IN THE CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE. THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEFINITION OF THE PARISH NETWORK IN THE DIOCESE OF LISBON (12TH-15TH CENTURIES)

EN LA CIUDAD Y SU ALFOZ. LA INTRODUCCIÓN Y DESARROLLO DE LA RED DE PARROQUIAS EN LA DIÓCESIS DE LISBOA (SIGLOS XII-XV)

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Abstract

The conquest of Lisbon, in October 1147, marked a new period for the territories of Islamic al-Ušbūna. The now Christian rulers oversaw the changes within the social fabric of the city through the arrival of new elites and the exodus of part of the previous inhabitants, now perceived as ethnic and religious minorities, alongside the transfer of property and appropriation of space. In these urban processes, as with others, the rare information available underlines the role of the new ecclesiastical authorities in the forefront of a necessary institutionalization. The creation of a parish network was part of the latter, with a cadence and comprehensiveness that are still poorly known.

This paper intends to re-evaluate the historical treatment of this question, drawing from existing research and new source material. It argues that the process of parochialization in the Lisbon diocese took root very quickly in urban and suburban nuclei, while extending only later to newly-cleared land areas, mostly under the dependence of urban churches. From the middle of the thirteenth century, this process runs in parallel with the necessity to better define their

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boundaries, which left a document trail spanning until at least the end of the Middle Ages.

Keywords

Medieval Parochialisation; Medieval Lisbon; Parochial Delimitation; Episcopacy; Ecclesiastical Legislation.

Resumen

La conquista de Lisboa, en octubre de 1147, marcó un nuevo período para los territorios de la *al-Ušbūna* islámica. Los gobernantes, ahora cristianos, supervisaron los cambios en el tejido social de la ciudad mediante la llegada de nuevas élites y el éxodo de parte de los antiguos habitantes, ahora percibidos como minorías étnicas y religiosas, junto con la transferencia de propiedades y la apropiación del espacio. En estos - y otros - procesos urbanos, la escasa información disponible subraya el papel de las nuevas autoridades eclesiásticas al frente de una necesaria institucionalización. La creación de una red parroquial formó parte de esta última, con una cadencia y amplitud aún poco conocidas.

Este trabajo pretende revalorizar el tratamiento histórico de esta cuestión, a partir de las investigaciones existentes y de nuevas fuentes. Sostiene que el proceso de parroquialización en la diócesis de Lisboa arraigó muy rápidamente en los núcleos urbanos y suburbanos, mientras que sólo se extendió más tarde a las zonas recién desbrozadas, en su mayoría bajo la dependencia de las iglesias urbanas. A partir de mediados del siglo XIII, este proceso corre en paralelo con la necesidad de definir mejor sus límites, lo que dejó un rastro documental que se extiende hasta, al menos, el final de la Edad Media.

Palabras clave

Parroquialización medieval; Lisboa medieval; delimitación parroquial; episcopado; legislación eclesiástica.

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OVER THE LAST TWO DECADES, several works have clarified the ecclesiastical territorialisation of the Portuguese medieval kingdom on the bases of the historiographical questionnaire on how the medieval Church gained root and expanded geographically by establishing a framework of structures intended to dominate people and assets[2]. These studies provided a basis to evaluate the chronologies and agents (namely bishops and cathedral chapters) involved in the parochialisation of the Portuguese realm in terms of a specific diocese[3] or a determined region/burgh[4], and assess quarrels concerning diocesan limits[5]. In general, this «new» historiography seeks to detail the impact of territorialization and hierarchical dependence, overcoming the previous Portuguese historiography particularly focused on the definition of a parish church, the characterization of its founders or the impact of Roman traditions in their establishment[6].

Other important elements of this territorialisation – such as the restoration and delimitation of the diocese of Lisbon and the establishment of intermediate government structures to operationalise episcopal jurisdictional, judicial, and fiscal dominion over the diocesan territory – will be developed elsewhere. This paper

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2. Several authors have worked on the medieval genesis of the diocese and parish in terms of their political, social, fiscal, administrative, and even archival history. The contributions of Michel Lauwers, Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, Florina Mazel and others are referred in recent reviews, including Devroey, Jean-Pierre; Lauwers, Michel: «L'«espace» des historiens médiévistes: quelques remarques en guise de conclusion», *Actes des congrès de la SHMESP, 37ᵉ congrès, Mulhouse, 2006. Construction de l'espace au Moyen Age: pratiques et représentations*, Lienhard, Thomas (dir.), Paris, Publication de la Sorbonne, 2007, pp. 435-453; Lunven, Anne: *Du diocèse à la paroisse. Évêché de Rennes, Dol et Alet/Saint-Malo (Vᵉ-XIIIᵉ siècle)*, Rennes, PUR, 2014, pp. 15-28; Guijarro González, Susana and Díez Herrera, Carmen: *La construcción de la parroquia medieval en la diócesis de Burgos: Cantabria entre los siglos IX al XV*, Madrid, Silex, 2022, pp. 13-20, among many others.

3. For example, Vilar, Hermínia: *As Dimensões de um Poder. A Diocese de Évora na Idade Média,* Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1999, pp. 218-229; Marques, André Evangelista: «A autoridade episcopal e a construção da rede paroquial na diocese do Porto (séculos X-XIV)», *Um poder entre poderes: nos 900 anos da restauração da Diocese do Porto e da construção do Cabido Portucalense,* Amaral, Luís Carlos (coord.), Porto, Cabido Portucalense-CEHR, 2017, pp. 163-196.

4. Gomes, Saul António: «Organização paroquial e jurisdição ecclesiastica no priorado de Leiria nos séculos XII a XV», *Lusitania Sacra, 2ⁿᵈ serie, 4 (1992), pp. 163-310; Campos, Maria Amélia: «Coimbra's parochial network: aspects of its definition in the 12th century», *Ecclesiastics and political state building in the Iberian monarchies, 13th-15th centuries*, Vilar, Hermínia; Branco, Maria João (eds.), Évora, Publicações do Cidehus, 2016, pp. 246-258; *Eadem*: «Hierarquias eclesiásticas em conflito na diocese de Coimbra: a dízima de São Pedro de Bruscos no século XIV», *O papel das pequenas cidades na construção da Europa medieval*, Costa, Adelaide *et alii* (eds.), Lisboa, IEM, 2017, p. 443-464; Moreira, Luciano: «Agentes de povoamento e evangelização, mentores do crescimento paroquial, entre o Côa e o Távora – séculos XIII e XIV», *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura,* 19 (2019), pp. 64-96.

5. Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos: «Uma fronteira entre poderes: as dioceses de Évora e da Guarda no nordeste alentejano», *Revista de Guimarães,* 106 (1996), pp. 251-274; Cunha, Maria Cristina: «Coimbra and Porto: Episcopacy and National Identity in Diocesan Border Quarrels», *Das begrenzte Papsttum Spielräume päpstlichen Handelns. Legaten-delegierte Richter-Grenzen*, Herbers, Klaus *et alii* (eds.), Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2013, pp. 133-145; *Eadem*: «Os limites da diocese do Porto com as suas vizinhas de Braga e Coimbra: problemas e soluções», *Um poder...*, pp. 147-159; Mariani, Andrea; Renzi, Francesco: «The 'territorialization' of the episcopal power in medieval Portugal: a study on the *bullae* of Popes Paschalis II and Calixtus II and the conflicts between the dioceses of Oporto, Braga and Coimbra (12th century)», *Lusitania Sacra,* 2ⁿᵈ serie, 37 (Janeiro-Junho 2018), pp. 161-187.

6. An exhaustive list of these works is unfeasible, so we remit to references in the syntheses produced by Mattoso, José: «Paróquia. I. Até ao século XVIII», *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, Azevedo, Carlos Moreira (dir.), vol. 3, Rio de Mouro, Círculo de Leitores, 2001, pp. 372-376 and Rodrigues, Ana Maria: «A formação da rede paroquial no Portugal medievo», *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Amadeu Coelho Dias*, Porto, Faculdade de Letras, 2006, pp. 71-83.

will focus exclusively on the parochialisation in the diocese of Lisbon throughout the medieval period, a subject that has already received some consideration[7].

Following the abovementioned recent research, we will assess whether Lisbon, from its Christian conquest to the end of the Middle Ages, mirrored the evolution generally indicated for Portuguese medieval parochialisation, namely: 1) a process initiated in urban centres and dominated by bishops and cathedral chapters, which overflowed towards peripheries where such powers could have met difficulties; 2) a process benefitting from the geographical delimitation carried out, roughly, since the mid-13th century in order to territorialize taxation, like tithes[8].

1. BEFORE DELIMITATION: ESTABLISHING PARISHES IN THE DIOCESE OF LISBON (12TH-13TH CENTURIES)

The earliest well-established reference to the presence of a Christian community in Lisbon dates from the mid-4th century, with the mention of Potamius as the first bishop of the diocese. The historicity of the earlier persecution and martyrdom of Verissimus, Maxima, and Julia, decreed in 303 by Diocletian, remains somewhat divided[9].

The records of the peninsular councils held between the 6th and 7th centuries contain major gaps in the identification of bishops for the diocese of Lisbon, at the time part of the ecclesiastical province of *Lusitania*, which corresponded to the previous homonymous Roman province established by Diocletian (284-305). In addition to gaps on the identity of Lisbon bishops, little is also known about their actions and how they ran the diocese, although it is generally accepted that they reinforced «the Catholic identity vis-à-vis society and the Church»[10].

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7. Both topics have already merited the attention of Portuguese medievalists (Amaral, Luís Carlos: «A restauração da diocese de Lisboa de 1147 e os primórdios da formação de uma igreja portuguesa», *Da conquista de Lisboa à conquista de Alcácer: 1147-1217: definição e dinâmicas de um território de fronteira,* Branco, Maria João; Fernandes, Isabel Cristina (eds.), Lisboa, Edições Colibri-IEM, 2019, pp. 189-208; Gomes, Saul António: «O arcediagado de Santarém em 1332», *Santarém na Idade Média,* Ferrão, Humberto Nelson (coord.), Santarém, Câmara Municipal, 2007, pp. 171-195). It must be acknowledged that this work is an attempt at a synthesis, given the general tendency to study the process of parochialisation of the diocese from a regional/local perspective: Barbosa, Pedro Gomes: *Povoamento e Estrutura Agrícola na Estremadura Central. Séc. XII a 1325,* Lisboa, INIC, 1992; Viana, Mário: *Espaço e povoamento numa vila portuguesa (Santarém 1147-1350),* Lisboa, CH-UL- Caleidoscópio, 2007; Mendes, Francisco José dos Santos: *O nascimento da margem Sul: paróquias, concelhos e comendas (1147-1385),* Lisboa, Colibri, 2011; Leitão, André de Oliveira: *O Povoamento no Baixo Vale do Tejo: entre a territorialização e a militarização (meados do século IX – início do século XIV)* (M. A. Dissertation unpublished), Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2011; Santos, Filipa: *O Médio Tejo dos meados do século IX à primeira metade do século XIII: Militarização e Povoamento* (M. A. Dissertation unpublished), Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2011; Olaia, Inês Sofia Lourenço: *Território e poder entre duas vilas da Estremadura: Aldeia Galega e Alenquer na Idade Média* (M. A. Dissertation unpublished), Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2019, pp. 70-76.

8. Mattoso, José: *Identificação de um país. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal. 1096-1325,* vol. 1, 5th edition, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1995, p. 411.

9. Moreira, António Montes: «Potâmio e a diocese de Lisboa na época romana (séc. III-V)», *Bispos e Arcebispos de Lisboa*, Fontes, João Luís (dir.) *et alii* (coords.), Lisboa, Livros Horizonte - CEHR, 2018, pp. 28-29.

10. Jorge, Ana Maria C. M.: «Os prelados de Lisboa na época visigoda», *Bispos e Arcebispos…,* p. 56.

During that period, the diocese's boundaries must have been somewhat fluid, with the prelate's jurisdiction exercised mainly in the episcopal city and the peri-urban area. Around Lisbon, martyrial temples were established in Chelas and Santos, the latter being already in ruins when the city was captured in 1147[11]. How the bishop's administrative and pastoral dominion developed outside the episcopal city's shadow is unknown, but this is thought to have been challenged occasionally by settlers and local elites in countryside temples in old Late Roman farm units or in communally organised burghs[12].

The Muslim invasions of Hispania in 711/714 relaxed these ties even more, reflecting the disruptions imposed by the new Islamic lords on the previous Christian ecclesiastical administration. However, it is licit to assume that some structures were maintained: although no bishop of Lisbon has been identified for the 9th and 10th centuries[13], the vitality of the Lisbon Mozarabic community – recently re-examined by Paulo Almeida Fernandes considering artistic and archaeological evidence – suggests the permanence of ecclesiastical structures from before the Muslim invasion[14]. And even when its members were relegated to the city's peri-urban areas in the 11th century, under pressure from the particularly intolerant Almoravid rule over the city, the Mozarabic community seemingly managed to maintain its «diocese», as suggested by the reference to a bishop of Lisbon in the *Codice Canónico Arábigo* (1049-1050)[15]. Unsurprisingly, in 1109, the city appeared to the eyes of a northern foreigner, the Norwegian king Sigurud Mahgnusson, as «half Christian and half pagan [i.e. Islamic]»[16]. Lisbon still had its own bishop, until his murder by the Christian forces that burst through the walls during the city's conquest[17].

The Christian Church's institutional implantation in the Tagus valley became viable when this territory fell into Christian domain, at the end of the second quarter of the 12th century, following the conquest in 1147 of the two strongholds *al-Ušbuna* (Lisbon) and *Shantarin* (Santarém) and the increasing settlement of communities with inhabitants stemming from the urban area and different regions[18].

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11.   Tente, Catarina: «A geografia diocesana entre o século VI e 1147», *História da Diocese de Viseu.* Paiva, José Pedro (coord.), vol. 1, Viseu, Diocese de Viseu-Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2016, p. 26; Fernandes, Paulo Almeida: «Sinais de vitalidade cristã sob domínio islâmico: a diocese moçárabe», *Bispos e Arcebispos...,* p. 63.

12.   Tente, Catarina: «A geografia diocesana...», p. 26; Marques, André Evangelista: «A autoridade episcopal...», p. 164.

13.   One can, however, retrace references to the bishops of Porto, Lamego, Viseu and Coimbra from the 10th century (Marques, André Evangelista: «A autoridade episcopal...», pp. 175-176).

14.   Fernandes, Paulo Almeida: «Sinais de vitalidade...», pp. 62-74. On the Mozarabic presence in Lisbon, see among others Leitão, André Oliveira, and Santos, Filipa: «Presenças moçárabes em al-Ušbūna e seu alfoz (até 1147)», *Rossio. Estudos de Lisboa* [online], 1 (2013), pp. 92-103.

15.   Fernandes, Paulo Almeida: «Sinais de vitalidade...», pp. 77-79.

16.   *Ibidem,* p. 82; Pires, Hélio: «Sigurðr's Attack on Lisbon: Where Exactly?», *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia,* 8 (2012), pp. 199-205.

17.   *A Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros. Relato de um Cruzado,* edition of Nascimento, Aires A. do; introduction of Branco, Maria João, Lisboa, Veja, 2001, pp. 138/139.

18.   Fialho Silva, Manuel; Lourinho, Inês: «O Hibridismo na Sociedade Olisiponense pós-1147», *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes*, *15 e 16 de Outubro de 2010, Silves*, Silves, Câmara Municipal, 2014, without page number.

We possess little information on the territory's social occupation over the thirty years following the city's conquest, due to the unsurpassable lack of written evidence[19]. Even so, the settlement of the subsequently Christian territory apparently followed the previous model of urban polarization centred upon Lisbon, which became a city (*civitas*) following the restoration of the diocese, and Santarém, which polarized a major part of the diocese's eastern region.

In addition to these urban centres, the territory's occupation strategy involved, in the medium and long term, the creation of civil management structures. The few *castri* existing at the time of the Reconquest, such as Óbidos, Alenquer and Torres Vedras, were endowed with military structures and municipal governments, and their population surely increased. Much of the land around Lisbon fell under the personal administration of the Portuguese kings, in the form of *reguengos*, while areas less important to the royal power were donated to foreigners, following the obligations agreed with the Crusaders during the assault, and to small-scale individuals who could promote the attraction of new people to the urban settlements around Lisbon. In rural areas, the modalities of settlement were dictated as new people arrived from the north-western part of the Peninsula and mingled with the Muslim presence, as suggested by the density of Arabic origin toponyms in the southern part of the diocese[20].

This model of social occupation led to a rapid need for parochial creation, now shaped by the Gregorian Reform, which reinforced the episcopal authority in the diocesan framework and restricted the proliferation of «particular churches»[21].

This was the case in the city of Lisbon itself. Although the mechanisms and exact chronology of its parochial creation and the identification of its respective promoters is still the object of much debate, recent research by Manuel Fialho da Silva has discarded the old hypothesis of a Roman heritage basis and the supremacy of parishes derived from private foundations. His thesis presents a more logical and sounder typology for the mechanism of parochial creation, wherein new parishes were based on pre-existing Mozarabic churches and old mosques or where there was no previous ecclesiastical tradition[22]. This solution allowed for the territorial and jurisdictional accommodation of 23 parishes, probably in tune with the multiple cultural traditions of the various groups in the city following its capture by Christian forces[23]. The same logic would have presided over the

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19.   Concerning this absence, see Leitão, André de Oliveira: *O Povoamento...,* p. 47.

20.   The ideias contained in this paragraph are based in *ibidem,* p. 45-56 and Farelo, Mário: «O direito de padroado na Lisboa medieval», *Promontoria,* 4/4 (2006), p. 269 (and bibliography referred therein).

21.   Farelo, Mário: «O direito...», pp. 269-271. For the relation between territorialization and the Gregorian Reform, see Amaral, Luís Carlos: «A restauração da diocese do Porto e a chegada do bispo D. Hugo», *Um poder...,* pp. 31-33.

22.   Silva, Manuel Fialho: *Mutação Urbana na Lisboa Medieval. Das Taifas a D. Dinis* (PhD thesys unpublished), Universidade de Lisboa, 2017, pp. 61-71

23.   On the parochialisation of the city in the 12th century, see the work mentioned above, in which the historiographical *mise au point* is made (*Ibidem,* p. 57-61).

parochialisation of the other great urban pole of the diocese, Santarém[24], with its 15 parishes.

Outside these polarizing urban centres, parochialisation can be seen in the dozen of towns – like Óbidos, Torres Vedras or Sintra – where intramural parishes arose, with greater or lesser speed, from the Islamic military defensive structures, following the Christian takeover of the Tagus valley. The subsequent demographic increase in these areas complexified their parochial fabric, with the establishment of extensive contiguous areas comprising four urban parishes (or more rarely two or five), commonly with a set of three similar patron saints associated with the Roman sanctorale known to Christians coming from the North (Saint Mary, Saint Peter and Saint James)[25].

Against the background of this somewhat impressionistic typology, it is possible to detect the existence of rural parish churches. These could have arisen from the recent settlement of foreign populations, largely from the northwest of the peninsula, as reflected once more in the Roman sanctorale used in the church patron saints. Concomitantly, the foundation of rural parishes could have resulted from the predominant presence of ancient communities in recently conquered territory, as suggested by the density of toponyms of Mozarab origin in documentation from the east of the diocese between 1147 and 1220[26]. The maintenance of such communities would constitute sufficient reason to justify the existence of specific cults or, at least, the memory of cults from before the Muslim invasion and their subsequent revival within the new Christian sovereignty, as materialized in the patron saints associated with martyrs of primitive Christianity (Saint Anthony, Saint Julian, Saint Basilissa, Saint Roman, Saint Saturnine) of several rural churches detected in the diocese during that same period[27].

For the matter at hand, the year of 1191 is paramount. While preparing for the imminent Almohad invasion[28], the bishopric and cathedral chapter agreed on the equitable division of the revenues due to them by the churches of the diocese[29]. By way of a written document, these two powers stressed the ability to impose fiscal dependence upon temples at a diocesan scale, while illustrating how quickly

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24. Viana, Mário: *Espaço...,* pp. 76-77, 87-90, 140-144.

25. A recent study of this issue can be found at Olaia, Inês Sofia Lourenço: *Território...,* pp. 75-76.

26. Hermenegildo Fernandes: ««Mar Adentro»: Sintra e a organização do território entre Lisboa e o Oceano depois da Conquista Cristã», *Contributos para a História Medieval de Sintra. Actas do I Curso de Sintra (28 de Março – 2 de Junho de 2007),* Sintra, Câmara Municipal, 2008, p. 89; Leitão, André de Oliveira: *O Povoamento...,* p. 80.

27. Leitão, André de Oliveira: *O Povoamento...,* p. 40.

28. For its context and military intricacies, see Miranda, Huici: «Las Campañas de Yaqūb al-Mansūr en 1190 y 1191», *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História,* 2nd serie, 5 (1954), pp. 53-74.

29. This document – kept in the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano – was known to Portuguese medievalists only through its use by 17th century ecclesiastical authors and from the summaries of documentation preserved in the Lisbon Cathedral archive, destroyed by the 1755 earthquake, despite its publication in the 1970s (Kehr, Paul Fridolin: *Papsturkunden in Italien reiseberichte zur Italia Pontificia.* Vol. 3, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1977, pp. 491-495, now available through the Google books service). A few years ago, João Soalheiro made a new transcription from the original kept in in Città del Vaticano to be used in a long-awaited new transcription and critical study.

this parish network was structured and extended, less than half a century after the latter's restoration.

This speed of parochialisation can be perceived in the city itself, where the parish network was fully formed by 1191[30], based on income-sharing between the bishopric and chapter in an almost «geometrical» fashion (Figure 1).
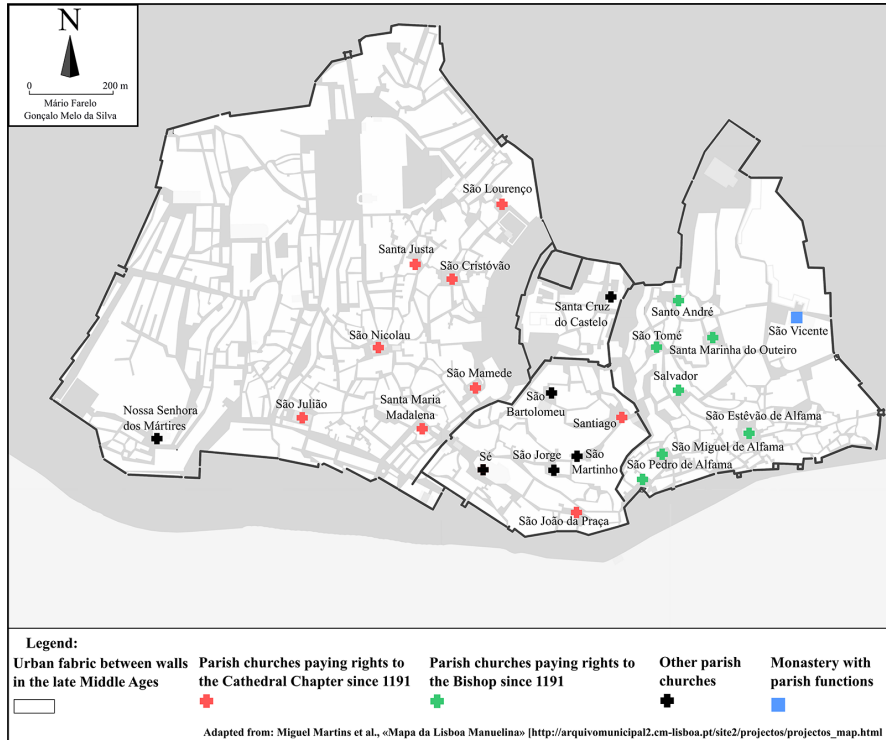

FIGURE 1. MAP OF THE PAROCHIALISATION OF THE CITY OF LISBON IN 1191

The concern of both parties in getting an equitable division of resources generated by churches in the city is perfectly evident, thus implying a very visible geographical division. The cathedral chapter kept the churches in the western suburbs and those mentioned in the intramuros, while the prelate received the temples in the eastern part of the city, in Alfama. This form of division, styled in a symmetrical way, was also followed at diocesan level (Figure 2).

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30. The document omits five of the seven intramural parishes, which we know existed at the time from other sources. Such omissions testify to the maintenance of the conditions agreed upon in 1165 and 1168, which were not deemed necessary to update.
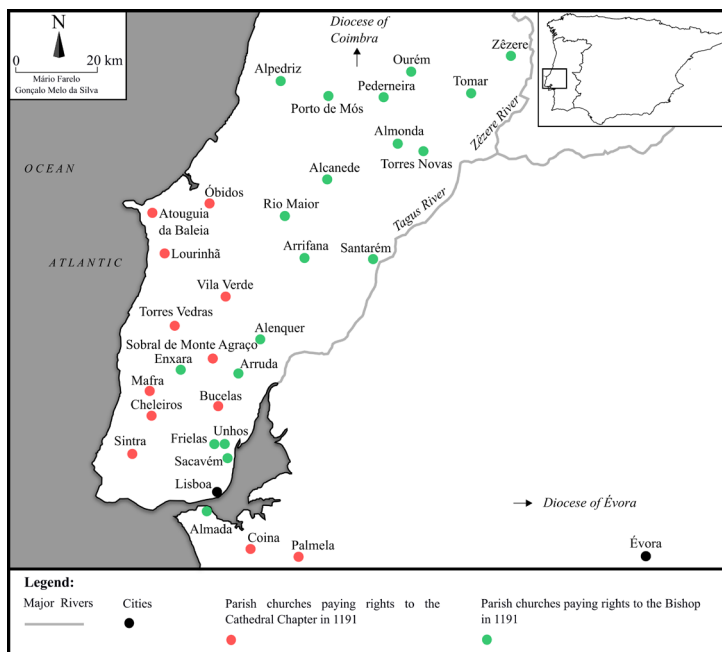
FIGURE 2. MAP OF THE PAROCHIALISATION OF THE DIOCESE OF LISBON IN 1191

Here, too, a geographical logic was at play in the division, announcing the two archdeaconates which would soon constitute the diocese: the one of Lisbon, corresponding roughly to the churches of the cathedral chapter, and the one of Santarém, involving «episcopal» churches. As a result of this division, the cathedral chapter was left with the churches in the western part of the territory of the diocese, certainly more stable from the jurisdictional point of view, while the bishop was left with the churches in northern and north-eastern territories still subject to conflicts of delimitation with neighbouring dioceses and ecclesiastical institutions[31]. Except for the churches established in the peninsula of Setúbal – where the same logic stays in play in the division between the chapter (Almada) and the bishop (Coina and Palmela) – none of these temples are in the left margin of the river Tagus. This is one more proof to the importance of the latter in the definition of the frontier between the dioceses of Lisbon and Évora.

As mentioned previously, this agreement deed also proves that the backbone of the diocese's parish network was already established at the time and organised

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31. «*Cetera uero que iustitia faciente nobis debentur, ut Leireria* (sic) *et Ouren et Leuerbici* (sic) *et Castroboton et monasterium sancti Vincentii de Vlixbon*(a) *et Alcatra usque ad flumen Ambie*» (Kehr, Paul Fridolin: *Papsturkunden in Italien..., p. 494).

according to a rationale based on the existing urban parishes[32]. Unfortunately, is difficult to assess their exact number, since only the churches in Lisbon are object of a specific reference, as the temples located in the other towns are referred in a very unhelpful and undefined formula such as «churches of Santarém» or «churches of Palmela», for example. But this document also proves unequivocally that the ecclesiastical authorities did exercise an authority – fiscal in this specific case – over the churches which were being constituted in the diocese. Parochialisation of the diocese occurred along two lines: faster and wider in the urban centres, with the multiplication of parishes in tune with the probable demographic increase verified in these towns in that period; but equally in the rural areas, in the settlements established since the Christian conquest of the Tagus valley, by survival of old settlements and establishment of new ones.

The lack of further church «enrolment» during the next three decades prevents us from establishing a detailed picture of the chronology of parochial creation in the diocese during this period. Nevertheless, there is evidence of increasing parochialisation of the territories occupied and structured during the period, namely following the creation of *concelhos* to the north-east of the city and the militarisation of the Tagus, as a response to the Almohad incursions into Extremadura at the end of the 12th century[33]. Such conclusion can be drawn from the well-known royal *inquisitio*, which enumerates churches in Lisbon and Sintra around 1220, detailing those paying an income-based levy to finance extraordinary expenditures (*fintas*) by the king[34].

In fact, this list refers churches not indicated in 1191, along Lisbon's wide periphery (São Félix de Chelas, São Pedro de Barcarena, Santa Maria de Belas, São Pedro de Lousa, Santa Maria de Loures, Santo António de Fanhões, São Julião de *Monte Aiseque* [Montachique], Santa Maria de Vila Franca, Santa Maria de Povos) and Sintra (São João de *Lexim* [Covas?]), mostly in settlements established since the late 12th century[35] or as a result of settlement and organizational initiatives undertaken shortly before, for example by granting charters from Lisbon's right shore to the boroughs of Povos (1195), Alhandra (1203) and Vila Franca de Xira (1212), to mention a few cases[36].

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32. This assessment can be further examined when a formal comparison is made between the churches mentioned in the list of 1191 and those contained in the taxatio of the benefices of the kingdom carried out by apostolic officials in 1320. The latter, which provides a first overview of the parochialisation of the kingdom – though without referring generically to the churches dependent on the parish churches – was edited in Boissellier, Stéphane: *La construction administrative d'un royaume : registres de bénéfices ecclésiastiques portugais : XIIIᵉ-XIVᵉ siècles*, Lisbon, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, 2012, p. 124-203, *maxime* p. 180-187 for the diocese of Lisbon.

33. Santos, Filipa: *O Médio Tejo...*, p. 50.

34. This specific document deserved some attention in outlining the diocese parochialisation, as in Leitão, André de Oliveira: *O Povoamento...*, p. 57-60.

35. List referred to *ibidem,* p. 59, with the due documents referred to on pages. 47-48, 50, 53-54.

36. *Ibidem,* p. 82.

In the amalgam of church–patrons saints that included Roman saints (Saint Peter, Saint John) and ancient martyrs (Saint Felix, Saint Julian, for instances), one clearly detects two logics associated with the establishment of parishes. On the one hand, the creation of new parishes founded in places of recent settlement by Christians imbued with the religiosity of reformist Gregorian ideals. On the other hand, the ability for the *filii ecclesie* of these parishes to perpetuate cults of martyrs of the first centuries of Christianisation in the end of the 12th century. Their absence from the aforementioned agreement might suggest they were founded between 1191 and 1220 in many cases. But it might also be a reminder of how this process of parochialisation – at this time still mainly driven by the spiritual and fiscal links between the church and its parishioners, through the obligatory sacrament and the payment of fees to the respective priest – was partially independent of the territorialisation imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities, leading to the inclusion of these churches in a royal tax-list, but their absence in another list detailing the fees resulting from episcopal and capitular subjection[37].

2. A NEW DAWN IN PARISH TERRITORIALIZATION IN THE DIOCESE OF LISBON: THE EFFORTS OF DELIMITATION (13th TO 15th CENTURIES)

Most recent studies on the history of the parish in Portugal and the creation of parish networks in medieval Portuguese dioceses are aligned with the idea that the generalization of the tithe payment was the main driving force behind the territorialization of parish territories, a process increasingly dependent upon the commands of the church ordinary and the cathedral chapter[38]. This prevailing idea, more plausible than the mere loss of documents over time, follows José Mattoso's argument that well-defined parochial borders weren't really needed in medieval urban Portugal until the mid-13th century, when tithe payments were developed and generalized, even if urban parish delimitation had occurred in the previous century[39].

Undeniably, circumstances must have changed in the mid-13th century. The demographic and economic expansion until the mid-14th century may have fostered the creation of parishes, but the question remains: why parish delimitation received growing attention, in both previously existing and newly created parishes? The change in perspective is noticeable. From a heuristic point of view, written instruments determining parish boundaries were henceforth kept in the archives of

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37. In fact, apart from the churches in the town, only the church of Santa Maria de Bucelas is mentioned in both documents.
38. Rodrigues, Ana Maria: «A formação...», p. 75; Campos, Maria Amélia: «Coimbra's parochial...», p. 251.
39. Mattoso, José: *Identificação...,* p. 411.

ecclesiastical institutions, and interest in such boundaries by various jurisdictional entities was recorded[40].

In fact, this new documentation illuminates a process wherein the prelates of Lisbon appeared as the main driving forces (along with the apostolic power) behind the delimitation of diocese churches. This was the case with Pope Alexander IV in 1252 and Bishop D. Aires five years later, without us knowing whether such processes were ever implemented[41]. This desire of the prelates of Lisbon to control the territorialisation of the unbounded space was also expressed in the synodal constitutions established from the mid-13th to the early 14th century. These include measures prohibiting the collection of tithes from unmarried men without episcopal authorisation (1248, const. 8); empowering the bishop to order the delimitation of yet unlimited parishes by way of buildings (*predia*) established in them (1264, const. 3); allowing the collection of tithes from unlimited parishes only after episcopal authorization (1307, const. 18-19); and reaffirming the 1264 and 1307 constitutions, while allowing a parish-church to collect tithes from an estate farmed by its parishioners, but located in other parish (1403)[42].

A major change occurred between the latter two constitutions that had lasting effects in this process of parochialisation by «delimitation». In 1264, the bishop reaffirmed the practice of paying tithes for rural properties located within the parish (the principle of *ubi terra, ibi decimas*), which is very clear in the delimitation of the parishes of Sintra (1253), one of several carried out in the mid-13th century[43]. Although this principle was dominant in Portugal[44], there was an attempt to link the payment of tithes to the parishioner's place of residence, in 1300, in the context of the delimitation of the parishes of the town of Beja (in Alentejo). Although the attempt failed at the time, it indicated a somewhat new reality[45].

While not yet included in the surviving constitutions of the synod of 1307, this «new reality» in tithe payment (following the principle *ubi domus, ibi decimas*) might have already been on the table in the synod held eight years later[46], when the bishop of Lisbon ordered the limitation of several churches of the diocese, such

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40. Lauwers, Michel: «*Territorium non facere diocesim...* Conflits, limites et représentation territoriale du diocèse (Ve-XIIIe siècle)», *L'espace du diocèse. Genèse d'un territoire dans l'Occident médiéval (Ve-XIIIe siècle),* Mazel, Florian (dir.), Rennes, PUR, 2008, p. 43; Campos, Maria Amélia: «Coimbra's parochial...», p. 251.

41. Both are mentioned in Cunha, D. Rodrigo da: *História Ecclesiastica da Igreia de Lisboa (...),* Lisbon, Manoel da Sylva, 1642, fl. 163-163v.

42. *Synodicon Hispanum*, García y García, Antonio (dir), vol. II, Cantelar Rodríguez, Francisco *et alii* (eds.), Madrid, BAC, 1982, pp. 300, 302, 311, 332-333.

43. Ed. in Costa, Francisco: «O Paço Real de Sintra», in *idem: Estudos Sintrenses – I,* Sintra, Câmara Municipal, 2000, pp. 96-99. The delimitation of the churches of Torres Vedras occurred sometime shortly after 1249 (Lopes, Fernando Félix: «Para a história de Torres Vedras: «Emquiriçom que o bispo mandou filhar per razom da lemitaçom que quer fazer antre as egrejas de Torres Vedras»», *Lusitania Sacra,* 7 (1964), p. 152.

44. Henriques, António Castro: «O «fruto» e o produto. Do dízimo eclesiástico às contas nacionais (Portugal, século XIV)», *Economia e instituições na Idade Média: novas abordagens,* Solórzano Telechea, Jesus Ángel and Viana, Mário (coord.), Ponta Delgada, Centro de Estudos Gaspar Frutuoso, 2013, p. 70.

45. On this delimitation, Vilar, Hermínia: *As Dimensões...,* pp. 233-234.

46. *Synodicon...,* p. 314-315.

as Torres Vedras (1315-1317), Alenquer (1319) and Santarém and its surroundings (*termo*) (1323)[47].

The principle of tithing according to the owner or usufructuary's parish of residence (*ubi domus, ibi decima*), established in the first half of the 14th century, made the perception of tithing in Lisbon and surrounding areas especially permeable to legal conflicts between the urban churches of the diocese, as attested by several documents kept by the collegiate bodies of the city[48].

This change in custom affected the parochialisation of the undelimited wild lands, cleared and valued during the period of economic expansion from the 13th and 14th centuries onwards[49]. This new available territory, now marked in the landscape by buildings (*predia*) erected therein, gave rise to specific delimitations conceded to the parishes where the respective farmers or owners lived, in most cases parishes in Lisbon and its satellite towns. This often gave way to the dominion of these urban parishes over the new parishes eventually founded in these rural territories.

The subsequent subordination of rural churches and chapels to urban churches (almost all organised as a collegiate, such in the Lisbon diocese) was quite jurisdictional. These parish churches established in the urban *milieu* acted as mother churches and were called upon to provide for the religious needs of the rural populations that fell within the ecclesiastical space of their suffragan churches or chapels. However, this link was largely favourable to the urban establishment, not only because it allowed the urban collegiate churches to establish «pockets» of jurisdiction in the rural area, but above all because of the resulting income. The financial exploitation of the rural patrimony and liturgical attributions and the relationship of economic subordination with their suffragans undoubtedly allowed these urban parish churches to successfully prevent the organisation of collegiate chapters in those rural churches and chapels.

The dependence of rural parishes on their urban counterparts is not a new historiographic observation[50], but its prolongation in time is worth emphasizing – extending beyond the period of economic expansion that ended in the second half of the 14th century with the well-known triad of plague, war and famine

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47.   Olaia, Inês Sofia Lourenço: *Território*…, p. 291-295 and Farelo, Mário: «Os arcebispos de Lisboa (1393/1395-1710), *Bispos e Arcebispos…*, p. 453. In the case of Torres Vedras, the process had its origin in 1307, as can be seen from the *inquisitiones* preserved today to determine the income of each locality (Lopes, Fernando Félix: «Para a história…»). It is worth highlighting the care taken in this document in establishing the parishioners' places of residence, in line with the principle of *ubi domus, ibi decima.*

48.   We have recently developed this issue, to which we refer interested parties: Oliveira, Luís Filipe and Farelo, Mário: «À sombra da muralha. As Ordens militares na Lisboa medieval», *17º Curso sobre Ordens Militares,* Oliveira, Luís Filipe (ed.), Palmela, Edições Colibri (forthcoming).

49.   Henriques, António Castro: «O «fruto»…», p. 72, for the link between the need of delimitation following the process of clearance of uncultivated land.

50.   Rodrigues, Ana Maria: «A formação…», p. 77, 82.

–, fuelled mostly by the deployment of these delimitations, especially those implemented at a local level.

There are several hints that this parochial delimitation was necessary until the late 15th century. Pope Clement VI (sometime between 1342 and 1352) and a few Lisbon prelates (1357, 1382 and 1404) declared their intention to limit the entire diocese, while specific delimitations continued to be carried out, powered by disputes around the still unbound parts of diocesan territory, new cleared lands and mismatches following transfers of estate ownership[51].

The principle *ubi domus, ibi decima* remained in force at the time of the last medieval development on this issue: the written delimitation of the churches of the city and diocese, ordered by the archbishop of Lisbon and carried out by his officers in Santarém (1474) and in rest of the diocese (1475-1476)[52]. Such documents intended to crystalize customs in a normative written text, for future use, in terms of a threefold atomisation of the parish territory:

* Territories formed by pockets of parochial jurisdiction outside the urban space, generally in line with the location of the city church's estate;
* Territories constituted by their parishioners' estates located in other parishes;
* Territories geographically included in those «pockets» of parochial jurisdictions, but excluded from collection of the corresponding tithe, as the estates belonged to parishioners from other parishes of the diocese.

In the case of Lisbon, the delimitation was in force until changes in the city's parish network in the mid-16th century[53].

This overview confirms aspects already known and established by previous research, namely that, in the late 13th and early 14th centuries, the Lisbon parish network was increasingly delimited and commanded by episcopal power, forming a continuous framework of jurisdictional subordination of rural parishes and non-parochial temples to urban churches. But the present research also added new features, in particular the speed of this process during the 12th century. This was already recognized at an historiographical level in the case of parochialization of the city of Lisbon, given the different requirements imposed upon the new Christian powers to respond to the spiritual needs of the population, assuring the inhabitants could meet their sacramental obligations, and to provide a legal framework for the exercise of civic activity in the city.

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51. Farelo, Mário: «Os arcebispos…», p. 453.

52. *Ibidem.* A first compilation of documentary evidence was made in Vargas, José Manuel: «As freguesias de Lisboa e do seu termo na Idade Media», *Olisipo*, 2nd edition, 17 (Julho-Dezembro 2002), p. 54.

53. Farelo, Mário: «Os arcebispos…», p. 454.

The material analysed here adds to this view by considering the case of periurban and rural parishes. Instead of a straightforward command flow from the centre to the periphery, as generally assumed by Lusitanian historiography, the process of parish creation within the city walls and in the outskirts of the major urban centres seems to have been more synchronic, the difference being the precocity of the establishment of the parish network in the urban zones vis-à-vis their peri-urban and rural congeners. This difference in pace, which in certain rural areas continued until the 15th century, was favoured by custom. The change in the 14th century to the principle of *ubi domus, ibi decima* contributed to a pulverization of the parochial territory, further solidified when the respective limits were crystalized in writing, in 1476-1477.

This latter example testifies to a new era, when society and administration were increasingly bound by norms and rules, increasingly written and homogeneous, designed to limit the arbitrariness of administrative practices and to bring people and institutions into a social and legalistic order, no longer complacent with the arid areas of jurisdiction of earlier times.

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