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THE FOUNDATION OF THE MOURA CARMEL

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The date of the foundation of the Moura Carmel, often described as the earliest foundation of the Carmelites in Portugal, is given, traditionally, as the early years of the 1250s. In this paper, the evidence concerning the likely date of Moura's foundation is examined, beginning with an outline of the process, beginning in 1598 and ending early in the eighteenth century, by which various writers developed three different hypotheses concerning the foundation of Moura, the earliest date being given as the early 1250s, and the two later dates being the 1290s and the early 1330s. In the second section of the paper, the difficulties that were identified concerning each of these three hypotheses, and the emergence of a date in the early 1250s as the most widely accepted date, despite the difficulties that were also associated with that date, are sketched. In section three and four, the period beginning with the capture of Moura by the Hospitaller Order, in 1232, and their tenure of the local lordship of Moura up to the implementation of their agreement, with King Alfonso X of Castile, to exchange of that lordship for the more complete lordship of another property in the north of Portugal, in 1283, is presented. The fourth section outlines how the crown of Castile, which was the overlord of Moura, effectively handed over its role as overlord to the crown of Portugal in 1295, which was formally ratified by a treaty in 1297, focusing on what happened to the public church in Moura after the Hospitallers abandoned it, and 1317 (clarified and confirmed in 1320), when Moura's new overlord, King Denis of Portugal, granted his 'entire right of patronage' of that church, and the obligation to provide the clergy who would serve in that church, to the Order or Avis. The fifth section describes the significant developments concerning the patronage of that church, and the local lordship of Moura, in general, during the period 1317 and 1487. Section six outlines the developments that took place concerning the Moura Carmel during the period when Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira was the twenty-second Master of Avis, from 1387 to 1433.

1. The Hypotheses Concerning the 1250s, 1290s and 1330s.

Writing in 1598, Diego de Coria Maldonado, O.Carm., described the disinherited *Infante*, or Prince, of Castile, Alfonso de la Cerda, who had claimed the throne of Castile, unsuccessfully, in 1288, and his wife, Mafalda, as having retained possession of Moura, in Portugal, and of Requena (Valêcia) and Gibraleón (Huelva) in Castile. Noting that King Louis IX of France had given one of his houses to the Carmelites that he brought from Mount Carmel to France, Martínez de Coria Maldonado stated that Alfonso de la Cerda and his wife, Mafalda, brought French Carmelites with them when they came from France to Castile, where one of his inherited properties, 'Requena, was located, the other two properties being Moura, in Portugal, and Gibraleón, in Andalusia'. In the context of outlining the Nuno's life, De Coria Maldonado stated that the Moura Carmel 'had been founded' by Alfonso de la Cerda, no date being indicated, but he also noted that, when these princes visited those regions, they had brought the Carmelites with them, with the result that their foundations in Moura, and Huelva, were the first Carmelite foundations in the southern part of the Iberian peninsula.[1] In 1621, Luis da Presentação, O.Carm., repeated what De Coria Maldonado had said when he noted that, 'according to what some say,' the Moura Carmel had been founded by Alfonso de la Cerda, who also founded Gibraleón, and who died in the habit of a Third Order Carmelite.[2] Six years later, in 1627, Manuel Román, O.Carm., also repeated a similar claim when he described Alfonso and his wife, Mafalda, as Third Order Carmelites who imitated King Louis of France when they brought French Carmelites to occupy the monasteries they had built in Requena, Gibraleón and Moura, noting that Alfonso had been buried in the monastery of Gibraleón.[3]

In 1656, Juan Bautista de Lezana, O.Carm., noted, under the year 1251, that 'some learned ones affirm' that the first foundations of the Moura Carmel were laid 'about this time', by the Hospitallers, who had brought some Carmelites, 'Spaniards, perhaps,' to Moura from Palestine, citing Manoel Severim de Faria, who died in 1655, as his source. De Lezana noted that it was an accepted tradition among the

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[1] See M. de Coria Maldonado O.Carm., *Dilucidario*, 472, 98.

[2] See da Presentação, *Vida E Morte Do Padre Fr. Esteuão Da Purificação Religioso Da Ordem De N. Senhora Do Carmo Da Prouincia De Portugal*, 12-13.

[3] See M. Román O.Carm., *Elucidaciones Varias De La Antiguedad, Dignidad Y Escritores De La Sagrada Orden Del Carmen, Colegidas De Autores Graves*, Madrid: Juan Gonçalez 1627, 145, 207.

Carmelites of Spain that the Moura Carmel had been built by the De la Cerda Princes in 1290, but that this was 'not certain'.[4] Seven years later, in 1662, Daniel de la Vierge Marie, O.Carm., seems to have tried to link the Hospitaller foundation in 1251 with the later foundation by the De la Cerda Princes when he described the Moura Carmel as 'having been begun' in 1251 and as being 'transferred to another place', which was 'constructed, or notably endowed' by Alfonso de la Cerda, in 1290.[5] Four years later, in 1666, having noted that the Carmelites had come from Palestine to France, England, and Italy, before they had come to Spain, and that they did not come to Portugal until the reign of King John I (1385-1433), Jorge Cardoso described the Moura Carmel as having been 'founded' by Alfonso de la Cerda, whom he described as 'the Lord of that town', which then belonged to the Crown of Castile, suggesting that, as a consequence, the Moura Carmel should not be judged as being a Portuguese foundation.[6] Twelve years afterwards, in 1678, José de Santa Teresa, O.C.D., included the first foundations of the Carmelites in Spain and 'that of Moura' among those that had been founded when St. Simon Stock was General of the Carmelites.[7] In 1680, De la Vierge Marie included a Life of St. Simon Stock, drawn up by himself [de la Vierge Marie], apparently, in his *Speculum Carmelitanum*, in which Stock was described as having been Vicar General before becoming Prior General, and as dying in 1265, the year of the foundation of Moura Carmel being given as 1251.[8]

1n 1717, rejecting the claim that the De la Cerda princes had founded the Moura Carmel in 1290, and highlighting the link with the Hospitallers and the origin of the Carmelites in Palestine, Augostinho de Santa Maria, O.A.D., gave 1251 as the year of foundation.[9] Manuel de Sá, O.Carm., writing in 1727, recognised that, if Alfonso de la Cerda had been the founder of the Moura Carmel, it could not have been in

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[4] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales Sacri*, 4:328-29 n. 4 & 452 n. 8.

[5] See de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Vinea Carmeli*, 259 n. 510.

[6] See Cordoso, *Agiológio Lusitano Dos Santos E Varões Ilustres Em Virtude Do Reino De Portugal E Suas Conquistas*, 3:214 d.

[7] See de Santa Teresa O.C.D., *Flores Del Carmelo: Vidas De Los Santos De Nuestra Señora Del Carmen* ... 217 n. 23.

[8] See de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Speculum Carmelitanum*, 2:418-19 nn. 1489-92. Recent scholarship indicates, however, that very little evidence concerning the dates, or activities, of Saint Simon Stock is extant, see L. Saggi O.Carm., ed. *Santi Del Carmelo. Biografie Da Vari Dizionari*, Rome 1972, 320-23.

[9] See Agostinho de Santa Maria O.A.D., *Santuario Mariano, E Historia Das Imagens Milagrosos De N. Senhora, E Das Milagrosament Apparecedia* ... 10 vols., Lisbon: Na Officina de Antonio Pedrozo Galram 1707-23, 6:247.

the final decade of the thirteenth century, but in 1330-31, and, accepting the positions of José de Santa Teresa (1668) and De la Vierge Marie (1680), he rejected the claim that Alfonso de la Cerda had been the founder. Following Manoel Severim de Faria, he described the Spanish Carmelites who came from Palestine with the Hospitaller Knights of St. John as the founders of the Moura Carmel, the site being provided by the same Knights, and the date of the foundation being between 1252 and 1254.[10]

The authors we have just presented show that, between 1598 and 1727, three diverging positions had developed, one claiming a foundation thanks to the Hospitallers, the Carmelites coming directly from Palestine, soon after 1250 (De Lezana, De la Vierge Marie, De Sá, De Santa Teresa, De la Vierge Marie and De Santa Maria), another claiming a second foundation by Alfonso de la Cerda about 1290 (De Lezana, De la Vierge Marie and Cardoso), and another suggesting that the first foundation was made by Alfonso de la Cerda during the fourteenth century (De Coria Maldonado, Da Presentação and Román). Given the dates, the third claim is obviously incompatible with the first two and the only reason for excluding Cardoso from the third category is that he implicitly presumes a date prior to the treaty of Alcañices (1297), when Castile formally recognised Moura as belonging to Portugal, for the foundation. While De Lezana and De la Vierge Marie combine the first and second traditions, both recognising the Carmelites as having come directly from Palestine, as did De Sá, this is denied by Cardoso, Alfonso de la Cerda during the fourteenth century (De Coria Maldonado, Da Presentação and Román. Cardoso implies that the Carmelites came to Moura from Spain, De Coria Maldonado and Román describe them as coming from France, and Da Presentação does not indicate where they might have originated.

2. The Difficulties Concerning the Three Dates (1250s, 1290s and 1330s).

Taking the three proposed dates in reverse order, beginning with the problems concerning the 1330s, it was in 1745 that the Porguguese Carmelite, José Pereira de Sant'Anna, alligned himself with those, like De Lezana and De la Vierge Marie, who regarded the 1250s as the date

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[10] See de Sá O.Carm., *Memórias Históricas Da Ordem De Nossa Senhora Do Carmo Da Província De Portugal* ... 21-23, 30.

of Moura' foundation, the Lisbon Carmelites having come from Moura when Nuno Álvares Pereira invited them to do so early in the fifteenth century. Pereira de Sant'Anna rejected the claim, made by De Coria Maldonado and Román, that Alfonso de la Cerda had been the Lord of Moura, and could not, therefore, had established a new Carmelite Church and monastery at that time. Presenting an outline of Alfonso's life, he argued that Alfonso could not have held dominion in Moura in 1331, because Moura had belonged to the Crown of Portugal after the treaty of Alcañices (1297), and he concluded that Alfonso could not founded the Carmel in the 1330s.[11] Since Alfonso also lacked the lordship from 1297 onwards, and, given the need to have lordship in order to establish a church or monastery, as we shall demonstrate later in this paper, this criticism concerning the proposed establishment of the Moura Carmel either in the late 1290s or in the 1330s retains its force as a strong argument and it helps to explain why the claim concerning the establishment of the Moura Carmel in the 1250s has become widely accepted.

Concerning the proposal that the Moura Carmel was established the period leading up the 1297, as Cardoso had explicitly proposed, Manuel García Calahorra's denied De Lezana's claim that the foundation by Alfonso took place in 1290 in 1766, arguing that, like Requena and Gibraleón, the Moura Carmel had been founded by Alfonso de la Cerda in 1332.[12] In 1775, approximately, Wyndham Beawes gave 1251 as the year in which the Moura Carmel was founded.[13] In 1895, Augosto de Pinho Leal described the Moura Carmel as having been founded by the Carmelites during the 1240s, noting that the De la Cerda princes had ordered some works done on the building in 1290.[14] The outline of the history of the Carmelite Order in Portugal that was published by Manuel Maria Wermers, O.Carm., in 1963, gave 1251 as the year the Moura Carmel was founded.[15] In

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[11] See Pereira de Sant'Anna O.Carm., *Chronica Dos Carmelitas De Antiga, E Regular Observancia Nestes Reynos De Portugal, Algarves, E Seu Dominios* ... 1:132 n. 315 & 135-36 nn. 320-22.

[12] See M. García Calahorra O.Carm., *Breve Compendio Del Origen Y Antiguedad De La Sagrada Religion Del Carmen* ..., Madrid: en la imprenta de Manuel Martin 1766, 132-33.

[13] See W. Beawes, *A Civil, Commercial, Political, and Literary History of Spain, and Portugal*, 2 in 1 vols. (London: R. Faulder, 1793), 2:142.

[14] See A. Soares d'Azevedo Barbosa de Pinho Leal, *Moura*, in *Portugal Antigo E Moderno; Diccionario ... De Todas as Cidades ...* ed. A. Soares d'Azevedo Barbosa de Pinho Leal, Lisbon: Livraria Editora de Mattos Moreira & Companhis 1873-90, 568.

[15] See Wermers O.Carm., *A Ordem Carmelita E O Carmo Em Portugal*, 127-29.

1996, Pablo María Garrido, O.Carm., suggested that 1332, as proposed by Manuel García Calahorra, was more likely as the year that Moura was founded than 1251 or 1290.[16] Generally speaking, writers had tended to favour either the 1250s or the 1330s as the likely date and the 1290s seems to be generally regarded as the least likely date.

Concerning the proposal that the Moura Carmel was established in the 1250s, In 1763, citing Pereira de Sant'Anna and De Sá, Joaõ Bautista de Castro accepted 1250 as the year, in 1763, but, like Jorge Cardoso, he did not regard Moura as the first of the Portuguese Carmels because, in 1250, Portugal belonged to the Crown of Castile, making it a Castilian Carmel at the time of its foundation.[17] Since no mention of the foundation of Moura is found in Mariano Ventimiglia's 1773 account of the life and significant deeds St. Simon Stock, described as having been Prior General of the Carmelites 1245 to 1265, the claim that it was founded in the 1250s seems unlikely.[18] Rather than the technicality proposed by De Castro, and given the lack of historical evidence relating to Simon Stock, a more significant challenged to the claim concerning the 1250s was identified by Balbino Velasco Bayón, O.Carm., argued that the claim that Moura had been founded in the middle of the thirteenth century was inherently improbable, given the sequence in which the Carmelites reached the various countries of Europe after leaving the Holy Land in the 1230s. They first established themselves in Cyprus, Sicily, and England, in that order, and these countries had been chosen because it was from those countries that some of the first Carmelites had come to the Holy Land, and it was to those same countries that they returned. This did not happen in the Iberian peninsula, however, because, at that time, those who lived there were fighting their own crusade against the Moors, who then occupied a significant portion of the peninsula, and they were only minimally involved in the Holy Land crusade.[19] Rejecting the claims concerning the Hospitallers bringing

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[16] See P.M. Garrido O.Carm., *El Solar Carmelitano De San Juan De La Cruz*, 2 vols., Madrid 1996, 2:30.

[17] See J.B. de Castro, *Mappa De Portugal Antigo, E Moderno* ... 3 vols., Lisbon: Na Officina Patriarcal de Francisco Luiz Ameno 1762-[1763], 2:72-73. Cordoso, *Agiológio Lusitano Dos Santos E Varões Ilustres Em Virtude Do Reino De Portugal E Suas Conquistas*, 3:214 d.

[18] See M. Ventimiglia O.Carm., *Historia Chronologica Priorum Generalium Latinorum Ordinis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae De Monte Carmelo* ..., Naples: Ex typographia Simoniana 1773, 29-38.

[19] See V. Bayón, *Alvarez Pereira, Nuño (Fray Nuño De Santa María) O.Carm.*, 33.

the Carmelites to Moura during the second half of the thirteenth century, Velasco Bayón regarded a foundation in the first third of the fourteenth century, made by Carmelites from the existing houses of the Spanish Province, more probable.[20]

We have seen that presuming that the Carmelites who left the Holy Land in the middle of the thirteenth centuries are unlikely to have come to the Iberian peninsula, since they had probably not originated there, making the claim concerning the 1250s difficult to sustain. The claim concerning the 1290s has generally been recognised as having a lower likelihood than the other two dates, and the claim concerning the period 1297 to 1339, as already noted, seems unlikely since Alfonso de la Cerda does not seem to have held the required lordship of Moura during that period. It would seem that a more thorough examination of the extant documents concerning the earliest years of the Moura Carmel needs to be undertaken, recognising that there seems to be no solid evidence that would definitively establish that foundation in the period covering the three proposed dates, the 1250s, the 1290s and the 1330s. The obvious place to begin would seem to be the extant information concerning the recovery of the town of Moura from the Moors in the early 1230s.

3. The Hospitallers' Local Lordship of Moura from 1232 to 1283.

Having been disputed between the Christians and the Moors since the middle of the twelfth century, it was only during the summer of 1232[21] that the castles of Moura and Serpa were captured by the Hospitallers, who were fighting alongside King Sancho II of Portugal against the Moors. As a reward, King Sancho gave the Hospitallers the custody of those two castles, as well as certain lands that needed to be fortified at Belver/Benavila, on the north bank of the Tagus, and at Crato, a little further south.[22] The castle of Moura seems to have been recognised by King Sancho II as under the local lordship of the Hospitallers, who were an international Order, but the claim that the

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[20] See ibid., 33-34.

[21] See S. Macias, V. Gaspar, and J.G. Valente, *Castelo De Moura: Escavações Arqueológicas (1989-2013)*, Moura 2016, 53.

[22] See A. Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades*, Aldershot, Hampshire 1994, 204; L. Dailliez, *Essai Historique Sur L'order Souverain De Saint-Jean De Jérusalem, De Rhodes Et De Malte Au Portugal (Xii-Xv Siècles), Arquivos do Centro cultural Portugus* 1(1969), 33.

same applied to Serpa seems to have been mistaken[23] because, although the custody of both castles, Moura and Serpa, was given to the Hospitallers,[24] that same year, 1232, King Sancho II of Portugal gave the lordship of Serpa to his illegitimate half-brother, Prince Fernando of Portugal, then aged fourteen, who held that lordship until 1246.[25]

In a letter to Bishop Martinho of Évora during October 1235, Prince Fernando recognised that his castle of Serpa, and its boundaries, were part of the diocese of Évora and he authorised the payment of tithes to the diocese.[26] Following his violence against certain clerics, Prince Fernando, Lord of Serpa travelled to Rome in 1237 to beg Pope Gregory IX for pardon[27] and, in the early 1240s, he married Sancha Fernandes de Lara and had a son, Sancho Fernandes Junior. Following the death of Prince Fernando in January, 1246, his widow, Sancha Fernandez, donated the castle of Serpa to the Hospitallers.[28] This donation had already been made by 20 October, 1248, when the Hospitaller Prior of Crato, Portugal, João Garcia, who describes himself as the Prior of the Hospital in Portugal and of the Brothers of the same Order in the Kingdom of Portugal, made an arrangement with Bishop Martinho of Évora, together with the Chapter of Evora, according to which, 'respecting our [the Order's] privileges (*salvis nostris privilegiis*),' Bishop Martinho would become the Bishop and Pastor of the houses of the Order in Crato, Moura and Serpa, and his diocese would be paid a fifth of all the tithes and mortuary fees, except for armour and horses, from the Hospitaler churches in Crato, Moura and Serpa.[29] Implicitly, this agreement

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[23] See Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades*, 204.

[24] See Dailliez, *Essai Historique Sur L'order Souverain De Saint-Jean De Jérusalem, De Rhodes Et De Malte Au Portugal (Xii-Xv Siècles)*, 33.

[25] See A.X. Rodrigues Cordeiro, *Serões De Historia: Factos Da Historia Portugueza* ... 2 vols., Obras De A. X. Rodrigues Cordeiro, Lisbon: Livraria de Antonio Maria Pereira 1889-1890, 1:69-70.

[26] See A. de Sousa Pereira, *O Infante D. Fernando De Portugal, Senhor De Serpa (1218-1256): História Da Vida E Da Morte De Um Cavaleiro Andante*, *Lusitania Sacra, 2ª série* 10(1998), 101.

[27] See *J. Mattoso, A Nobreza Medieval Portuguese No Contexto Peninsular*, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: História* (1991), 1032.

[28] See de Sousa Pereira, *O Infante D. Fernando De Portugal, Senhor De Serpa (1218-1256): História Da Vida E Da Morte De Um Cavaleiro Andante*, 115-21.

[29] See J.A. de Figueiredo Ribeiro, *Nova Historia Da Militar Ordem De Malta E Dos Senhores Grão-Priores Della, Em Portugal* ... 3 vols., Lisbon: Na Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira 1800, 2:2-4; J. Delaville le Roulx ed., *Cartulaire De L'ordre De St. Jean De Jérusalem*, 4 vols., Paris: E. Leroux 1894-1904, 2:676-78 n. 2488.

suggests that the Hospitallers recognised Crato, Moura and Serpa al belonging, not only to the diocese of Évora, but to the Kingdom of Portugal.

King Sancho II of Portugal had been effectively deposed by Pope Innocent IV in 1245, the government being entrusted to his younger brother, Alfonso, who called himself the Defender of the Kingdom, and, following Sancho's death, in January, 1248, Afonso succeeded Sancho as King Afonso III of Portugal.[30] In November, 1252, Afonso III of Portugal and the newly-crowned Alfonso X of Castile agreed the treaty of Badajoz, by which the Guardiana river became the recognised boundary between Portugal and Castile.[31] Having divorced his wife, Matilda of Boulogne, earlier that year, King Afonso III of Portugal and King Alfonso X of Castile agreed in May, 1253, that the Portuguese towns of Moura and Serpa would be given to Castile as part of the marriage contract between Afonso III of Portugal and Princess Beatriz of Castile, the daughter of Alfonso X.[32] Since the independent lordship of the castles of Moura and Serpa by the Hospitallers had previously been recognised by the Portuguese crown, and since the Hospitallers retained the custody of those two castles afterwards, those agreements seem to have been intended, in effect, to transfer those castle-towns from the overlordship of the crown of Portugal to the overlordship of the crown of Castile, without affecting the local lordship of both castle-towns by the Hospitallers. The castles of Moura and Serpa remained in the hands of the Hospitallers, who, presumably, accepted the agreements that made the King of Castile their new overlord, and they continued their struggle to regain the territory to the east of Moura from the Moors. In 1253, approximately, the Hospitallers captured

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[30] See F.A. Dutra, *Afonso III, King of Portugal,* in *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. E.M. Gerli, New York & London 2003, 35.

[31] See M. González Jiménez, *La Minoría De Fernando Iv De Castilla (1295-1301),* in *Iv Jornadas Luso-Espanholas De História Medieval. As Relações De Fronteira No Século De Alcañicas*, ed. Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Medievais Porto 1998-2000, 6-11.

[32] See M.J. Barroca, *Os Castelos Das Ordens Militares Em Portugal (Secs. XII a XIV)*, in *Mil Anos De Fortificações Na Península Ibérica E No Magrem (500-1500). Actas Dp So,[Osio Internacional Sobre Castelos, Câmara Municipal De Palmela*, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, Palmela 2002, 539; A.H. de Carvalho e Eraújo, *História De Portugal Desde O Começo Da Monarchia Até Ao Fim Do Reinado De Affonso Iii. Volume 3*, 2nd ed., Lisbon: Em casa da viuva Bertrand e Filhos 1858, 401. Apparently as an oversight, Monteiro gave this date as March 1283, rather than March 1253, see J. Gouveia Monteiro, *Nuno Álvares Pereira: Guerreiro, Senhor Feudal, Santo: Os Três Rostros Do Condestável*, 5th ed., Lisbon 2017, 248.

Aroche, about 47 km east-southeast of Moura.[33] Afonso Pires Farinha, the future Prior of the Hospital in Portugal, is described in an inscription in the Church of the True Cross of Portel, as coming to Moura and Serpa when Badajoz, Moura and Serpa were the only Christian towns west of the Guardiana river, and living there for twenty years, during which time he was responsible for capturing Aroche, which he gave to King Afonso III of Portugal.[34] Because it was King Afonso III of Portugal, rather than King Alfonso X of Castile, who granted a royal charter to Aroche, south east of Moura, in 1255, Macia suggests that the Guardiana river boundary, established by the 1252 treaty, was never recognised, in practice, by Portugal.[35] It may be, however, that the boundary was recognised in relation to overlordship, but that, as a recent conquest by the Hospitallers, the town of Aroche continued to support King Afonso III of Portugal in extending the southern border of Portugal at the expense of the Moors. King Alfonso X of Castile, similarly, does not seem to have regarded the boundaries established by the 1252 treaty as undermining the local lordship of the castles of Moura and Serpa exercised by the Hospitallers because, in February 1259, he recognised that 'the towns of Moura and Serpa' belonged to the Hospitallers.[36] In 1267, a new treaty between Portugal and Castile, the treaty of Badajoz (1267), confirmed the Guardiana river as the boundary between the two countries[37] and it seems likely that, again, this should be understood as referring to the overlordship of the border regions, rather than as some kind of challenge to the local lordship of the Hospitallers in Moura and Serpa.

During the 1270s and 1280s, the local lordship of the Hospitallers in Moura and Serpa came to an end, thanks to the efforts of King

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[33] See E. McMurdo, *The History of Portugal, from the Commencement of the Monarchy to the Reign of Alfonso Iii*, 2 vols., London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington Limited 1888-89, 1:439; de Figueiredo Ribeiro, *Nova Historia Da Militar Ordem De Malta E Dos Senhores Grão-Priores Della, Em Portugal ...,* 2:68.

[34] See Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, 3:181-82 n. 3305.

[35] See Macias, Gaspar, and Valente, *Castelo De Moura: Escavações Arqueológicas (1989-2013)*, 53.

[36] See M. González Jiménez, *Huelva, Tierra De Frontera*, in *Huelva En La Edad Media: Reflexiones, Aportaciones Y Nuevas Perspectivas Veinte Años Después*, ed. J.L. Carriazo Rubio and J.M. Miura Andrade, Arias Montano, Huelva 1998, 22; D. Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales Eclesiasticos, Y Seculares De La Muy Noble, Y Muy Leal Civdad De Seuilla, Metropoli De La Andaluzia: Que Contiene Sus Mas Principales Memorias ...*, Madrid: en la Imprenta Real, por Iuan García Infançon 1677, 87.

[37] See D. Martins, *Unsettles Borders: The Treaty of Ancaices (1297), Its Contestation Process in 1312, and Its Consequences. A New Perspective*, *MEMSA Journal* 4(2022), 50.

Alfonso X of Castile, who sought to replace their lordship with that of the crown of Castile. The first move took place on 10 August, 1271, King Alfonso X of Castile agreed to give the castle and town of [São Tomé de] Covelas de Duero, with its boundaries, belongings and rights, the church of Santa María de Castiello de Vega, with its rights and belongings, each of these properties being worth more than 500 maravedís of the 'old and good coinage,' as well as the porterage in Quiroga, the rights and incomes of the valley of the Guareña, Fresno el Viejo, Paradinas de San Juan, Eljas, and two tracts of land, one in the castle of Moura and one in the castle of Serpa, both suitable for 'building houses and oratories' as well as other properties in both castle-towns, to the Hospitallers, in exchange for 'the castles of Serpa, Moura and Mourão'.[38]

The explicit mention of the Hospitallers receiving other properties in the vicinity of the castles of Moura and Serpa implies that the Hospitallers did not intend to leave the castles in question, and that the castles of Moura and Serpa would remain in their custody following the proposed arrangement. The Hospitallers mentioned in the document were 'Br. Gonçalvo Pirez de Pereira, the Great Commander[39] of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem' in the Kingdoms of Spain from 1260-1271,[40] the great grandfather of Nuno Álvarez Pereira (St. Nuno of St. Mary), and four other Brothers of that Order, Pedro de D'Aycam, Lope Gonçalvez, Alberto de Vintimilia and Arias Muniz, and the agreement was subject to the approval of the [Grand] Master of the Hospitallers and of the Hospitaller Brothers, which probably explains why the exchange was not put into effect until the 1280s.[41] On 10 October, 1280, in Saint Jean d'Acre, Palestine, Nicholas Lorgne, who had replaced Hugues de Revel as the Grand Master of the Hospital in 1277, gave power to Fernán Perez Moseio, the Grand Prior of Castile and León from 1280 to 1284,[42] to Gonçalvo Pirez de Pereira, the Commander of the Order of the

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[38] See Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, 3:256-57 n. 3428.

[39] In a letter dated 16 June, 1270, Gonçalvo Pires de Pereira is also described as the Great Commander of the Hospitallers in the whole of Spain, see ibid., 3:229-30 n. 3397.

[40] See J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers En Terre Sainte Et À Chypre (1100-1310)*, Paris 1904, 421.

[41] See G. Jiménez, *Huelva, Tierra De Frontera*, 25; C. de Ayala Martínez, *Alfonso X Y La Orden De San Juan De Jerusalén*, in *Estudios De Historia Medieval. Homenaje a Luis Suárez*, ed. V.A. Alvarez Palenzuela, Valladolid 1991, 35-40.

[42] See Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers En Terre Sainte Et À Chypre (1100-1310)*, 424.

Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Limia, Turon, Tavira and Faia, and to Alfonso Perez Farina, the Commander of Leça do Balio and of Rio Meão, to arrange an exchange concerning the castles of Moura and Serpa with King Alfonso X of Spain.[43] The involvement of the Grand Master and of those who were Commanders In Portuguese and Castile, and the continued involvement of the former Grand Commander of the Kingdoms of Spain, Gonçalvo Pirez de Pereira, suggests that there was widespread approval among the Hospitallers concerning the proposed exchange.

Whether the approval by the Hospitaller Brothers, as such, was obtained before, or after, that of the Grand Master, is not clear, but, five months later, on 10 March, 1281, proceeding with his obligations deriving from the agreement reached a decade earlier, King Alfonso X of Castile arranged an exchange with the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, by which, in exchange 'for their castles of Moura and of Serpa, and for [the castle of] Mourão, which they would give to the King', the Hospitallers would be given the right of 'complete lordship (*sennorio conplido*)' and 'patronage' over the church of Santa María de Castiello de Vega, at Castrelo de Minho, with all its rights and belongings, including all the 'ecclesial goods (*eglesiarios*)' that belong to it, together with its boundaries, honours, inheritances, properties, including its books and items associated with the liturgy, and incomes, the whole being equivalent to an income of more than 400 maravedís of the 'old and good coinage.' The implication of the exchange is that the Hospitaller's would give their rights of lordship and patronage over the castles of Moura, Serpa and Mourão to King Alfonso X, which, since he already had the right of overlordship, would give him the right of 'complete lordship' and patronage over those castles-towns, and that, in return, he would give the Hospitallers the right of 'complete lordship' and patronage over the church of Santa María de Castiello de Vega. No individual Hospitallers are mentioned in this donation.[44]

On the following day, 11 March, 1281, having noted the letters and the power of making this exchange that had been given to Lord Fernán Perez Moseio, Lord Gonçalvo Pirez, and Lord Alfonso Perez Farina, and noting, also, his agreement with Prince Sancho, his elder son and heir, King Alfonso X of Castile confirmed the handing over to him of the lordship of 'the castles that are called Moura, Serpa and Mourão' which had been theirs, in exchange for '[São Tomé de]

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[43] See *Cartulaire*, 3:397-98 n. 3731.
[44] See ibid., 3:406-07 n. 3742.

Covelas de Duero and the church of Santa María de Castiel[lo] de Vega, with all its rights and belongings,' to which the King added the portage and all the other rights that he had, and should have, in Quiroga, but withholding the right of minting coinage and the right to a place at the table, which he kept for himself. The Hospitallers would also be given the royalties of *martiniega*[45] and *acémilas*[46] on the Hospitaller properties in the valley of the Guareña, in Fresno el Viejo and in Paradinas de San Juan, in Eljas, and half of the *martiniega* paid to the king by the vassals of the Order in the bailiwicks of Puente de Orbigo, Cerecinos de Campos, Santa Maria de la Huerta, and two tracts of land, one in the castle of Moura and one in the castle of Serpa, both suitable for 'building houses and oratories' as well as other properties in both castle-towns. and 'likewise,' he gave them a tract of land in Moura and another in Serpa, in which they could 'build houses and churches', and, likewise, he gave them, in Moura, ten of pieces of inherited land' and as much again in Serpa, 'and likewise … a vineyard and a garden and two water mills in Moura, of which they are still in possession'. Mentioning the agreement made with the Bishop of Évora on 20 October 1448, the King also promised to protect the Hospitaller Brothers so that 'they would not receive damages from the Bishop of Évora[47] on account of that exchange that they had made with the King 'because of the churches of Moura and of Serpa and of their boundaries'. In formally making the exchange, the Hospitallers note that it should be carried out 'in such a manner that' what the King was giving to them 'in Moura and in Serpa' would 'remain safe according to what was named further up', except for the other things 'if there should be a right which the Bishop of Évora has concerning them, according to what is written in the (1248) agreement.'[48]

During the period between the agreement in March 1281 and its eventual confirmation by Prince Sancho of Castile, which is mentioned in the agreement, the same Prince Sancho assembled a coalition of

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[45] *Martiniega* refers to a tribute or contribution that was paid to the King of Castile on the feast day of St. Martin of Tours, 11 November, each year. See the following website, accessed on 6 May 2023: https://dle.rae.es/martiniega

[46] Acémilas, from the original Arabic for 'beast of burden' (*azzámila*), usually referred to 'mules,' and, by extension, the word was used for the tribute or contribution that was paid to the King of Castile for mules, see C. Gutiérrez del Arroyo de Vázquez de Parga ed., *Privilegios Reales De La Orden De Santiago En La Edad Media: Catálogo De La Serie Existente En El Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid 1959, 295.

[47] Bishop Martinho of Évora had died in 1266 and, at that time, Durando Pais was the Bishop of Évora.

[48] See Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, 3:407-09 n. 3743.

nobles in 1282 to prevent his nephew, Prince Alfonso de la Cerda, from becoming King and, at the same time, to support him (Sancho) in the civil war against his father, King Alfonso X. To gain the support of the Hospitallers for his cause, Prince Sancho gave Fernão Perez, the Prior of the Portuguese Hospitallers, the churches of Moura, Serpa, and Mourão and 'all other places belonging to these castles' as a gift that would become effective on the death of Sancho's mother, Queen Consort Violant.[49] The Prince's campaign was successful and, on 22 February, 1283, Prince Sancho of Castile confirmed the exchange that the Hospitallers had made with his father, King Alfonso X, 'concerning Moura, concerning Serpa, and concerning Mourão'.[50] Among other things, the exchange agreed during March 1281, and its confirmation during February 1283, suggests that the Hospitallers had been in continuous possession of the lordship of the castles mentioned throughout the period between their capture, from the Moors, during the 1250s, until that February 1283 confirmation.[51]

Commenting on the exchange of goods between King Alfonso X and the Hospitallers in 1994, Banquero Goñi suggested that the Hospitallers were motivated by their 'interest in obtaining control over rents held by the king on its properties', adding that 'they were even prepared to renounce the lordship of some places in exchange for royal revenues, or at least a share in them.' Suggesting that, in effect, the Hospitallers 'clearly preferred a qualitative growth of their power over their possessions rather than a simple extension of territory', he highlighted the concession by King Alfonso X of 'the royal rights of *martiniega* and *acémilas* on the Hospitaller properties of the valley of the Guareña, Fresno del Viejo and Paradinas de San Juan', the grant

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[49] See P. Linehan, *Spain, 1157-1300: A Partible Inheritance*, Oxford 2011, 188.

[50] See I. García Tato, *Las Encomiendas Gallegas De La Orden Militar De San Juan De Jerusalén: Estudio Y Edición Documental. Vol. 1: Época Medieval*, Santiago de Compostala 2004, 189 n. 89. On the additional places for which *martiniega* royalties were being paid, see C. Banquero Goñi, *The Hospitallers and Castilian-Leonese Monarchy: The Concession of Royal Rights, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries*, in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M.C. Barber, Aldershot 1994, 31-32.

[51] See *The Hospitallers and Castilian-Leonese Monarchy: The Concession of Royal Rights, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries,* 31; Monteiro, *Nuno Álvares Pereira: Guerreiro, Senhor Feudal, Santo: Os Três Rostros Do Condestável*, 248; F. García Fitz, *Política Internacional, Conflictos Jurisdiccionales Y Construcciones Militares a Finales Del Signo Xiii En La Sierra De Aroche: Los Castillos De Cumbres Y Santa Olalla*, in *Huelva En La Edad Media: Reflexiones, Aportaciones Y Nuevas Perspectivas Veinte Años Después*, ed. J.L. Carriazo Rubio and J.M. Miura Andrade, Arias Montano, Huelva 1998, 258.

of 'half of the *martiniega* paid to the king by the vassals of the Order' in the bailiwicks of Puente de Obrigo, Cerecinos de Campos, Santa María de la Huerta y de Vidalanes.[52] While the income from the royalties listed was, without doubt, an incentive, the need to seek approval from the Grand Master, and from the Hospitaller Brothers collectively, indicate that the exchange was not primarily motivated by such economic incentives. The explicit mention of 'complete lordship' over the church of Santa María de Castiello de Vega and of the privileges of the Hospitallers, the mention of Royal protection from receiving 'damages from the Bishop of Évora' concerning the three Hospitaller churches, and the explicit mention of being given 'a tract of land in Moura and another in Serpa,' both tracts being suitable for 'building houses and oratories', suggests that the Hospitallers were not happy with their 1248 agreement to pay a fifth of the income from their churches to the bishops of Évora, and were seeking a means that would re-establish normative exemption, as Religious, from financial imposition by local Bishops.[53] It would seem that the main reason for giving up their local lordship in Moura and Serpa to King Alfonso X, was that, from then on, it would be the King, rather than the Hospitallers, who would be both the overlord, and the local lord and patron of what, up to then, have been their churches, and who would, presumably, be responsible for paying a fifth of their income to the Bishop of Évora. The Hospitallers would retain their position as resident custodians of those castle-towns but, no longer having a public church, and constructing an oratory and residence for their own use on each of the tracts of land that the King was providing in Moura and Serpa. Since those oratories were the private oratories of Religious Knights, rather than public churches, the Hospitallers would be exempt from any payments for those oratories to the bishops of Évora. They would also benefit financially from the much better terms, 'complete lordship' over the church of Santa María de Castiello de Vega, which they received from Alfonso X, compared to the limited local lordship of Moura which they had held up to that point.

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[52] See BANQUERO GOÑI, *The Hospitallers and Castilian-Leonese Monarchy: The Concession of Royal Rights, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries*, 30.

[53] On the papal recognition of the exemption of the Hospitallers from new exactions by local bishops or nobles in thirteenth-century documents, see DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Cartulaire*, 3:22-24 n. 3015 & 109 n. 157 & 124 n. 188 & 151-153 nn. 245, 248 & 168-169 n. 287.

4. The Crowns of Castile and Portugal as Overlords of Moura: 1283 to 1317.

Continuing in their capacity of custodians of Moura and its castle, while withdrawing from their service of the public church attached to their monastery, the Hospitallers probably constructed an oratory for their own private use within the castle's immediate boundaries. King Alfonso X of Castile had acquired the local lordship of Moura and, not long after Prince Sancho's confirmation of the exchange between his father and the Hospitallers, one of the documents that constituted King Alfonso's last will and testament, written during March 1283,[54] gave Moura, Serpa, and Mourão, to his illegitimate daughter, Beatriz of Castile, who had been Marchioness of Montferrato since 1271, and who died, four years later, in 1286.[55] This donation to Beatriz seems to have been ineffective. however.[56]

During the 1290s, King Denis of Portugal argued that recognising the Guardiana river as the boundary between with Castile had deprived Portugal of some of its rightful possessions, including the towns of Moura, Serpa, and Mourão and a conference to resolve the issue was held in 1291, where it was agreed that, within eight years, Fernando, the six-year-old heir to King Sancho IV of Castile, would marry Constance, the one-year-old daughter of King Denis, the towns of Moura and Serpa being the future bride's dowry.[57] Although this agreement implied that, until that marriage, Moura and Serpa would continue to belong to Castile, the Hospitallers were still in possession of those two castles, and continued to claim their rights of local lordship over them, in April, 1293, when an agreement was reached between the Hospitallers and the Templars concerning the boundaries

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[54] See F.J. Hernández, *Los Hombres Del Rey Y La Transición De Alfonso X El Sabio a Sancho Iv (1276-1286)*, Obras De Referencia, Salamanca 2021, 401.

[55] See J.F. Correia da Serra ed., *Collecção De Livros Ineditos De Historia Portugueza* ... 5 vols., Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1790-1824, 5:89-90; Banquero Goñi, *The Hospitallers and Castilian-Leonese Monarchy: The Concession of Royal Rights, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries*, 31.

[56] See M.Á. Ladero Quesada, *Sobre La Evolución De Las Fronteras Medievales Hispánicas, Siglos XI a XIV*, in *Identidad Y Representación De La Frontera En La España Medieval, Ssiglos XI-XIV: Seminario Celebrado En La Casa De Velázquez Y La Universidad Autónoma De Madrid, 14-15 De Diciembre De 1998*, ed. P. Josserand, P. Buresi and C. de Ayala Martínez, Collection De La Casa De Velázquez, Madrid 2001, 38.

[57] See Martins, *Unsettles Borders: The Treaty of Ancaices (1297), Its Contestation Process in 1312, and Its Consequences. A New Perspective*, 50.

between Serpa, Moura, Olivença and Monsaraz.[58] Sancho IV of Castile died that year, 1295, and, because his son and heir, Fernando, then ten years old, was the result of a union that had not been legitimised by the Pope, various others tried to claim the crown of Castile. King Denis exploited the situation by supporting one of the other contenders, which forced Fernando's guardians to proceed with the marriage of King Fernando IV of Castile and Constance of Portugal during October 1295, the towns, and castles,[59] of Moura and Serpa being handed over to Portugal as part of the dowry.[60] This was, in effect, the end of both the local lordship, and overlordship, of the crown of Castile in Moura, and the beginning of a new era when the crown of Portugal held both the local lordship, and overlordship, of Moura. To mark this change, King Denis of Portugal granted new royal charters to Moura and Serpa, recognising them as Portuguese strongholds, and mandating the construction of new, and well-fortified, castles in both places.[61] A royal charter was granted to the Moors living in Moura in 1296,[62] and these three charters were renewed in 1315, building work on the Moura castle being already underway at that time, making use of the ancient fortifications of the Moors. Apparently as part of an attempt to negotiate better conditions for Portugal, King Denis also allied himself with France, Sicily and Aragon against Castile that year, invading Castile in September, 1296. This strategy proved successful and King Denis was able to negotiate a new treaty with Castile, the treaty of Alcañices, in 1297, its conditions including the marriage of Afonso, the heir of King Denis, to Beatriz, Fernando's younger sister, and the formal reversal of the annexation of Moura and Serpa by

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[58] See García Fitz, *Política Internacional, Conflictos Jurisdiccionales Y Construcciones Militares a Finales Del Signo Xiii En La Sierra De Aroche: Los Castillos De Cumbres Y Santa Olalla*, 260; de Figueiredo Ribeiro, *Nova Historia Da Militar Ordem De Malta E Dos Senhores Grão-Priores Della, Em Portugal ...*, 2:66.

[59] See the letter of Prince Afonso Denis of Portugal, requiring the handing over of both castles, and homage paid to King Denis, within five weeks of the date of the document (4 October, 1295), see M. González Jiménez, *Conquista Y Repoblación De La "Banda Gallega"*, in *La Banda Gallega: Conquista Y Fortificación De Un Espacio De Frontera: (Signos XIII-XVIII)*, ed. J.A. Pérez Macías and J.L. Carriazo Rubio, Collectanea, Huelva 2005, 74 n. 18.

[60] See Martins, *Unsettles Borders: The Treaty of Ancaices (1297), Its Contestation Process in 1312, and Its Consequences. A New Perspective,* 50-51.

[61] See F.J. Denis, *Portugal Pittoresco Ou Descripção Historica D'este Reino*, 4 vols., Lisbon: L. C. da Cunha, 1847, 4:178; McMurdo, *The History of Portugal, from the Commencement of the Monarchy to the Reign of Alfonso III*, 2:114-15.

[62] See Santiago Macias, *Moura Na Baixa Idade Média: Elementos Para Um Estudo Histórico E Arqueológico*, *Arqueologia Medieval* 2(1993), 150-51.

Castile. Whether the right of the local lordship of Moura and Serpa was included in the marriage agreement is debated by historians, but most agree that the right of lordship of those two towns, either the overlordship, the local lordship, or both, passed to Portugal as a result of the treaty of Alcañices, in 1297.[63] Somewhat unusually, the treaty does not use any term equivalent to 'border', and there are no references to rivers or mountains that might clarify where the boundary lay, some suggesting that this ambiguity was deliberate and 'allowed the King of Portugal to extend his domain.'[64]

As decreed, the castles of Moura and Serpa were rebuilt during the early decades of the fourteenth century. The vagueness of the language used in the treaty of Alcañices required a series of later clarifications, and, in 1304, the bishop of Silves, representing King Denis of Portugal, and the mayor of Seville, representing the eighteen-year-old, King Fernando IV of Castile and León, failed to agree on the boundary between Moura (Portugal) and Aronches (Castile). A further attempt by the same parties to agree on the boundary in 1311 was also unsuccessful, some kind of exchange of territories needing to be agreed before progress could be made. When King Denis of Portugal and King Fernando of Castile and León met in January 1312, King Fernando IV claimed that some Castilian castles had been usurped by King Denis and he also used the opportunity to make clear to King Denis that he was not happy with the way the boundary of their countries as established in the treaty of Alcañices, one of the reasons being that King Fernando had been a minor when the agreement was made.[65] It was agreed that King James II of Aragon would act as arbitrator in the dispute. The relevant documents were submitted during the first half of 1312 and witnesses were being heard when King Fernando IV of Castile died, at the age of 26, in September 1312. Documents suggest that the judgement by King James of Aragon would have supported the Portuguese claim on Moura and Serpa but the sentence was never,

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[63] See T. HERZOG, *3. Fighting a Hydra: 1290-1955*, in *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas. Section 3. Fighting a Hydra: 1290-1955*, ed. T. HERZOG, Harvard 2015, 149 n. 1 & 335.

[64] See MARTINS, *Unsettles Borders: The Treaty of Ancaices (1297), Its Contestation Process in 1312, and Its Consequences. A New Perspective*, 52-53. J.L.M. MARTÍN, *La Tierra De Las "Contiendas" Notas Sobre La Evolución De La Raya Meridional En La Edad Media*, *Norba: Revista de História* (1996), 278-81.

[65] See MARTINS, *Unsettles Borders: The Treaty of Ancaices (1297), Its Contestation Process in 1312, and Its Consequences. A New Perspective*, 53-52.

in fact, delivered.[66] A further attempt to resolve the dispute concerning the boundary between Portugal and Castile in the region of Moura and Serpa was made in 1315 but it was also unsuccessful.[67]

The church in Moura, which had been built, and served, by the Hospitallers, seems to have been abandoned by them following the exchange that had been agreed with King Alfonso X of Castile and brought into effect in 1283. It may be that the ongoing, and unresolved, territorial disputes in that region played a part in discouraging other Religious Orders, or the local diocesan clergy, from taking responsibility for that church, and the others that had belonged to the Hospitallers, until King Denis of Portugal intervened directly. An extant letter of King Denis, dated 30 August, 1316, approved the arrangements of Bishop Geraldo Domingues of Évora concerning the tithes and other rights that the Portuguese crown held in the churches of the castles of Serpa, Moura and Mourão, which Lord Denis had previously been donating to the said diocese, and which were outlined in the attached letter from that Bishop. The Bishop's letter names the cantor and canon from Évora who had been appointed by the King to act on behalf of the bishop of Évora in relation to those tithes and other rights and, noting that 'the churches of the said castles of Serpa and of Moura' were then 'vacant,' it proposed that it should be the Bishop who appointed a suitable cleric to replace them. The letter also mentions that the churches in question 'might go to ruin totally' because the temporal returns from them were 'insignificant and meagre.'[68] The vacant, and almost-ruined, condition of the public church in Moura, which had been built and served by the Hospitallers before they abandoned it in 1283, as testified in the Bishop's letter of 1316, indicates that, as yet, no Carmelite foundation has been made in Moura at that time and it clearly rules out both the 1250s and the 1290s as the decades in which the Moura Carmel was established.

Explicitly recognising himself as 'the true patron' of those churches on account of his lordship of those castle-towns, King Denis does not seem to have accepted the proposal of the Bishop and, instead, he gave the patronage of the churches in the castle-towns of Serpa, Moura and Mourão to the Order of Avis on 10 October, 1317. The Knights of the Order of Saint Benedict of Avis were originally

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[66] See ibid., 60-63.

[67] See Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession*.

[68] See R. Marreiros ed., *Chancellaria De D. Dinis Livro III*, 2 vols., Coimbra 2019, 2:181-85 n. 520.

known as the Friars of the Militia of Évora, after their foundation, in 1167, in Évora, Portugal, which had been recaptured from the Moors the previous year, 1166. In 1187, while maintaining their autonomy as a Portuguese foundation, the Friars of the Militia of Évora were affiliated to the Knights of Calatrava, in Castile, who also lived according to a form of the Benedictine Rule. By 1211, they had become the lords of the nearby Portuguese town of Aviz and, from 1223, when they established themselves in that town, they became known as the Knights of Avis. The members included both Religious knights and Religious chaplains, the latter living a Religious Life that did not involve any military activity, as such.[69] The 1317 document explicitly states that, as was customary, clerics from the Order of Avis (the Religious chaplains just mentioned, presumably) were to be placed in those churches from that point onwards. Apparently as an error, since it contradicts the actual content, the initial heading on the document refers to the 'donation' of the houses and churches to the Order of Avis:[70]

> … we give, and grant, to the said Order of Avis, the entire right of patronage that we have, and by right ought to have, concerning our churches of Serpa and of Moura and of Mourão, concerning which churches we are the true patron by reason of the lordship of the castles and towns of Serpa and of Moura and of Mourão, which are ours and of our lordship.

A similar letter, issued on 3 May, 1320, corrects the misleading heading of the first letter so that it was the income from the patronage, rather than the churches and houses themselves, that were donated, and including some sections that seem to have been omitted, inadvertently, from the earlier letter, as well as making explicit mention of Vasco Afonso as the Master of Avis, and including, also, the King's signature:[71]

> we give, and grant, to him and to the said Order of Avis, for him and for the reasons that have been said, the entire right of patronage that we have, and by right ought to have, concerning our churches of Serpa and of Moura and of Mourão, of which churches we are the true patron by

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[69] See M. Cocheril, *Avis*, in *Dizionario Degli Istituti Di Perfezione*, ed. G. Pelliccia and G. Rocca, Rome 1973.

[70] See Marreiros, *Chancellaria De D. Dinis Livro III*, 2:367-68 n. 645.

[71] See ibid., 2:380-81 n. 661.

reason of the lordship of the castles and towns of Serpa and of Moura and of Mourão, which are ours and of our lordship.

The two versions, 1317 and 1320, of the letter of King Denis of Portugal make it clear that the King recognised his rights, both as overlord and as the local lord of Moura and its church, as a result of which he was also the patron of that church. They also clearly indicate, however, that the right of patronage of that church was irrevocably given to the Order of Avis from that point onwards.

5. The Order of Avis as Patron of the Church in Moura: 1317-87.

In 1319, when the eleventh Master of Avis, Gil Martins, was named as the first Master of the Order of Christ, newly-founded by King Denis to replace the suppressed Templars, Vasco Afonso, who had been mentioned in the letter of King Denis dated 3 May, 1320, was elected as the twelfth[72] Master of Avis.[73] On 20 June, 1320, on behalf of the Order of Avis, Vasco Afonso made a permanent donation of a third of the incomes from the churches of Moura, Serpa and Nodular Mourão for the rebuilding and maintenance of the fortresses in Moura and Serpa, which he regarded as important for the defence of the castle of Noudar.[74] The double objective of the Order of Avis in that frontier area is described by Espadero Ramos as militarisation and increasing the population, on which guaranteeing the safeguarding of the King's territory and the generation of income for the Order of Avis, who were responsible for that safeguarding, depended.[75] It was probably due to his success in both these areas that,

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[72] See Anonymous O.S.B., *Regra Da Cavallaria E Ordem Militar De S. Bento De Avis*, Lisbon: Yorge Royz, 1631, 9v.

[73] See M.C. Almeida e Cunha, *A Eleção Do Mestre De Avis Nos Séculos XIII-XV, História: Revista Da Faculdade De Letras Da Universidade Do Porto* 13(1996), 107-08, 10-11.

[74] See Santiago Macias, *As Muralhas Medievais De Moura*, in *Arquivo De Beja. Actas Do 1º Encontro De Arqueologia Da Região De Beja, Beja, 17 18 19 Janeiro 1986*, ed. Câmara Municipal de Beja, Beza 1986; *Moura Na Baixa Idade Média: Elementos Para Um Estudo Histórico E Arqueológico*, 150-51; L.A. de Fonseca ed., *A Comenda De Noudar: Corpus Documental (1248-1554)*, Militarium Ordinum Analecta: Fontes Para O Estudo Das Ordens Religioso-Militares, Porto 2013, 217-19 n. 72.

[75] See J.A. Espadeiro Ramos, *La Importancia De La Fronteira Militar En Los Signos XVII Y XVIII. El Caso De La Región De Noudar Y Barrancos Em Portugal*, in *La Frontera En El Mundo Hispánico*, ed. P. Sanz Camañes and D. Rex Galindo, Quito-Ecuador 2014, 153.

on 16 January, 1322, King Denis gave the castle and town of Noudar, and the incomes from the churches of Serpa, Moura and Mourão, to Vasco Afonso, the Master of the Order of Avis in such a manner that, independently of whether or not he remained Master of the Order, they would remain in his possession for as long as he lived, their possession then reverting to the Order of Avis.[76] On 10 June, 1330, Archbishop Gonçalo Gonçalvez Pereira of Braga, Nuno's grandfather, who was the visitator delegate of Pope John XXII, confirmed Gil Peres as the thirteenth[77] Master of Avis, replacing Vasco Afonso, at the General Chapter held in Avis on that date. The document includes a papal bull, *Ad reformationem locorum eclesiasticorum*, addressed to the same Archbishop, and dated 17 October, 1329, in which the Pope indicates that prejudice should not be generated because of a visitation by the Grand Masters, or by the Brothers, of the Knights of Calatrava.[78]

Macias refers to a 1331 document, which noted that there were abandoned houses both inside, and outside, the castle of Moura, recommending that, if this situation was to continue, those houses should be handed over to those who had been given abandoned land in order that it be cultivated, which would help to maintain the population of Moura at a time when doing so was among the responsibilities of the Order of Avis, as we have seen. This solution seems to have been partially successful, at least in regard to the castle itself, some of those who became residents in the castle on that basis are identified in a document of 1438. Macias notes that no abandoned houses are mentioned in the 1438 document,[79] and it seems probable that the abandoned houses outside the castle of Moura, which were mentioned in the 1331 document, were the buildings of the monastery attached to what had been the public church of the Hospitallers. It seems probable, therefore, that neither the clerics of the Order of Avis, who had taken responsibility for the administration of the Hospitallers church, nor any of the other Knights of Avis, had, as such, lived in that monastery, because of its abandoned state, presumably.

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[76] See M. Gomes Martins, *A Arte Da Guerra Em Portugal: 1245 a 1367*, Coimbra 2014, 184 n. 490; de Fonseca, *A Comenda De Noudar: Corpus Documental (1248-1554)*, 220-23 n. 73.

[77] See O.S.B., *Regra Da Cavallaria E Ordem Militar De S. Bento De Avis*, 10r.

[78] See Almeida e Cunha, *A Eleção Do Mestre De Avis Nos Séculos XIII-XV*, 111-13 n. 2.

[79] See Macias, *Moura Na Baixa Idade Média: Elementos Para Um Estudo Histórico E Arqueológico*, 135. See also, bundle 6, doc. 52 (1438), of Convento do Carmo de Moura, in Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

Alfonso de la Cerda returned to Castile, from France, in 1332, kissing the hand of King Alfonso XI when he met him in Bajajoz, and attending his formal coronation the following year. In keeping with the earlier agreement under which he withdrew his claim to the throne of Castile, King Alfonso XI gave De la Cerda lands and incomes that were appropriate to his dignity as a Prince of Castile. Pereira de Sant'Anna regards it as unlikely that Moura would have been included in the lands or incomes that Alfonso de la Cerda received on that occasion, since the lands in question should have been those assigned to him in 1304, which had not included Moura.[80] Alfonso made his last will and testament in 1334 and he died the following year, 1335. Contrary to some of the claims that were made later, Alfonso de la Cerda was buried, not in the Carmelite church of Gibraléon, but, as his daughter, Inés de la Cerda, later testified, beside his father, Prince Fernando de la Cerda, in the Monastery of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, in Burgos, where his tomb is still extant. His wife, Mahalda, lived until 1348, at least, and she seems to have been buried in the Carmelite church of Gibraléon.[81] Since the church that would become that of the Carmelites, as we shall see, was then under the patronage of the Order of Avis, who provided the clerics who served there, and the monastery was then abandoned, it is difficult to see how the De la Cerda princes might have been able to establish the Carmelites in Moura in the period 1332 to 1335.

De Lezana includes the Carmelite monastery of Moura as part of the province of Spain in 1354[82] but there does not seem to be any extant evidence to support this claim, and there seems to be some doubt about the accuracy of what de Lezana asserts concerning the houses that were part of the province of Spain at that time.[83] De Lezana's claim is also contradicted by later evidence concerning the houses that belonged to the Carmelite province of Spain, as we shall

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[80] See J. Pereira de Sant'Anna O.Carm., *Chronica Dos Carmelitas De Antiga, E Regular Observancia Nestes Reynos De Portugal, Algarves, E Seu Dominios ...* 2 vols., Lisbon: Na Officina dos Herdeiros de Antonio Pedrozo Galram, 1745-51, 1:134-35 nn. 318-19.

[81] See F. Fernández de Béthencourt, *Historia Genealógica Y Heráldica De La Monarquía Española: Casa Real, Grandes De España*, 10 vols., Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico Jaime Ratés, 1897-1920, 5:38-41.

[82] See J.B. de Lezana O.Carm. and L. Ciamberlano, *Annales Sacri, Prophetici, Et Eliani Ordinis Beatae Virginis Mariæ De Monte Carmeli*, 4 vols., Rome: Typis Mascardi, 1645-56, 4:607 n. 4.

[83] See B. Velasco Bayón O.Carm., *Historia Del Carmelo Español*, 4 vols., Textos Et Studia Historica Carmelitana, Rome 1990-2008, 1:99-100.

see in the next section. In 1361, King Peter I of Portugal gave the cavalry soldiers living in Serpa and Moura the privilege of carrying arms throughout the Kingdom of Portugal, a privilege normally enjoyed by nobles who had a statute naming them as squires or knights. This provision suggests that the danger from frontier disputes was still significant at that time, and it also explains, perhaps, why clergy other than those of the Order of Avis, who were responsible for the church in Moura might have been reluctant to move there.[84]

Martihno de Avelar was the twentieth[85] Master of Avis from 1357 until his death in 1364.[86] Rather than having an election to elect a new Master of Avis, King Peter I of Portugal postulated his illegitimate son, John, who was then seven years of age, as the Master of Avis and, when he reached the age of nine, in 1366, John of Avis, as he became known, made profession in the Order of Avis and was appointed as the twenty-first Master of the Order in 1366. Following the death of King Peter I on 18 January, 1367, his eldest-surviving son succeeded him as Ferdinand I of Portugal, who strengthened the fortifications of Moura by adding a second enclosing wall at some point between 1367 and 1383.[87] On 27 February, 1367, King Ferdinand gave the custody of the castle of Moura, which had been held by the Hospitallers up to then, to Alvaro Gonçalvez. Although the document in question, which concerns the custody of the castle of Leiria, primarily, does not say so explicitly, it seems clear that this Alvaro Gonçalvez was the Alvaro Gonçalvez of the Order of Avis, who was then commander of Noudar, and who may have been acting on behalf of the new Master, John of Avis, who was then 10 years old.[88] It was probably thanks to being given the custody of the castle of Moura in 1367 that the Order of Avis reorganised its internal structures by establishing the jurisdiction of Moura, which, among others, included the castles of Serpa, Maurão and Noudar, these castles being subject to the commander in the castle of Moura.[89] John of Avis, who was the younger, and illegitimate,

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[84] See Gomes Martins, *A Arte Da Guerra Em Portugal: 1245 a 1367*, 128.

[85] See O.S.B., *Regra Da Cavallaria E Ordem Militar De S. Bento De Avis*, 10v.

[86] See de Fonseca, *A Comenda De Noudar: Corpus Documental (1248-1554)*, 330 n. 104.

[87] See the outline of the history of the fortifications of Moura at the following website, accessed on 27 March, 2023: http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP_Pages User/SIPA.aspx?id=993

[88] See de Fonseca, *A Comenda De Noudar: Corpus Documental (1248-1554)*, 331 n. 105.

[89] See O.S.B., *Regra Da Cavallaria E Ordem Militar De S. Bento De Avis*, 123v.

brother of King Ferdinand, held this position as Master of Avis until 1389, four years after he was formally recognised as the successor of his brother, King Ferdinand, and proclaimed as King of John I of Portugal in 1385. Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira was elected to succeed King John as the twenty-second, and last,[90] Master of Avis in 1387, a Governor or Administrator, rather than a Master, being appointed in the period beginning with the death of Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira in 1433.

6. Nuno Afonso de Sequeira and the Moura Carmel.

Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira, the son of Rodrigo Annes de Sequeira[91] by his second wife, Maria Afonso,[92] had grown up in São Vicente da Beira,[93] which was under the lordship of the Masters of Avis. Having joined the Order of Avis, and become commander of Alter Pedrosa,[94] he was the tutor of the illegitimate Prince John of Portugal, who was the Master of Avis and the future King John I, in the arts of chivalry.[95] Later, having served as a member of the King John's council, Fernão Rodriguez was elected as the Master of Avis, when King John had relinquished that role in 1389.[96]

Pope Boniface IX's bull, *Magne devotionis* (1391), had granted to the Order of Avis the power to annex the churches and patronages that they had been given by King John I of Portugal. The bull had probably been sought by Fernão Rodriguez, who was then the Master of Avis, and the annexation probably had the approval of King John, who had been the previous Master of Avis. In June, 1394, Fernão Rodriguez had that papal bull formally published by means of a letter that was

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[90] See ibid., 10v.

[91] Da Silva Castelo-Branco notes, and rejects, the unsubstantiated claims claiming that Pedro Brava de Sequeira and Maior Gonçalves de Sequeira were the parents of Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira, and the claim that Fernão's father was Rodrigo Anes Redondo de Sequeira, see M. da Silva Castelo-Branco, *Uma Genealogia Medieval*, *Estudos de Castelo-Branco* 48-49, no. April-July (1974), 55-56, 72.

[92] See the well-documented evidence concerning the parents of Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira in ibid., 58-61..

[93] São Vicente da Beira is about 23 km north-northwest of Castelo Branco, and about 140 km north-northeast of Avis.

[94] Alter Pedroso is about 110 km south of São Vicente da Beira

[95] See da Silva Castelo-Branco, *Uma Genealogia Medieval*, 63-64.

[96] See ibid., 55, 66; Monteiro, *Nuno Álvares Pereira: Guerreiro, Senhor Feudal, Santo: Os Três Rostros Do Condestável*, 223.

presented to Bishop João III Anes do Amaral of Evora.[97] In the light of this privilege, Fernão Rodriguez was entitled, on behalf of the Order of Avis, to annex the church in Moura, together with its attached monastery, presumably, both of which had been built by the Hospitallers in the thirteenth century, and which the Order of Avis had been administering since 1317. In September that same year, 1394, the same Master of Avis, Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira, authorised Martinho Esteves Godinho, his squire, to take possession of those churches and patronages.[98] The annexation of those church properties was authorised by Bishop João III Anes do Amaral of Evora the following November.[99] As a result of this annexation, the local lordship of the Hospitaller church and monastery in Moura was no longer held by the crown of Portugal, as it had been up to then, but by the Order of Avis. This change made it possible for that church and monastery to be sold or given to another Order without any further intervention on the part of the crown of Portugal.

Shortly before the annexation took place, Fernão's illegitimate son, Nuno Afonso, born of an unmarried women who is not identified in the extant documentation, had been legitimised by King John on 29 October, 1394.[100] On the day before that legitimisation, 28 October, 1394, King John I had also donated all the movable and fixed goods of Pero Rodrigues da Fonseca, the mayor of Olivença, which had been confiscated on account of his disloyal behaviour and his going to Castile, to 'Nuno Fernandes, the son of the Master of Avis'.[101] Given the apparent link between the donation to Nuno Afonso of the goods of Pero Rodrigues da Fonseca, which were, presumably, in Olivença, about 85 km north-northeast of Moura, and the legitimisation of Nuno Afonso, it seems unlikely that Nuno Afonso was still a baby at the time of his legitimisation, when he would have been in no position to administer those goods, and it is more likely that he was then in the

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[97] See the following website, accessed on 13 May, 2023: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/viewer?id=4640797

[98] See the following website, accessed on 13 May, 2023: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/viewer?id=4640802

[99] See the following website, accessed on 13 May, 2023: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4640806

[100] See J.J. Alves Dias, P. Pinto and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. João I*, 4 in 11 vols., Lisbon 2004-06, 3/1:174, n. 265; da Silva Castelo-Branco, *Uma Genealogia Medieval,* 70.

[101] See Alves Dias, Pinto and de Oliveira Marques, *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. João I*, 3/1:138, n. 226.

early stages of his career, in his early twenties, perhaps.[102] Nuno Afonso's legitimisation allowed him to receive the confiscated goods of Pero Rodrigues da Fonseca, which would enable him to marry a noble wife, should he choose to do so, and it would also enable Nuno Afonso to legally inherit whatever goods his own father might leave to him in due course.[103] Fourteen years later, in May, 1408, Bishop Peter of Badajoz issued a letter publishing the bull of Pope Gregory XII, *Eximie devotionis* (1408), which conceded to the same Master of Avis the right to give the goods of the Order of Avis to his relations, squires and servants.[104] On 4 December, 1408, King John I's letter, *A quantos* (1408), entrusted Nuno Afonso, then in his late thirties, perhaps, with the estates he had inherited from his father within the boundaries of Moura.[105] In the light of Pope Boniface IX's bull, *Magne devotionis* (1391), and the implementation of the annexation of the Hospitaller church and monastery in Moura in November, 1394, and in the light of the publication of Pope Gregory XII's bull, *Eximie devotionis* (1408), during May that same year, the estates in Moura that Nuno Afonso inherited from his father probably included a significant portion of the properties, houses and other goods that the Order of Avis held in Moura, including the Hospitaller church and monastery. Thanks to the King's letter, Nuno Afonso owned the properties given to him by his father in his own right, independently of the Order of Avis, and, from that point on, he was free to use, sell of otherwise dispose of those properties in whatever way he wished.

Although there is no explicit information concerning the date on which the ownership of the former Hospitaller church and monastery in Moura was transferred to the Carmelites, it must have taken place at some point between 1408 and 1428, since the Carmelites are

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[102] Before Afonso, the illegitimate son of King John I, who was born on 10 August, 1377, married the Constable's daughter, Beatriz, he had been endowed with the goods confiscated from Count Gonçalo Teles de Meneses of Neiva, and legitimised by his father, King John I, on 20 October, 1401, at the age of 24. See J.P. de Oliveira Martins, *A Vida De Nun' Álvares*, 9th ed., Lisbon 1984, 279 n. 796; A. Caetano de Sousa ed., *Provas Da História Genealógica Da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 7 vols., Lisbon: na Officina de Joseph Antonio da Sylva, impressor da Academia Real, 1739-48, 6:n. 1; Monteiro, *Nuno Álvares Pereira: Guerreiro, Senhor Feudal, Santo: Os Três Rostros Do Condestável*, 188-89.

[103] See da Silva Castelo-Branco, *Uma Genealogia Medieval*, 70-71.

[104] See the following website, accessed on 13 May, 2023: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/viewer?id=4641523

[105] See da Silva Castelo-Branco, *Uma Genealogia Medieval*, 70. For the original, see King John I., *A Quantos*. 1408. Collection, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. João, book 3, 81v-82r,

described as being already in possession of that church and monastery in Nuno Afonso's last will and testimony, which is preserved in book eight of the extant documents concerning the Convent of Our Lady of the Carmel of Moura in the National Archive of *Torre do Tombo*, in Lisbon, which is the earliest-extant document that explicitly mentions the Moura Carmelites. It is dated 10 May, 1428,[106] when he was, probably, in his late 50s. The Testimony describes the mortuary chapel he was endowing, and in which he intended to be buried, as being in the 'monastery of Saint Mary of Carmel (*moesteyro de Santa Maria do Caramo*)' in 'the town of Moura (*villa de Moura*)',[107] and he also adds the following:[108]

> And that there be a headstone placed over my burial place and let my signs of Sequeira be placed on it and, in engraved letters, let them write on it 'here lies Nuno Fernandez de Sequeira, the son of the Master of Avis, lord Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira, the grandson of lord Pero Bravo de/from Sequeira.' And my signs are five blue scallop-shells placed in the manner of angles [one in each corner and one in the middle] on a shield, and the field [background] of the shield being of gold.[109]

The reference in this text to 'the grandson of lord Pero Bravo de Sequeira' raises some questions. If the 'grandson' is question is Nuno Fernandez de Sequeira, which seems to most obvious reading, then Pero Bravo might be Nuno Fernandes' paternal grandfather, the father of Fernão Rodriguez, but, as we have already noted, this was not the case, the father of Fernão Rodriguez being Rodrigo Annes de Sequeira, as the detailed evidence presented by Manuel da Silva Castelo-Branco makes clear.[110] The only other possibility would seem to be that Pero

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[106] See N.A. Fernandez de Sequeira, *Testamento De Nuno Fernandez De Sequeira, Filho Do Mestre De Avis 1428*. Collection, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Convento do Carmo de Moura, 90r-93v,

[107] See ibid., 90r, 92v, 93r.

[108] See ibid., 90v.

[109] *E que faça poer ssobre mjnha sepultura h a quampaa [campa] e serom em ella postos meus sjnaes de sequeira e djguam as leteras em ella emtalhadas "aqui jaz nuno Fernandez de Sequeira filho do mestre d avjs dom fernam Roiz neto de dom pero bravo de sequeira". E os meos sjnaaes som em huum escudo çinco ujeiras [vieiras] azulles postas em modo de qujnas [quinas] E o quanpo [campo] de escudo d oura"* ... See also M. de Lurdes Rosa, *O Morgadio Em Portugal, Sécyulos Xiv-Xv: Modelos E Práticas De Comportamento Linhagístico*, Histórias De Portugal, Lisbon 1995, 114; *A Religião No Século: Vivências E Devoções Dos Leigos*, in *História Religiosa De Portugal*, ed. C. Moreira Azevedo, Lisbon 2000, 483. These colours are inverted in modern versions of the Sequeira crest, the five shells being gold and the background being blue.

[110] See da Silva Castelo-Branco, *Uma Genealogia Medieval*, 55-56, 61.

Bravo was the maternal grandfather of Nuno Fernandes, the father of his unidentified mother, who was not married to Nuno Fernandez' father, Fernão Rodriguez. Sequeira, Portugal, is about 38 km north-northeast of Oporto and about 200 km north-northwest of Castelo Branco, where his father, Fernão Rodriguez, was born in 1338.[111] On first sight, the epitaph specified by Nuno Fernandes gives the impression that both his father and grandfather had belonged to the Sequeira family, and Pero Bravo may, indeed, have also been from that family. Since 'de Sequeira' can also mean 'from the town of Sequeira,' however, it is also possible that Pero Bravo's place of origin was being used to give a very different impression, concealing the illegitimacy of Nuno Fernandes from those reading his epitaph who were not familiar with the name of his paternal grandfather.

There seems to be no extant documentation related to the negotiations between Nuno Afonso de Sequeira and the Carmelites concerning their move to Moura. A number of extant documents show that, between 1403 and 1408, Nuno Álvarez Pereira, now Saint Nuno of Saint Mary, O.Carm., made a series of donations to the monastery of Saint Mary that he had built in Lisbon. One of those documents, *Saibaõ todos* II (1404) indicates that some Carmelites had already come to the Lisbon Carmel in 1404, four years before Nuno Afonso de Sequeira received the former Hospitaller church and monastery in Moura as part of his inheritance. Since it was not the Moura Carmel, but the Lisbon Carmel, that was the first established in Portugal, it cannot be the case the Carmelites who came to the Lisbon Carmel in 1404 had come from the Moura Carmel, as had frequently been asserted. It seems more probable, rather, that the Carmelites who first came to the Moura Carmel had come from the already-established Lisbon Carmel. Since the Testimony of Nuno Afonso Fernandez de Sequeira, dated 10 May, 1428, is the oldest record in the extant documents from the Moura Carmel, however, it seems likely that the Carmelite foundation in Moura had taken place only shortly before that date in May, 1428. The essential question for the Carmelites would have been the provision of an income that would sustain them and it may even be the case that the drawing up of the Testament on 10 May, 1428, coincided with that foundation, since the donation of the church and monastery, together with the very significant incomes that were pledged for the upkeep of the Moura Carmel in that Testament, would

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[111] See ibid., 62, 70.

have been sufficient to enable such a foundation. Just over a week later, on 19 May, 1428, the Testament of Andres Vasques Escudeiro included similar pledges that would have provided further income for the new foundation. According to that document of 19 May, 1428, there were only four Carmelites resident in Moura at that time.[112]

We do not know the details about the circumstances that led Nuno Afonso de Sequeira to bring the Carmelites from Lisbon to take over the abandoned Hospitaller monastery there, but it seems probable that Nuno Afonso may have been influenced to some extent by his father, Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira, when he decided to invite some of the Carmelites from the Lisbon Carmel to make a second Portuguese foundation in Moura. We have already noted that Fernão Rodriguez had served as a member of the King John's council and the anonymous chronicle of the life of Nuno Álvarez Pereira suggests that Fernão Rodriguez not only knew Nuno Álvarez, who was also on the King's council, but that he was respected by both the King and by Nuno Álvarez. Chapter 63 of the anonymous chronicle names Fernão Rodriguez, who had become Master of Avis in 1387, as one of the three members of the council that the King had sent to persuade Nuno Álvarez, then Constable of Portugal, to return to the council after the Constable had left the council and had spoken about leaving Portugal as a result of a significant disagreement with the King, sometime during 1393 or 1394, the delicacy of the situation implying sometime that Fernão Rodriguez was highly regarded by both. Fernão Rodriguez seems to have made an impression on the Constable and, having persuaded King John to provide an inheritance for his illegitimate son, Nuno Afonso, and to legitimise him, in October 1394, Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira was sought out by the Constable after the Master of Santiago of Castile, Lorenzo I Suárez de Figueroa, had invaded Portugal towards the end of 1397. Chapter 66 of the anonymous chronicle also describes the Constable, Nuno Álvarez Pereira, as inviting the Master of Avis, Fernão Rodriguez, to join him

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[112] See A. VASQUES, *Testamento De Andre Vasquez 1428*, Collection, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Convento do Carmo de Moura, 107r-112v, Sant'Anna described the testimony concerning Andres Vasques and his wife, Domingas Affonso, as having been drawn up by John Annes in 1382 of the era of Caesar, 1344 of the era of Christ. In view of the 1428 documents, however, this seems to have been an error or, perhaps, an attempt to claim that the Moura Carmel had already been in existence in 1344 of the era of Christ, see PEREIRA DE SANT'ANNA O.CARM., *Chronica Dos Carmelitas De Antiga, E Regular Observancia Nestes Reynos De Portugal, Algarves, E Seu Dominios* ... 158 n. 377.

in serving the King by pursuing and the Master of Santiago, invading Castile in order to do who, and with a view to engaging him in battle and defeating him. We are told that the Master of Avis was 'very pleased' to accept the invitation, taking responsibility for the rear-guard of the army while the Constable was with the vanguard, when they invaded Spain and attacked Cáceres in December, 1397.[113]. After a successful campaign, they returned to Portugal together before parting to go their separate ways in Portalegre, sometime in January 1398.

In 1401, Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira was responsible for the construction of the church of Our Lady of the Snows, the main church in Borba, which belonged to the Order of Avis,[114] and the inscription giving that information included the motto of the Sequeira family, 'Avis, Avis. Sequeira, Sequeira!' The Testimony of Nuno Afonso in 1428 indicated that this motto was also to be included in Nuno Afonso's headstone in the Moura Carmel, showing that father and son shared the same motto and had a similar devotion to the endowment of churches associated with the Blessed Virgin Mary, something that was also a significant aspect of the later life of Nuno Álvarez Pereira, who had founded the Lisbon Carmel in 1404, approximately. Since Fernão Rodriguez was still alive when his son, Nuno Afonso, wrote his Testament in 1428, and since that Testament makes no mention of any offspring of Nuno Afonso, it seems likely that Nuno Afonso may have been influenced by his father, either directly, or by long association, in his decision to invite the Lisbon Carmelites to take over the former Hospitaller church and monastery in Moura and to provide an income for them by means of that 1428 Testament. When Fernão Rodriguez died in 1433, he was buried, alongside the other dead Masters of Avis, in the chapel of the Order of Aviz, in Aviz.[115] It was, presumably, by means of the death, and burial, of Nuno Afonso de Sequeira, in 1436, when he would probably have been in his mid-sixties, that Nuno Afonso formally instituted his family's mortuary chapel in the Moura

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[113] See chapters 64 and 66 of the anonymous chronicle. See also DA SILVA CASTELO-BRANCO, *Uma Genealogia Medieval,* 66-67; FERNÃO LOPES and GOMES EANES DE ZURARA, *Chronica Del Rey D. Ioam I De Boa Memoria, E Dos Reys De Portugal O Decimo, Primeira Parte, Em Que Se Contem a Defensam Do Reyno Até Ser Eleito Rey & Segunda Parte, Em Que Se Continuam as Guerras Com Castella, Desde O Principio De Seu Reinado Ate as Pazes*, Lisbon: A. Alvarez, 1644, 2:353 ch. 162.

[114] See *DA SILVA CASTELO-BRANCO, Uma Genealogia Medieval*, 65.

[115] See the following website, accessed on 29 April, 2023: http://castelobrancocidade.blogspot.com/2008/04/figuras-ilustres-de-castelo-branco.html

Carmel. The Masses that were to be offered included those for his father, Fernão Rodriguez, who, in this sense, was remembered, along with his son and the other dead members of his family, in the mortuary chapel in the Moura Carmel.[116] In effect, it was his 1428 Testimony, and the inheritance he had received from his father in 1408, that provided both the church and monastery, on the one hand, and the first stable income, that made the Moura foundation viable, and Nuno Afonso should probably be regarded as the founded of that Carmel.

Within the Order of Avis, the jurisdiction of Moura, which, among others, included the castles of Serpa, Maurão and Noudar, these castles being subject to the commander in the castle of Moura, which seems to have been established in the late 1360s, was still in place 264 years later, in 1631.[117] The 1631 edition of the Rule of the Order of Avis lists, for each diocese, the places that were, as such, directly subject to the Master of the Order of Avis, and places that were not. Under the diocese of Évora, the church of 'Mora,' the oratory of the Order of Avis within the castle of Moura, presumably, was directly subject to the Master but the churches of Serpa, Moura and Mourão, the three churches that had originally been those of the Hospitallers, presumably, were not.[118] In relation to Moura, the 1631 Rule notes that, in addition to the Prior and Beneficiary assigned to the church of 'Mora,' in the castle, and the chaplain assigned to say a daily Mass in the 'church of our Lady of the Castle,'[119] the same church, within the castle, being referred to in both these designations, presumably, the Order of Avis also appointed Priors in two other churches in the town of Moura, the sixteenth-century Manualine church of St. John the Baptist, which, by then, was recognised as having displaced the church built by the Hospitallers as Moura's 'mother church' or parish church,[120] and the church of St. Augustine, which had also been built in the meantime.[121]

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[116] See Albano da Silveira & Baena Pinto, *Resenha Das Famílias Titulares E Grandes De Portugal*, 2 vols., Lisbon 1883, 1991, 2:179.

[117] See O.S.B., *Regra Da Cavallaria E Ordem Militar De S. Bento De Avis*, 123v.

[118] See ibid., 17v.

[119] See ibid., 18v, 19a.

[120] See ibid., 18v, 124r.

[121] See ibid., 18v, 132r.

7. Epilogue and Conclusion.

Renovations were carried out on the fortifications of Moura by Francisco de Arruda in 1510,[122] and a two-page drawing of Moura by Duarte de Armas, made that same year (1510),[123] shows the castle and its fortifications, including the only tower that now remains standing, on the high ground in the middle of the drawing, with the houses of the town on the hill below the castle and outside the walls, on the right, and, also outside the walls and on a lower level than the castle, on the left, the Carmelite church and monastery, which had been built by the Hospitallers.[124] After further additions to the fortifications during the seventeenth century, between 1655 and 1660,[125] the walled town of Moura had four gates, the northern gate being known as the gate of the Carmelite Church (*Carmo*).[126]

In this paper, we have outlined the three seventeenth-century hypotheses proposing the 1250s, the 1290s and the 1340s as the periods in which the Moura Carmel was founded, noting that significant difficulties have been raised concerning all three. Focusing, instead, on the apparent continuity between the church and monastery established in Moura by the Hospitallers after the captured Moura from the Moors in 1232, and the establishment of the Carmelites in that church and monastery as testified in an extant 1428 document, the complex developments that took place between those two dates have been sketched. We have seen that, as the result of an exchange which was concluded in 1283, the Hospitallers giving up their local

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[122] See F. Marques de Sousa Viterbo, *44. Arruda (Francisco De)*, in *Diccionario Historico E Documental Dos Architectos, Engenheiros E Constructores Portuguezes Ou a Serviço De Portugal*, ed. F. Marques de Sousa Viterbo, Lisbon 1899, 55-56.

[123] See J. de Almeida ed., *Reprodução Anotada Do Livro Das Fortalezas De Duarte Darmas*, Lisbon 1943, 51.

[124] See the following website, accessed on 29 March 2023: https://avenidadasaluquia34.blogspot.com/2015/04/quando-duarte-darmas-passou-por-moura_14.html

[125] See Santiago Macias, *Escavações Arqueológicas No Castelo De Moura*, in *Arqueología En El Entorno Del Bajo Guardiana*, ed. J.M. Campos, J.A. Pérez and F. Gómez, Huelva 1994, 677. See, also, the outline of the history of the fortifications of Moura at the following website, accessed on 27 March, 2023: http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=993

[126] The other three were the gate called new gate of the Fogo, the gate of St. Francis, and the gate of Santa Justa, see Wyndham Beawes, *A Civil, Commercial, Political, and Literary History of Spain, and Portugal*, 2 in 1 vols., London: R. Faulder, 1793, 2:142.

lordship of Moura to the King Alfonso X of Castile, who gave it to the crown of Portugal in 1295 as part of a marriage contract that was confirmed the agreements that were formalised in 1296 and 1297. In response to a report by the local Bishop that the church and monastery were abandoned and in danger of collapse, in 1316, King Denis of Portugal gave the local patronage of the church of Moura to the Order of Avis in 1317, requiring them to provide the clergy who would serve that church. After the Master of Avis was recognised as King John I of Portugal, he held the title of Master of Avis until 1389, when Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira was elected as the new Master. Apparently as part of a strategy that had the approval of King John, Fernão Rodriguez received papal approval for the annexation of the churches and patronages that the Order of Avis had been given by King John I in Pope Boniface IX's bull, *Magne devotionis* (1391), which was implemented in November 1394, shortly after King John legitimised Nuno Afonso, the illegitimate son of Fernão Rodriguez, which enabled Nuno Afonso to inherit goods and properties from his father. In 1408, the bull of Pope Gregory XII, *Eximie devotionis* (1408), gave the Master of Avis the right to give the goods of the Order of Avis to his relations, squires and servants and, towards the end of that same year, King John I's letter, *A quantos* (1408), entrusted Nuno Afonso, then in his late thirties, perhaps, with the estates he had inherited from his father within the boundaries of Moura, which, in view of earlier developments, probably included the ownership of the former Hospitaller church and monastery in Moura. In 1428, the Testimony of Nuno Afonso left considerable properties to the Carmelites of Moura, where the mortuary chapel of Nuno Afonso was to be constructed, and it seems that the mortuary was built after the death of Nuno Afonso in 1436. The 1428 testimony is the oldest extant document relating to the Carmelites of Moura and it seems likely that it was in that year, 1428, that the Moura Carmel was established.

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