

# EL PAPADO Y LOS REINOS HISPÁNICOS EN LA EDAD MEDIA

*Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, María José Cañizares Gómez y Mário Farelo (Coords.)*



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23

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# *IN PERSONAM SUI FAMILIARIS: STUDYING THE FAMILIA OF CARDINAL ANTÃO MARTINS DE CHAVES USING THE REGISTERS OF SUPPLICATIONS (1439-1447)*

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## INTRODUCTION

Very few documents produced within the households of medieval cardinals have reached us. This is one of the main difficulties faced when studying the *familiae*<sup>1</sup> of these characters. To overcome it, historians have found an alternative in the sources produced by other institutions, namely the Roman Curia<sup>2</sup>. The supplications addressed to the pope are one of these types of documents, perhaps the most useful for studying those structures<sup>3</sup>. The first months of a pontificate were particularly favoured by cardinals and their *familiae* to appeal to the generosity of the newly elected pontiff<sup>4</sup>. Its manifestation is preserved in the many volumes that make up the *Registra Supplicationum*<sup>5</sup> kept in the Vatican Apostolic Archives<sup>6</sup>.

The aim of this paper is to study the family of Cardinal Antão Martins de Chaves, using a set of 118 supplications, identified and selected from the supplication registers produced during the pontificate of Eugenius IV and until the death of Sixtus IV<sup>7</sup>. Throughout the text we will endeavour to make comparisons with other

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this text, the words *familia* or *family* do not refer to the blood family or relatives of the cardinals, but rather to the group of clerics and laypeople who formed a privileged nucleus within the cardinal courts. Several definitions are give on the second part of the paper.

<sup>2</sup> MASSON, “Les cours cardinalices d’Avignon”, pp. 294-295.

<sup>3</sup> GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour Pontifical d’Avignon*, p. 254; DÍAZ IBÁÑEZ, “Clérigos Familiares de Cardenales”, pp. 411.

<sup>4</sup> ZACOUR, “Papal Regulation of Cardinals’ Households”, p. 445.

<sup>5</sup> KATTERBACH, *Inventario dei Registri delle Suppliche*.

<sup>6</sup> In the course of the text, the words “Vatican Apostolic Archives” have been abbreviated to “AAV”, and “Registra Supplicationum” to “Reg. Suppl.”.

<sup>7</sup> KATTERBACH, *Inventario dei Registri delle Suppliche*, pp. 20-53. A significant part of this *corpus* was

cardinal families already studied, particularly from the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>8</sup>, since this type of approach is not often pursued for the 15<sup>th</sup> century. We'll begin with a brief biography of cardinal Antão Martins, followed by an approach to the concepts and definitions related with medieval cardinals' courts and families, and end with the key results of this case study<sup>9</sup>.

## 1. BECOMING CARDINAL ANTÃO MARTINS DE CHAVES (c. 1403-1439)

The life of cardinal Antão Martins de Chaves has never been studied in depth. The main elements for reconstructing his biography continue to be those collected by António Domingos de Sousa Costa in his various works, especially the *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana* volumes<sup>10</sup>. Although this study focuses on the family of cardinal Antão Martins, the fact that this is a little-known figure outside of Portuguese historiography leads us to outline some aspects of his biography.

The first reliable identification of Antão Martins comes on 2<sup>nd</sup> of April of 1403, when *Antonius Martini de Castrobono*<sup>11</sup>, canon of Viseu, received the parish church of Santa Maria de Ventosa, in the diocese of Viseu<sup>12</sup>. In May of 1409, we find him at the council of Pisa as *Antonius Martini*, canon of Viseu, on a list of witnesses called to take an oath. How did he arrive in Pisa?

only made possible by consulting the archives of António Domingues de Sousa Costa, OFM, preserved in the Provincial Archives of the Portuguese Province of the Franciscan Order (henceforth APPPOF) in Lisbon, who dedicated himself to transcribing and editing thousands of supplications relating to Portuguese matters between the 14<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, which have only been partially published. On Sousa Costa's collection see: FONTES, ANDRADE, FARELO, "Uma vida de investigação", pp. 529-542. The published volumes of supplications: COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vols. I-IV. In-person checks were carried out at the AAV which enabled supplications not mentioned by Sousa Costa to be identified.

8 For example: Kiss, "Cardinal's familia as a Network", pp. 59-75; JUGIE, *Le cardinal Gui de Boulogne*, 3 vols; DÍAZ IBÁÑEZ, "El cardenal Pedro Gómez Barroso", pp. 164-192 and HURTUBISE, "La 'familia' del cardinale Giovanni Salviati", pp. 589-609.

9 At the time of writing, we are preparing a doctoral thesis on the families and networks of cardinals João Afonso de Azambuja (1411-1415), Antão Martins de Chaves (1439-1447), Jaime de Portugal (1456-1459) and Jorge da Costa (1476-1508).

10 COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vols. II and III-1.

11 This first reference is the only one in which his name is accompanied by the geographical designation of *Castrobono*, which makes any attempt to establish his origins difficult. Castelo Bom was part of the diocese of Ciudad Rodrigo until 1403, when the lands and goods it had in Portugal were incorporated into the diocese of Lamego by the bull *Eximie devotionis sinceritas* of Boniface IX. DINIS, *Monumenta Henricina*, vol. 1, pp. 306-309.

12 COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, pp. 821-822. AAV, *Registra Lateranensis* (henceforth Reg. Lat.) 114, ff. 119v-120.

The king of Portugal, João I, confirmed his adherence to the council of Pisa to the cardinals and to the conciliar assembly in a letter dated 11<sup>th</sup> of February of 1409. The Portuguese delegation, led by the archbishop of Lisbon, João de Azambuja, left the kingdom after 20<sup>th</sup> of April of that year<sup>13</sup>. On 10<sup>th</sup> of June of 1409, the ambassadors received a safe conduct from the king of Aragon, in which Antão Martins is not mentioned<sup>14</sup>. Naturally, they are not yet on the attendance list of the council held on 14<sup>th</sup> of June of 1409<sup>15</sup>. The Portuguese delegation finally joined the council at the end of that month<sup>16</sup>. We know that the canon of Viseu was already in Pisa months before the Portuguese delegation arrived, but we still don't know how or why.

Antão Martins reappears in papal documents in September of 1411, as a *familiaris* of the king of Portugal João I<sup>17</sup>. That month he was granted a 10-year dispensation from residency in his benefices<sup>18</sup> and was referred to as acolyte of the pope<sup>19</sup>. As we have no information on Antão Martins between May 1409 and September 1411, it is difficult to say whether he returned to Portugal or remained in the Curia. We also have no information on the period between this last reference and the bull authorising him to exchange certain ecclesiastical benefits in November of 1414, when he appeared in the Curia as a canon of Coimbra<sup>20</sup> and a *familiaris* of the cardinal of *S. Petri ad Vincula*<sup>21</sup>, that is, João de Azambuja, the archbishop of Lisbon who had led the Portuguese embassy to the council of Pisa.

We can safely say that Antão Martins was in the papal Curia in September of 1411. Shortly before, in August of that year, the newly created cardinal João de Azambuja arrived in Rome<sup>22</sup>. Did Antão Martins remain in the Curia between 1411 and 1414 at the cardinal's service? Both were close to King João I, both were present at the council of Pisa and at the papal Curia between late August and September of 1411.

<sup>13</sup> The Archbishop of Lisbon's will was drawn up in Arganil, a town in Portugal, where he would still be on 23<sup>rd</sup> of April. COSTA, "D. João Afonso de Azambuja", pp. 43-44.

<sup>14</sup> The safe conduct does not mention the names of the ambassadors or the members of the entourage, it only mentions "larchbisbe de Lisboa, lo bisbe de Lamego e dos mestres en teología e dos doctors". COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, pp. 740-742.

<sup>15</sup> MILLET, "La participation du Portugal au Concile de Pise", p. 239.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 242 and 252.

<sup>17</sup> COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, p. 823. AAV, Reg. Lat. 157, ff. 192-192v.

<sup>18</sup> COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, pp. 824-825. AAV, Reg. Lat. 159, ff. 79-80.

<sup>19</sup> COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, p. 824. AAV, Reg. Lat. 157, f. 192v.

<sup>20</sup> A benefice for which he had already had concessions since at least 19<sup>th</sup> of December of 1406. COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, pp. 822-823. AAV, Reg. Lat. 132, ff. 231-232.

<sup>21</sup> COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, p. 825. AAV, Reg. Lat. 175, ff. 161v-162.

<sup>22</sup> Created cardinal by Pope John XXIII on the 6<sup>th</sup> of June of 1411. EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica*, pp. 32-33. Based on the *libri divisionum* kept in the AAV under the label Camera Apostolica, Obligationes et Solutiones 61, we were able to prove that cardinal Azambuja was present at the consistory meetings of the 27<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> of August of 1411. The resulting research can be read in RODRIGUES, "Following the cardinal". See also COSTA, "D. João Afonso de Azambuja", p. 50.

Although these factors make it possible that Antão Martins joined Azambuja's cardinal *familia* earlier, we only have documentary evidence for this from November of 1414, the date of the aforementioned bull<sup>23</sup>. Cardinal Azambuja died on 23<sup>rd</sup> of January of 1415 in Bruges, where he was preparing to embark for Portugal after attending the inauguration of the council of Constance<sup>24</sup>.

Antão Martins was present at the council of Constance on 5 June 1416, when the Portuguese delegation, which had arrived three days earlier, presented its embassy to the conciliar assembly. After Gil Martins, Doctor of Laws, began his speech, it was Antão Martins, secretary to the king of Portugal, who closed the presentation<sup>25</sup>.

In a supplication of November 1417, Antão Martins, still secretary to the king of Portugal, said that the latter had sent him "*cum aliis suis ambaxiatoibus*" to the council of Constance. This wording seems to indicate that Antão Martins accompanied the ambassadors sent by João I, and the use of "*aliis*" seems to indicate that he considered himself one of them<sup>26</sup>. A supplication from December of that year also tells us that Antão Martins was sent to the council of Constance as the king's secretary<sup>27</sup>.

After the council of Constance, Antão Martins remained in the Roman Curia. In 1411 he had been an acolyte of pope John XXIII, and now he was also a familiar of pope Martin V, as stated in the aforementioned supplication of November of 1417<sup>28</sup>. In the following years, Antão Martins embarked on an upward trajectory: he obtained various graces and ecclesiastical benefits, progressed up the curial hierarchy and gradually became closer to the pontiff. In May of 1418 he became an acolyte of Martin V and obtained the indispensable exemption from residing in his benefices while he was in the Curia, in the service of the king of Portugal or in

<sup>23</sup> There is an incompatibility, which we will try to resolve elsewhere, between the fact that Antão Martins was considered a familiar of cardinal Azambuja in the bull of 23<sup>rd</sup> of November of 1414 and that he was in Sintra on 7<sup>th</sup> of December of that year, as the king's secretary, drawing up the mandate given by João I to the said cardinal and to the bishop of Porto, Fernando da Guerra, to represent him at the council of Constance. The mandate is published in: COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, pp. 841-842, but Sousa Costa doesn't mention this problem.

<sup>24</sup> COSTA, "D. João Afonso de Azambuja", p. 61.

<sup>25</sup> SÁ, *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis*, vol. III, p. 91.

<sup>26</sup> COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-2, pp. 3-4: "Antonius Martini, eiusdem ecclesie Ulixbonensis canonicus, eiusdem S. familiaris necnon devotissimi eiusdem S. ac sancte Romane Ecclesie filii Jo[hannis] Portugalie et Algarbii regis secretarius, quem ad hoc sacrum generale Concilium una cum aliis suis ambaxiatoibus destinavit".

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30: "Antonii Martini, sancti Joannis de Begia, quem devotissimus filius S. V. Jo[hannes] Portugalie et Algarbii rex tamquam secretarium suum ad hoc Concilium Constantiense destinavit".

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

a General Study. In January of 1419 he became the pope's cubiculary<sup>29</sup>. He appears in various papal documents throughout that year, being alternately referred to as "familiar", "acolyte", "acolyte and a familiar", "cubiculary" and "acolyte and cubiculary" of the pope<sup>30</sup>. After December 1419, he disappears from the papal supplication records, which seems to indicate a departure from the Curia, perhaps a return to Portugal.

He appears again in a bull dated May of 1422, but only issued in April of the following year, also as the pope's cubiculary and with the dignity of dean of Évora, when he is renewed the dispensation to reside in the benefices while he remains in the Roman Curia or in a general study<sup>31</sup>. We have no news of him between the end of 1419 and May of 1422, nor from the latter date until, as we shall see, March of 1423. However, the fact that he continued to be considered the pope's cubiculary and was able to renew his privilege of non-residence seems to indicate that he was present in the Curia in 1422.

In the consistory of 10 March 1423, Antão Martins received the bishopric of Porto<sup>32</sup>. He is mentioned in two supplications that month as residing in the papal Curia, where he remained until at least September of that year, when he personally pledged to the Apostolic Chamber to pay the 1000 florins owed by the said bishopric<sup>33</sup>.

In 1424 he was still in the Curia, judging by the fact that the diocese of Porto was administered by his vicars<sup>34</sup>, as in 1425, where he acted as procurator for Portuguese clerics before the Apostolic Chamber. We assume that he remained at the papal court until at least March of 1425, when the Apostolic Chamber granted him a licence to travel to Portugal to deal with his own affairs and those of the Apostolic Collectorate of the kingdom of Portugal<sup>35</sup>.

The next few years were spent in Portugal and the documents show him active in the administration of his diocese and in the defence of the interests of the Portuguese clergy. As early as December of 1426, he took part in the synod of the

29 *Ibid.*, p. 828. About papal cubulaires see: PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, "La chambre à coucher du pape", pp. 379-425.

30 COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, pp. 828-830; vol. III-2, pp. 162-163, 195-201, 217-218, 221-222, 229.

31 *Ibid.*, vol. III-1, pp. 830-831.

32 AAV, Armadio XII, t. 121A, f. 81v: "Eadem die [Mercurii, VI Idus Martii] ...translatus est dominus Valascus, episcopus Portugallensis, ad Ecclesiam Elborensem, vacantem ut supra. Eadem die pro visum dicte ecclesie Portugallensi de persona Domini Antonii Martini, Decani Ecclesie Elborensis".

33 COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, pp. 830-831.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 842.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 842.

archdiocese of Braga<sup>36</sup> and in 1427 in the meeting of the courts in Santarém. In 1428 he made the visit *ad sacra limina* through a proxy. However, his presence in the kingdom didn't mean that he was distancing himself from the central organs of the Church, as in 1433 he was appointed apostolic collector in Portugal<sup>37</sup>. His appointment to this position reflects, on the one hand, the trust that the Apostolic Chamber placed in Antão Martins, after his prolonged presence in the Curia, and on the other, his ability to move within the Portuguese Church, as a figure who was both close to the monarch and the ecclesiastical elites.

The definitive manifestation of this leading role assumed by Antão Martins was his royal appointment in November of 1435 to lead the Portuguese embassy to the council of Basel, together with Afonso, King Duarte's cousin and count of Ourém<sup>38</sup>. The embassy left Portugal the following January of 1436, travelling through Castile and Aragon, staying six weeks in Barcelona and arriving in Livorno in June. They spent two weeks in Florence and ten weeks in Bologna, where the Papal Curia of Eugenius IV was located. They left Bologna in October and finally arrived in Basel on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December, almost a year after leaving Portugal<sup>39</sup>.

The day after his arrival, the count of Ourém handed over the embassy he had received from King Duarte to the conciliar assembly, with Vasco Fernandes giving the speech. A few days later, the Portuguese delegation seated Antão Martins, bishop of Porto, in the seat reserved for the Portuguese monarch, "as he was in the person of the said Lord King"<sup>40</sup>, with the other ambassadors taking their places. After taking part in the council of Pisa and the council of Constance, Antão Martins was now in charge of the Portuguese representation at the council of Basel. The Portuguese ambassadors had received clear instructions from Duarte, King of Portugal, to remain faithful to the position of pope Eugenius IV<sup>41</sup>.

In 1437, the party present at the council of Basel in favour of Eugenius IV appointed an embassy to travel to Constantinople to negotiate with the representatives of the Greek Church and to accompany Emperor John Palaeologus to Italy<sup>42</sup>. The embassy was made up of Nicholas of Cusa, John of Ragusa, Peter, bishop of Digne, and Antão Martins, bishop of Porto<sup>43</sup>. The delegation left Basel in May and arrived in Constantinople in September of that year. Their mission was successful,

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 842-843.

37 AAV, *Diversa Cameralia* 17, ff. 233v-234.

38 DINIS, *Monumenta Henricina*, vol. 5, pp. 175-177.

39 *Diario da Jornada do Conde de Ourem*, p. 9.

40 "por ser em pessoa do dito Senhor Rey". *Ibid.*, p. 57.

41 COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-2, p. CCIII. GOMES, *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 417.

42 MARIANO, "The Council and Negotiations", p. 316.

43 *Acta Cusana*, pp. 215-217; COSTA, *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. II, p. CCIV.

and in February 1438 the ambassadors arrived in Venice with the Emperor and a delegation from the Greek Church<sup>44</sup>.

After participating in the council and in the embassy to Constantinople, in defence of papal interests, Antão Martins received from Eugenius IV the *commenda* of the Benedictine monastery of Paço de Sousa, a monastic institution in the diocese of Porto with an important income. On 18<sup>th</sup> of December of 1439, Antão Martins was created a cardinal presbyter and given the title of St. Chrysogonus the following January. He was authorised to maintain the administration of the diocese of Porto and the aforementioned monastery<sup>45</sup>.

## 2. THE CARDINALS' FAMILIA AND FAMILIARES (XIII-XVI CENTURIES)

Paravicini Baglioni wrote about the origin of the cardinals' *familiae*, placing it in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, but focusing his study on the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the period in which these structures developed and were definitively organised<sup>46</sup>. The term *familia* was used for the first time –to designate a cardinal's *entourage*– in the *vita* of Pope Alexander III which is part of the *Liber Pontificalis*, written between 1166 and 1176<sup>47</sup>. From then on it was used by canonists to describe part of the court or households of the cardinals<sup>48</sup>.

The composition of the cardinal's *familia* was chosen by the cardinal himself. The first evidence of this dates back to 1256, the date of the earliest letter appointing a cardinal's chaplain, being there no documentary evidence of earlier periods<sup>49</sup>. Regarding the Avignon papacy, Bernard Guillemain confirms that familiars were appointed personally by the respective cardinals<sup>50</sup>. Innocent VI (1352-1362) established that cardinals could only grant letters of familiarity to their domestic and commensal *familiares*, that is, those who lived with them permanently<sup>51</sup>. Pierre

44 *Ibid.*, pp. CCIV-CCV.

45 *Ibid.*, vol. III-1, p. 832.

46 PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Cardinali di Curia e 'Familiae' Cardinalizie*, vol. 1, p. 7.

47 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 452.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 455.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 455-456. In the nomination letter of 1256, the chaplain is added to the "capellanorum ... consortii" of the cardinal, while in a similar letter from 1337 the reference to the *familia* is clearer: "familie noster consorcio libenter adiungimus". *Ibid.*, pp. 457-458.

50 GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour Pontifical d'Avignon*, pp. 253-254. Some pages latter, the same author suggests that the nomination letter was especially important to clerical *familiares*: "Pour les clercs, l'essentiel était d'avoir obtenu le brevet qui les avait introduits de plein droit dans la 'famille'". *Ibid.*, pp. 256-257.

51 ZACOUR, "Papal Regulation of Cardinals' Households", pp. 454: "Denique ordinamus atque statuimus ut nullus cardinalium litteras familiaritatis vel de recipiendis ordinibus aliquibus concedat nisi dumtaxat familiaribus domesticis et commensalibus suis".

Jugie, also for the 14<sup>th</sup> century, studying the *familia* of Cardinal Gui de Boulogne, identified several letters appointing cardinals' *familiares* and chaplains<sup>52</sup>.

The different authors who have studied these structures in different chronologies have put forward different, albeit approximate, definitions of what they consider to be a cardinal's *familia*. Starting with Paravicini Baglioni, who defines it as follows for the 13<sup>th</sup> century:

le fonti parlano di una “familia cardinalis” quando vogliono designare l'insieme di tutte quelle persone che si trovano al servizio di un cardinale, in legazione o residente in Curia, sia chierici che laici, cappellani o inservienti. Il termine “familia” copre così tutta la vasta gamma di funzioni, titoli e altre varie attribuzioni, che si riscontrano sempre più numerose nelle diverse corti cardinalizie<sup>53</sup>.

Pierre Jugie defines the cardinal's *familia* in the 14<sup>th</sup> century as follows:

L'ensemble des personnes, ecclésiastiques ou laïques, que le cardinal – par la délivrance d'une lettre patente de familiarité, au moins pour les clercs – retenait à son service personnel et auxquelles il assurait le logement sous son propre toit (dans sa ou ses livrées), la nourriture, une rétribution régulière directe («salaire») et indirecte (obtention de bénéfices ecclésiastiques), une part du vêtement (essentiellement la livrée) et des gratifications diverses (cadeaux, dons, ...)<sup>54</sup>.

Writing about the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Mary Hollingsworth refers to the difficulty in establishing a separation between *corte* (household) and *familia*, suggesting the following definition:

Although the terms *corte* and *familia* were used interchangeably to designate a cardinal's household in treatises and documents of the period, technically the *familia* formed a distinctive clan within the court. All members of the household were permanent staff, remunerated for their services and given the right not only to sleep in the cardinal's palace but also to eat at his table (...). The *familiari* proper were a small elite of courtiers, who were distinguished from the rest of the court by letters patent, issued to them by the cardinal, which granted them certain legal and fiscal privileges within the Church, notably exemption from the customary fees payable for apostolic letters and the right to acquire ecclesiastical benefices<sup>55</sup>.

52 JUGIE, *Le cardinal Gui de Boulogne*, pp. 95-111.

53 PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Cardinali di Curia e ‘Familiae’ Cardinalizie*, vol. 2, p. 452. And also: “quell'insieme di persone che si trovava al loro seguito, sia in Curia che durante le legazioni, servendoli in mansioni diverse: religiose, liturgiche, culturali e politiche”. *Ibid.*, p. 445.

54 JUGIE, “Les Familiae Cardinalices”, p. 46.

55 HOLLINGSWORTH, “The Cardinal's Household”, p. 261.

With these definitions in mind, which we consider to be complementary to each other and which may be used for the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, we should still briefly address the issues of the functioning and internal division of the cardinal families.

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, according to Paravicini Bagliani, the cardinals' *familiae* were divided between clerical and secular members<sup>56</sup>. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there was also a division between "maison laïque" and "maison clerical", as suggested by Guillemain<sup>57</sup>. Jugie emphasises this distinction by speaking of an "établissement ecclésiastique et d'un maison noble"<sup>58</sup>. This scholar compares the family to a community of regular canons, living not under certain rules, sharing common meals and living under the same roof, where the female elements were practically non-existent or at least omitted from the sources<sup>59</sup>.

These families were hierarchical structures headed by a cardinal, assuming the role of *pater familias*, who delegated its governance to a *camerarius*. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, according to Paravicini Bagliani, the *camerarius* was "un personaggio molto influente in seno alla *familia cardinalizia*"<sup>60</sup>, responsible for the cardinal's treasury, the financial organisation of the *familiae*, among other responsibilities. Guillemain gives him vast prerogatives also during the Avignon papacy, telling us that he was responsible for everything that went on in the cardinal's household<sup>61</sup>. In addition to this official, the cardinals' *familiae* also had an auditor, an equally influential figure who had administrative and judicial functions within the family<sup>62</sup>, and a series of sub-officials who were responsible for the different aspects of daily life chapel, chancellery, kitchen, stables, etc. - and who would answer to the *camerarius*<sup>63</sup>.

56 Based on the will of a cardinal, the author proposes a structure according to which the secular part of the family would be made up of those who were cosanguine and non-cosanguine to the cardinal. Among the non-cosanguines, there was a division between nobles and non-nobles. Among the non-nobles there was also a difference between those who rode horses and those who didn't. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Cardinali di Curia e 'Familiae' Cardinalizie*, vol. 2, p. 460.

57 This was first suggest by Guillemain for the 14<sup>th</sup> century and later verified by Paravicini Bagliani for the 13<sup>th</sup> century. GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour Pontifical d'Avignon*, pp. 252-255; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Cardinali di Curia e 'Familiae' Cardinalizie*, vol. 2, p. 460.

58 According to Jugie, the existence and organisation of the "maison noble" is due to the aristocratic backgrounds of most cardinals. JUGIE, "Les Familiae Cardinalices", p. 51.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

60 PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Cardinali di Curia e 'Familiae' Cardinalizie*, vol. 2, p. 472.

61 GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour Pontifical d'Avignon*, p. 256. Quant au camérier (...) il exerçait son droit de regard sur tout ce qui se passait à l'intérieur de l'hôtel.

62 JUGIE, *Le cardinal Gui de Boulogne*. pp. 160-161.

63 JUGIE, "Les Familiae Cardinalices", p. 52.

The communal character of the family, emphasised by Jugie, was evident at mealtimes. The table was an important element of the cardinal's family routine, and he would eat accompanied by his *familiares commensales*. The first reference found by Paravicini Baglioni to this practice of communal sharing of meals dates back to 1227, during which those attending would listen to readings from the Bible or other religious texts<sup>64</sup>, just like in a monastic community. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, cardinals' meals reached a level of splendour that was considered excessive, leading several popes to try to curb the excesses through legislation that was invariably unsuccessful<sup>65</sup>.

The very title of *comensalis cardinalis*, which reflects this presence at the cardinal's table, appears for the first time in the 40's of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, appearing more frequently in documentation from the third quarter of that century onwards, accompanied by other titles and functions, such as *familiares et commensales cardinalis*. The term became common during the Avignon period<sup>66</sup> and, as we shall see, also in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

As for the size of these structures, Paravicini Baglioni tells us that in the 13<sup>th</sup> century a cardinal's family must have had more than 15 people and that a cardinal's house must have had between 20 and 30 people<sup>67</sup>. Bernard Guillemain, for the period between 1309 and 1376, estimates that there were around 25 ecclesiastical familiars in each cardinal's *familia*<sup>68</sup>. For Gui de Boulogne's *familia*, considering his entire cardinalate (1343-1373), Pierre Jugie establishes an average of 41 *familiares*<sup>69</sup>. A document from 1509, which lists the different cardinals' households in Rome, establishes an average of 154 *familiares* per cardinal<sup>70</sup>. The *Descriptio Urbis* of 1526 gives each cardinal's *familia* an average of 130 *familiares*<sup>71</sup>, although these figures should be taken with caution<sup>72</sup>.

This data seems to indicate that the size of cardinal families increased significantly between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, it is important to nuance this statement, since it is possible that the very concept of *familia cardinalis* varied over time and between different sources. For example, taking the early 16<sup>th</sup> century

64 PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Cardinali di Curia e 'Familiae' Cardinalizie*, vol. 2, p. 463-465.

65 ZACOUR, "Papal Regulation of Cardinals' Households", pp. 440-442.

66 PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Cardinali di Curia e 'Familiae' Cardinalizie*, vol. 2, pp. 466-467.

67 *Ibid.*, pp. 499-500. Among the *familiares* identified by the scholar, more than half are chaplains, but he warns that this is due to the sources used, letters of provision of ecclesiastical benefits, where the most prominent clerical members of the family naturally appear, as was the case with the chaplains. As we will see, this is not the case in the supplications made by cardinal Antão Martins or by his *familiares*.

68 GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour Pontifical d'Avignon*, p. 256.

69 JUGIE, "Les Familiae Cardinalices", pp. 49-50.

70 CHAMBERS, "The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals", p. 293.

71 DUFOULEUR, *Léguer sans fils, hériter sans père*, pp. 139-140.

72 *Ibid.*, pp. 334-335; HURTUBISE, "La 'familia' del cardinale Giovanni Salviati", p. 590.

as an example, Paolo Cortesi, in his *De Cardinalatu*, suggests that a cardinal's court is made up of 140 individuals, but clearly separates familiars (60) from the remaining members (80)<sup>73</sup>, which is probably not the case in the two other sources we cited in the previous paragraph.

As well as lavish banquets, the size of entourages and the number of cardinals' *familiae* were also the subject of regulatory attempts by the Avignon popes<sup>74</sup>. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the commission made up of cardinals Giordano Orsini, Alaman-no Adimari and Alfonso Carrillo Albornoz, charged by Martin V with the task of presenting a plan for the reform of the church, proposed that cardinals, when travelling in Rome and even when visiting each other, should not be accompanied by more than 20 people on horseback<sup>75</sup>. This proposal was officialised by bull of Martin V in 1425<sup>76</sup>.

In 1432, a proposal drawn up during the work of the Council of Basel proposed that each cardinal should have no more than 30 familiars<sup>77</sup>. Another, presented in 1435, suggested that each cardinal should have no more than 25 familiars that enjoyed the privileges recognised to them<sup>78</sup>. Neither of these was upheld and the decree published at the XXIII session of the council of Basel on 26<sup>th</sup> of March of 1436 was limited to warning cardinals against families that were reprehensible for their size and splendour<sup>79</sup>. In 1497, during the pontificate of Alexander VI, the reform commission appointed by this pope proposed limiting the number of cardinals' *familiares* to 80<sup>80</sup>.

73 CHAMBERS, "The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals", p. 293.

74 GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour Pontifical d'Avignon*, pp. 253-254. About the repeating attempts to rule on this issue by the popes of Avignon see: ZACOUR, "Papal Regulation of Cardinals' Households", pp. 434-455. The scholar concludes that, in general, those measures were not effective: "All of which suggests that the popes in the later Avignonese period were concerned about the overall size of the households of cardinals, but that they could do little about it. If the general import of Innocent's constitution *Ad honorem* was to maintain a modest standard of life in the papal curia, it is difficult to see how this continued growth could represent anything but failure. Apparently it had become impossible to impose on the cardinals any personal limitations that they themselves were unwilling to accept". *Ibid.*, p. 446.

75 "Item quod dum incidunt per urbem et ad visitandum se etc., non ducant ultra XX equos". HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, p. 178. Gigliola Fragnito writes that this commission established a limit of 20 *familiares* for each cardinal, but we found no sources that back this information. FRAGNITO, "Parenti" e "familiari" nelle corti cardinalizie", p. 566.

76 Gigliola Fragnito writes that this bull dates from the 13<sup>th</sup> of April of 1425, but we could not confirm this. *Ibid.*, p. 566.

77 "Item quod quilibet cardinalis tenere possit XXX personas, equitaturas XX, equos aut mulos pro salmis IV". HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, p. 209.

78 "Item quod nullus cardinalis quicunque habere possit ultra viginti quinque familiares premiis tamen privilegiis ac exemptionibus familiarium cardinalium gaudentes". *Ibid.*, p. 243.

79 "nec numerositate, nec fastu, aut pompis, neque aliquo excessu reprehensibilis sit", FRAGNITO, "Parenti" e "familiari" nelle corti cardinalizie", p. 566.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 567.

With the administrative complexification of the curial institutions over the course of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it became essential to find ways to finance the growing number of personnel. In the case of the cardinals' *familiae*, the granting of benefices to *familiares* became a fundamental funding mechanism<sup>81</sup>. The granting of ecclesiastical benefices to members of cardinals' *familiae* required the acceptance of the respective cardinal. In addition, when the *familiaris* died, the cardinal had the right to pass it on to another individual of his choice. This right of the cardinals is called *reservatio cardinalis*<sup>82</sup>. During the Avignon papacy, benefices continued to play a fundamental role in the financing of these *familiae*<sup>83</sup>. The system of reserves continued to function throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>84</sup>, as we shall see, but also into the 16<sup>th</sup><sup>85</sup>.

### 3. THE FAMILIARES OF CARDINAL ANTÃO MARTINS DE CHAVES

As we have seen, Antão Martins was created cardinal in December 1439 and was in the curia at the time<sup>86</sup>. After the departure of the Portuguese embassy to the council of Basel in 1436, in which he was taking part, he never returned to Portugal. After reaching the cardinalate, he remained in the papal curia until his death on 11<sup>th</sup> of July of 1447<sup>87</sup>. During his seven-year cardinalate, Antão Martins gathered around him a court of servants, *familiares* and relatives. The set of 118 supplications that we have selected, between the pontificates of Martin V and Sixtus IV<sup>88</sup>, allow us to study not only each of these men but also the *familia* of this cardinal as a whole.

In this study, we have only included those individuals that the documentation explicitly mentions as being *familiares* of Antão Martins. This excludes those who are only referred to as *dilectus* or *consanguineus*, such as his *nepoti*. Although they could and did form part of the cardinal's court, their blood ties with the cardinal place them in a separate category.

A number of these familiars had already accompanied Antão Martins before he reached the cardinalate and would accompany him until the end of his life. This was the case of Rodrigo Gomes, a cleric from Porto, who, in a supplication dated Febr-

81 PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Cardinali di Curia e 'Familiae' Cardinalizie*, vol. 2, p. 505.

82 *Ibid.*, pp. 500-501.

83 GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour Pontifical d'Avignon*, p. 264.

84 OTTENTHAL, *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiregeln*, pp. 188, 239, 255.

85 HALLMAN, *Italian Cardinals*, pp. 98-110.

86 COSTA, *Monumental Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, p. 884.

87 MONTEIRO, *Do Morro da Sé à Cúpula de Roma*, p. 37.

88 The supplications used are found in the following registers: AVV, Reg. Suppl. 311, 326, 354, 355, 358, 360, 362, 365, 368-372, 374, 375, 378, 381-386, 390, 391, 393, 395, 398, 401-406, 408, 409, 411-413, 416-419, 421, 422, 427, 430, 434, 441, 445, 449, 452, 480, 488, 489, 506, 507, 509, 513, 537, 549, 568, 574, 575, 747, 748, 756, 782.

ary of 1439, claimed to be “*provisor domus ac familiaris continuus commensalis*” of Antão, bishop of Porto. He made use of the fact that he had resided with the future cardinal at the council of Basel and had accompanied him on the embassy to the Greeks to ask for the possibility of accumulating two incompatible benefices<sup>89</sup>. In August of that year, Antão Martins himself said that Rodrigo Gomes was already his familiar “*a magnis temporibus citra*”<sup>90</sup>. Rodrigo Gomes remained at his service in the Roman Curia until the cardinal’s death. This long-standing connection materialised in his selection as magister domus of Antão Martins’ household in Rome<sup>91</sup>.

Another example is João Álvares, probably a cleric from Porto, who in a supplication of September of 1436, when the Portuguese embassy to the council of Basel was in Bologna with Eugenius IV, claims to be chaplain to the bishop of Porto and to have come with him to the Curia<sup>92</sup>. In February of 1441, João Álvares was presented in a supplication by the cardinal himself as his “*camerarius*” and “*capellanus*”<sup>93</sup>, thus accumulating two of the most prestigious functions within the *familia* of Antão Martins. This is another case of a *familiaris* with whom the cardinal would have developed a certain trust, assigning him important roles in the management of his household, and who would also serve him until the end. João Álvares was presumed dead in a supplication from 1479<sup>94</sup>.

In addition to these particular cases, which stand out for their longevity, diversity and quality of service, Antão Martins’ *familia* was made up of many other individuals about whom we know very little. How many were there altogether? First of all, we should mention that the supplications studied only allow us to identify clerics, with no trace of any secular *familiares*. We are dealing with the elite of the *familia* referred to by Hollingsworth, and within this, only the clerical part<sup>95</sup>.

89 “Supplicat S. V. devotus orator vester Rodericus Gometii (...) provisor domus ac familiaris continuus commensalis devote creature vestre A[ntonii], episcopi Portugalensis, qui cum eodem Basilee residendo ac in partibus Grecorum eundo ac veniendo cum Grecis infirmitates et labores in Ecclesie necnon eiusdem S. servitium sustinuit” AAV, Reg. Suppl. 354, f. 33. Identified and transcribed by Sousa Costa but never published.

90 *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 360, f. 279. Identified and transcribed by Sousa Costa but never published.

91 He appears in a total of 16 supplications, between 1439 and 1464, probable year of his death. *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 449, ff. 104-104v: “Rodericus qui bone Memorie Antonii tituli sancti Grisogoni sancte Romane Ecclesie cardinalis familiaris continuus comensalis et illius magister domus extitit quique cum dicto cardinali tam ad Basileam quam ad Greciam pro serviis Ecclesie Romane transeundo graves labores sustinuit”. Identified and transcribed by Sousa Costa but never published.

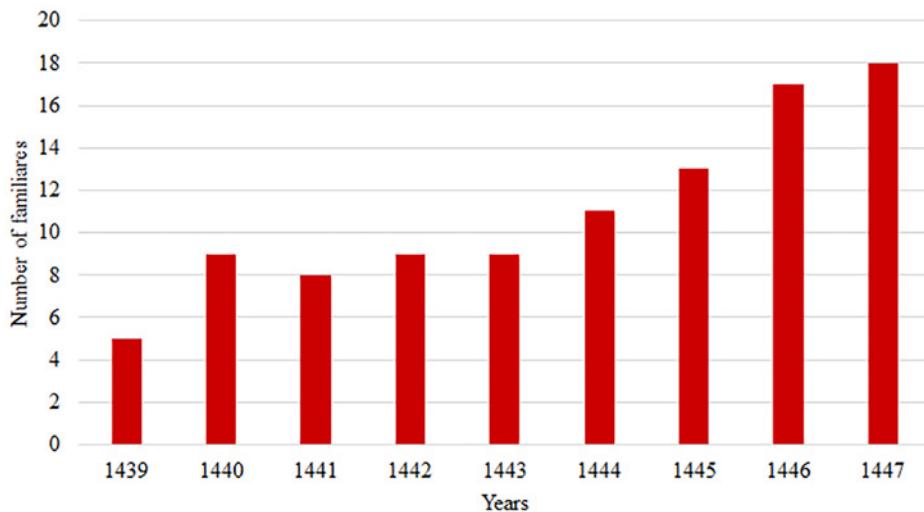
92 “Johannes qui capellanus devote creature vestre A[ntonii], episcopi Portugalensis, est et ad Romanam Curiam secum venit”. *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 326, f. 87v. Identified and transcribed by Sousa Costa but never published.

93 “Johannes Alvari, camerarius et capellanus devote creature vestre A[ntonii], cardinalis Portugalensis”. *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 371, f. 55v. Identified and transcribed by Sousa Costa but never published.

94 *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 782, ff. 106v-107.

95 HOLLINGSWORTH, “The Cardinal’s Household”, p. 261.

Pierre Jugie, in the aforementioned study on the *familia* of cardinal Gui de Boulogne, presents a methodology for quantifying cardinals' familiars. This consists of a diachronic analysis that covers the cardinal's entire career, counting the familiars identified each year<sup>96</sup>. Our approach was similar, using annual counts of the number of familiars, although with some limitations, especially since Jugie used a broader range of sources and didn't limit himself to one type of document. The results are shown in the following chart:



**Chart 1. Changes in the number of cardinal's Antão Martins familiars between 1439 and 1447**

In constructing this chart, it was assumed that, in the time between two years for which we have supplications in which an individual is considered a *familiaris* of cardinal Antão Martins, that the individual maintains his familiarity. For example, João de Santa Maria is identified as a *familiaris continuus commensalis* for the first time in 1444 in three different supplications<sup>97</sup>. He was also considered a *familiaris* in 1445, although the next, and last, reference we have to his familiarity only dates from 1446<sup>98</sup>. The decision to assume a continuity in the familiarity of these clerics was in part based on studies that point to a low rate of renewal among the clerical

<sup>96</sup> JUGIE, "Les Familiae Cardinalices", pp. 49-50. Contrary to previous studies which counted all the *familiars* identified throughout a cardinal's career, without considering those who died or left the service.

<sup>97</sup> AAV, Reg. Suppl. 401, ff. 261v-262 and f. 165.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 411, ff. 204-205.

elite of each cardinal's *familia*<sup>99</sup>. In addition, this might give us a closer view of reality, eliminating possible distortions caused by documentary gaps.

This chart allows us to follow the growth in the number of Antão Martins' *familiares* throughout his cardinalate. In the year 1439, we find clerics who already claimed to be *familiares* with Antão Martins when he was only bishop of Porto and who continued to be part of his *familia* when he became a cardinal, such as the cases of Rodrigo Gomes and João Álvares that we saw earlier. Beyond the year 1447, we found 5 *familiares* for whom we only have references after this year, and they have not been included in the chart<sup>100</sup>.

What does this gradual increase in the presence of the cardinal's familiars in the register of supplications that we see between 1439 and 1447 mean? Those figures should be taken with caution, given the documentary and methodological limitations mentioned above. However, it seems to us that this growth could be fruit of the consolidation of the *familia* of the cardinal of Porto throughout his stay in the Curia –both in terms of the number of clerical familiars and in terms of their qualities and competences.

As we mentioned, the supplications inform us exclusively, at least in our *corpus*, about clerical *familiares*. Can we hypothesise about their number? In a petition of May 1445, Antão Martins asked that Johannis Margo, a priest of the diocese of Urgel, Doctor of Canon Law and his *familiaris continuus commensalis*, be added to the number of his *familiares* registered in the apostolic chancellery, so that he could benefit from all the immunities, indults, privileges, etc. enjoyed by other cardinals' *familiares*<sup>101</sup>.

This *numero familiarium* is the one foreseen in the chancellery rules of Martin V and taken up in those of Eugenius IV. According to these, each cardinal could present a list of 30 *familiares domesticis continuis commensalis* who enjoyed certain privileges in accessing ecclesiastical benefices in expectative<sup>102</sup>. The aforementioned supplication includes the clause *non obstantibus regulis cancellarie*. Did Antão Martins have a list of more than 30 *familiares* when he asked for Johannis Margo to be added, or was this the normal procedure for adding a new *familiaris* to the list? We'll try to explore this question further in a future study.

Considering the years in which we have identified a greater number of Antão Martins' *familiares*, namely 1446 and 1447 with 17 and 18 *familiares* respectively,

99 HURTUBISE, "Familiarité et fidélité à Rome au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle", p. 349.

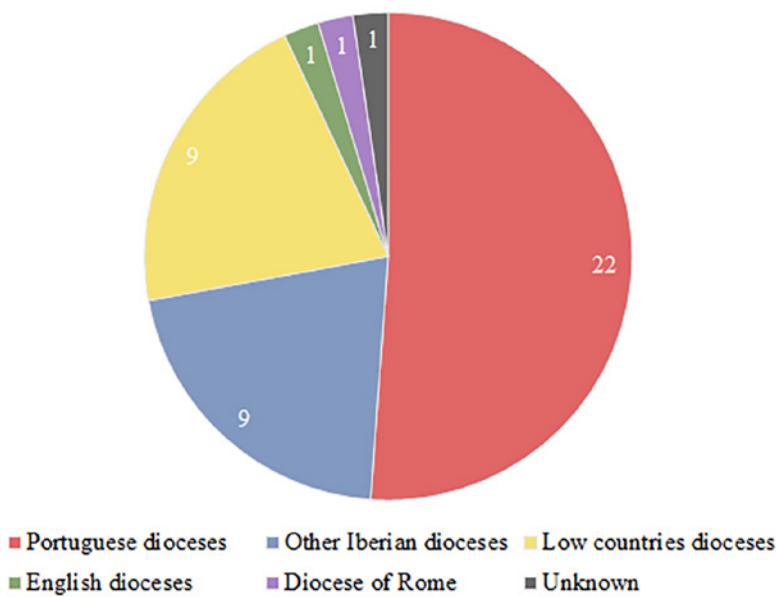
100 They are Pedro Vasques, Arias Diogo, Lourenço Anes, Vasco Anes and André Fernandes. In the same order: AAV, Reg. Suppl. 506, ff. 259v-260; Reg. Suppl. 430, f. 41v; Reg. Suppl. 434, ff. 4v-5; Reg. Suppl. 480, ff. 184-184v and Reg. Suppl. 537, ff. 228-228v.

101 AAV, Reg. Suppl. 405, f. 153v.

102 OTTENTHAL, *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiregeln*, pp. 211 and 254.

we may assume that the cardinal's number of clerical *familiares* was somewhere between these figures and the 30 prescribed by the chancellery rules. These figures are in line with those that, as we saw earlier, appear in the various reform proposals drawn up during the council of Basel. They are also in line with what Guillemain presents for the Avignon papacy, giving an average of 25 ecclesiastical *familiares* for each cardinal<sup>103</sup>.

What can we say about the origins of these clerics? The supplications often give us information about the cleric's diocese of origin (*Alfonsus Fernandi, clericus Portugalensis diocesis*<sup>104</sup>, *Gerardus Jacobi, clericus Leodiensis*<sup>105</sup>, etc.) or it is the individual's name itself, sometimes with a geographical designation, that allows us to indicate their origin (*Johannis de Evora*<sup>106</sup>). Based on this information, we've put together the geographical origins of the 43 clerical familiars of cardinal Antão Martins in the following chart:



**Chart 2. Geographical origins of cardinal Antão Martins' familiares**

<sup>103</sup> GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour Pontifical d'Avignon*, p. 256: “Il convient donc d'évaluer à vingt-cinq familiers ecclésiastiques environ l'effectif habituel de la maison d'un cardinal”.

<sup>104</sup> AAV, Reg. Suppl. 311, f. 154; *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 418, f. 172v.

<sup>105</sup> FRANCO, *O Couto de Santo Tirso*, p. 34-35 e 87-104.

<sup>106</sup> AAV, Reg. Suppl. 445, ff. 256-257.

The cardinal's *familiares* come from a variety of geographical origins, but we can categorise them into three main poles: Portugal, other Iberian kingdoms and the Low Countries. If the presence of a majority of *familiares* who share the respective cardinal's geographical origin is not surprising<sup>107</sup>, the number of clerics from different parts of Christendom is striking<sup>108</sup>.

Among the clerics from Iberian dioceses, the Aragonese ones stand out, with 6 clerics from Tortosa, Urgel, Valencia, Zaragoza and Lleida. They are followed by the dioceses of Pamplona, Seville and Ourense, each with 1 cleric. The preponderance of the eastern/Aragonese part of the Iberian Peninsula is remarkable. Could this be related to the career of Antão Martins? We know that he passed through the Aragonese dioceses several times during the conciliar embassies that originated from Portugal. The links between the Portuguese and Aragonese royal families during this period are also well known: King Duarte of Portugal was married to Leonor of Aragon, mother of King Afonso V, and the Duke of Coimbra to Isabel of Urgel. Possible clues that do not provide a satisfactory explanation.

Another preferential origin is the group of dioceses that we have chosen to refer to broadly, and perhaps improperly, as the "Low Countries"<sup>109</sup>, which conceals a total of six dioceses: Cambrai, Cologne, Liège, Toul, Tournai and Utrecht. These figures, as well as other evidence<sup>110</sup>, seem to indicate a connection or affinity between cardinal Antão Martins and these dioceses, located around the duchy of Burgundy, on the borders between the Empire and the kingdom of France. Again, perhaps the influence of a member of the Portuguese royal family can be verified: between 1430 and 1467 the Duchess of Burgundy was Isabel, sister of King Duarte<sup>111</sup>. It's also possible that the familiar whose origin we can't identify, Wilhelmum Pitteus, is also from this region<sup>112</sup>.

107 GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour Pontifical d'Avignon*, p. 258.

108 The proportion of compatriots and foreigners among Antão Martins' *familiares* is similar to that found by Gergely Kiss for a 13<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian cardinal: Kiss, "Cardinal's familia as a Network", p. 67. Guillemain comments on the fact that the diversity of origins of the cardinals' *familiares* better represents the different parts of Christendom than the composition of the Sacred College during the Avignon papacy: "Entre la composition du Sacré-Collège et ce tableau [des familiers cardinalices], le contraste est saisissant: cette géographie-ci correspond mieux au domaine utile de la chrétienté occidentale". GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour Pontifical d'Avignon*, pp. 259-260

109 We chose the term "Low Countries" to avoid fragmentation into other possible categories such as "Empire", "Flanders" and "Duchy of Burgundy". It seems to us that the logic behind the recruitment of these clerics might be based on regional continuity around the domains of the Duke of Burgundy, although these dioceses almost all belong to the Empire.

110 In November 1440, the cardinal supplicated on behalf of Johannes Deanarim, a merchant from Bruges, so that he could have a portable altar. AAV, Reg. Suppl. 368, ff. 289-289v. Identified and transcribed by Sousa Costa but never published.

111 Despite this, for the moment we have not been able to establish a link between any of the clerics identified and the ducal court of Burgundy.

112 *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 401, ff. 212-212v.

During the Avignon papacy, cardinals preferentially recruited musicians from the north of France because of their particular skills<sup>113</sup>. Could specialisation be one of the factors behind Cardinal Antão Martins' recruitment of non-Portuguese *familiars*? In the supplications addressed to the pope, it was common to mention the academic degree of the supplicant, because this facilitated the access to ecclesiastical benefices. Of the total of 43 familiars identified, only 11 had one or more academic degrees. We have organised the data collected in the following table:

Name	Diocese	University degree
Luís Anes	Lisboa	Licence in Canon Law <sup>114</sup>
Pedro Vasques	Porto	Bachelor's in Canon Law <sup>115</sup>
Arias Diogo	Silves	Doctorate in Canon Law and bachelor's in Civil Law <sup>116</sup>
Herstini Ghiiselnis	Tournai	Masters in Arts <sup>117</sup>
Johannes Antonii de Spinalo	Toul	Bachelors in <i>Utroque Iuris</i> <sup>118</sup>
Symonis Olzi	Valênciâ	Masters in Arts and bachelor's in Theology <sup>119</sup>
Johannes Margo	Urgel	Doctorate in Canon Law <sup>120</sup>
Thome Caudonii	Salisbúria ou Bath (?)	Licence in Canon Law <sup>121</sup>
Laurentio de Racxa	Pampelona	Bachelors in Canon Law <sup>122</sup>
Martinus Ferrarie	Tortosa	Bachelors in Canon Law <sup>123</sup>
Johannes Petri	Lérida ou Valênciâ (?)	Masters in Arts and Medicine <sup>124</sup>

It can be seen that only 3 Portuguese clerics have a university education, while the remaining 8 clerics come from foreign dioceses, mainly from those in the eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula. This discrepancy suggests that there were different criteria for recruiting cardinals' familiars from different backgrounds: the intellectu-

<sup>113</sup> GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour Pontifical d'Avignon*, p. 261.

<sup>114</sup> AAV, Reg. Suppl. 354, ff. 102-102v.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 413, f. 130.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 430, f. 41v.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 368, f. 161v.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 395, ff. 32-32v.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 403, f. 124.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 404, ff. 190-190v.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 409, f. 15.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 409, ff. 113-113v.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 390, f. 254.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 413, f. 41.

al/academic skills of the foreign clerics seem to be the decisive factor. In the case of Portuguese familiars, university education seems to be less decisive, while other factors such as proximity and trust with the cardinal probably had more weight.

We should also emphasise the weight that Canon Law has to the detriment of other areas, such as Theology or Medicine. Of these 11 familiars, 9 had a degree in Canon Law. These figures are comparable to those of other cardinal families<sup>125</sup>. The predominance of Canon Law is understandable if we consider that a university education of this kind would be important for ascending the hierarchy of curial offices. In addition, each cardinal had his own court<sup>126</sup> and administered a network made up of numerous benefices, so it would be useful to have familiars specialised in the law that governed these institutions. In the specific case of cardinal Antão Martins, no academic degree or university attendance is recognised<sup>127</sup>. The cardinal certainly had a deep knowledge of the curial institutions, which he attended for much of his life, but perhaps recruiting familiars trained in canon law was a way of making up for his possible shortcomings.

As for the cardinal's chaplains, the supplications only revealed the names of 5 clerics, out of a total of 43 *familiars*. One of them was the aforementioned João Álvares, who also held the office of *camerarius*. The other four were all foreigners: Johannes Antonii de Spinalo, Bachelor in *Utroque Iuris*, from the diocese of Toul<sup>128</sup>; Symonis Olzi, Master of Arts and Bachelor of Theology<sup>129</sup>, from the diocese of Valencia; Laurentius de Racxa, Bachelor of Canon Law, from the diocese of Pampelona<sup>130</sup> and Sancius Ferrer, from the diocese of Zaragoza<sup>131</sup>. This small universe does not allow us to draw any significant conclusions, but the level of training of these clerics chosen to fulfil the duties of chaplain –accompanying the cardinal during liturgical celebrations, canonical hours and other times of prayer<sup>132</sup>— may not be a coincidence.

We will end with the different designations under which cardinals' familiars can be referred to in supplications. In our sample there are only 3 variations: *familiaris continuus commensalis*, *familiaris domesticus continuus commensalis* and *familiaris*. These can be added to functions such as *camerarius* or *capellanus*, but we

125 REY-COURTEL, "Les clientèles des cardinaux limousins en 1378", p. 900. In the case of Gui de Bologne's *familia* civil law is the preferred field of studies. JUGIE, *Le cardinal Gui de Boulogne*, vol. 2, pp. 203-207.

126 GUILLEMAIN, *La Cour Pontifical d'Avignon*, p. 252.

127 There are studies that suggest his erudition and possible frequency in a general study, but without any documentary basis. MONTEIRO, *Do Morro da Sé à Cúpula de Roma*, pp. 31-32.

128 AAV, Reg. Suppl. 395, ff. 32-32v.

129 *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 403, f. 124.

130 *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 409, ff. 113-113v.

131 *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 393, ff. 268-268v.

132 MOLLAT, "Le sacré collège", p. 55.

will not take them into account, since what we are interested in at the moment is the question of familiarity<sup>133</sup>. The first designation is undoubtedly the most common and appears in almost all 118 supplications, the second appears only twice and both times in the same supplication<sup>134</sup>. The word *familiaris* alone appears in only 10 supplications, usually referring to someone already mentioned on the text as *familiaris continuus commensalis*<sup>135</sup>.

What meaning can we give to these differences or lack of them? First of all, it seems that for the Apostolic Chancery there was only one type of cardinal's *familiaris*, this is the impression one gets after reading its rules. Throughout the text, the longer and more complete form of *familiaris domesticus continuus commensalis* is replaced by the simplified form of *familiaris* or *familiaris continuus commensalis*<sup>136</sup>. Also in supplications, the simplified expression is usually used to avoid repeating the full expression. When the word *familiaris* is used in isolation in a supplication where the full expression has not been mentioned, the scribe may even point out an error and the lack of the words *continuus commensalis*<sup>137</sup>. What seemed to be important to the chancery was to make clear the familiarity status of the cleric in question, for example, in the case of obtaining ecclesiastical benefices or reserving vacant ones that had belonged to a cardinal's *familiaris*<sup>138</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

Analysing a *corpus* of documents made up of supplications relating to the *familiares* of Cardinal Antão Martins de Chaves has shed light on some aspects of his *familia*. This source gives us considerable information, but only about one part of the cardinal's *familia*: the clerics. It was possible to identify the relationships of trust that existed between some of these individuals and cardinal Antão Martins, maintained over the years and surviving crossings from one end of Christendom

<sup>133</sup> Pierre Jugie, in the *familia* of Gui de Boulogne identifies the following designations: "familiaris", "familiaris commensalis", "familiaris continuus", "familiaris continuus commensalis", "familiaris domesticus", "familiaris domesticus commensalis", "familiaris domesticus et continuus commensalis". JUGIE, "Les Familiae Cardinalices", p. 42

<sup>134</sup> AAV, Reg. Suppl. 408, ff. 143v-144: "Johannem Alfonsi, familiarem domesticum continuum commensales" and "Stephani Johannis, rectoris parochialis ecclesie de Guilhabreu dicte diocesis, etiam familiaris domestici continui commensalis".

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, Reg. Suppl. 354, ff. 102-102v; Reg. Suppl. 358, f. 240; Reg. Suppl. 378, f. 74v; Reg. Suppl. 383, f. 262v; Reg. Suppl. 385, f. 269v; Reg. Suppl. 409, ff. 133v-134 and 136v; Reg. Suppl. 430, f. 41v; Reg. Suppl. 441, f. 115v; Reg. Suppl. 513, ff. 89v-90.

<sup>136</sup> OTTENTHAL, *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiregeln*, p. 254. For the full transcription see: MEYER, "Regulae, ordinationes et constitutiones".

<sup>137</sup> AAV, Reg. Suppl. 430, f. 41v. Sousa Costa points this out in his transcription: APPPOF, Espólio de António Domingues de Sousa Costa, box 49, nº 111.

<sup>138</sup> OTTENTHAL, *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiregeln*, p. 239 and 245.

to the other. We identified the geographical origins of the *familiares*, whom the cardinal recruited not only from among his compatriots, but also from Aragon, Castile, France, England, Flanders, the Empire and, of course, Rome<sup>139</sup>. The importance of studies in Canon Law was noted as one of the factors that allowed access to this *familia*, rooted in the Roman Curia during the last seven years of Eugenius IV's pontificate. The question of the status of these clerics in the rules of the Apostolic Chancery has also been touched on, although this will be discussed in greater depth on another occasion. Above all, we have tried to present a case study that allows comparisons to be made with others that may arise in the context of the cardinals' *familiae* of the 15<sup>th</sup> century about which so little has been written in comparison to those of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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