço de Sousa	[Maria Gonçalves de Santarém]	Arouca	Without proxy
1270	Água Levada	Maior Martins [de Nomães]	Arouca	With proxy
1280	Figueira	Urraca Rodrigues, abadessa	Lorvão	As procurator
1285	Tomar	Guiomar Gil [de Riba de Vizela]	Arouca	With proxy
1285	Coimbra	Maria Afonso [de Aragão] Maior Afonso [de Aragão]	Arouca Lorvão	With proxy With proxy
1286	Coimbra	Maior Martins [de Baguim]	Arouca	Without proxy
1291	Figueiredo	Estevainha Vasques	Lorvão	Without proxy

Essentially, they would exit the cloister to participate in family estate allotments and to administer their usufructuary or the monastic patrimony³⁶. On occasion, these trips produced unusual encounters, as reported in the medieval genealogical literature and legitimation charters. One such is the case included by Count D. Pedro in his *Livro de Linhagens*, where the abbess of Lorvão, Teresa Mendes de Sousa, fell pregnant by Pedro Afonso Ribeiro, a knight, during the course of his escorting her to an audience with D. Afonso III³⁷. Curiously, before taking the veil, Teresa Mendes de Sousa had been Afonso III's concubine³⁸. In fact, it is likely King D. Dinis had been well aware of this situation as he was very close to Pedro Afonso Ribeiro who, in addition to being Dinis's vassal and advisor, had been appointed guardian of two of the king's illegitimate children, Afonso Sanches and Pedro Afonso³⁹. Further,

³⁵ This table is not intended to be exhaustive and is merely intended to illustrate statements made in the main text.

³⁶ RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – *Quando a nobreza traja de branco. A comunidade cisterciense de Arouca durante o abadessado de D. Luca Rodrigues (1286-1299)*. Leiria: Edições Magno, 2003, pp. 63-64, notes 60-62; RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 1, pp. 161-166.

³⁷ “Pedr’Afonso Ribeiro, des que lhe morreo [...] dona Alda Martinz Curutela, [...] casou el depois com ùa cidadãa do Porto mui rica, que havia nome dona Moor, a Farpada. [...] E em seendo casado com ela, houve ùa monja, que era abadessa de Lorvão, em levando-a pera el rei dom Afonso de Portugal, padre d’el rei dom Dinis de Portugal. E esta abadessa era mui filha d’algo, ca era filha de dom Meem Garcia de Sousa e de dona Tareija Anes, filha de Joham Fernandez de Lima, o Boo, e de dona Maria Paez Ribeira. E esta monja abadessa de Lorvão, suso dita, havia nome dona Tareija Meendez, e fez em ela este Pero Afonso Ribeiro ùu filho que houve nome Gonçalo Pirez Ribeiro” (*Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*. Critical edition by José MATTOSO (*Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Nova Série*. Vol. II, in 2 tomos). Lisboa: Academia das Ciências, 1980 (hereafter “LL”), 41L5-6). On the identification of the abbess, see RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 2, tomo 2, pp. 375-383.

³⁸ *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III – Livro I*. Ed. Leontina Ventura and António Resende de Oliveira. Vol. 1. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2006, doc. 86, pp. 94-95.

³⁹ SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de – *Linhagens Medievais Portuguesas*, vol. 2, pp. 94-98; RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – *Quando a nobreza traja de branco*, docs. 77, 97 and 98; Lisboa, ANTT, OC, Mosteiro de Arouca, gav. 6, mç. 1, doc. 20; LL 7D2; TORRES, Ruy d’Abreu – “D. Pedro, conde de Barcelos”. In SERRÃO, Joel (ed.) – *Dicionário de História de Portugal*. Vol. V. Lisboa: Iniciativas Editoriais, 1975, pp. 27-28.

it can scarcely be doubted that Dinis knew that Pedro Afonso Ribeiro had had a son, Gonçalo Peres [Ribeiro], by an abbess of Lorvão, especially seeing that he had legitimized him on March 11, 1292, issuing two charters to that effect, one produced in response to the request of the child's mother, Teresa Mendes [de Sousa] (who had by then abdicated her position as abbess, now being merely a nun of Lorvão)⁴⁰, and another produced following the request of the father, Pedro Afonso Ribeiro, and of two of his half-siblings, Afonso Peres [Ribeiro] and Margarida Peres [Ribeiro] (the latter appearing in the document alongside her husband Martim Peres [de Alvim])⁴¹.

The first of these legitimation charters would even be included, with the names of the parties removed, in the *Livro das Leis e Posturas*, under the title “*Da legitimaçom dos filhos dalgo e das donas d’ordis*” (For the legitimation of the children of nobles and nuns)⁴², eventually to serve as a precedent in future analogous situations, as seen in the legitimation of Álvaro Vasques Farinha⁴³.

⁴⁰ *Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro II*, doc. 87, pp. 135-136.

⁴¹ *Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro II*, doc. 88, pp. 136-137. In fact, Gonçalo Peres Ribeiro was always well-loved at the royal court, having been a vassal of the King (since 1314) and chief steward (*mordomo-mor*) of the Queen Isabel (from 1320) (SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de – *Linhagens Medievais Portuguesas*, vol. 2, pp. 99-101; *Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro III*. Ed. Rosa Marreiros. Vol. 2. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2019, doc. 443, dated March 9, 1314, pp. 58-59). In the conflict of 1319-1324, he sided with the monarch against the Infante heir, and is remembered for his greed and his failures, as narrated in the chronicles and in the *Livros de Linhagens* (books recording noble lineages), among which stand out the loss of the castles of Gaia and Montemor-o-Velho, of which he was the King's *alcaide* (chief officer) (and which he handed over to two villain-knights to defend), and the episode of the Coimbra bridge, in which Gonçalo Peres Ribeiro was thrown into the river by the Infante's supporters (LL 41L6; *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*. Critical edition of the Portuguese text by Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra. Vol. IV. 2.ª Ed., Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1990, p. 253; *Crónicas dos Sete Primeiros Reis de Portugal*. Critical edition by Carlos da Silva Tarouca. Vol. II. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1952, pp. 84, 113 and 128; PINA, Rui de – *Crónica de D. Dinis [...]*. Porto: Livraria Civilização-Editora, 1945, p. 126; BRANDÃO, Fr. Francisco – *Monarquia Lusitana. Sexta parte*, pp. 413-414 and 422; see MATTOSO, José – *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal (1096-1325)*. Vol. I – *Oposição*. 4.ª ed., Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1991, pp. 217-218; MATTOSO, José – “A Guerra Civil de 1319-1324”. In MATTOSO, José – *Portugal Medieval*, p. 303; MATTOSO, José – “Narrativas dos Livros de Linhagens”. In MATTOSO, José – *Obras Completas*. Rio de Mouro: Círculo de Leitores, 2001, pp. 229 and 244-245).

⁴² “*Da legitimaçom dos filhos dalgo e das donas d’ordis. Don denys ect. a quantos esta carta uirem faço saber que como tal monia ou tal dona uehesse a mjm e me disse hũu filho de tal que assy nome Essa dona me pediu por merçe e por graça que eu lhe legetimasse o dicto filho que pela mha legitimaçom podesse seer herdeyro nos seus bees dela e de seus parentes quando mester fosse. e que possa auer honrras de dignydades de filhos dalgo assy como se fosse feyto e nado lijdamente. Eu sobre estas cousas e sobre esta legitimaçom que me esta dona pediu detiuy por ben de lhe fazer esta merçe e esta graça por seruiço de deus e Reçebo essa petiçon. E legitimo e faço o dicto seu filho lijdimo de meu poder e de mha graça special. E daquy adeante mando e outorgo que o dicto seu filho aia e seia herdeyro en bees da dicta dona sa madre e de seus parentes quando lhe acaeçer assy como se fosse nado lijdimo. E mando e outorgo que aia honrras e dignydades en todalas outras cousas que deue a uer filho lijdimo E sse alguua ley ou dereyto ou custume hy a que contra esta mha legitimaçom seia mando que lhe nom enpeesca nem aquela ley do Codigo que falla no Titolo dos testamentos que nom son bem feytos que se começa conqueritur E o outentico que sse começa Nouissima ect. entensso. ect.” (*Livro das Leis e Posturas*, pp. 127-128; [Consulted on February 8, 2022]. Available at <http://www.ulusiada.pt/clima/ius-proprium-leis-gerais/d-dinis/>. Leontina Ventura and João da Cunha Matos have already noted the similarity between the text of this provision (without the names) and the letter granted to Teresa Mendes [de Sousa], for the legitimation of her son Gonçalo Peres [Ribeiro] (VENTURA, Leontina; MATOS, João da Cunha – “As Legitimações do Reinado de D. Dinis”. *Revista Portuguesa de História* 44 (2013), p. 247, note 24).*

⁴³ In a letter of legitimation that follows that structure, D. Dinis, on November 26, 1308, legitimated one Álvaro Vasques Farinha, his vassal, who was the son of Vasco Peres Farinha and Marinha Peres, who had been abbess of the Benedictine convent of Ferreira de Aves (county of Satão) (*Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro III*, vol. 1,

Indeed, it is highly likely King Dinis had been aware of other similar situations. Certainly, it is notable that the father of Dinis's own mistress, Maria Rodrigues de Chacim, one Rui Nunes de Chacim, was the progeny of the union of Nuno Martins de Chacim (Dinis's childhood guardian, later his chief steward, or *mordomo-mor*)⁴⁴ and a nun from Arouca, Marinha Gomes de Briteiros who appears in the documentation of that house in 1224 and 1225⁴⁵. Mentioned several times in the medieval books of lineages, Marinha Gomes de Briteiros is sometimes described as a nun⁴⁶, sometimes more specifically as a nun of Arouca⁴⁷, and, without fail, with express reference to the child she bore Nuno Martins de Chacim, or to their relationship of intimacy:

“Maria Gomes, who was a nun, and D. Nuno Martins de Chacim lay with her and made in her Rui Nunes”⁴⁸;

“Rui Nunes, son of Nuno Martins de Chacim and Maria Gomes de Briteiros, who was a nun from Arouca”⁴⁹;

doc. 347, pp. 535-536). The *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro* records four children born of this relationship (LL 59B6), one of whom is Gonçalo Vasques [Farinha], also being legitimated by the monarch on October 16, 1289 (Lisboa, ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, Livro 1, fol. 265-265v.; also mentioned in *Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro II*, doc. 95, p. 142). D. Dinis had also legitimated three children that a canon of Oporto and abbot of Cedofeita (county of Oporto) had conceived with a nun from the Order of the Hospital, on June 26, 1292 (*Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro II*, doc. 126, p. 168), as well as an Inês Rodrigues, who was the daughter of Rui Martins do Casal and Aldonça Martins [de Resende], on April 12, 1300, and he would legitimize another daughter of this couple, Salustrina Rodrigues, on February 5, 1310 (*Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro III*, vol. 1, docs. 76 and 363, pp. 140 and 576). The *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro* confirms that Aldonça Martins [de Resende] was abbess of the Benedictine convent of Tarouquela (county of Cinfães), a position she held between 1291 and 1349, and that she had had two daughters by Rui Martins do Casal: Inês Rodrigues [do Casal], who married Afonso Fernandes Fafes, and Salustrina Rodrigues [do Casal], who married Gil Vasques Peixoto (LL 29C4; 39B6; the chronology of the abbacy of Aldonça Martins [de Resende] can be found in SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de – *Linhagens Medievais Portuguesas*, vol. 1, p. 308). D. Dinis also legitimated one Diogo Lopes, son of Lopo Afonso da Cunha and Ouroana Martins, abbess of the Benedictine convent of Loivo (county of Vila Nova de Cerveira), on September 18, 1316 (*Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro III*, vol. 2, doc. 527, pp. 196-197). Once again, this information is confirmed in the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro* (LL 44M7), where only the name of the abbess is not recorded. From another source we know that the knight Lopo Afonso da Cunha (or de *Sadornim*) and the abbess of Loivo had two more daughters (Margarida Lopes and Teresa Lopes), that Diogo Lopes was born “his father being single and his mother already abbess” (“*sendo seu paj solteiro e a Maj ya Abbadesa*”) and that all three were legitimized by D. Afonso IV on November 30, 1327, at which date Diogo Lopes is referred to as a squire (PINTO, Pedro; MARTINS, Diana – “Transcrições e resumos seiscentistas de fragmentos originais da Chancelaria de D. Afonso IV, entretanto desaparecidos (1325-1327)”. *Fragmenta Historica* 6 (2018), docs. 24 and 25, p. 66).

⁴⁴ LL 38T10; SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de – *Linhagens Medievais Portuguesas*, vol. 1, p. 248.

⁴⁵ COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz – *O mosteiro de Arouca do século X ao século XIII*. 2.^a Ed., Arouca: Câmara Municipal de Arouca / Real Irmandade da Rainha Santa Mafalda, 1988, docs. 241-242, pp. 370-371.

⁴⁶ *Livros Velhos de Linhagens*. Critical edition by Joseph Piel and José Mattoso (*Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Nova Série*. Vol. I). Lisboa: Academia das Ciências, 1980 (hereafter “LV” for *Livro Velho* and “LD” for *Livro do Deão*), LD 6AU7-8.

⁴⁷ LD 11AD9 and LL 26L5.

⁴⁸ LD 6AU8: «Maria Gomes, que foi freira, e jouve com ela dom Nuno Martins de Chacim, e fez em ela Rui Nunes».

⁴⁹ LD 11AD9: «Rui Nunes, filho de Nuno Martins de Chacim e de dona Maria Gomes de Briteiros, que foi freira d'Arouca».

“Roi Nuniz de Chacim was the son of Nuno Martiiz de Chacim and of dona Maria Gomez de Briteiros, who was a nun from Arouca”⁵⁰.

It is quite possible the affair was the pretext for the satirical composition *Em Arouca ãa casa faria* (“In Arouca a house I would build”), by Afonso Lopes de Baião⁵¹, which became so popular it raised a “reply” from a fellow troubadour, the Galician Paio Gomes Charinho who, in a mocking song (*cantiga de escárnio*), sought to challenge the bard of Baião over the best methods of wood use and treatment in robust house construction⁵².

Meanwhile, Marinha Gomes de Briteiros switched monasteries, moving from Arouca to Lorvão where she ended up as abbess (1257-1269), whilst her son, Rui Nunes de Chacim, was legitimised by King Afonso III, on 18th November 1265⁵³, his father, Nuno Martins de Chacim, at that time being the kingdom’s *meirinhomor* (1261-1276)⁵⁴.

In the light of such events, well understandable is the preoccupation of the Cistercian General Chapter with the rigorous observance of enclaustration of the Order’s nuns, restricting outings to situations of absolute necessity, even though such legislative initiatives would clash with deep-seated customs, which could not be overcome.

⁵⁰ LL 26L5: «Roi Nuniz de Chacim foi filho de Nuno Martiiz de Chacim e de dona Maria Gomez de Briteiros, que foi freira d’Arouca».

⁵¹ See RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 2, tomo 1, pp. 717-721; the composition can be accessed at *Projeto Littera*. [consulted 11-07-2018]. Available at <http://cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt/cantiga.asp?cdcant=1504>.

⁵² OLIVEIRA, António Resende de – “Distracções e cultura”. In VENTURA, Leontina – *D. Afonso III*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2006, p. 248.

⁵³ *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III – Livro I*, vol. 1, doc. 352, p. 407.

⁵⁴ VENTURA, Leontina – *A Nobreza de Corte de Afonso III*. Vol. 2. Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1992, pp. 626-630 (treating of the biography of Nuno Martins de Chacim). Phd in Medieval History.

3. Enclaustration at Odivelas (Statutes of 1295 and 1306)

As we have seen, life in the Cistercian nunneries of Arouca and Lorvão in the 1290s entailed serious deviations from the spirit and regulatory regime of the Order⁵⁵.

Wary of the progressive secularisation of cloistered life, D. Dinis, as he proceeded to the foundation of the Odivelas community, sought to ensure that his nunnery would be different. To this end, he set down rigorous precepts, especially regarding stringent enclaustration, which he enshrined in the foundation charter of Odivelas and which the nuns were required to observe in order to avoid scandal and reprehensible situations arising within the monastic spaces.

These precepts (or “statutes”), unique in Portugal in the Cistercian context, were nevertheless in line with dominant trends in the Church at the end of the thirteenth century. Indeed, in their formulation, Dinis would have taken advantage of the wise counsel of the bishop of Lisbon and the abbot of Alcobaça, experts in the monastic zeitgeist and contemporary clerical concerns, since the precepts instituted in 1295 at Odivelas anticipated the decretal *Periculoso*, of Pope Boniface VIII of 1298, which required all nuns (regardless of Order) to a life of strict enclaustration, forbidding them contact with the outside world and banning strangers to the communities from entering (with major restrictions even applied to members of the clergy)⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ There is no allusion to this type of deviation in the convent of Santa Maria de Celas in Coimbra, which may be the reason for the choice of this monastic house to receive as novices those who would become the first nuns of Almoester. On the role of Berengária Aires de Gosende in the foundation of the convent of Almoester and the ten novices documented in Celas and associated with that lady and the cenoby she founded, see RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 1, pp. 105-113. However, these deviations also occur in Benedictine communities, as evidenced by the seven references to the sons of five Benedictine nuns found in medieval nobiliaries (see RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – “A mulher religiosa nos livros de linhagens medievais”. *Noroeste. Revista de História* 2 (2006) (= *Congresso Internacional de História: Territórios, Culturas e Poderes. Actas*. Vol. I. Braga: Universidade do Minho, 2006), pp. 708-710 – appendix II and III; three of these sons have already been mentioned in this work, in note 42). Although the processes of foundation of other Cistercian abbeys for women began in the 13th century (1274 for Cástris in Évora and 1287 for Almoester), there is no documentation of the existence of community life in these cenobies in the year 1295 (in the case of Almoester, the entry of the first nuns is certainly later) (RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 1, pp. 95-113). The convent of Cós, on the other hand, had quite unique features (RÊPAS, Luís Miguel; FARELO, Mário; BARREIRA, Catarina Fernandes – “Uma Visitação inédita ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Cós, de 1492. I: A comunidade monástica no período medieval”. *Lusitania Sacra* 41 (2020), pp. 181-208).

⁵⁶ See MAKOWSKI, Elisabeth – *Canon Law and Cloistered Women. Periculoso and its commentators, 1298-1545*. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1997. *Periculoso* was included in the Decretals of Boniface VIII (*Sexti Decretalium*, lib. III, tit. XVI – *De statu regularium*) and is available at Columbia University Libraries: Corpus iuris canonici. (v. 2), cols. 1053-1054 [consulted 10-01-2022]. We recall that João Martins de Soalhães, a cleric and advisor to D. Dinis, who in the meantime was elected bishop of Lisbon (1294), had been in Rome, in the years 1288/1289, as the monarch’s procurator for concord with the Portuguese clergy, in the matter of ecclesiastical liberties, at which time he is referred to as chaplain to Cardinal Giacomo Colonna (see LINEHAN, Peter – “Patronage and indebtedness: Portugal, Castile and the papal Court around the year 1300”. *Historia, instituciones, documentos* 34 (2007), pp. 147-158; FARELO, Mário Sérgio da Silva – *O Cabido da Sé de Lisboa e os seus cônegos (1277-1377)*. Vol. 2. Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2003, pp. 269-271. M.A. in Medieval History; FARELO, Mário – “A quem são teúdos os barões e sages cônegos? Perspectivas

Accordingly, the regulations contained in the foundation charter of 27 February 1295 were in close harmony with those reformist currents in the Church that sought strict enclosure for congregations of nuns. It was in this fashion that the monarch strove that a nunnery of his founding would certainly not be aligned with any relaxation of the usages and customs of the Order, because, as he clearly set out in the preamble to his regulatory stipulations, it was precisely due to this practice of wandering outside their convents that the nuns ended up exposing themselves to multiple dangers and scandals (“by occasion of wandering and straying outside their monasteries, many dangers and infamies came upon the ladies of the said order”⁵⁷). It can scarcely be clearer that the statutes the monarch devised specifically for the nuns of Odivelas had resulted from a careful and critical observation of what had been happening in other convents at the time.

And the rules he laid down were very simple. None of the nuns were allowed to leave the monastery (“that neither the abbess nor the nuns of this convent shall go out in any way from the perimeter of this convent, but shall live within it”⁵⁸) and no man could enter the cloister, nor the houses of the convent, with the following exceptions: confessor monks, when they had to administer the sacraments to nuns who were sick or infirm, or when any nun died, to commend her soul into the hands of the Lord, or perform the office of the dead; monk visitators, only for that purpose and only for time of the Visitation; the king (with three suitable and honest persons), the *infante* (D. Afonso, heir to the throne), the bishop (of Lisbon), the abbot of Alcobaça (with two honest persons), the physicist, the *sangrador*, as well as the carpenters and masons when necessary in specific situations and with all due restrictions. For example, “the carpenters and workers”, when they were “repairing and making the houses, buildings, [and] gardens”, had to be permanently accompanied by at least one monk or a lay brother⁵⁹.

sobre as redes de solidariedade no Cabido da Sé de Lisboa (1277-1377)”. *Lusitania Sacra* 17 (2005), pp. 141-182, especially p. 154 et seq.; and FARELO, Mário; ROLDÃO, Filipa; MARQUES, André Evangelista – “Les Clercs dans l’Administration Dionysienne (1279-1325)”. In *Carreiras Eclesiásticas no Ocidente Cristão (séc. XII-XIV)*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa – Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2007, pp. 271-313, especially pp. 290 and 304). In fact, it was precisely at that time that João Martins de Soalhães obtained for Berengária Aires de Gosende (whose procurator he was also) the license from the pontifical curia for the foundation of the convent of Almoester, also for Cistercian nuns (BNP – Alc. 228, fol. 210-210v.º, published by RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – “A fundação do Mosteiro de Almoester: novos documentos para uma velha questão”. In *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Amadeu Coelho Dias*. Vol. 2. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2006, doc. 3, pp. 116-117).

⁵⁷ “*Verum quia ex occasione uagandi extra propria monasterium discurrendi consueuerunt dominabus prefati ordinis multa pericula et infamie prouenire*” (GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 2, p. 120).

⁵⁸ “[...] *nec abbatissa nec domine ipsius monasterii ultra ambitum dicti monasterii aliquatenus exeant sed intus incluse degant*” (GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 2, p. 120).

⁵⁹ “*Carpentariis etiam et operatoribus quando necessitas exegerit ad domos edificia ortos reficiendos et preparandos et cum supradictarum rerum refectionem seu preparationem fieri contingerit continue ambo monachi uel eorum alter aut fratres conuersi aut eorum alter prefatis magistris carpentariis aut operariis continue assistant et cum eis ingredientur et exeant.*” (GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 2, p. 120).

The monastic enclosure was to be delimited by a grille, which would create a barrier between the nuns' choir and the church at whose altar the Eucharist would be celebrated. This grille also received regulatory attention in the foundation charter where it was stipulated that, separating the choir from the altar, there was to be a doorway comprising two pairs of stoutly constructed doors superimposed one pair over the other, one a solid pair and the other pair comprising grilles, all doors being made of wood and continually kept closed. The sacristan monk would keep the keys of one pair of doors whilst the sacristan nun would hold in her charge the keys of the other pair of doors.

The solid doors would be opened only on the raising of the Body of Christ during the Eucharist, to allow the nuns to contemplate it (a ritual associated with the veneration of the Sacred Host, which gave rise to the feast of *Corpus Christi*, commonly known as the "*Corpo de Deus*" or "Body of God")⁶⁰, and on the occasion a nun wished to speak with someone, for which she would first have to obtain the permission of her abbess ("*quando aliqua monacha uoluerit cum aliquo colloqui quod nulli monacharum liceat nisi de licentia proprie abbatisse*"). In the latter instance, there was to be a curtain between the nun and the grill, as a matter of decorum ("*Cum uero colloquium huiusmodi fieri contingerit sit inter dominas et hostia gradizele intermedium mandille*"). The doors of the grill would only be opened together with the solid doors when the nuns went into the church to receive communion or when they went to the cemetery to bury one of their companions⁶¹.

This rigorous regime was not to last long. A decade later, the nuns would appeal to the king to reform the ordinances, claiming that the rules were so rigid it was impossible for them to be complied with. King Dinis, in 1306, heeded their pleas and amended the statutes of 1295:

"[...] considering that some things that were contained in some clauses of a statute made at another time [...] concerning the building and regimen of the said convent were so strict and so harsh that through their strictness and harshness they could not be completely kept without endangering souls [...] we temporise those said things"⁶².

⁶⁰ The veneration of the Body of God would eventually gain even more prominence in the Christian Western world after Pope Clement V, in 1313, confirmed the bull of Urban IV (1261-1264) that instituted the feast of *Corpus Christi*, re-founding it (see RUBIN, Miri – *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 198 et seq.). On the feast of *Corpus Christi* in Portugal, see COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da – "A Santíssima Eucaristia nas Constituições Diocesanas Portuguesas desde 1240 a 1954". *Lusitania Sacra* 1 (1989), pp. 197-243, especially p. 218 et seq.; and BARREIRA, Catarina Fernandes – "A festa do *Corpus Christi* no Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos séculos XIV e XV". In CRAVEIRO, Maria de Lurdes; GONÇALVES, Carla Alexandra; ANTUNES, Joana (eds.) – *Equipamentos Monásticos e prática espiritual*. Lisboa: Secretariado Nacional para os Bens Culturais da Igreja, 2017, pp. 83-103.

⁶¹ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odívelas*, doc. 2, pp. 118-124 (in Latin) and 124-129 (in medieval Portuguese).

⁶² "[...] considerantes quod aliqua contenta in aliquibus clausulis ordinacionis quondam facte [...] super hedeificatione et regimine dicti monasterii erant tam grauia atque dura quod propter sui grauitatem et durtitiam

Table 2 – Statutes of 1295 and 1306 compared⁶³

Statutes of 1295	Statutes of 1306
<p>– “[...] nec abbatissa nec domine ipsius monasterii ultra ambitum dicti monasterii aliquatenus exeant sed intus incluse degant ac conuersari perpetuo teneantur.”</p> <p>– “Nec ipsa abbatissa et domine siue earum singule communiter uel diuisim per ipsam abbatissam seu quoscumque alios superiores quomodolibet in contrarium licencientur.”</p> <p>– “Nulli etiam hominum liceat claustrum nec officinas eiusdem monasterii ingredi.”</p> <p>– “Licitum tamen sit monachis confessoribus earundem dominarum ibidem commorantibus ingredi ad dandum et administrandum dominabus ibidem patientibus et infirmis ecclesiastica sacramenta et siquam dominam mori contigerit, ad eam comendandam et ad officium ecclesiasticum quod pro mortuis secundum sui ordinis statuta fieri consueuit.”</p> <p>– “[...] liceat prefatis uisitoribus intus ingredi cum ratione uisitationis solummodo ibidem accesserint et hoc tempore sue uisitationis tantum.”</p>	<p>– “[...] tam abbatisse quam dicte moniales ipsius monasterii ultra ambitum dicti monasterii nullatenus exeant sed intus incluse degant ac conuersari penitus teneantur.”</p> <p>– “nec abbatissa seu domine siue earum singule communiter uel diuisim per ipsam abbatissam seu quoscumque alios superiores licencientur ad exeundum de monasterio aliqua ratione <i>nisi tanta fuerit infirmitatis necessitatis alicuius monialis de monasterio quod si non exisset non posset euadere mortis periculum uel infirmitatem perpetuam in dicto medicorum in quo casu exire poterunt taliter infirmitate cum una uel duabus monialibus maturis et discretis atque securis de licentia abbatisse inuocato primo beneplacito regis uel regine sine quo obtento et habito licentiari non poterunt si tamen aliquam eorum tam graui morbo langueret quod expectando regis uel regine beneplacitum secundum communem iudicium sibi mortis periculum iminenter tunc abbatissam de consilio omnium dominarum et abbatis Alcobatie quando haberi poterit eam licenciabitur ab aliquo locum ubi possit a suarum infirmitatum periculo libari.”</i></p> <p>– “Nullo etiam hominum liceat claustrum nec officinas interiores eiusdem monasterii ingredi.”</p> <p>– “licitum tamen sit monachis confessoribus earundem dominarum ibidem commorantibus ingredi ad dandum et administrandum dominabus ibidem patientibus et infirmis ecclesiastica sacramenta et si quam dominam mori contigerit ad eam commendandam et ad officium ecclesiasticum quod pro mortuis secundum sui ordinis instituta fieri consueuit agendum.”</p> <p>– “<i>In super sit licitum monachis uel sacerdotibus missam celebrantibus cum ceroffereriis et ministris claustrum ingredi in diebus processionum tantum secundum quod in ordine fieri consueuit.</i>”</p> <p>– “Liceat etiam uisitoribus intus ingredi cum ratione uisitationis solum modo ibi accesserint et hoc tempore uisitationis tantum.”</p>

sine animarum periculo plenarie obseruari non poterant [...] illa temperauimus” (GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 8, pp. 140-43, in Latin, and 144-146, in medieval Portuguese).

⁶³ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, docs. 2 and 8, pp. 118-124 and 140-143 (in Latin) and 124-129 and 144-146 (in Medieval Portuguese). The differences are marked in italics, for a quicker reading of the table.

Statutes of 1295	Statutes of 1306
<p>– “<i>Liceat etiam domino regi intus ingredi cum tribus personis ydoneis et honestis.</i>”</p> <p>– “<i>Infanti, episcopo et abbati Alcobacie similiter ingredi liceat quando neccesse fuerit cum duabus personis honestis.</i>”</p> <p>– “[...] <i>Medico et sanguini minori similiter liceat intus ingredi tempore neccessitatis.</i>”</p> <p>– “<i>Carpentariis etiam et operatoribus quando neccessitas exegerit ad domos edificia ortos reficiendos et preparandos et cum supradictarum rerum refectionem seu preparationem fieri contingerit continue ambo monachi uel eorum alter aut fratres conuersi aut eorum alter prefatis magistris carpentariis aut operariis continue assistant et cum eis ingrediantur et exeant.</i>”</p> <p>– “<i>Nulli uero alteri homini religioso clerico aut etiam seculari cuiuscumque status et condicionis sit exceptis personis superius nominatis et in causibus supradictis intus ingredi liceat.</i>”</p> <p>– “<i>Inter chorum uero et altare debet esse unum portalem habens duo paria hostiarum quorum quedam debent esse intrega alia uero de gradizela et hec omnia hostia debent esse lignea bona et fortia. Hostia uero intrega sint uersus chorum. Cetera uero de gradizela uersus altare respiciant et sint bene clausa eorum uero hostiorum que chorum respiciunt monacha sacrista semper clauem teneat. Reliquum uero hostium quod uersus chorum est, habeat clauos densos et acutos uersus altare conuersos et sit bene clausum. Claues uero eiusdem hostii conseruet monacha sacrista et quelibet predictorum hostiorum continue sint clausa excepto tamen quod intrega hostia debent aperiri in eleuatione corporis Christi quando aliqua monacha uoluerit cum aliquo colloqui quod nulli monacharum liceat nisi de licentia proprie abbatisse.</i>”</p> <p>– “<i>Cum uero colloquium huiusmodi fieri contingerit sit inter dominas et hostia gradizele inter medium mandille.</i>”</p> <p>– “<i>Non negamus tamen eisdem dominabus quin ueniant ad ecclesiam cum neccesse fuerit ad sanctam communionem recipiendam et ad cimiterium ad sepeliendum dominas eiusdem monasterii secundum ordinis instituta.</i>”</p>	<p>– “<i>Liceat etiam domino regi intus ingredi cum quibus et quando sibi uidebitur. Et regine similiter.</i>”</p> <p>– “<i>Inffanti, episcopo, archiepiscopo et abbati Alcobacie similiter ingredi liceat quando neccessitate fuerit cum duas personis honestis.</i>”</p> <p>– “<i>Medico et sanguiminotori similiter liceat intus ingredi tempore neccessitatis.</i>”</p> <p>– “<i>Carpentariis etiam et operatoribus quando neccessitas exegerit ad domos, hedeficia, ortos refficiendos et preperandos et cum supradictarum rerum refectionem seu propria comunione fieri contingerit continue ambo monachi uel coram alter aut fratres conuersi de monasterio uel eorum alter cum prefatis magistris carpentariis operariis continue assistant et cum eis ingrediantur et exeant.</i>”</p> <p>– “<i>Nulli uero aliqui homini religioso uel clerico aut etiam seculari cuiuscumque stadus uel condicionis sit exceptis personis superius nominatis et in casibus suprascriptis intus ingredi liceat.</i>”</p> <p>– “<i>et ad precauendum multis periculis que per pluralitatem portarum consueuerent monasteriis euenire, volumus ordinamus et statuimus quod non fiat in dicto monasterio aliqua porta per quam monasterium aliquis intrare debeat uel exire excepta porta ecclesie et ad hoc dicte moniales firmiter teneantur.</i>”</p> <p>– “<i>Colloquiorium uero monacharum fiet in ecclesia inter chorum et altare et non alibi et hec semper de licentia abbatisse.</i>”</p>

In fact, as can be seen from the comparison of the Statutes of 1295 with those of 1306 (Table 2), the monarch introduced several changes without ever jeopardising the essential, i.e., the strict observance of enclaustration. In fact, he ordered the church door provide the unique access to the outside world and that never were there to be created any other doors whereby the nuns could enter or leave the convent.

With regard to enclaustration, or put more simply, with regard to the nuns' going out from the monastic building or conversely the entry of external persons into the cloistered space, the changes can be summed up according to three basic themes:

1. Nuns were allowed to leave the monastery if duly authorized by the abbess or by other superiors belonging to the Order, on account of a serious illness placing them in mortal danger or at risk of "perpetual infirmity". This assessment was always to be entrusted to a physician, was to be subject to the authorisation of the abbess (who would have to obtain the prior consent of the king or queen) and would necessitate that the sick be accompanied by one or two mature nuns, who were discreet and trustworthy. The requirement of the consent of one of the members of the royal couple could only be dispensed with if waiting for the obtaining of such would place the life of a seriously ill nun at risk. At that point, the abbess, in consultation with all the nuns (and of the abbot of Alcobaça, when it was possible) could give her permission for the relevant nun to leave the monastery and to go somewhere where she could be freed from the danger of her infirmities.
2. Monks or priests were allowed to enter the cloister, with ministers, when celebrating mass in order to perform those processions required in the Cistercian liturgy.
3. Any limitations previously imposed on the monarch and the queen his wife concerning their access to the convent were annulled (in accordance with a manifest tendency towards the augmentation of royal power during the reign of D. Dinis), with the king and queen now empowered to enter the convent whenever they wanted and with whom they wanted, unlike the *infante*, the bishop (of Lisbon), the archbishop, and the abbot of Alcobaça, who could only enter when necessary, accompanied only by two honest persons. This rule corrected the lacuna of the complete omission of the queen in the list of those who could enter the convent of Odivelas according to the statutes of 1295.

Other amendments are to be found (mainly by omission) concerning the choir stalls and the parlour, but which in no way affect the rigour of monastic enclaustration. However, whilst the entrance of religious into the cloister to

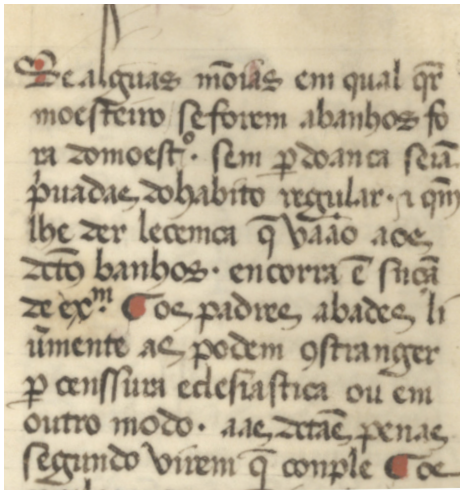
perform the processions required by Cistercian ritual, and the entrance of the royal couple into the convent they themselves had founded, do not raise any particular difficulties, the facility made for nuns to leave their convent on account of serious illness placing them in mortal danger or at risk of permanent damage, begs some consideration. Importantly, assessment of a nun's condition would always be left to a doctor. Bearing in mind that the convent of Odivelas would certainly have possessed an infirmary where the nuns received the care and treatment customary for the times⁶⁴, and that the doctor could, under both versions of the statutes, enter the cloister, we wonder what outside treatment the nuns could possibly be seeking that they could not already receive within their convent? And where would they receive this treatment?

It appears to us likely that the reason underlying this most important statutory amendment of the exceptions to strict enclaustration concerns the nuns' going to places where they could receive treatment with medicinal waters. Although the nuns had lived in the convent of Odivelas for only eleven years, it was sufficient to precipitate those health problems associated with a life of permanent seclusion. Indeed, D. Dinis specifically identified danger to life or permanent incapacity if a nun did not leave as the only situation that would justify the giving of permission to go "to some place where she can be freed from the danger of her infirmities".

Such practice, however, would not have been exclusive to the convent of Odivelas and, indeed, it may well have gained some considerable currency during the first half of the fourteenth century since the Cistercian General Chapter felt the need to legislate on the matter, forbidding nuns to go to the baths, under pain of expulsion from the Order for those who went, and excommunication for whoever

⁶⁴ *Rule of Saint Benedict*, Chapter 36, "Of the Sick Brothers", defines rigorously the importance of the infirmary and of the person responsible for the care given there: "First and foremost, one must take care of the sick and serve them as if they were Christ himself [...]. Therefore, the abbot must take the greatest care not to be negligent in the slightest way with the sick. For the sick, there must be a separate cell, destined for this purpose, and a servant who is God-fearing, diligent, and solicitous. [...] The abbot should take the greatest care that the cellarers and servants do not neglect the sick, for the faults committed by his disciples are his responsibility". The sick were allowed to eat meat to strengthen themselves, even from quadrupeds. Specifically in relation to Odivelas, it is known that D. Dinis, in 1299, in his first testament, destined 4000 pounds to buy properties that would provide income to be applied in the infirmary and clothing of that convent (the monarch, in his second testament, of 1322, continued to destine these 4000 pounds to the convent of Odivelas, although he did not specify how or where they should be applied; in his last will, of 1324, with these 4000 pounds, he ordered the purchase of properties for the convent of Odivelas, of which he assigned 1000 pounds to the chapel he had established there in 1318). The queen, in turn, in her first will, of 1314, set aside 1000 pounds to buy properties for the infirmary of the convent of Odivelas, besides leaving it a bed (in her last will, she maintains that value, but omits the bed). The royal couple, in 1318, ended, however, by endowing the infirmary with the property of Lexim, "for the nuns who are sick or weak to buy them what they need" (GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, docs. 6, 25, 26, 36, 39 and 40, of April 8, 1299, April 19, 1314, May 4, 1318, June 20, 1322, December 31, 1324 and December 22, 1327, pp. 136, 168-169, 171, 190, 198 and 205).

authorised them to go there⁶⁵. This prohibition is recorded in the *Libellus novellarum definitionum*, of 1350, which was translated by Estêvão Vasques de Coz, a bachelor of Law, and copied in 1439 by Friar Nicolau Vieira, a monk from the monastery of Alcobaça:



“Of the cloistering and confession of nuns.

It is decreed that it is not appropriate for the nuns to leave their convents unless necessity requires it which is to be assessed at the conscience of the president. If some nuns in any convent go to bathe outside the convent, they are to be deprived of their regular habit without forgiveness and whoever gives them permission that they go to the said baths incurs a sentence of excommunication. ¶ The father-abbots may freely constrain them by ecclesiastical censure or in another way other than the said penalties according to what they see is fitting⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ “Si quae vero moniales ad balnea qualitercumque processerint extra monasteria, irremissibiliter priventur habitu regulari, et licenciantes easdem ut praedicta petant balnea, sententiam excommunicationis incurrant” (PARIS, Juliano – *Nomasticon Cisterciense seu Antiquiores Ordinis Cisterciensis Constitutiones*. Editio nova Hugone Séjalon. Solesmis: E Typographeo Sancti Petri, 1892, p. 533).

⁶⁶ “**Da claustra e confisom das monjas.** He hordenado que nom convenha aas monjas sair fora de seus moesteiros salvo se a necessidade requerer que se faça o que he leixado aa consciencia do presidente. Se algumas monjas em qualquer moesteiro se forem a banhos fora do moesteiro sem perdoança sejam privadas do habito regular e quem lhe[s] der lecemça que vão aos dictos banhos encorra em sentença de excomunhom. ¶ Os padres abades livremente as podem constringer per censura eclesiastica ou em outro modo aas dictas penas segundo virem que comple” (Lisboa, BNP – Alc. 218, fol. 107). To understand the production context of this codex, in the years 1439/1440, and its organization, see BARREIRA, Catarina Fernandes; FONTES, João Luís; LOPES, Paulo Catarino; RÊPAS, Luís Miguel; FARELO, Mário – “Normatividade, unanimidade e reforma nos códices medievais de Alcobaça: dos tempos primitivos ao abaciado de Frei Estêvão de Aguiar”. *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura* 19 (2019), pp. 345-377.

Whilst for the medieval period there is little information on the subject⁶⁷, frequent instances of necessity where nuns from Odivelas left their convent for bathing purposes, especially to take the waters in Caldas da Rainha, are documented from 1720 to 1759, each occasion being duly authorised and on medical advice, and sometimes explicitly on the grounds that the nun's life was in danger⁶⁸.

4. Statutory Amendments of 1319

The Statutes of 1306 were to be amended again in 1319 following the monarch's decision to be buried in the church of the convent of Odivelas⁶⁹.

In his first will of 1299, King Dinis had expressed his wish to be buried in the monastery of Alcobaça with his wife, Isabel of Aragon, "in the *oussia* of the main altar of Sancta Maria"⁷⁰. In 1314, Queen Isabel, in her first will, confirms this intention of the royal couple, specifying her tomb should be "at the foot of the steps before the main altar [...] where the king orders himself to be buried"⁷¹. This means that Dinis must have decided to be buried in the church of the Odivelas convent sometime between 19 April 1314 and 1 October 1318, when he established a chapel in Odivelas, which was to be served by five monks from the monastery of Alcobaça who were to sing and say five masses a day for his soul. These specifications contain

⁶⁷ A. H. de Oliveira Marques states that the use of medicinal waters to treat skin diseases has been documented in Portugal since the 12th century and that the lepers went to bathe in the Caldas de Lafões, near São Pedro do Sul. He also states that "other diseases, such as rheumatism, swellings, infections, etc., were soothed in the many springs of medicinal water that sprang up all over the country" (MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira – *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa. Aspectos da vida quotidiana*. 5.ª ed., Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1987, p. 98; see also p. 103). Saul António Gomes, in turn, points out "the therapeutic capacities of the spring of Fonte Quente, near the city [of Leiria]", and the "thermal springs of Monte Real, a village founded by D. Dinis, who built a palace there, near the spring of prophylactic and curative waters (especially useful for curing diseases related to the digestive and pulmonary systems) that the Romans had sung about and honored centuries before" (GOMES, Saul António – "Higiene e saúde na Leiria Medieval". In *III Colóquio sobre a História de Leiria e da sua Região*. Leiria: Câmara Municipal de Leiria, 1999, p. 21). For the kingdom of Castela, we know that, "in [May 29,] 1208, Alfonso VIII donated to the abbess [Doña Sancha García] the baths that she had built in royal properties [in the plots of land of the Llana de Burgos], but nothing is clarified about their use" (COELHO, Maria Filomena – *Expresiones del Poder Feudal*, p. 264, note 95, apud RODRÍGUEZ LÓPEZ, Amancio – *El Real Monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos y el Hospital del Rey*. Tomo I. Burgos: Imprenta y Librería del Centro Católico, 1907, doc. 18: "[...] *Dono itaque uobis et concedo balnea illa noua que uos Domna Sancia predicta abbattissa fecistis de uestro proprio in meo solari circa mea palacia uetera que sunt in la plana de burgis prope domos Donati Guillelmi. ut illa cum ingressu et egressu libere et pacifice iure hereditario in perpetuum habeatis et irreuocabiliter remota penitus omni contradicione possideatis. Ad faciendum inde quicquid uolueritis. dando. uendendo. impignorando. concambiando. seu quidlibet aliud faciendo.*")

⁶⁸ We would like to thank Joana Varge and Sofia Correia de Matos, from the Working Group for the Creation of the Interpretation Center of the Monastery of Odivelas (GTCIMO), from the Odivelas City Hall, for the information they generously provided from the collection they have been working on in the Arquivo Histórico do Patriarcado de Lisboa.

⁶⁹ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 35, dated September 10, 1319, pp. 188-189.

⁷⁰ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 6, dated April 8, 1299, pp. 135-138.

⁷¹ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 25, dated April 19, 1314, pp. 168-171.

the first recorded mention of the king's "monument" which was explicitly to be placed in the monastery of Odivelas, a clear and obvious indication of Dinis's intention to be entombed there and not in Alcobaça⁷².

On making this decision, King Dinis had firmly in mind the Abbey of Saint Denis in Paris, where the abbey church had become a popular place of pilgrimage and the mausoleum of the kings of France⁷³. This grand scheme was given a boost when, at the royal couple's instigation, Pope John XXII issued a decree granting a year-long indulgence to all who, truly penitent and duly confessed, visited the abbey church of Saint Dinis at Odivelas on the feasts of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Holy Mary, the Twelve Apostles and the Martyrs Saint Denis and Saint Lawrence, and an indulgence of 100 days to all those who visited the abbey church on the octaves of those feasts⁷⁴.

Of course, all of this tends to indicate that the king was well pleased with this religious community, and in particular with the rigour of the monastic life practised in Odivelas. In fact, King Dinis had already given an account of the merits of his nuns to Pope John XXII, using this as an argument persuading the pontiff to grant the convent of Odivelas the same ecclesiastical privileges that the monastery

⁷² GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, docs. 27 and 28, dated Octobre 1, 1318, pp. 172-179. This intention is repeated in other contemporary documents, namely in a bull of John XXII, dated February 27, 1319, by which it is known that Queen Isabel had also chosen the church of the convent of Odivelas for her ecclesiastical burial, as Giulia Rossi Vairo rightly pointed out (VAIRO, Giulia Rossi – "Isabella d'Aragona, Rainha Santa de Portugal, e il Monastero di S. Dinis de Odivelas". In GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA, Miguel Ángel; CARREIRAS, José Luis Albuquerque (eds.) – *Actas. IV Congreso Internacional Cister en Portugal y en Galicia. Los Caminos de Santiago y la Vida Monástica Cisterciense*. Tomo II. Braga – Oseira: Ediciones Monte Casino, 2009, doc. 4, pp. 864-865; GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, docs. 32 and 34, dated February 27, 1319, pp. 183-184 (Portuguese translation at p. 184), and September 9, 1319, p. 187). About the tomb of D. Dinis, a subject that shall not detain us here, see the works of TEIXEIRA, Francisco – "A imagem da monja cisterciense no túmulo de D. Dinis em Odivelas". *Cistercium* 217 (1999), pp. 1161-1174; FERNANDES, Carla Varela – "O Bom Rei Sabe Bem Morrer. Reflexões sobre o túmulo de D. Dinis". In *D. Dinis. Actas dos Encontros sobre D. Dinis em Odivelas*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Odivelas, 2011, pp. 71-92; and VAIRO, Giulia Rossi – "La tomba del re Dinis a Odivelas: nuovi contributi e proposte di lettura". In CARREIRAS, José Albuquerque; VAIRO, Giulia Rossi (eds.) – *I Colóquio Internacional Cister, os Templários e a Ordem de Cristo. Da Ordem do Templo à Ordem de Cristo: os Anos da Transição*. Actas. Tomar: Instituto Politécnico de Tomar, 2012, pp. 209-248, and the most important study of the same author: VAIRO, Giulia Rossi – *D. Dinis del Portogallo e Isabel d'Aragona in vita e in morte*.

⁷³ Pedro de Mariz, in the first chapter of the third of his *Dialogos de varia historia...*, which focuses on the reign of D. Dinis, has already highlighted this aspect: "His body is buried in the monastery of S. Diniz de Odiuellas, of the Order of Cistercians, which he himself founded, built, and endowed with large revenues: the imitation of the Kings of France, who would be buried in another similar one" (MARIZ, Pedro de – *Dialogos de varia historia...*, Coimbra: Oficina de Antonio de Mariz, 1594, fol. 105-105v.º).

⁷⁴ This bull reinforced earlier bulls, in which Pope Clement V had granted one hundred days of indulgence to those who visited it on the feasts of Saint Mary and of the Martyr Saint Denis or in the eight subsequent days, and the bull in which Pope John XXII himself had already granted one year of indulgence to those who, in penance, visited it on the feasts of Saint Mary, of the Martyr Saint Denis and of the other saints honoured at the altars of the abbey church, and a forty-day indulgence to those who visited it in the following eight days (up to 120 days per year) (GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, docs. 17, 22 and 32, dated April 28, 1308, p. 154, July 15, 1312, pp. 165-166, and February 27, 1319, pp. 183-184 [all texts in Latin with Portuguese translation]).

of Alcobaça enjoyed⁷⁵. Certainly, this royal predilection is made very clear in the succession of privileges and charters of donation the monarch showered upon Odivelas⁷⁶.

On examination of the foundation document for the funerary chapel of King Dinis, established to celebrate his memory, once again the same concerns emerge with regard to monastic enclaustration, the rigour of which the king intended to maintain⁷⁷. Owed to this, he was especially concerned with the selection of the five chaplains serving the chapel, to be recruited preferentially from among the monks of the monastery of Alcobaça and who were to be “good elderly men, of good life and good reputation”. He also imposed severe restrictions on their entry to the convent of Odivelas. They could only go to church to say masses or pray the canonical hours, and only at those times stipulated for the purpose; and they could not speak with the nuns, nor do anything (or deal with any subject) with them, except the confessor monks, when they were required to confess them, and, even then, only by the command and with the permission of their *mayor* (superior):

“And none of these monks that are here or shall be here, will enter the said convent of Odivelas, except when they go to the church to say the masses or pray the Hours at the time they should, nor shall they speak nor have any fraternisation with the nuns of this convent, except the monks that shall hear them confess and shall go there by the command and with the permission of their *mayor*.”⁷⁸

Indeed, this concern over confessors had already been expressed in the *Libellus antiquarum definitionum* of 1316:

“¶ All the nuns of the Order confess through a specifically fashioned aperture intended for the purpose, apart from the sick and apart from the visitators with whom they can confess in the chapter room. And they do not confess to anyone but the abbot priest or whoever he appoints. Especially because it

⁷⁵ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 23, dated July 15, 1312, pp. 166-167 (Portuguese translation, p. 167).

⁷⁶ See, *supra*, note 18.

⁷⁷ We will concentrate here on the issues that have to do with enclaustration. The foundation of this chapel and its function has been often discussed in other works, of which we would like to highlight GOMES, Saul António – “As Capelas do rei D. Dinis”. *Fragmenta Historica* 6 (2018), pp. 15-48 (especially pp. 24-26) and GOMES, Saul António – “D. Dinis e a fundação”, pp. 44-46.

⁷⁸ “E nenhum destes frades que hy estam ou steverem nom devem a entrar no dicto mōesteyro d’Odivelas senom quando forem aa eigreia dizer as missas ou rezar as oras ao tempo que devem nen ajam fala nen affazimento nenhum com as donas desse mōesteyro salvo que os frades que as ouverem de confessar vaam hi per mandado e per lecença daquele que hy for seu mayor” (GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 27, dated Octobre 1, 1318, pp. 172-176).

is ordered by special privilege of the Lord Pope. Nor is anyone admitted to confess or to absolve nuns except by special license of the abbot priest. It is not convenient they confess to their chaplains, and less to priests or persons of another religion [Order], because both the one who confesses and the confessor will incur a sentence of excommunication by law. Except if the abbot gives power to such chaplains already professed to hear confessions.”⁷⁹

Later, in the *Libellus novellarum definitionum* of 1350, the subject would be addressed once more:

“¶ The chaplains of the nuns already received or to be received shall not hear the confessions of nuns without special license of the abbot father.”⁸⁰

As mentioned, anticipation of the installation of King Dinis’ tomb between the choir and the main chapel in the abbey church of Odivelas, would prompt a new chapter in the development of the Odivelas statutes⁸¹. The nuns sought entry to the church in order to pray over the king’s sarcophagus and to intercede with God on his behalf (and on behalf of the other members of the royal family buried there), just as the monarch himself had asked them. To that end, the nuns requested that neither the king, nor the abbot of Alcobaça (as their visitor), nor their successors put up a grill, wheel, or any other form of barrier (in stone or wood) that would prevent them from going into the church to pray over the king’s monument.

⁷⁹ “Todallas monias da hordem falem de confissom per freesta congrua pera esto deputada afora as enfermas e afora os visitadores com os quaaes de confissom no cabijdoo podem fallar. E nom se confessem a algum senom ao padre abbade ou a quem el cometer. Maiormente porque he defeso per priuilegio spicial do senhor papa. Nem se antremeta algum das confissooes e absoluçoes delas senom de lecença spicial do padre abbade. Nom conuenha a ellas confessarem a seus capellaes e menos aos sacerdotes ou a pessoas doutra religiam porque huem e o outro asy o que sse confessa como o confessor encorrer em sentença de excomunham per dereito. Saluo se o abbade a taes capelaães ja professos der poderyo de ouuyr confissões.” The *Libellus antiquarum definitionum* would later be translated into Portuguese (*Definições velhas* or *Libelo antigo*) by Estêvão Vasques de Coz, bachelor of Law, and copied by Friar Nicolau Vieira, a monk of Alcobaça in 1439 (Lisboa, BNP – Alc. 218, fol. 81-81v.º). See, *supra*, note 64. Also found in Lisboa, BNP – Alc. 73, fol. 209-209v.º.

⁸⁰ “¶ Os capelaes das monias ja recebidos ou que ao deante forem nom ouçam confissooes das monias sem licença spicial do padre abbade.” (Lisboa, BNP – Alc. 218, fol. 107). See, *supra*, note 64.

⁸¹ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 35, dated September 10, 1319, pp. 188-189.

In counterpart, they undertook to observe strict enclaustration, based on three points:

1. Never to leave the convent and never to set foot outside the door of the church, nor through another door or via any other place⁸²;
2. Never to speak to any man in the church, nor elsewhere in the convent, except when they had to confess or to do other things from which they could not excuse themselves (during visitations, for example); if they wished to speak to their relatives or other persons, they were to do so in the church, with the permission of the abbess, who was to be there present (or, alternatively, two or three nuns chosen by her);
3. They were not to let any man or woman into the cloister, except for the servers (*sergentes*) and some good ladies whom the abbess considered worthy, as well as those persons whose entry, given their necessity, could not be avoided, who could enter when authorized by the abbess; however, allowing for the entry of the king, the queen, and the royal children.

To ensure compliance, the abbess promised not to allow any nun to leave, nor violate these precepts; and her successors when elected, were to promise the same. Likewise, before receiving anyone as a nun, they were to show her and read to her the charter containing these precepts, which the new nun was to accept expressly.

In the argumentation presented by the nuns, there is clear emphasis on their intention to comply with the desires of King Dinis (*pera conprirmos per hi a voontade d'el-rei*) referring to the strictness of the enclaustration or, perhaps, to the desire the king had expressed to them that they go and perform their prayers over his monument⁸³.

⁸² “[...] nos todas ensinbra e cada hũa de nos de nossa livre voontade e sen outra força e sen prema nenhũa prometemos a Deus e a Sancta Maria sa madre e a San Beeyto e a San Bernaldo de cuya ordem nos somos e ao glorioso San Denis en cuja onrra he fondado o dicto moesteiro assi come de costume de nossa ordem de jurar por nos e por todas outras que hi depois entrarem que nunca sayamos desse moesteiro nen tiremos o pee pela porta da igreja nen per outra porta nen per outro logar fora do moesteiro.” (GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 33, of September 6, 1319, p. 185). We remember that in 1306, the king had determined that in the convent of Odivelas there was only one access door, the church door, which justifies this statement, not preventing, in the medieval manner, other hypothetical ways to leave the conventual building were safeguarded (“*Volumus ordinamus et statuimus quod non fiat in dicto monasterio aliqua porta per quam monasterium aliquis intrare debeat uel exire excepta porta ecclesie et ad hoc dicte moniales firmiter teneantur quod si aliquo tempore contra istam ordinationem de non faciendo portam adfuerit actemptatum.*” – GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 8, dated June 14, 1306, p. 142, with translation at p. 145).

⁸³ The intention was expressed by the monarch, in a document drawn up four days later: “*E porque lhys eu rouguei e encomendei que veessem sempre sobrelo meu moymento que hy ha-de star Deus querendo na eg[re]ja desse moesteiro fazer oraçom e rogarem a Deus por mim e polos outros reys e reynhas e infantes que hy jouverem*” (GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 35, of September 10, 1319, p. 188). We believe, however, that they may have been referring to the strictness of enclaustration because it is in this context that the aforementioned expression arises.

Obviously, the monarch agreed to the request⁸⁴. On the face of it, his concessions eased the strictness of the enclosure a little by allowing the nuns access to the church, yet at the same time, he was hoping to reap the spiritual benefits of the nuns' prayers and devotions and, anyway, the church was a sacred space after all, and the nuns had promised not to go outside via any part of it. Further, when dispensing with the physical barriers to their movement, the monarch had accepted the sufficiency of the promise made by Abbess D. Urraca Pais and her nuns who had vowed before God, Saint Mary, Saint Benedict, Saint Bernard, and Saint Denis that they would serve God inside the convent, strictly observing the enclaustration⁸⁵.

Besides these amendments, now completely disappeared was the clause that had been included in the Statutes of 1306 by which the nuns were allowed to leave the convent for health reasons (serious illness placing them in mortal danger or at risk of "perpetual infirmity") provided that they were duly authorised by the abbess or by other superiors of the Order⁸⁶. Taking into account that the sick had to leave accompanied by one or two other nuns (although mature, discreet, and trustworthy), it is perhaps not surprising that these trips, if recurrent, might be somewhat displeasing to the monarch, just as they were displeasing to the Cistercian General Chapter, which placed a ban on them (certainly where trips to the baths were concerned) in the *Libellus novellarum definitionum* of 1350, as mentioned above.

Closing observations on enclaustration

In the argumentation presented by the nuns of Odivelas in 1319, outstanding is the way in which they demonstrate their knowledge that enclaustration was not being respected in any of the other Cistercian convents in the kingdom (a matter to which they expressly draw the king's attention):

"[...] although in the convents of our order that are in the kingdoms of Portugal and the Algarve it was the practice and is the practice for the nuns to go out to other places where it is necessary for them, with the permission of their abbess."⁸⁷

⁸⁴ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 35, dated September 10, 1319, pp. 188-189.

⁸⁵ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 33, dated September 6, 1319, pp. 185-186.

⁸⁶ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 8, dated June 14, 1306, pp. 140-143 (in Latin) and 144-146 (in medieval Portuguese).

⁸⁷ "[...] como quer que os moesteiros da nossa ordem que som nos reynos de Portugal e do Algarve usarom e usam as donas de sairem fora aas outras partes as donas hu lhis conpre per lecença de ssa abadessa" (GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 33, of September 6, 1319, p. 185).

Indeed, it is of no small significance that D. Urraca Pais, the abbess of Odivelas at the time, would have been very well aware of this reality since she had professed in the convent of Lorvão and had lived there for about twenty years before being chosen to lead the community founded by D. Dinis⁸⁸.

Thus, the promise made by the nuns of Odivelas in 1319 and, in particular, this allusion to what was happening in the other Portuguese houses, refer us to the twofold situation that had meanwhile manifested among the Cistercian female communities and which is recorded in the *Libellus antiquarum definitionum* of 1316:

“¶ The convents in which the nuns of our Order were enclosed in the year of the Lord one thousand two hundred and eighty-nine, whoever now is in them, or will be henceforth, shall be forever enclosed. And of the other convents, let them comply with everything that is contained in the constitution of Boniface [VIII].”⁸⁹

It is important in the above quotation to note that mention of the year 1289 here refers to the *Libellus definitionum* (Book of Definitions or *Definitiones*) whose compilation was completed in that year, and which was a collection of the revised and codified rules and regulations ultimately decreed by the Cistercian General Chapter for global application within the Cistercian Order. As usual, the fifteen chapter (the last one) was dedicated to Cistercian nuns⁹⁰.

As Maria Filomena Coelho has highlighted, the older nunneries, of “ancient enclosure” (*clausura antiga*), declined to accept the *Periculoso*, and, in their opposition to Pope Boniface VIII’s decretal, they deployed their own usages and traditions in their arguments resisting this attempted imposition by the hierarchy⁹¹. Indeed, the Cistercian General Chapter tried to impose enclaustration on all nuns in the Order, but were only able to win full compliance from nuns belonging to convents of so-called “new enclosure”, i.e., those incorporated after 1289, which in Portugal covered only the convent of Odivelas, since all of the other Cistercian nunneries in the kingdom had been admitted into the Order before that date (Lorvão

⁸⁸ Urraca Pais de Molnes is documented as a nun of the convent of Lorvão between 1296 and 1315 and as the abbess of the convent of Odivelas between 1318 and 1340 (RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 2, tomo 2, pp. 521-534, which recounts her biography).

⁸⁹ “¶ Os moesteiros em que as monias de nossa hordem eram encerradas no ano do senhor de mil e duzentos e oytenta e noue quaaes quer que agora neeles som ou despois forem seiam ençerradas pera senpre. E dos outros moesteiros guardesse em todo aquelo que na constituçom de bonifaçio mais conpridamente he contheudo” (Lisboa, BNP – Alc. 218, fl. 81). See, *supra*, note 64. Also found in Lisboa, BNP – Alc. 73, fol. 208v.º-209.

⁹⁰ See, *inter alia*, LEKAI, Louis J. – *The Cistercians, Ideals and Reality*. Kent State: Kent State University Press, 1977, pp. 75-76. Manuscript copies of the *Libellus definitionum* can be found in the BNP, Lisbon, in codices Alc. 45 and Alc. 46 (the latter incomplete).

⁹¹ COELHO, Maria Filomena – “Instituições, normas e monacato”, p. 134.

in 1211, Arouca in 1226, Celas (de Coimbra) between 1227 and 1232, Cástris in 1274⁹² and Almoester in 1287⁹³.

Undoubtedly, in Odivelas, a number of extraordinary factors had come together. It was the only female abbey in the kingdom to be admitted into the Order after 1289, living its primordial moments in the epoch of the *Periculoso*. Furthermore, it had come into being at the initiative of a royal founder who was not only keenly sensitive to that which new currents in the Church were seeking to introduce into female spirituality, but who was endowed with a headstrong determination tending towards obstinacy and who was possessed of a markedly forceful personality⁹⁴. Indeed, it is exactly this dogged royal pertinacity that had become palpably concrete in the Statutes of Odivelas. All in all, it was a combination rendering Odivelas utterly unique in the Portuguese Cistercian experience.

In fact, from the point of view of enclaustration, the exceptionality of Odivelas' community life, and of its governing statutes, brought the convent closer to some of the newer houses of other monastic orders that had been appearing in the meanwhile within a legislative context of reform, discipline, and enclaustration of regular female life. Certainly, it was far easier to establish this new strict-enclosure model in new houses, importantly from the very moment of their foundation, whilst simultaneously inaugurating mechanisms of control to secure effective compliance. Moreover, the endowment of such houses from the outset implied a tacit acceptance of those rules imposed by their founder and thus the subsistence (indeed existence) of the community was dependent on a strict observance of them. This is what happened in Odivelas, where the king explicitly threatened the nuns with the revocation of their endowment if they did not comply with the ordinances laid out in the Statutes of 1306:

*“Ego dictus dominus rex Dionisius dicti monasterii institutor atque fundator reuoco totam donationem, scilicet, patronatum ecclesiarum, ortorum, vinearum, domorum et aliarum hereditatum cuiuscumque condicionis existant factam dicto monasterio per eundem et uolo per hanc ordinationem quod omnia dictata si fiat alia porta nisi secundum quod in ista clausula continetur reddeant suis successoribus integre et sine diminutione aliqua et faciant de eis sicut de illis que sibi de iure regni debentur.”*⁹⁵

⁹² CANIVEZ, Josephus Maria – *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*. Tomo III: *Ab anno 1262 ad annum 1400*. Louvain: Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1935, p. 136, § 51; for the background to the foundation see RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 1, pp. 95-105.

⁹³ RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – “A fundação do Mosteiro de Almoester: novos documentos”, doc. 1, pp. 113-115; for the context of the foundation of this convent, see RÊPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 1, pp. 105-113.

⁹⁴ See SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de – *D. Dinis*, pp. 206-208.

⁹⁵ GOMES, Saul António (ed.) – *Mosteiro de Odivelas*, doc. 8, June 14, 1306, pp. 140-143 (in Latin) and 144-146 (in medieval Portuguese).

The same was true for the convent of Santa Clara de Vila do Conde, established on May 7 1318 by Dinis's illegitimate son, Afonso Sanches and his wife, Teresa Martins Telo. Although enclaustration was obligatory for the Poor Clares, the founders, in their foundation charter, nevertheless explicitly imposed it upon the nuns of the house, and, further, threatened to retain their initial endowment for themselves if the terms of their charter were not respected:

“And we make this donation to this our convent under such precept and condition that the nuns of this Order of Poor Clares shall live here, in this our convent, forever, cloistered, under that rule, privileges and graces that the Pope has given and granted us, or will give and grant henceforth to this our convent. [...] And if the nuns of the convent do not want to correct it, or do not keep and fulfil the things that are here included, and we want and command, in our days that we can retain and keep the goods, rents and rights of the estates, possessions and churches that we have given and shall give and that we have rendered and shall render to the said convent, until such an abbess is put in charge that corrects the things that must be corrected, and that they keep all the said things, which are included here, as it is said. Because it is [only] right and fair that, since we founded and endowed this place, our wishes be fulfilled, and which we here order to be done forever, especially in our days.”⁹⁶

Notably, King Dinis especially favoured this monastic house which, indeed, his son Afonso Sanches and Teresa Martins Telo had founded not just for the sake of their own souls, but also for the soul of the king who duly obliged by taking it under his protection⁹⁷, granting it privileges⁹⁸ and enlarging its patrimony with a string of

⁹⁶ “E esta doaçam fazemos a este nosso moesterio, sob tal preyto e comdiçam, que viuam hy em este noso moesteyro pera sempre donas dessa hordem de samta Crara, emçarradas, sob aquella rrega e priuilegios e graças, que nos o Papa ha dados e outorguados, ou der e outorguar em diante pera este nosso moesteyro. [...] E se as donas do comuento esto nom quiserem correeger, ou nom guardarem e comprirem as cousas que aqui som comtheudas e mamdamos e queremos, que nos em nosos dias posamos reteer e filhar os beems e rremdas e direitos das herdades e possiões e egreiros, que demos e dermos e guanhamos e guanharms ao dito moesterio, ataa que se meta hy tal abadessa, que correegua as cousas, que ouuer de correeger. E que guardem todas as ditas cousas, que aqy som comtheudas, como dito he. Ca direito e rrezam he, que pois nos fundamos e dotamos ho dito moesterio, que se cumpram hy as nossas vomtades, e ho que nos aqy mamdamos pera sempre, asinadamente em nosos dias.” (O *Cartulário do Mosteiro de Santa Clara de Vila do Conde*. Ed. Carlos da Silva Tarouca. Separata de *Arqueologia e História*, 8.ª série, 4 (1947), doc. 29, pp. 78-89). For an overview of the Order of Poor Clares in Portugal, in medieval times, see ANDRADE, Maria Filomena – “*In Oboedientia, sine Proprio et in Castitate, sub Clausura*”: A *Ordem de Santa Clara*, pp. 102-104). On the endowment letter and the importance of the patron family, see COSTA, Marisa – “Poder e autoridade de fundar um mosteiro. A dotação de Santa Clara de Vila do Conde”. *De Arte. Revista de Historia del Arte* 3 (2004), pp. 23-37.

⁹⁷ O *Cartulário do Mosteiro de Santa Clara de Vila do Conde*, doc. 14, dated January 3, 1319, pp. 55-56; *Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro III*, vol. 2, doc. 609, pp. 317-318.

⁹⁸ Namely, the privilege of being able to inherit landed property from his professed sisters, i.e., it exempted it from the Desamortization Law of March 21, 1291 (O *Cartulário do Mosteiro de Santa Clara de Vila do Conde*, doc. 16, dated January 10, 1319, pp. 58-59; *Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro III*, vol. 2, doc. 610, pp. 319-320).

properties: the churches of Santiago (today Santa Maria) de Murça⁹⁹, São Vicente de Chã (county of Montalegre) and Santa Cruz de Lamas de Orelhão (county of Mirandela)¹⁰⁰, and the farm of Fornos (county of Santa Maria da Feira)¹⁰¹.

Among the Cistercians, the great value of binding nuns to enclaustration in the foundational moment of incorporation into their Order, already recorded in the *Definitiones* of 1289, was highlighted again in the *Libellus antiquarum definitionum*, of 1316:

“¶ The nuns who hereafter happen to be incorporated into our order, the more firmly they can be cloistered before the consent to the incorporation, the more firmly and forever they will be [cloistered].”¹⁰²

In Portugal, however, save for Odivelas, this particular *definitione* would largely fall moot because, as it would turn out, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, no new nunneries of the Cistercian Order were to be founded in the kingdom. Rather, as previously noted, the prevailing spirituality passed to the mendicants with a special emphasis now falling on houses of the Order of Poor Clares¹⁰³.

Further, King Dinis’ partiality for the convents of Odivelas and Santa Clara de Vila do Conde contrasts with the omission of the nunneries of Arouca and Lorvão from the monarch’s last will and testament (and indeed that of his wife)¹⁰⁴. Was this because these houses were wealthier, possessing more patrimony than the two new foundations, or was it really because these older houses did not exert themselves in the strict observance of the monastic principles that were the touchstone of the times – something that would have greatly displeased the king? What is certain is that the criterion of wealth in no way served to exclude the White Monks of Alcobaca from a share in the royal testamentary magnanimity, whose vast riches

⁹⁹ *O Cartulário do Mosteiro de Santa Clara de Vila do Conde*, doc. 11, dated April 9, 1318, pp. 52-53; *Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro III*, vol. 2, doc. 576, pp. 279-280.

¹⁰⁰ *O Cartulário do Mosteiro de Santa Clara de Vila do Conde*, doc. 12, dated July 29, 1318, p. 54; *Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro III*, vol. 2, doc. 577, pp. 280-281.

¹⁰¹ D. Dinis would also renounce all the rights that the crown eventually could have in the convent of Santa Clara de Vila do Conde, in favour of that community. With this renunciation, the monarch intended to prevent his successors from later taking possession of the said rights (*O Cartulário do Mosteiro de Santa Clara de Vila do Conde*, docs. 13 and 15, dated August 8, 1318, and January 4, 1319, pp. 54-55 and 57-58; *Chancelaria de D. Dinis – Livro III*, vol. 2, docs. 594 and 608, pp. 316-317).

¹⁰² “¶ *Moniales uero quas decetero ordini nostro incorporari contigerit quantumcunque firmiter potuerunt includi ante incorporacionis assensum firmiter ac perpetuo includantur.*”, from de text of the 1289 *Libellus definitionum* (Lisboa, BNP – Alc. 45, fol. 96) or “¶ *As monias que daquy auante acontecer seerem encorporadas aa nossa hordem quanto mais firmemente poderem seer ençerradas ante do consentimento da encorporaçom tanto firmemente e pera sempre o seiam.*”, from the Portuguese translation of the *Libellus antiquarum definitionum* (Lisboa, BNP – Alc. 218, fol. 81; see, *supra*, note 64; also found in Lisboa, BNP – Alc. 73, fol. 209).

¹⁰³ See, *supra*, note 6.

¹⁰⁴ See, *supra*, note 20.

cast the possessions of most other houses, even those as well-endowed as Arouca and Lorvão, rather into the shade¹⁰⁵.

At the time of the king's last will, in 1322, Aldonça Anes de Sousa (or de Briteiros) was abbess of Arouca. Occupying the position from 1317 until 1327, she was famed not only for the size of the usufructuary patrimony at her disposal, but also for her affair with Martim Afonso Chichorro (or de Sousa) – grandson of Afonso III and nobleman of the court of King Dinis – by whom she had conceived two children (Vasco Martins de Sousa and Martim Afonso de Sousa)¹⁰⁶. Dinis cannot fail to have been aware of this – not only was Martim Afonso Chichorro the king's own nephew, but Fernão Sanches, Dinis's illegitimate son, was married to the sister of Abbess Aldonça Anes, one Fruilhe Anes de Sousa¹⁰⁷. Nor, apparently, did the scandals stop there. The *Livro do Deão*, a medieval book of lineages, records that, during the first half of the fourteenth century, a nun from Almoester “jouve” (lay) with Gil Vasques Peixoto¹⁰⁸.

Readily, we understand exactly what it was the monarch was seeking to avoid in the very convent he himself had founded and which he had selected to guard his earthly remains. At stake was the reputation of the religious community bound in perpetuity to pray for the king's salvation – and in the hereafter, perhaps even the destiny of his own immortal soul.

¹⁰⁵ In the well-known document of the taxation (*taxatio*) of Portuguese ecclesiastical benefices, made in 1320/21, the monastery of Alcobaca was taxed at 18000 pounds, much more than the convent of Arouca, at 9000 pounds, or the convent of Lorvão, at 5000 pounds; the convent of Odivelas (with the churches of São Julião de Santarém, Santo Estêvão de Alenquer and São Julião de Frielas) was taxed at 2000 pounds and the convent of Santa Clara de Vila do Conde (with the rectory of the churches of São Vicente de Chã, São Salvador de Fervença and Alcoentre) at 1500 pounds; it should be noted that D. Dinis also excluded from his last will and testament the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, taxed at 20150 pounds (adding the values relative to the prior's table, the convent and the priory of Leiria that was attached to it) (BOISSELLIER, Stéphane – *La Construction Administrative d'un Royaume. Registres de Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques Portugais (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles)*. Lisboa: CEHR – UCP, 2012, pp. 137, 166, 173-174, 180 and 183). José Augusto Pizarro lists the monasteries dropped from D. Dinis's last will: Santa Cruz de Coimbra, Trindade de Santarém, Arouca and Lorvão (SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de – *D. Dinis*, p. 211).

¹⁰⁶ “*Martim Afonso, filho de Martim Afonso Chichorro e de Inez Lourenço, não foi casado mas dormio com a abadessa d'Arouca que houve nome dona Aldonça e era filha de dom João Rodrigues de Briteiros e de Guiomar Gil. E este Martim Afonso, filho de Martim Afonso Chichorro, fez em esta dona Aldonça, abadessa de Arouca, um filho que houve nome Vasco Martins e outros filhos.*” (LD 5A6); “*Martim Afonso, filho de Martim Afonso, nom houve semel liidima, mais houve uu filho em ua dona que era abadessa d'Arouca, que havia nome dona Aldonça Anes de Briteiros, e o filho houve nome Vaasco Martiins.*” (LL 22G15); “*esta dona Aldonça Anes foi abadessa d'Arouca; e em seendo abadessa, houve uu filho de Martim Afonso Chichorro, como ja dissemos.*” (LL 23B2). For the biographical data of the abovementioned, see SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de – *Linhagens Medievais Portuguesas*, vol. 1, pp. 176-177 and vol. 2, pp. 179-180 and RÉPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 2, tomo 1, pp. 90-128 (which corresponds to the biography of Aldonça Anes de Sousa).

¹⁰⁷ SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, José Augusto de – *Linhagens Medievais Portuguesas*, vol. 1, pp. 196-198 and vol. 2, p. 180.

¹⁰⁸ LD 18A5. Referring to Aldonça Gomes [da Silva], documented as a nun of Almoester between 1313 and 1341 (RÉPAS, Luís Miguel – *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 2, tomo 2, pp. 12-16).