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RELIGION AND CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

*International Mobility in the
Military Orders
(Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries):
Travelling
on Christ's Business*

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UNIVERSITY OF WALES PRESS
CARDIFF
2006

Internal Mobility in the Order of Avis (Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries)

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The reflections presented in this chapter are merely a small segment of a more extensive ongoing study on the Order of Saint Benedict (San Benito) of Avis from its beginnings around 1176 until the late fourteenth century. Recent research pertaining to Avis allows us a better understanding of the origins and development of the order and its property,¹ as well as its relationship with the Portuguese monarchy during this period.² Yet as a result of this research based on the order's documents, it has become apparent that in some aspects these documents have not been examined in a systematic fashion. One such aspect is the mobility of the members of the order: even though in the cartulary of Avis (now in the archive of Torre do Tombo)³ there are only very few documents that refer explicitly to the brothers' mobility within and outside the country, this mobility must have had a much larger dimension than a superficial analysis of the documents would seem to suggest. Thus, if one takes the information available not only in the order's own documents, but also in the chronicles of the Portuguese kings and in royal and other charters, one finds a number of indirect references that indicate the presence of the master or the knights of Avis in different parts of the kingdom. These references seem to suggest three 'key' aspects pertaining to mobility in the Order of Avis: the order's relations with the Portuguese monarchy, the order's territorial expansion and the order's filial connection to the Order of Calatrava. It is to these 'key' aspects that we now turn.

The *militia* of the brothers of Évora – known as the Order (of Saint Benedict) of Avis from 1211, when Alfonso II donated a place named

Avis to the brothers, – was established between March 1175 and April 1176 in response to Almohad invasions and in light of the Templars' obvious inability to secure effectively a number of fortresses which had been entrusted to them by Alfonso Henriques (1137–85).⁴ Whether or not he was a co-founder of the *militia* (it is not known whether the idea to found this *militia* came from the king himself or whether he only proposed the name of their first master), in early April 1176 Alfonso Henriques gave the brothers the castle of Coruche and some houses and vineyards in the old *alcázar* (fortress) of Évora, as well as some houses in Santarém.⁵ The alleged reasons for these first donations on the part of Alfonso were *utilitatem christianis et defensionem regni* (the benefit to the Christians and the defence of the realm), which pointed to a future collaboration between the knights of Évora and the royal troops, especially when it came to the defence of castles on the Moorish frontier. It is possible that the knights of Évora were entrusted, in addition to the defence of Coruche, with garrisoning the castle of that same city. However, it was not until 1187 that the *militia* of Évora received the castles of Alcanede and Juromenha (once conquered), as well as the village of Alpedriz.⁶ The holding of these places indicates that during the first years of its existence this monastic-military institution developed (in terms of its membership) sufficiently not only to secure the holding of these regions, but also to participate effectively in the *reconquista*. These responsibilities continued after the death of the first Portuguese king, which occurred in December 1185. As a compensation for services rendered, Sancho I (1185–1211) gave them the castle of Mafra.⁷ At the same time, the knights collaborated with the king to repopulate the kingdom by granting charters to settlers (*forais*).⁸

During the reign of Alfonso II (1211–23), the prestige gained by the brothers of Évora was already so considerable that individuals made donations to them, and their holdings were so extensive that they generated sufficient income to enable the knights to purchase various properties.⁹ It was Alfonso II who, in 1211, presented the *militia* with the location of Avis,¹⁰ where a castle would be constructed and where the main convent of the order, which from then on would be known as the Order of Avis, took residence. As the order continued to serve the king at a military level,¹¹ Alfonso not only confirmed all former royal donations; he also granted them, in 1217, a charter of protection.¹²

It is not known what the position of the Order of Avis was during the conflicts which characterized the reign of Sancho II and which were the reason for his deposition. That does not mean that the order's military

activities were abandoned, as can clearly be seen from the participation of the knights of Avis in the conquest of the Algarve in the middle of the thirteenth century and their participation alongside King Ferdinand III of Castile in the conquest of Seville in 1248.¹³

Once the *reconquista* of the Portuguese territories was completed, the Order of Avis continued to be actively involved in the defence of the realm, as well as in the construction and upkeep of various fortifications. At the same time, the monarchy tried to control the *militia*, more or less successfully. This royal attitude can be understood, on the one hand, as one of the measures of centralization which some kings from Alfonso II onwards were trying to enforce, and on the other hand, in a more 'international' sense, as with the establishment of a border between the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile. The presence and the mobility of brothers in territories which had been entrusted to them in regions bordering neighbouring kingdoms were clearly linked to their military activities. At the end of the thirteenth century, this presence became absolutely necessary. The chronicle of King Denis (*Diniz*) relates an incident which occurred in 1295 and which illustrates this point. After Denis had entered Castile through the marks of Ciudad Rodrigo and Ledesma,

certain leaders and lords of Castile, among them Don Alfonso Pires de Gusmão, got together not only to attack King Denis, but also to enter [his territory]; as they entered with many people from Andalusia and its border region, many men and women from Portugal were killed and captured in this attack . . . When they encountered the master of Avis with as many people as he could muster, both sides engaged in a fierce battle in which many were killed and damage was done to both sides; but at the end the master was defeated because he had fewer troops and many of them had been killed and 900 captured . . .¹⁴

As one can see from what has just been related, Denis ensured that the order remained in his service, much as his royal predecessors had done. The motives expressed in the donation charters issued to the order during his reign show this clearly: *polo muito serviço* (for much service),¹⁵ *en galardom do serviço que miz fez* (as a reward for service rendered to me),¹⁶ *por muyto serviço que . . . a dicta ordim e convento fezestes a mim e aaqueles onde eu venho* (for much service that the said order and convent has rendered to me and those that were before me).¹⁷ However, it was the royal involvement in the election of one of the

order's masters (Garcia Perez) which caused some of the order's commanders to go to court. In 1311, the master who had been elected by the electoral commission of the 'thirteen' (*treze*) was not to the liking of all brothers, and those who suspected that they might lose their commanderies and benefices appealed to the king. The king guaranteed, together with the master, that the knights would keep the ranks and positions that they had held before, and permitted – thus breaking one of the stipulations in the rule of this military order – that any brother who felt that he had been wronged could now take his complaints directly to the king.¹⁸

The close relationship between the monarchy and the military order, while it was tainted by occasional confrontations of various natures and origins, can also be seen in the presence of the master (and probably of several knights) at the royal court and in his involvement in the general politics of the kingdom.¹⁹ While, compared to other military orders, the order's presence at court and its participation in the kingdom's foreign policy may have been minimal and quite discreet, it must have existed nevertheless, because the order was linked to another military order whose headquarters were based in the kingdom of Castile. This phenomenon has been discussed elsewhere, namely in the context of the occupation of the Algarve by Alfonso III of Portugal in the middle of the thirteenth century:²⁰ in the conflict that took place between the Portuguese and the Castilian kings over the jurisdiction of the Algarve, the Order of Avis played a major role, as it accepted the donation of the castle of Albufeira both from Alfonso III of Portugal (in 1250)²¹ and from Alfonso X of Castile (in 1257).²² Thus the Order of Avis demonstrated that the solutions proposed to the Castilian monarchy were viable, consequently resolving what was, at the time, the key point of dispute in the diplomatic relations between the two kingdoms (that is, to whom the recently conquered kingdom of the Algarve should belong).

While its link to a Castilian military order could turn the Order of Avis into an essential factor for the relationship between the monarchs of both kingdoms, this link can apparently also explain the reduction in the order's diplomatic activities on behalf of the kings of Portugal. It is possible that the pro-Castilian sensitivity which is noticeable in the Order of Avis from its early days contributed to a climate of some royal distrust of the order. However, one cannot ignore the hypothesis that this same sensitivity may have actually enhanced the order's usefulness. The question of the Algarve has already been addressed. Another example, about one hundred years later, would be the participation of Gonçalo

Vaz, master of Avis, in a solemn embassy to Castile (in 1335) with the objective of asking Juan Manuel of Castile to give his daughter Constance in marriage to the son of the Portuguese king.²³

With regard to the mobility of the members of the Order of Avis, it has to be emphasized that the relationship between the monarchy and the order must have especially contributed to the knights' mobility within the kingdom, even though there are only very few concrete examples, particularly after the end of the *reconquista*, to prove this. The end of the custom of listing witnesses and corroborators in the royal diplomas, as well as the very complex organization of the central administration which is evident for the entire duration of the fourteenth century (and is visible in the diplomatic language used for legal transactions), prevents us from asserting the presence of the masters of Avis or their representatives at court.

In light of the origin and development of the Order of Avis and its possessions, one can easily understand that its members must always have known some internal mobility: the donation of castles and places to the order by the first Portuguese kings as a result of the order's military involvement in the *reconquista* certainly required mobility on the part of the brothers. In fact, the defence of their possessions made it necessary for contingents of the order's knights to be present at various places, and for this purpose brothers had been sent from the central convent since the order's beginnings. On the other hand, the need to organize the possessions that the order was acquiring in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (through royal and private donations as well as through purchase), led to the creation of commanderies located from the north to the south of the country. The head of each of these territories was a commander who, according to the rule, had to be in residence.

Situated in areas that were very different geographically, the revenue of the commanderies varied greatly. Therefore, some of them probably appeared more attractive to the knights than others. This raises a question: could the commandery of Oriz, the only one situated north of the River Douro, for example, have served as a place of 'punishment' for those knights who had violated the rule or could it have been a springboard to other commanderies with larger revenue? It was the responsibility of each commander to see to the upkeep of the property under penalty of forfeiting his post, as well as to welcome any brother of the order when he passed by,²⁴ whether it was an official visit²⁵ or not. The mobility of the commanders within the territory of their actual

commanderies, letting out certain properties to tenants and collecting various revenues, can be traced in documents which show them intervening on behalf of their order.²⁶ Following the order's rule, the commanders, at least once a year, had to travel to the order's central convent in order to participate in the general chapter. It is not known whether this annual obligation was always met. There are, however, some instances of commanders issuing legal documents together with the master in the convent of Avis,²⁷ probably because they had met there to resolve specific problems and not because they had been convened for the great meeting of the order. The highest frequency of attendance can be shown for those commanders whose commanderies were situated in close proximity to Avis (such as Benavila, Cabeço and Pedroso).²⁸ However, there were cases where the commanders of Albufeira or Oriz, to mention only the ones that are known to have resided the furthest away, were present when documents were drawn up in the chapter of the order by the scribe of the convent or the local notary.

Like the commanders, the master was occasionally absent from the convent in Avis. His presence at court and his military involvement on the frontier have already been mentioned. During times of stability, he probably travelled on circuit in the territory that belonged to the master's domain in order to resolve problems pertaining to the organization of these possessions (for example, in 1321, the master appeared as a grantor in three documents issued in different places).²⁹ In 1296, a problem of territorial boundaries had to be postponed because, according to the representatives of the order, it could only be decided in the presence of the master, who, at that point, was unable to appear in person.³⁰

Those brothers of the order who were not of any particular rank or position were certainly mobile on some local level, however not always with positive results. Accordingly, the definitions (*definições*) issued in the middle of the fourteenth century provided for penalties to be applied to those who visited the convent of Avis in groups,³¹ who talked to lay people or who abandoned their houses as fugitives.³²

Above all, the mobility of the brothers of Avis was connected to the filial relationship of this military order to the Castilian order of Calatrava. That is at least the impression one gathers from the documents that have come down to us. At an unspecified date, but soon after the foundation of the *militia* of Évora (the immediate predecessor of the Order of Avis), this affiliation required visits from the master of Calatrava or one of his

representatives to the Portuguese branch of the order, accompanied by a Cistercian abbot, to confirm the master (if an election had just taken place) and to check the lifestyle and spirituality of the Portuguese brothers as well as the correct management of their possessions.³³ With regard to the brothers of Avis, this affiliation not only allowed them to participate in the election of the Castilian master but also to attend the chapters convened by that master. Even though it is not known whether the master of Avis was ever present at the election of his Castilian superior, there is no doubt that, in 1342, João Rodrigues Pimentel was elected master of Avis in the presence of representatives of the master of Calatrava, in a meeting expressly assembled for this purpose, and that his election was afterwards confirmed by them.³⁴ Approximately one hundred years earlier, in 1238, the master of Calatrava, Don Martim, accompanied by the Cistercian abbot of Sotos Albos, had visited the convent of Avis where he confirmed Martim Fernandes, who had been elected earlier at an unknown date, as master of the Portuguese *militia*.³⁵

There is evidence of further visits of brothers from Calatrava to the Portuguese convent: for example, Don Gomes (the master of Calatrava) was present in 1241 when an agreement was signed between the master of Avis and the commander of the Order of Santiago (Don Paio Peres Correia).³⁶ However, we only know of two trips that Portuguese knights took to the convent of the Order of Calatrava in the territory of Castile. These trips have to be seen in the context of the jurisdiction that Calatrava had over its Portuguese branch, and it is to them that we now turn. In May of 1346 in the chapter of Calatrava, João Rodrigues Gouveia (the former grand commander of Avis) and Rodrigo Aires (the former cellarer of Avis) presented to João Rodrigues (the master of Calatrava) complaints regarding the behaviour of the Portuguese master, Don João Rodrigues Pimentel, who had been elected four years earlier (see above). Accordingly, they requested that he (the master of Calatrava), 'like a father abbot of the house of Avis' (*como padre abad de la casa de Avis*), would come to visit and to correct (*visitar e corregger*). Since the master of Calatrava was unable to travel to the Portuguese convent, he authorized his grand commander, Don Pero Estevez, to make the trip. Upon his return to Calatrava, the grand commander presented an account of his findings.³⁷ However, João Rodrigues Gouveia, who was also present in the chapter at Calatrava, said that he had been offended in the course of this visitation as brother João (the Portuguese master) had issued a verdict against him for rebellion and had excommunicated him in the presence of the

grand commander (of Calatrava).³⁸ The former Portuguese commander (João Rodrigues Gouveia) justified his absence in the chapter of the convent of Avis, which had been gathered during the visit of the representatives of the master of Calatrava, by saying that while he was staying in Estremoz he had received a letter from Don Pero Estevez suggesting that he should not be present at the said visitation because he would not be able to correct the damage that he had done.³⁹ In light of this and other arguments, which were confirmed by the actual *visitor* (Pero Estevez), the master of Calatrava instructed the prior of his convent to lift the excommunication which had been imposed on the Portuguese brother at the chapter of Avis.

What is significant about this incident is the presence of Portuguese brothers in the Castilian order. The second appearance of João Rodrigues Gouveia in Calatrava had to do with his attempt to explain his attitude during the visitation, but the precise reasons for his first trip to Calatrava remain unknown. It is certain that there had been, within the Order of Avis, some complaints against the master, Don João Rodrigues Pimentel. This is confirmed by a document which informs us about some part of the chapter held in Avis in the presence of the *visitor* from Calatrava (Pero Estevez), which pertained to a question that had brought the commander of Cabeço de Vide (Fernão Rodrigues) and the master Rodrigues Pimentel into conflict.⁴⁰ The outcome of this confrontation, which reveals a certain internal instability in the Order of Avis, remains unknown, but we do know that the master remained in office and that the discontented brothers are not referred to in any subsequent documents of the *militia*.⁴¹

This being a unique case, it cannot be confirmed that the Portuguese brothers appealed to their Castilian superiors at other times. Since we are not aware of any other document in the archive of the Order of Avis that would allow us to make the case for a more or less frequent recourse to the mother-house (Calatrava), the confirmation of this hypothesis will have to wait until a systematic comparison of all the witnesses who appear in the documents of Calatrava with all the known brothers of Avis can provide concrete proof of this Portuguese presence in the Castilian convent.

In light of what has been said so far, it seems only logical that, since the Order of Avis was a religious institution of military character, the knights did leave the convent of Avis, or the houses that the order owned, to aid the king in fighting the Muslims (in the context of the *reconquista*) or to defend the borders of the kingdom – especially after

1249, the year the *reconquista* ended in the territory of Portugal. The extent of the brothers' mobility remains unknown and largely has to be guessed. It has, however, been possible to verify that the commanders were frequently mobile within the areas entrusted to them and that they did travel to the convent in Avis. They travelled when there were problems in the order or when they felt that they had been wronged, and then they turned to the king, as in 1311⁴² and 1346,⁴³ or to the master of Calatrava (also in 1346, as shown previously).

With regard to the assigning of commanderies, which required the central convent to send out brothers, several questions remain. The existence of commanders in the internal organization of the Order of Avis since at least 1222⁴⁴ makes one wonder what criteria the master employed to distribute the different commanderies among the knights. For example, since these commanders could not have been novices, it would be interesting to know what role *ancienitas* may have played when it came to the administration of the order's various possessions. While the documents that have survived do not permit us to establish a *cursus honorum*, it is clear that some commanderies were more important than others, not only because of their revenue but also because of their location. Even though the distance between the central convent of Avis and the order's commanderies was not as great as it was for military orders with headquarters in Palestine, for a 'national' order the north of the country as well as the extreme south can be considered quite remote from the *militia's* centre of decision-making. However, to what extent were commanders sent to a certain region because that region was their place of origin? Were commanderies that were located further away from the centre desirable or were brothers that were sent there being deliberately 'removed' from the centre?

Assuming that the knights we know about probably did not travel alone, but rather with a greater or smaller company of servants who also belonged to the order, our treatment of the mobility of the brothers of Avis turns out to be more sketchy than we would have desired: of the overall mobility, we are able to note only that of a few, and those few are either some of the more important knights or those whose mobility – for one reason or another – left a record on parchment.

(Translated from the Portuguese by Jochen Burgtorf)

Notes

- ¹ Maria Cristina Almeida e Cunha, 'A Ordem Militar de Avis (das origens a 1329)' (unpublished MA thesis, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1989).
- ² Maria Cristina Cunha, 'A Ordem de Avis e a monarquia portuguesa até ao final do reinado de D. Dinis', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras – História*, second series, 12 (1995), 113–23.
- ³ The full name of this national archive is *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais, Torre do Tombo*. In subsequent notes, I will refer to it as T.T. For the documents contained in the *cartório* of Avis, see Maria Cristina Cunha, 'Chancelarias Particulares, Escrivães e Documentos: algumas notas a propósito da Ordem de Avis nos séc. XIII–XIV', in *As Ordens Militares em Portugal: Actas do 1o Encontro sobre Ordens Militares* (Palmela, 1991), pp. 181–9.
- ⁴ Rui de Azevedo, 'Primórdios da Ordem Militar de Évora', *Boletim da Junta Distrital de Évora*, 8 (1967), 45–62.
- ⁵ T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 66, and *Gaveta* 4, m. 1, no. 17; published in E. Abiah Reuter, *Chancelarias Medievais Portuguesas*, vol. 1 (Coimbra, 1938), pp. 356–7, and Rui de Azevedo, *Documentos Medievais Portugueses*, vol. 1, part 1 (Lisbon, 1958), p. 427.
- ⁶ January 1187 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 65, and *Gaveta* 4, m. 1, no. 22; published in Rui de Azevedo, Avelino Jesus da Costa and Marcelino Rodrigues Pereira (eds), *Documentos de D. Sancho I (1174–1211)*, vol. 1 (Coimbra, 1979), p. 29 no. 17.
- ⁷ 1 May 1193 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 64); published in Azevedo, *Documentos de D. Sancho I (1174–1211)*, vol. 1, pp. 101–2 no. 65.
- ⁸ On 25 April 1200, the master of Avis granted a charter to the settlers of Benavente: *Portugaliae monumenta historica a seculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintadecimum iussu Academiae Scientiarum Olisiponensis edita: Leges* (Lisbon, 1867–88), pp. 512–14.
- ⁹ The documents that have survived do not allow us to reconstruct the process of the formation of the order's possessions (or patrimony) in detail. However, a papal bull of 17 May 1201 (*Religiosam vitam eligentibus*) confirmed to the Order of Calatrava, of which Avis was a filiation, the possessions located in Évora, Coruche, Benavente, Santarém, Lisboa, Mafra, Alcanede, Alpedriz, Oriz, Selva Escura and Panóias (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 2).
- ¹⁰ 30 June 1211 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 61).
- ¹¹ According to António Brandão, *Crónica de D. Afonso II* (Porto, 1945), p. 218, the master of Avis, D. Fernando Eanes, defeated the Moors of Serpa and Moura in 1220.
- ¹² 23 September 1217 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 68).
- ¹³ On 15 January 1248, Ferdinand III gave the Order of Avis the sum of 2,000 small *morabittinos*, on condition that it conquered Seville, with a promise to

- convert this amount into farms and places of equivalent value (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 100); published in Aurea Javierre Mur, 'La Orden de Calatrava en Portugal', *Boletim de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 130 (1952), 323–76, here 371–4.
- ¹⁴ *Crónica de D. Dinis*, ed. Carlos da Silva Tarouca (Coimbra, 1947), chapter 8: *alguns capitães e senhores de Castela, dos quais era D. Afonso Pires de Gusmão, se ajuntaram, não para dar batalha a el-Rei D. Dinis, mas para entrar, como entraram com muitas gentes da Andaluzia e da sua frontaria, da qual entrada mataram e cativaram de Portugal muitos homens e mulheres . . . Ao encontro do qual saiu o Mestre de Avis, com as gentes que pôde, e houveram ambos dura peleja, em que houve muitas mortes e danos de ambas as partes, no fim da qual foi o mestre vencido por as menos gentes que tinha, e muitos dos seus foram mortos, e novecentos cativos.*
- ¹⁵ 2 May 1297 (T.T., *Gaveta 4*, m. 1, no. 3, and *Chancelaria Dinis*, 1. 2, fols 135v–136).
- ¹⁶ 22 November 1299 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 82).
- ¹⁷ 2 January 1305 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 363, and *Chancelaria Dinis*, 1. 3, fol. 36v).
- ¹⁸ Maria Cristina Almeida e Cunha, 'A eleição do Mestre de Avis nos séculos XIII–XV', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras – História*, second series, 13 (1996), 103–122, here 107–8.
- ¹⁹ For example, on 8 December 1273 the master of Avis (Don Simão Soares) witnessed a donation charter of the king of Portugal; published in *Arquivo Historico Portuguez*, 6 (1908), 231–2.
- ²⁰ Maria Cristina Cunha and Maria Cristina Pimenta, 'Algumas considerações sobre as relações entre os monarcas castelhanos e a Ordem de Avis no século XIII', *Boletim do Arquivo Distrital do Porto*, 2 (1985), 47–57.
- ²¹ 1 March 1250 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, nos 69 and 70).
- ²² 8 May 1257 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 110).
- ²³ Manuel Francisco de Barros e Sousa Visconde de Santarém, *Quadro elementar das relações políticas e diplomaticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo*, vol. 1 (sec. XV) (Paris, 1842), p. 160, and Frei Bernardo de Brito, *Monarquia Lusitana* (Lisbon, 1985), pt. 7, book 8, chapter 1, p. 345.
- ²⁴ According to the rule, the chapter would have determined who would visit the commanderies. The commanderies had to receive the *visitatores*, who were soon also moved around within the order.
- ²⁵ The definitions (*definições*) promulgated on 4 March 1342 in Avis stipulate with regard to the *visitor* from Calatrava (the commander of Maqueda) that the brothers of the *militia* must always be well received in the houses of the order when they approached them (*bem recebidos nas casas da Ordem quando hi acaecerem*).
- ²⁶ For example, the commander of Oriz was present in Cabeceiras de Basto on 5 April 1308 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 296) and in Guimarães on 11 April 1308 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 297).

- ²⁷ 18 April 1334 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, nos 428 and 484) and 21 April 1334 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 492).
- ²⁸ 15 August 1349 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 382), 4 June 1352 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 705, fol. 1r–v), 27 December 1363 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 572), 2 May 1376 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 479).
- ²⁹ 18 June 1321 – Fronteira (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 281), 5 July 1321 – Veiros (T.T., *Mosteiro de S. Pedro de Arouca*, *Gaveta 4*, m. 5, no. 3), 1 November 1321 – Avis (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 321).
- ³⁰ 26 February 1296 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 208).
- ³¹ Derek W. Lomax, 'Algunos estatutos primitivos de la Orden de Calatrava', *Hispania*, 21 (1961), 483–93, here 493.
- ³² Paragraph 18 of the definitions (*definições*) of 1342; published in Javierre Mur, 'La Orden de Calatrava en Portugal', 345.
- ³³ Miguel de Oliveira, 'A milícia de Évora e a Ordem de Calatrava', *Lusitania Sacra*, 1 (1956), 51–64, seems to suggest that the supremacy of Calatrava was only honorific, but presents acts of jurisdiction that show the authority of the Castilian master with regard to the *militia* and the brothers of Avis.
- ³⁴ 3 March 1342 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 1001); published in Cunha, 'A eleição do Mestre de Avis', 103–22.
- ³⁵ 22 August 1238; published in *Bulario de la Orden de Calatrava* (Barcelona, 1981), fol. 69, and Javierre Mur, 'La Orden de Calatrava en Portugal', doc. 1.
- ³⁶ 14 October 1241 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 116); published in Javierre Mur, 'La Orden de Calatrava en Portugal', doc. 2.
- ³⁷ T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 388.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*: *recibiera agravio en la dicha visitacion por una sentencia que dizia que diera don frey Johan . . . contra el en que lo judgara por rebelde e pusiera en la sentencia de escomunión presente el dicho comendador mayor.*
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*: *el non fuesse a la dicha visitacion ca el non poderia corregger los agravios que le ficeram.*
- ⁴⁰ 9 June 1346 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 387).
- ⁴¹ On 7 November 1351, the master Don João Rodrigues Pimentel was dead and a new election was under way (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 536).
- ⁴² Cunha, 'A eleição do Mestre de Avis', 107–8.
- ⁴³ It is known that before August of 1346, Master Don João Rodrigues Pimentel gave orders to strip the commander of Cabeço de Vide of the properties with which he had been entrusted. The commander appealed to the king, who ordered that the properties had to be returned to the commander, because they had not been confiscated in the proper form (the document is inserted in T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 387).
- ⁴⁴ The first reference that we have for a commander in the Order of Avis (namely that of Coruche) dates from 1222 (T.T., *Ordem de Avis*, no. 174).