

GUIDELINES FOR A REFORM: THE VISITATION OF PIERRE DE VIREY, ABBOT OF CLARAVAL, TO THE MONASTERY OF ALCOBAÇA (1492)

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Abstract

The visitation of the abbot of Clairvaux Pierre de Virey to the Iberian Cistercian monasteries in 1490-1493 left a written record shedding light upon his conception of the reform of the houses of the Cistercian Order in the peninsular kingdoms. The present paper, an examination of a recently discovered and hitherto completely unknown visitation, considers the different perspectives of that reform for the specific case of the monastery of Alcobaca at the end of the Middle Ages.

The visitation of the abbot of Clairvaux, Pierre de Virey, to the Iberian Cistercian monasteries in 1490-1493 left a written record shedding light upon his conception of the reform of the houses of the Cistercian Order in the peninsular kingdoms. One of them is a hitherto unknown visitation he made to the Portuguese abbey of Alcobaca, in 1492, which we present below, published for the first time, and which we shall analyse during the course of this paper.

To contextualise the source here at issue, and to aid an understanding of its importance, we will first outline what a “visitation” actually is, setting out the system of affiliation of the medieval Portuguese Cistercian monasteries and briefly describing the visitation practice as carried out in those monastic houses. Thereafter, we will highlight the few sources of this kind that have been preserved before exploring the main topics addressed in the document under scrutiny.

Visitations were one of the main controlling mechanisms created in the early stages of the Cistercian Order and were the subject of regulation almost from the outset. Established in the early twelfth century, visitations are mentioned in the first

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version of *Charta Caritatis*, which structured relations between the mother-abbey and its daughter-abbeyes. Accordingly, the abbot-father (or another abbot as his representative) was required to visit the dependent monastery at least once a year.¹ As the Order expanded during the 1100s, a set of specific precepts came into being. The statute of 1134 designated as *De forma visitationis*, was intended to correct deviance and promote compliance with Cistercian regulations in order to preserve monastic harmony.²

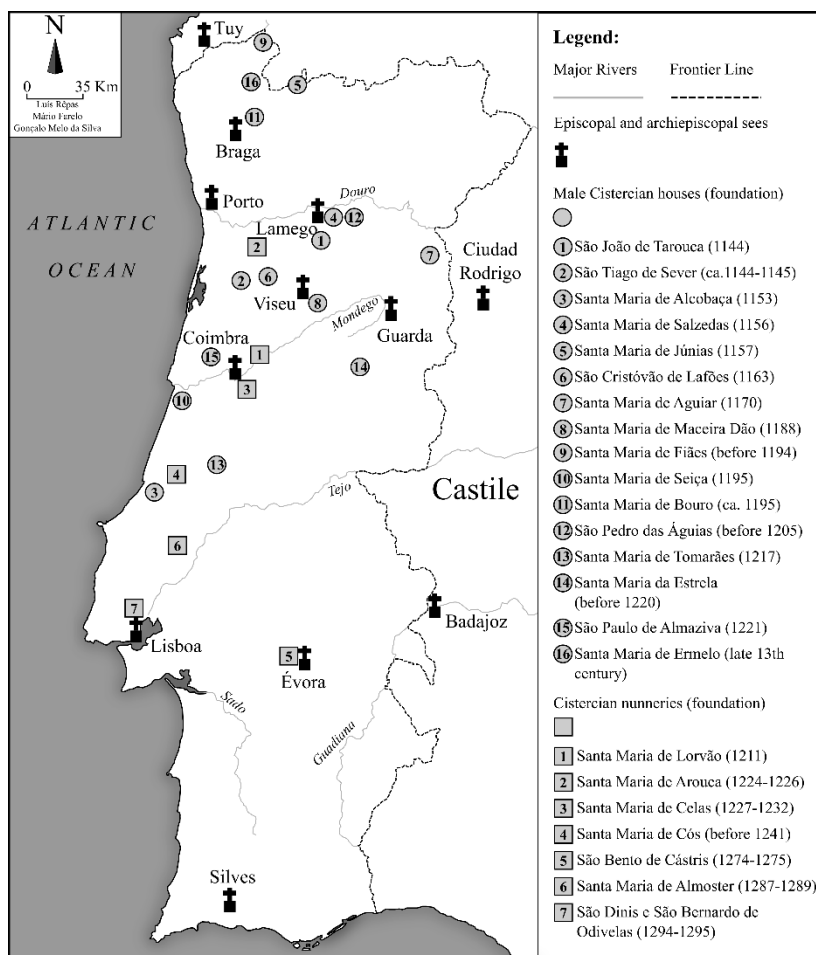
In Portugal, the network of Cistercian monasteries evolved from origins in the mid-twelfth century. For the first half-century, the foundations were exclusively male monasteries, some creations *ex nihilo*, such as Alcobaça, while others were conversions of earlier Benedictine monasteries or eremitic communities. During the thirteenth century, whilst male foundations continued, it was the nunneries that would enjoy prevalence, promoted initially by royalty in the form of the daughters of king Sancho I: Teresa, Mafalda and Sancha.³ There were no new foundations after the thirteenth century and, thus, up to the end of the Middle Ages, there was a total of 22 Cistercian monasteries in Portugal: 15 male and 7 female (Map 1).⁴

¹ “*Semel per annum uisitet abbas maioris ecclesie uel per se uel per aliquem de coabbatibus suis omnia cenobia que ipse fundauerit. Et si fratres amplius uisitauerit, inde magis gaudeant*” (Joseph-Marie Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, t. I: *Ab anno 1116 ad annum 1220* (Louvain: Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1933), XXVII, no. 10). For general synthesis on this practice, see Georg Müller, “Visitationsakten als Geschichtsquellen,” *Deutsche Geschichtsblätter* 8 (1907): 287-316; 16 (1915): 1-31; 17 (1916): 279-309; G. G. Coulton, “The Interpretation of Visitation Documents,” *The English Historical Review* 29/113 (Jan. 1914): 16-40; Jörg Oberste, *Visitation und Ordensorganisation. Formen sozialer Normierung, Kontrolle und Kommunikation bei Cisterziensern, Prämonstratensern und Cluniakensern (12.- frühes 14. Jahrhundert)* (Münster, LIT, 1996); idem, “Das gottgeweihte Leben auf dem Prüfstand. Zu den Anfängen und Grundlagen klösterlicher Visitationen im Mittelalter,” in *Die Lebenswelt der Zisterzienser. Neue Studien zur Geschichte eines europäischen Ordens*, ed. Immo Eberl and Joachim Werz (Münster, Aschendorff 2020), 184-205; Jörg Oberste, Florent Cygler and Gert Melville, “Aspekte zur Verbindung von Organisation und Schriftlichkeit im Ordenswesen,” in *Viva vox und ratio scripta. Mündliche und schriftliche Kommunikationsformen im Mönchtum des Mittelalters*, ed. Clemens M. Kasper and Klaus Schreiner (Münster, LIT, 1997), 205-280.

² Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum*, I, 20-21, no. 33.

³ Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, *Arouca – uma terra, um mosteiro, uma santa* (2nd edition, Arouca: Real Irmandade da Rainha Santa Mafalda – Museu de Arte Sacra de Arouca, 2005), 19-20; Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques, “Inocência III e a passagem do mosteiro de Lorvão para a Ordem de Cister,” in *Estudos sobre a Ordem de Cister em Portugal*, ed. Maria Alegria Fernandes Marques (Lisbon: Edições Colibri – Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1998), 75-125; Maria do Rosário Barbosa Morujão, *Um mosteiro cisterciense feminino: Santa Maria de Celas (séculos XIII a XV)* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 2001), 21-29; Luís Miguel Rêpas, *Esposas de Cristo. As Comunidades Cistercienses Femininas na Idade Média*, vol. 1 (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2021 [Phd thesis]), 58-85.

⁴ Male monasteries: São João de Tarouca, São Tiago de Sever, Santa Maria de Alcobaça, Santa Maria de Salzedas, Santa Maria de Júnias, São Cristóvão de Lafões, Santa Maria de Aguiar, Santa Maria de Maceira Dão, Santa Maria de Fiães, Santa Maria de Seixa, Santa Maria de Bouro, São Pedro das Águas, Santa Maria de Tomarães, Santa Maria da Estrela, São Paulo de Almaziva and Santa Maria de Ermelo; nunneries: Santa Maria de Lorvão, Santa Maria de Arouca, Santa Maria de Celas, Santa Maria de Cós, São Bento de Cástris, Santa Maria de Almoester and São Dinis de Odivelas (*Ordens Religiosas em Portugal. Das Origens a Trento – Guia Histórico*, ed. Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2005), 101-126). The monastery of São Tiago de Sever adopted Cistercian customs in the mid-12th century, but was suppressed in the mid-13th century. As for the nunnery of São Salvador de Bouças, its foundation was not successful, although the Infanta Mafalda obtained the approval of the Supreme Pontiff (in January 1249), reached agreement with the Bishop of Porto (in July 1249), secured the



Map 1. Cistercian monasteries in medieval Portugal

All of the Portuguese medieval Cistercian abbeys were directly or indirectly affiliated to Clairvaux, as daughters or grand-daughters, as set out in a statute of 1221.⁵ Accordingly, the abbot of Clairvaux was the abbot-father of the early male communities of Tarouca, Lafões, Alcobaca and Salzedas (Fig. 1). Thereafter, as the Cistercian Order deployed in the Portuguese landscape in the twelfth and thirteenth

consent of the General Chapter of the Order (in September 1249) and received (in October 1249) the bulls by which the Pope confirmed the aforementioned agreement with the diocesan clergy, took the monastery of Bouças under his protection and recommended it to king Afonso III. In fact, there is no documentary reference to the entry of nuns into this monastery, nor are nuns mentioned in Mafalda's will of 1256 (Répas, *Esposas de Cristo*, vol. 1, 124-134).

⁵ Joseph-Marie Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, t. II: *Ab anno 1221 ad annum 1261* (Louvain: Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1934), 6-7, no. 33.

centuries, just two of these monasteries affiliated almost all of the other foundations. Accordingly, Tarouca became the mother-abbey of Sever, Fiães and São Pedro das Águas; and Alcobaça affiliated Bouro, Maceira-Dão, Seiça, Tomarães, Estrela and Almaziva. Clairvaux also became the mother-abbey of the early nunneries of Lorvão, Arouca, Celas, Bouças (if indeed it had been successfully founded) and Almoester. Over the passage of time, Alcobaça assumed a greater protagonism and, due to its influence, came to oversee the community of *sorores* of Cós, about 8 km distant from Alcobaça, which functioned as its feminine branch and, in turn, affiliated the nunneries of Cástris, in Évora, due to the intervention of the cardinal-bishop of Túsculo, Pedro Julião (later pope John XXI), and of Odivelas, near Lisbon, founded by the King Dinis of Portugal.

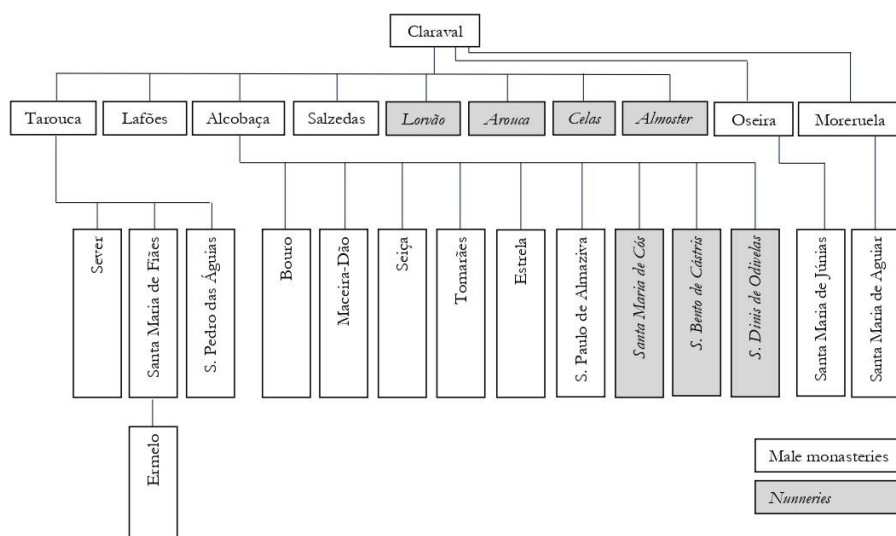


Fig. 1. Cistercian affiliations in Portugal⁶

⁶ Monastery of Júnias: on 27 January 1533, in the context of the visit undertaken by Dom Edme de Saulieu, abbot of Clairvaux, with the monastery of Júnias completely in ruins, except for the church, and devoid of monks, Friar Claude de Bronseval says that it was believed to be subject to the monastery of São João de Tarouca ("*ut creditur subiectum Sancto Iohanni de Tarouca*") (Claude de Bronseval, *Peregrinatio Hispanica, Voyage de Dom Edme de Saulieu, Abbé de Clairvaux, en Espagne et au Portugal (1531-1533)*, introduction, translation and notes by D. Maur Cocheril, tomo II (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970), 546-547). Although Maur Cocheril defends the subjection of Júnias to the monastery of Bouro, the events he describes at the time of the war of independence in 1383 clearly show that Júnias was subject to the abbot of Oseira, which justifies the fact that it remained in the dependence of this Galician monastery after, in the 16th century, monastic life was restored there, and that it was not part of the Congregation of Alcobaça (Maur Cocheril, *Routier des Abbayes Cisterciennes du Portugal*, nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée et annotée par Gerard Leroux (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian / Centre Culturel Portugais, 1986), 67-68). According to Friar Claude de Bronseval, in the 16th century, the monastery of Aguiar was affiliated to the monastery of Moreirola ("*sub Morerola*": Bronseval, *Peregrinatio Hispanica*, t. II, 564-565), although Maur Cocheril says that Aguiar was entrusted to Tarouca, in the 13th century, at the time of the incorporation of the lands of Riba Cõa into the kingdom of Portugal, during the reign of King Dinis (Bronseval, *Peregrinatio Hispanica*, t. II, 564, note 377).

This means that the regular visitors to the monastic houses of the Order were the abbots of Clairvaux, Alcobaca and Tarouca, or their proxies, usually accompanied by abbots of Portuguese or Castilian Cistercian houses.⁷ Table 1 shows the presence of several monks from Clairvaux undertaking the regular visitation of Portuguese Cistercian nunneries on behalf of the abbot of Clairvaux, in the years of 1255, 1257, 1302, 1310 to 1311, 1326, 1332, 1335, 1342 or 1343, and 1376.

Table 1. Visitors in Cistercian nunneries (13th-14th centuries)⁸

Date	Name	Nunnery
1255	D. Mendo, Oseira's abbot	Lorvão
	D. Tiago, Claraval's monk, " <i>visitor Hispaniam</i> "	
	D. João, Claraval's monk, " <i>visitor Hispaniam</i> "	
1257	Friar Miguel, Valparaiso's abbot (Zamora's diocese)	Arouca
	Egídio, Claraval's monk	
	Pedro, Claraval's monk	
1302	Friar Pedro, Bouro's abbot	Lorvão
	D. Nicolau, Claraval's monk	
	D. Besaçom, Claraval's monk	
1304	D. Simão, Espina's abbot	Almoster
1310/1311	Friar Estêvão, visitor in Hispania on behalf of Claraval's abbot	Arouca and Lorvão
	Friar João, visitor in Hispania on behalf of Claraval's abbot	
1311	Friar Reinaldo, <i>Domus Dei</i> 's abbot, visitor in Hispania	Almoster
1326-III-23	Moreruela's abbot (Zamora's diocese)	Arouca
	D. Lambert, Claraval's monk and visitor in Hispania	
	D. João, Claraval's monk and visitor in Hispania	
1332-III-10/11	Friar Guilherme, Claraval's monk and visitor in Hispania on behalf of Claraval's abbot	Almoster
	Friar Pedro, Claraval's monk and visitor in Hispania on behalf of Claraval's abbot	
	Santa Maria de Alcobaca's abbot	
	D. Leonardo, São Cristóvão de Lafões' abbot	
	D. Lourenço, São Paulo de Almaziva's abbot	
1335-I-6	D. João Garcia, São João de Tarouca's abbot	Celas
	D. João, visitor in Hispania on behalf of Claraval's abbot	

⁷ The abbots gathered in General Chapter legislate on these visitations in the assembly of 1230, defining the role that the coadjutor monks should have (Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, II, 85, no. 6), this normative rule being transposed to the Codifications of 1237 and 1257 (Bernard Lucet, *Les codifications cisterciennes de 1237 et de 1257* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977), 289-290).

⁸ Rêpas, *Esposas de Cristo*, volumes 1 and 2.

	D. João, visitor in Hispania on behalf of Claraval's abbot	
1339-II-9	São João de Tarouca's abbot	Almoester
1342-II-8	D. João	Almoester
[1342-1343]	D. João, Valparaíso's abbot (Zamora's diocese) Reinaldo Leonardes, São Cristóvão de Lafões' [abbot] Alberto, Claraval's monk	Arouca
1376	Friar João de Chassignolles, Claraval's visitor	Almoester

Even so, the General Chapter considered this insufficient. Therefore, in addition to this regular visitation by the abbot (or his representatives) of the mother-abbey to his daughter-houses, the General Chapter decided to introduce certain special visitations, occasionally appointing an extraordinary visitor (a literate and suitable abbot, accompanied by a coadjutor monk) tasked with the solving of problems and disputes between monasteries, or resolving other abnormal situations. Over time, the General Chapter introduced visitations to territories comprising several different kingdoms where there was geographic coherence, such as the Iberian Peninsula, Germania, the British Isles and Transalpine Gaul.

A search of the fifteenth-century statutes reveals the General Chapter ordered or mentioned visitations to be made to all Portuguese monasteries almost 20 times between 1403 and 1490.⁹ As Saul António Gomes observed, it is a situation of “a kind of permanent visitational condition being imposed by Cîteaux over the Portuguese monasteries and, indeed, over those of the other Hispanic kingdoms.”¹⁰ To better understand the context of these visitations, note must be taken of the autonomist or congregational tendencies circulating in Iberia at this time, which materialised in the Cistercian Congregation of Castile, initiated in 1425, and whose regulations were defined in the Cistercian General Chapter of 1438.¹¹

These circumstances favoured the General Chapter's appointment of visitors of a different profile as can be seen, for example, in 1484, in the visitation carried out by Pedro Serrano, abbot of the monastery of Piedra, in Aragon.¹² Previously he had possessed no ascendancy over Portuguese Cistercian monasteries, yet he was invested in visitation powers for the whole of Iberia by General Chapter in 1484 and again in 1486, in response to a request from the king of Portugal.¹³ In fact, a large

⁹ In 1403, 1405, 1417, 1422, 1424, 1427, 1430, 1438, 1439, 1444, 1445, 1453, 1459, 1460, 1478, 1486 (at the request of the king of Portugal John II), 1487, 1489 and 1490 (Joseph-Marie Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, t. IV: *Ab anno 1401 ad annum 1456* and t. V: *Ab anno 1457 ad annum 1490* (Louvain: Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1936-1937); also referred to by Saul António Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses em Portugal. Séculos XV e XVI* (Lisbon: Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico (IPPAR), 1998), 16-17).

¹⁰ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, 17.

¹¹ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, IV, 455.

¹² Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, documents I and II, 125-149/155-182 (pages of the Latin text and Portuguese translation) and 185-188.

¹³ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, V, 541, no. 35: “*Ad instantiam et benignam suggestionem serenissimi domini regis Portugalliae, committit praesens generale Capitulum abbati de Petra ac alteri abbati, quatinus super valoribus et facultatibus monasteriorum Ordinis inchoati regni Portugalliae se informet, et iuxta quod invenerint magis commode et pro*

part of the documentation concerning his work as a visitor deals with his presence in Portugal in 1484 and 1486/87.

Concerned to bring about reform in the face of the growing congregational phenomenon in Iberian Cistercian monasteries, in 1489 the General Chapter commissioned the bibliophile and Master of Theology, Pierre de Virey, abbot of Clairvaux, to undertake the visitation and reform of the monasteries (male and female) of the Cistercian Order in the kingdoms of Spain, Navarre and Portugal, including those of the Military Orders of Calatrava, Montesa, and Avis:

*“Visitationem et reformationem omnium et singulorum monasteriorum et locorum regularium utriusque sexus, necnon Militiarum Calatraviae, Montesiae et Avis, in regnis et dominiis totius Hispaniae, Navarrae et Portugalliae situatorum cum clausulis per R. D. N. Cisterciensem addendis, praesens generale Capitulum domino abbati Claraevallis, s. th. pr., committit in plenaria Ordinis potestate.”*¹⁴

Accordingly, we find Pierre de Virey present as visitor in the monastery of Alcobaça on 19 May 1492. Once the visitation was completed, his secretary drew up the record of the visitation, a document unknown until now and which is the subject of this article.

As set out in the Order’s precepts, regular visitation to a monastery resulted in the production of a visitation report. The Cistercian code of 1240-1256, the *Institutiones Capituli Generalis*, stipulates that abbots should cause to be recited in the chapter-house, at least twice per annum, the *cartam visitationis* containing the injunctions outlined by the visitor of that year.¹⁵ The codification of 1237 (renewed in 1257) sets out the required format for a *cartam visitationis*: the visitor, in a letter sealed with *sigillo suo*, must diligently commit to writing what he reformed and determined; then, this letter was to be handed over to the cantor of the monastery visited, and was to be read in chapter at the next visitation.¹⁶

honore Ordinis ac divini cultus augmento faciendum, de monasteriis illis secundum regiae maiestatis consilium disponant minora monasteria, in quibus conventus teneri non possunt, simul uniendo, ac conventus iuxta eorumdem facultates ordinando, datque idem generale Capitulum auctoritatem et plenum posse dictis abbatibus visitandi, reformandi, corrigendi, instituendi et destituendi in omnibus et singulis monasteriis Ordinis utriusque sexus eiusdem regni inchoatissimi, quidquid iuxta Ordinis instituta canonica invenerint visitandum, reformandum, corrigendum, instituendum et destituendum, in spiritualibus et temporalibus, in capitibus et in membris, in plenaria Ordinis potestate, cum clausulis per R. D. N. Cisterciensem addendis. (Facta fuit commissio specialis).”

¹⁴ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum*, V, 687, no. 41 (from the summarisation in Luzern, Staatsarchiv, KU 544/4, provenant of the monastery of Sankt Urban, 1733-1738), also published by Bronseval, *Peregrinatio Hispanica*, t. II, 738-739, no. 3; Poblet, Arxiu del Monestir de Poblet, *Pergamins*, no. 224 (in a copy of November 4, 1490, Poblet), referred by Josep Torné i Cubells, *Catalèg des pergamins de l'actual Arxiu del monestir de Poblet* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans – Facultat de Teologia de Catalunya, 2010), 126; and Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, *Clero-Secular_Regular*, carpeta. 3738, no. 15 (of 14 September 1489).

¹⁵ Coulton, “The Interpretation,” 29.

¹⁶ G. G. Coulton attributes the establishment of these norms to the Codifications of 1289, but the Codifications of 1237 and 1257 already included these normative provisions (Coulton, “The Interpretation,” 29-30; Lucet, *Les codifications cisterciennes*, 284 and 286: in the Codifications of 1237, “*Provideat autem visitator ut in carta sigillo suo signata, et a foris dependente, diligenter scribat que corrigenda et ordinanda statuerit, et committat cartam cantori legendam, una cum diffinitione presenti, sequenti anno in capitulo in visitatione; et*

From thirteenth century onwards, the visitor's task was guided by the appearance of formulary books containing details of the practice of visitation and questionnaires. It is thanks principally to the survival of these *formulae* books, as well as other record books and also individual documents, that it has been possible to examine the visitation process in various French, English, Belgian, Bohemian, Austrian and Czech Cistercian monasteries.¹⁷

Unfortunately, Portugal was not blessed with such good fortune. The very rare formulary books existing for the medieval period – such as Alc. 47, preserved in the National Library of Portugal (Fig. 2) – only record three examples of letters of

faciat utramque cum omni diligentia inviolabiliter observari.”; in 1257, it adds: “*Et in cartis visitationum, numquam aliquis nisi abbas fuerit sigillum appendat*”).

¹⁷ Ivo Kickh, “Abt Seyfried von Rein als Visitor und Reformator der ungarischen Cistercienserklöster,” *Cistercienser Chronik* 7 (1895): 9-15; Otto Grillnberger, “Das Wilheringer Formelbuch: De kartis visitacionum,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 19 (1898): 229-246, 418-425, 587-601; 20 (1899): 127-137, 482-492; 21 (1900): 119-127, 384-392; Georg Müller, “Studien über das Generalkapitel XLVIII, Visitatoren,” *Cistercienser Chronik* 19 (1907): 217-221; Johann Baptist Kaiser, “Das Visitationprotokoll des Klosters Werschweiler vom Jahre 1473,” *Cistercienser Chronik* 27 (1915): 257-262; Hermann Watzl, “Das Fragment eines Heiligenkreuzer Visitationsschartenprotokoll aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts,” *Cistercienser Chronik* 67 (1960): 41-52; Christopher Harper-Bill, “Cistercian Visitation in the Late Middle Ages: the Case of Hailes Abbey,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 53/127 (May 1980): 103-114; Jean-Marc Roger, “La visite des abbayes cisterciennes de Savoie par l’abbé de Balerne (1486),” in *Mélanges à la mémoire du Père Anselme Dimier*, t. 2, vol. 3 (Arbois, Pupillin, 1984), 157-216; Ferenc Levente Hervay, “Die Visitation der Zisterzienserklöster Ungarns im Mittelalter,” in *Tal und Einsamkeit. 725 Jahre Kloster Fürstenfeld. Die Zisterzienser in alten Bayer*, ed. Klaus Wollenberg, vol. 3: *Kolloquium* (München, Fürstenfeld, 1988), 225-230; Roger de Ganck, “Marginalia to Visitation Cards for Cistercian Nuns in Belgium,” *Cîteaux - commentarii cistercienses* 40 (1989): 227-243; J. Tillotson, “Visitation and Reform of the Yorkshire Nunneries in the Fourteenth Century,” *Northern History* 30/1 (1994): 1-21; Katerina Charvátová, “Vizitace v cisterciáckém řádu od 12. do počátku 15. století – obecná pravidla a některé české příklady,” in *Historia Monastica. I. Sborník z kolokvií a konferencí pořádaných v letech 2002-2003 v cyklu “Život ve středověkém kláštře,”* ed. Dušan Foltýn, Katerina Charvátová and Petr Sommer (Praha, Centrum Mediévistických Studií, 2005), 70-81; Martin Nodl, “Vizitační protokoly a dejiny každodenního života,” in *Historia Monastica. I. Sborník*, 55-67; Jan Zdichynec, “Ad vitiorum correctionem et caritatis conservationem? Proměny řeholní vizitace v raném novověku na příkladě cisterciáckého řádu,” in *Historia Monastica. I. Sborník*, 103-132; Radka Lomičková, “Vizitační protokoly vyšebrodského kláštera ve 14. století aneb co tamní cisterciáci delali jinak než meli,” in *Historia Monastica. I. Sborník*, 83-96; idem, “Vizitační protokoly cisterciáckých klášterů ve 14. Století / *The Visitation Cards of the Cistercian monasteries in Bohemia in the 14th century* (Praha, Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2006 [M. A. Dissertation]); idem, “Za klášterními zdmi: Vizitační protokoly cisterciáckých kláštera ze 14. Století,” *Mediaevalia historica Bohemica* 11 (2007): 137-194; idem, “Visitationurkunden aus Böhmischem und Österreichischen Zisterzienserklöstern. Das Leben hinter Klostermauern im 14. Jahrhundert,” *Cîteaux-Commentarii cistercienses* 62/1-4 (2011): 241-283; Jörg Oberste, “Normierung und Pragmatik des Schriftgebrauchs im cisterziensischen Visitationsverfahren bis zum beginnenden 14. Jh.,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 114 (1994): 312-348; idem, “Institutionalisierte Kommunikation. Normen, Überlieferungsbefunde und Grenzbereiche im Verwaltungsaltag religiöser Orden des hohen Mittelalters,” in *De ordine vitae. Zu Normvorstellungen, Organisationsformen und Schriftgebrauch im mittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, ed. Gert Melville (Münster, LIT, 1996), 59-99; idem, *Die Dokumente der klösterlichen Visitationen* (Turnhout, Brepols, 1999); idem, “Visitationen und Generalkapitel. Neuere Forschungen zum cisterziensischen Modell der Ordensverfassung,” in *Aktuelle Wege der Cisterziensenforschung: Forschungsberichte der Arbeitstagung des Europainstitutes für cisterziensische Geschichte, Spiritualität, Kunst und Liturgie an der Päpstlichen Phil.-Theol. Hochschule Benedikt XVI. Heiligenkreuz vom 28./29. November 2007*, ed. Alkuin Volker Schachenmayr (Heiligenkreuz, Medien-GmbH Heiligenkreuz, 2008), 133-148.

commission or appointment for the carrying out of visitations.¹⁸ The situation is similar for visitation records, which are likewise scarce.

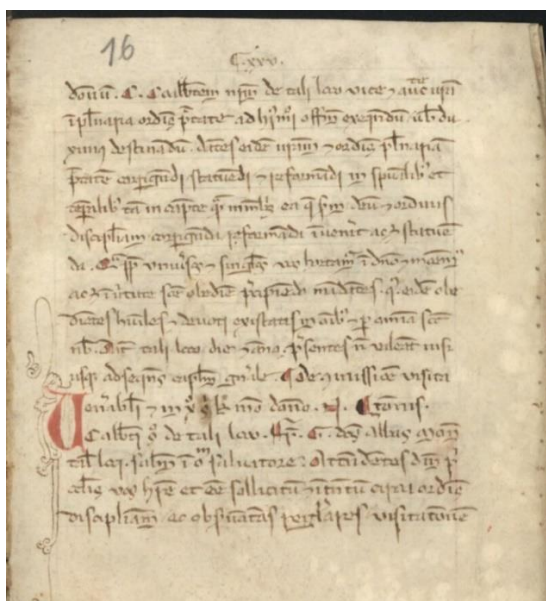


Fig. 2. Lisbon, ©BNP, Alc. 47, folio 16

The lack of visitation records

Despite the penalties contained in the codifications of 1237 for abbots who failed to visit their daughter abbeys annually,¹⁹ one of the reasons for the non-existence of visitation records could well be that annual visitations were not in fact regularly undertaken, which would explain the scant number of visitation reports surviving. However, probably, the main reason for the dearth of reports is that they often ended up being destroyed. Indeed, since these documents were not required in order to prove any enduring legal right, there was no need to keep them in perpetuity. Furthermore, their *raison d'être* was limited: they would be read before the community a few times a year, to remind everyone of the father-abbot's recommendations, and they had to be presented at the next visitation, so that the visitor could confirm if the community had heeded what was prescribed therein. Thus, as Ghislain Baurý has argued, once the report was no longer of use (being out-dated), it could be destroyed.

Such destruction could be all the more desirable since the contents of the report highlighted the faults of the religious under scrutiny and could be a source of

¹⁸ Lisbon, National Library of Portugal [BNP], Alc. 47, documents 10, 22 and 23, ed. by Saul António Gomes, "Um formulário monástico português medieval: o manuscrito alcobacense 47 da BNL," *HVMANITAS* 51 (1999): 162-163, 169-170.

¹⁹ Lucet, *Les codifications cisterciennes*, 283: "Patres abbates qui filias suas per se, sive per idoneam personam non visitaverint per annum, tribus diebus sint in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqua".

embarrassment to the entire community. In such cases, preservation of such documents would be exceptional, as happened in 1523, when Francisco da Fonseca, bishop of Titopole, gave permission for the king of Portugal João III to be given the results of the inquiries he had carried out in the nunnery of Almoester during his visitation, even though the bishop informed the king that this was contrary to the definitions and statutes of the Order and asked the king to keep them absolutely secret.

“In the other letter Your Highness command me to send to you the enquiries which I made in past years in the convent of Almoester, which Your Highness wishes to see, and this, Sire, is against our definitions and statutes and [against the] honesty of Religion, and the papal visitors cannot disclose them, under penalty of excommunication. But since Your Highness commands me, I can do nothing else, for in everything I shall do your service and fulfil your commands, as those of the same God, I send you the second inquiry and also one that, at your order, I took from D. Catarina de Meneses [...]. And do me so much grace that none of the contents of these enquiries shall be seen by a living person because, if they were to be seen, there would be many scandals, mainly to the marquis and his brothers, and great defamation to my person and religion.”²⁰

As for a previous visitation, which the bishop had made during the time of the king’s father and predecessor, Manuel I, the bishop refused to disclose the report of it, arguing that the punishments prescribed therein had already been applied:

“The first enquiry I myself made with your father the king, for whose soul may there be glory, and by the command of his highness I laid-low and punished what he did in the service of God and his own. And since they have already been punished and chastised, the inquiry should not be seen.”²¹

Accordingly, we can agree with Ghislain Baury when he says that “those [reports] that have survived are, to a certain extent, accidental preservations.”²² Indeed, this

²⁰ Original version: “Na outra carta me manda Vosa alteza que lhe mande as jnquirições que fiz hos annos pasados no moestiro d almoester que as quer ver Vosa alteza, e jsto Senhor. he contra nosas difinições e statutos e onestidade da Relegiam, E excomunham aos visitadores papall que se nam mostrem, porem pojs Vosa alteza mo manda nam poso all fazer pojs em tudo ey de fazer seu seruiço e comprir seus mandados, como hos do mesmo deus., a segunda jnquiriçam lhe mando e asy huã que per seu mandado tirey de dona catarina de meneses [...] e faça me tanta merce que nada do contendo nesas jnquirições possa ser visto de pesoa vna [fl. 3v] porque vendo se, se recreceram mujtos scandalos., pincipalmente ao marques e seus jrmãos e grande defamaçam a mjnha pesoa e Relegiam.” (Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document IV, of 29 May 1523, 211).

²¹ Original version: “a primeira jnquiriçam praiquey eu mesmo com el Rey Voso pay, cuja alma aja gloria, e per mandado de sua alteza degradey castiguey quanto elle ouue por seruiço de deus e seu, e pojs foram ja punjidas e castigadas. nam se deve ver a jnquiriçam.” (Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document IV, of 29 May 1523, 211-212).

²² “Las que se conservaron son, en cierta medida, conservaciones accidentales” (Ghislain Baury, “El conservadorismo de la reforma tardomedieval del Cister. *Cartae visitationis* para abadías femeninas en la Península Ibérica.”

seems to have been the case in the abovementioned visitation to the convent of Almoester. In other cases, some visitation reports have been preserved for institutional reasons in connection with legal wranglings over which abbey held paternal jurisdiction over a particular daughter house.²³

Regarding visitation reports surviving in Portugal in the National Archives of Torre do Tombo – concerning all Cistercian monasteries, male and female –, save for one in the documental collection of the *Corpo Cronológico*, associated with the Portuguese Crown,²⁴ up to now, only a few have come to light, all of which are to be found in the archives of the monastery of Alcobaça.²⁵ There are two possible explanations for this: (1) due to their authoritative position, the jurisdiction delegated to them by the Order or by Papal decree, and the power granted them by successive monarchs, the abbots of Alcobaça exercised an elevated supervisory role, one of the results of which was the accumulation in the archive of Alcobaça of the reports of several visits made to the Portuguese Cistercian monasteries; or (2) reports contained in Cistercian monastic collections have not yet been identified on account of the fact that there have been very few studies on Cistercian abbeys (especially nunneries) for the second half of the fifteenth century and for subsequent centuries, which raises

Arquivo Ibero-Americano. Revista Franciscana de Estudos Históricos 83/296 (2023): 57-79 (we thank the author for the access to his text before its publication).

²³ This is the case, for example, with the convent of Almoester, in which the visitations made to it during the 15th century provide valuable information about the attempt made by the monastery of Alcobaça to take upon itself the right of visitation of this monastic house, when, in fact, this nunnery was affiliated, from its genesis, to the abbey of Clairvaux (see Luís Miguel Rêpas, “A Fundação do Mosteiro de Almoester: novos documentos para uma velha questão,” in *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Amadeu Coelho Dias*, vol. 2 (Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2006), 103-122, document 1, written in Cîteaux at the time of the General Chapter, in the year 1287; the visitation records to the convent of Almoester, as well as others relative to other Portuguese Cistercian monasteries, still unpublished, are transcribed and will soon be published in the work of Luís Miguel Rêpas and Mário Farelo (eds.), *Visitações Medievais a Mosteiros Cistercienses. Vol. I – Fontes*, forthcoming).

²⁴ Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo [ANTT], *Corpo Cronológico*, 1.ª Parte, Mç. 24, doc. 65 (published by Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, of 8-12 July 1522, pages 191-206). There are also other documents produced in the context of the visitations that are preserved in this documentary collection (Lisbon, ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, 1.ª Parte, Mç. 29, doc. 74 and Lisbon, ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, 2.ª Parte, Mç. 132, doc. 158 and Mç. 153, doc. 33, published by Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, documents IV, V and VI, of 29 May 1523, 17 March 1528 and 22 December 1528, pages 209-212 and 215-216).

²⁵ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, documents VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XVI, XVII, XX, XXI, of 20 January and 11 February 1533, 14 May 1535, 8 February, 12-15 October and February-May 1536, 17 April and 29 December 1539, of [1574] and 20-25 April 1583; Saul António Gomes, “Duas visitas a Mosteiros Cistercienses Femininos: S. Dinis de Odivelas (1532) e Santa Maria de Celas de Coimbra (1640),” in *Problematizar a História – Estudos de História Moderna em Homenagem a Maria do Rosário Themudo Barata*, ed. Ana Leal Faria and Isabel Drumond Braga (Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio, 2007), 543-564; João Soalheiro, “*More Cisterciensis Ordinis*: Acta da visitação de D. Frei Edme de Saulieu, abade de Claraval, ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça (1532),” in *Olhares sobre a História. Estudos oferecidos a Iria Gonçalves*, ed. by Maria do Rosário Themudo Barata and Luís Krus and coordinated by Amélia A. Andrade, Hermenegildo Fernandes and João Luís Fontes (Lisbon: Caleidoscópio, 2009), 615-618; and Luís Miguel Rêpas, Mário Farelo and Catarina Fernandes Barreira, “Uma Visitação inédita ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Cós, de 1492. II – contextualização, estudo e edição da fonte,” *Lusitania Sacra* 42 (July-December 2020), 225-229.

the hope of future discoveries of information on visitations when these reserves come to be probed by discerning scholars.

It may well be the case that visitation reports are to be found in other collections, as indeed was the case of the report published herein which was discovered in the Torre do Tombo in a reserve which, similarly to the *Corpo Cronológico*, is composed of Crown-linked materials, representing the first time a document with these characteristics has been found among this collection.²⁶

It is important to note that, up to now, only two visitation reports for Portuguese Cistercian houses prior to 1522 have been published: one, of 22 February 1484, concerning the visitation to the monastery of Alcobaça by Pedro Serrano, abbot of Piedra, and the other of 23 May 1492, a visitation of the convent of Cós by Pierre de Virey, abbot of Clairvaux (Table 2). The latter is of great interest because it is dated only four days after Pierre de Virey's visitation of Alcobaça.

Table 2. Published Visitation Reports for the monasteries of Alcobaça and Cós (1484-1545)

Date	Visitor	Nunnery
1484, February 22	Pedro Serrano, abbot of Piedra (Aragon)	Alcobaça (Portugal) ²⁷
1492, May 19	Pierre de Virey, abbot of Claraval	Alcobaça (Portugal) ²⁸
1492, May 23	Pierre de Virey, abbot of Claraval	Cós (Portugal) ²⁹
1532, November 19	Edme de Saulieu, abbot of Claraval	Alcobaça (Portugal) ³⁰
1535, May 14	Bernardo de la Fuente, monk of Piedra (Aragon) Tomás Langa, monk of Piedra (Aragon)	Alcobaça (Portugal) ³¹
1538, January 27	Cardinal <i>Infante</i> D. Afonso	Alcobaça (Portugal) ³²
1545, October 6-26	Cardinal <i>Infante</i> D. Henrique	Alcobaça (Portugal) ³³

²⁶ Lisbon, ANTT, *Gavetas*, Gaveta 20, Mç. 7, no. 46 and Lisbon, ANTT, *Reforma das Gavetas*, Liv. 49, fls. 298-311 (located by Mário Farelo).

²⁷ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document I, 125-149/155-182 (edited in its original Latin version with Portuguese translation).

²⁸ Lisbon, ANTT, *Gavetas*, Gaveta 20, Mç. 7, no. 46 and Lisbon, ANTT, *Reforma das Gavetas*, Liv. 49, fls. 298-311 (edited at the end of this article in its original Latin version).

²⁹ Rêpas, Farelo and Barreira, "Uma Visitação inédita ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Cós, de 1492. II," 225-229 (edited in its original Latin version with Portuguese translation).

³⁰ Soalheiro, "*More Cisterciensis Ordinis*: Acta da visitação de D. Frei Edme de Saulieu," 615-618 (edited in its original Latin version).

³¹ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document X, 251-260 (edited in its original Spanish version).

³² Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document XV, 377-386 (edited in its original Portuguese version).

³³ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document XVIII, 411-418 (edited in its original Portuguese version).

The focus of our attention herein is the visitation of Alcobaça of 19 May 1492. Where appropriate, we will compare the visitation that Pierre de Virey made to Alcobaça with his visitation of the neighbouring nunnery of Cós, given the close chronological proximity of the two. It would, of course, be most interesting to draw up a full comparison of the 1492 Alcobaça visitation report with the previous visitation of 1484 and, especially, with the later visitation of 1532 (Table 2) to examine to what extent Virey's recommendations had in fact been acted upon by 1532. However, this angle of research deserves a specific and broader study, so that one can assess the evolution of the themes dealt with.

Pierre de Virey's Iberian Mission

In order to better understand the implications of Pierre de Virey's visitation, it is first necessary to apprehend some essentials relating to the religious and institutional context in which it took place.

The mission of the abbot of Clairvaux to the Iberian Peninsula took place at a juncture marked by the need for reform of the Cistercian Order arising from the relaxation of the instruments of internal inspection,³⁴ by the development of the system of commendation (*comenda*) in many monasteries³⁵ and by the action of reform movements such as those of Iberian observance or of dissidence,³⁶ the latter largely inspired by the conflict that the abbot of Cîteaux Jean de Cirey had maintained with Pierre de Virey himself since the early 1480s.³⁷ Influenced by the former's position on the conflict, Pope Innocent VIII promulgated a series of bulls in 1487 and 1489,³⁸ which resulted in the strengthening of the powers of the abbot of Cîteaux and

³⁴ For the abbot of Cîteaux Jean de Cirey, the central issue was eminently financial, in terms of the limitations on the Order's funding caused mainly by abbatial absenteeism from General Chapters and the lack of regular visitations (Abbé H. Duclos, *Histoire de Royaumont. Sa fondation par Saint Louis et son influence sur la France*, t. 2 (Paris: Ch. Douniol, 1867), 51).

³⁵ This was the main argument put forward by Pope Innocent VIII for the then "ruin" of the Cistercian Order, expressed in the well-known bull *Meditatio cordis*, dated 10 August 1487 (Ed. Ignacio José Ortega y Cortes, Pedro Ortega Zuñiga y Aranfa and José Fernández de Brizuela, *Bullarium Ordinis Militiae de Alcantara (...)* (Madrid: Typographia Antonii Marin, 1709), 744-747, no. 51).

³⁶ We think, for example, of the Italian monasteries of Chiaravalle and Settimo, affiliated to Clairvaux, in the process of their split from the Order in 1486, according to the testimony of the eighteenth-century chronicler Nicolas Cotheret (Louis J. Lekai, "Les *Annales de Cîteaux* de Nicolas Cotheret (1680-1753)," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 40/1-2 (1984), 286).

³⁷ On this conflict, see Lekai, "Les *Annales*," 40/1-2 (1984), 272-298; André Vernet, "Un abbé de Clairvaux bibliophile: Pierre de Virey (1471-96)," *Scriptorium* 6/1 (1952): 87; Roger de Ganck, "Les pouvoirs de l'Abbé de Cîteaux, de la bulle *Parnus fons* (1265) à la Révolution Française," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 27 (1971): 54-55; Sergio Iglionzi, *I maggiori dissidi fra Cîteaux e Clairvaux (dal XIII secolo alla bolla di Innocenzo VIII del 1489). Contributi storici* (Como: Abbazia de Piona, 1976); Coraline Rey, *Archives et bibliothèques à Cîteaux: entreprises d'écritures au Moyen Âge (XII^e siècle – début du XVI^e siècle)*, vol. 1 (Dijon: Université de Bourgogne Franche-Comté, 2019 [PhD thesis]), 290-291.

³⁸ Six bulls in 1487 and nine in 1489. For a description of their contents and their implications, see Ganck, "Les pouvoirs," 37, 49-50, 52, 54, 56, 59; William J. Telesca, "Jean de Cirey and the question of an abbot general in the order of Cîteaux in the XVth century," in *Studies in medieval Cistercian history II*, ed. John R. Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publication, 1976), 186-207.

brought about the removal from decision-making within the Order of the four principal abbot-fathers (Pontigny, Morimond, La Ferté and Clairvaux).³⁹

In this context, the visitation became one of the main tools for promoting this desideratum of reform and strengthening Cîteaux's influence over the governing body of the Order. Pope Innocent VIII played an important role in this precise matter by urging the hierarchy of the Order, in 1487, to proceed with the visitation of the monasteries and other ecclesiastical places, materialised in the case of the Iberian Peninsula by the nomination by the General Chapter of the abbot of Candeil.⁴⁰ Appointed for an indefinite term – as long as the abbot of Cîteaux and the General Chapter wished, says the document –, we do not know the exact details of his mission. However, his action would not have satisfied the pope, since the latter advised the General Chapter, scarcely two years later, to appoint to the task a “notable abbot of the Order”.⁴¹ The choice of Pierre de Virey, determined at the General Chapter of 1489, made it possible to comply with the pope's wishes and also to remove the abbot of Clairvaux from the decision-making centre of the Order.

His letter of appointment, issued on 14 September 1489, charged him with the visitation of the monasteries of both sexes, priories, *studia*, colleges and all the other religious places of the Order in a vast territory comprising the entire Iberian Peninsula (kingdoms, lands and provinces of Aragon, Castile, Navarre, Portugal, Leon, Valencia, Majorca, Menorca and the principality of Catalonia) and in addition the southern monasteries of the kingdom of France (provinces of Lyon, Narbonne, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Auch and “*ac totius lingue occitane et vasconie*”).⁴²

Under the general idea of the reform of the monasteries of the Order, the mission of the abbot of Clairvaux also had the specific purpose of limiting the expansion of the “observance” within the Iberian monasteries of the Order and the incorporation of the Military Orders into the Spanish Crown.⁴³ To this end, the mandate he received from the General Chapter was extensive and included the power to remove dignities, to receive resignations and to appoint abbots and abbesses in cases of death or other vacancy, to ratify, approve and confirm reasonable financial concessions (*côngruas*), to make inventories of assets, to apostatise people living outside the monasteries, to

³⁹ Ganck, “Les pouvoirs,” 57, 60. For example, the bull *Et si pro cunctorum*, dated 10 August 1487, prevents the appeal of the decisions of the abbot of Cîteaux and the General Chapter to other institutions and even to the Holy See, something that is seen as a way to block possible appeals like that of Pierre de Virey to the Parliament of Paris some years earlier (Ganck, “Les pouvoirs,” 21).

⁴⁰ Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, V, 594-599, no. 54. This commission renews the commission made to him at the General Chapter the previous year (Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, V, 541, no. 35 and 608-610, no. 80). On the Iberian visitation of this abbot, see Fernando Herrero Salas, *Colección diplomática del monasterio cisterciense de Valbuena de Duero. S. XII-XV* (2nd edition, Valencia: Bubok Editorial, 2011), 385-386.

⁴¹ Bull *Alias percipientes*, dated 22 April 1489 (Ganck, “Les pouvoirs,” 192).

⁴² Torné i Cubells, *Catalèg des pergamins*, 126, no. 224, among others. This letter is summarised in Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, V, 687, no. 41.

⁴³ Ganck, “Les pouvoirs,” 58; Bonifacio Palacios Martín, “Aportación al estudio de las fuentes de la Orden de Alcántara: un nuevo código de sus definiciones,” *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 20 (1999): 249.

imprison anyone caught without regular habits and to request financial contributions, among others.⁴⁴

His mission lasted from 1490 to 1493. The record of his journey – the *Itinerarium Hispanum* –, which had been considered long lost by Maur Cocheril,⁴⁵ shows the path taken by the visitor and can be complemented by the documentation preserved, especially through the various visitation reports, such as this one of Alcobaça, which we will analyse and publish below.

Pierre de Virey began his mission in the Dalphiné, before visiting the southern part of the kingdom of France, as can be seen from the record of the visitation made to the monastery of Bonneval, in Rouergue, dated 19 June 1490.⁴⁶ Sometime in the second half of that year, after entering in the Iberian Peninsula at Perpignan,⁴⁷ he proceeded to visit the monasteries in the kingdom of Aragon and the principality of Catalonia, where he toured during most of 1491.⁴⁸ The last months of that year were spent in northern Castile, visiting, in September, the monasteries of Colomba⁴⁹ and of San Martín de Castañeda (Zamora) and, in October, the convent of Gradefes and the area of Valladolid.⁵⁰ By December he had already visited Burgos.⁵¹

Pierre de Virey then headed towards Galicia, since on February 22, 1492, he visited the monastery of Sobrado.⁵² Afterwards, heading south, he entered Portugal by the north border. The abbot of Clairvaux visited the monastery of Alcobaça and the convent of Cós at the end of May.⁵³ Going northwards, he would have during the following months inspected the Cistercian abbeys located in the northernmost

⁴⁴ Toledo, Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, *Osuna*, carpeta 491, no. 115, folios 3v-5.

⁴⁵ In 1532, this itinerary and his “roadbook” with the transcription of the acts of visitation would have been part of the documents kept by the abbot of Clairvaux Edme de Saulieu during his visitation to the Iberian Peninsula (Bronseval, *Peregrinatio Hispanica*, t. I and II, 269-270, 339, 343, 349, 481). André Vernet, when studying the trajectory of Pierre de Virey and his written work, also indicated it as lost, following Maur Cocheril’s indication (André Vernet, *La bibliothèque de l’abbaye de Clairvaux, du XIIe au XIIIe siècle. I: Catalogues et répertoires* (Aubervilliers: Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes (IRHT), 1979 [Documents, études et répertoires de l’Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes, 23]), 27). We can announce that we have recently discovered the whereabouts of Pierre de Virey’s *Itinerarium Hispanum*, which will soon be published and analysed in another study, given the limitations imposed on this article and the complexity of this other work which, given the vastness of the lands travelled and the immensity of the monasteries visited in the peninsular kingdoms, will be carried out by an international team of specialists in Iberian Cistercian monasticism.

⁴⁶ Pierre-Alois Verlauguet, ed., *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Bonneval en Rouergue* (Rodez: Imprimerie P. Carrière, 1938), 544.

⁴⁷ Bronseval, *Peregrinatio Hispanica*, t. I, 269 (note 79).

⁴⁸ Baur, “El conservadorismo de la reforma”. A detailed account of Virey’s journey and the visitation reports produced during his tour will appear in the collective study planned on his *Itinerarium*.

⁴⁹ Lino Gomez Canedo, “Visita y reforma del monasterio cisterciense de Santa Colomba (1491),” *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 2nd serie, 2 (1942): 203-209.

⁵⁰ Toledo, Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, *Osuna*, carpeta 491, no. 101, folios 1-7.

⁵¹ Baur, “El conservadorismo de la reforma”; Canedo, “Visita y reforma,” 203-209. As in the case of Aragon, the study of his *Itinerarium* will consider his accomplishments and travels across Castile and Portugal.

⁵² *Colección diplomática de Galicia histórica* (Santiago de Compostela: [s.n.], 1901), 418-431, doc. XCVI.

⁵³ See the visitation report of Alcobaça edited in this work. The visitation report of Cós, dated 23 May 1492, was edited in its original Latin version with Portuguese translation in Rêpas, Farel and Barreira, “Uma Visitação inédita ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Cós, de 1492. II,” 225-229.

part of the kingdom, returning after to more southerly areas. He was certainly in Arouca on August 31,⁵⁴ in Lorvão on September 24 and in Alcobaça in early October.⁵⁵ At that time, he gave commissions to the abbot of Alcobaça, so that he could proceed with the regular visitations and the collection of the taxes in favour of the General Chapter imposed on the Portuguese monasteries.⁵⁶ He must have spent his last weeks visiting the southern abbeys of the Order, since in October we find him in Almoester, near Santarém.⁵⁷ Certainly leaving the kingdom after visiting the convent of Cástris, the end of that year was already spent in Castile, where his presence is recorded in Alcantara in December, during his visitation to the Order, which was done by express order of the Pope and the special commission from the General Chapter and the abbot of Morimond, to whom the regular visitation of the same belonged.⁵⁸

It was in Valladolid, at the beginning of February 1493, where Pierre de Virey achieved one of the great objectives of his mission, obtaining the agreement of the Cistercian Congregation of the Observance for the abbot of Cîteaux, or any of the first four abbots, to have the right to visit any of the monasteries of the Spanish Observance.⁵⁹ He would then return to Aragonese lands. On May 20, he was, once again, in the abbey of Poblet.⁶⁰

The exact date of his departure from the Peninsula is unknown. Nevertheless, it was certainly in time for the results of his mission to be known and presented at the General Chapter, on September 14, 1493, where the agreement with the Congregation of the Castilian and Leonese Observance was confirmed,⁶¹ as well as the dispositions concerning the clothing of the monks and nuns.⁶²

⁵⁴ Lisbon, ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Arouca*, gav. 1, Mç. 5, no. 39.

⁵⁵ For the letter dated from Lorvão and the two *datum Alcobacie*, see Lisbon, ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Lorvão*, gav. 1, Mç. 3, no. 20 and Lisbon, ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça*, 2nd incorporação, Mç. 21, no. 515 and no. 516. His presence in Seiça is also recorded, since Claude de Bronseval, 40 years later, found within the monastery the report of the visitation of Pierre de Virey, which he used extensively to produce the one in Edme de Saulieu's visitation of 1532 (Bronseval, *Peregrinatio Hispanica*, t. II, 481).

⁵⁶ Lisbon, ANTT, *Ordem de Cister. Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça*, 2nd incorporação, Mç. 21, no. 515 and no. 516.

⁵⁷ Lisbon, National Library of Portugal, Cod. 1494, Manuscritos: Papéis Avulsos de Figueiredo [séc. XVIII], fl. 261.

⁵⁸ Palacios Martín, "Aportación," 251-266. On the right and the operationalisation of Morimond's visitation to the Order, see Benoît Rouzeau, "Les voyages et les relations de l'abbé de Morimond avec la Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Âge," in *Cister*, t. II: *História*, ed. José Albuquerque Carreira, António Valério Maduro and Rui Rasquilho (Alcobaça: AMA - Associação dos Amigos do Mosteiro de Alcobaça, 2019), 383-419.

⁵⁹ Salas, *Colección diplomática*, 393-397, no. 241; Bronseval, *Peregrinatio Hispanica*, t. I, 49, among others.

⁶⁰ Torné i Cubells, *Catalèg des pergamins*, 126-127, no. 225.

⁶¹ Joseph-Marie Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, t. VI: *Ab anno 1491 ad annum 1542* (Louvain: Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1938), 72, no. 5; Salas, *Colección diplomática*, 397-398, no. 242.

⁶² Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum*, VI, 60-62, no. 8-9.

Alcobaça's visitation of 1492: topics addressed

As all the visitors intended to analyse the way the houses were governed, both spiritually and materially, in general, the minutes of the visitation followed this basic sequence. They began, therefore, with liturgical practice (the regularity of participation at mass and in the services; sometimes, but more rarely, instructions about the prayers, the way of singing, the gestures and other specific aspects of the course of those celebrations) and continued with the scrutiny of the fulfilment of the remaining precepts of monastic life (the life in community, in choir, in the refectory and alluding to the question of the dormitory or of the individual cells; the maintenance of silence; communion, confession and confessors, particularly relevant in the case of nuns; enclosure and the multiple questions it raised, particularly in female monasteries; the monastic habit and the restrictions against the intrusion of lay customs, including, for nuns, the use of jewellery and make-up). Finally, it dealt with material questions, such as the drawing up of inventories of properties and rights, the management of the monastic patrimony, the rendering of accounts by procurators and others responsible for the collection, gathering and storage of rents in kind and in coin, the dismissal of procurators or other officials of the community and the appointing of others in their place, the state of the buildings and, in view of the evaluation of the revenues, the fixing of the number of religious the house could support.

In the written act, drafted at the conclusion of the visitation, the determinations of the visitor were recorded, detailing those things he considered ought to be corrected (or reformed), with a corresponding set of penalties to be applied in case the individuals concerned or the community itself did not comply with them. Sometimes they ended with instructions for the use of the letter itself, which remained in the monastery visited, including with regard to the number of times or the moments when the letter should be read, and by whom, as well as the faithful depositary of the same.

The Alcobaça visitation of 1492 presents a structure similar to the other known visitations. The topics included therein are particularly interesting. For the sake of organisation and to facilitate the analysis of the visitation, we will number the subjects treated in the approach that follows, this numbering being articulated with that inserted in the edition of the source under study.

[1-4] The chart begins with a long list of items related to prayer and liturgical practice, with the intention of standardising celebrations in relation to the uses of Clairvaux and Cîteaux, and exhorting the participation of the monks. There are, in this aspect, some similarities with the initial prescriptions that were recorded, four days later, in the minutes of the visitation to the convent of Cós.⁶³ This is the case with the detailed instructions for the celebration of the hours, both daytime and

⁶³ Rêpas, Farello and Barreira, "Uma Visitação inédita ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Cós, de 1492. II," 225-229.

night-time, namely those of Santa Maria,⁶⁴ those of the day (which corresponded to specific dates of the Proper of Time and of the Saints) and the Office of the Dead.⁶⁵ As is also the set of guidelines directed at those involved in the liturgical celebrations (the presider and the convent, which responded in choir), with the description of the sequence of prayers and the gestures that accompanied them.

In other cases, there are, as might be expected, some specificities that fit the reality of the Alcobaça monastery, such as the allusion to the celebration of a daily mass for the soul of the King of Portugal Pedro I, buried there, in addition to the ordinary mass dedicated to Saint Mary and the dead. According to the visitor, the mass for Pedro I, according to the will of the monarch himself, on certain days, should be sung aloud and with notes, and not just recited, as was the case until then. The celebrants of such masses should confess beforehand, in chapter, incurring the heavy penalty of imprisonment for eight days.

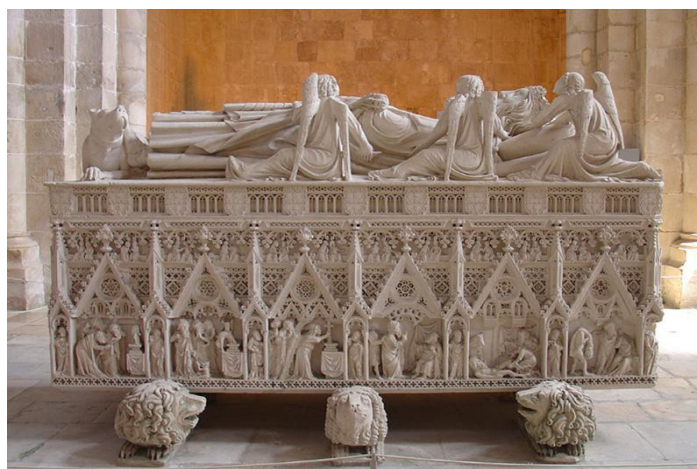


Fig. 3. Tomb of Pedro I, King of Portugal (Mosteiro de Alcobaça)
(wikipedia.org)

[5] In parallel with the liturgical questions, Pierre de Virey determines a set of quite precise guidelines for the instruction of the members of the community, beginning with the novices. In this regard, he exhorts the abbot, the prior, the sub-prior, the cantor and the other elders, burdening their consciences before God, to educate and diligently instruct the younger ones in divine service and in the sacred ceremonies, so that they may know how to sing and read well and promptly, and so that they may know the antiphons, hymns and canticles to perfection. The young who did not know them were to remain on bread and water until they learned them, according to the determinations of the visitor. He also forbade the admission to

⁶⁴ In this context, and for the 15th century, see the *Livros de Usos (Ecclesiastica Officia)* Lisbon, BNP, Alc. 208 (1415), fl. 102v and Lisbon, BNP, Alc. 278 (1444), fl. 97, where there are indications for the commemoration of Santa Maria, or the successive Definitions of the Cistercian Order.

⁶⁵ On the celebration of this Office, see *Les Ecclesiastica officia cisterciens du XIIe siècle* (Reiningue: Documentation Cistercienne, vol. 22, 1989), 148 et seq.

monastic profession of novices who did not know the whole psalter.⁶⁶ However, as soon as they were professed, they would read the invitatory (antiphon that is said at the beginning of matins) and the lessons, and sing the responsories, in order to counteract the idleness that prevailed in the house at the time (probably because they did not know them, thus remaining silent for as long as necessary, until they had memorized them and could effectively participate in the divine office) and which deserved a severe reprimand from the visitor.⁶⁷ One notes, moreover, Pierre de Virey's deep concern for the training of the youngest, who, according to him, should not be occupied with any subject other than study. The visitor ordered those in charge of the monastery (the abbot, the prior, the sub-prior, the bursar and the cellarer), under the penalty of excommunication and deprivation of their dignities and offices, to continuously maintain a *magister*, or teacher, secular or religious, to guarantee their instruction in grammar and other elementary sciences,⁶⁸ and for them to be proficient in letters and good manners, and these young men should be terminally obliged to speak Latin always and everywhere.

This concern of the visitor with the low level of education of the Alcobaça community aligns with what is known of the monastery at the time of Estêvão de Aguiar, abbot between 1431 and 1446, who, recognising the inability of his monks to read and understand Latin texts, ordered the translation of various Latin codices into Portuguese, to facilitate the reading and spiritual education of his community, namely with regard to authors such as João Cassiano, Bernardo de Brihuega or Ludolfo of Saxony.⁶⁹ This is also the case with some normative texts in Latin, which the prelate ordered to be translated into Portuguese:

⁶⁶ In 1532, there were “five professed and veiled nuns living in the convent of Cos who knew nothing of the divine office nor could learn it”, who “had been admitted by the king’s command”. At that time, the visitor Dom Edme de Saulieu “ordered them to recite the divine office as the lay brothers of the Order used to do, and forbade the reception of such religious to the profession in the future” (Bronseval, *Peregrinatio Hispanica*, t. II, 464-469 or, in Portuguese translation, Cristina Maria André de Pina Sousa and Saul António Gomes, *Intimidade e Encanto. O Mosteiro Cisterciense de S.^{ta} Maria de Cós (Alcobaça)* (Leiria: Edições Magno, 1998), document 1, of 20 and 21 November 1532, 257-258). In 1536, the visitors of the Order (monks from the monastery of Piedra, in Aragon) ordered the abbess and the elders of the convent of Lorvão not to admit the novices who were there (or any others) to monastic profession until they knew “how to read and sing the psalter and the things of the order well” (Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document XIII, 358).

⁶⁷ Reprimand that, although with a different context, repeats, eight years later, that of Pedro Serrano, who ordered the prior, the sub-prior and the cantor to watch and to enliven the young monks, adolescents or younger, present in the choir, during the celebration of the nocturnal hours, to sing the Psalms, Hymns, Responsories and Antiphons in a solicitous and diligent manner (and to record the names of the inept in the corresponding books). The Aragonese visitor also ordered that, in the chapter, young people who were sluggish, drowsy or negligent (among others) should be pointed out and the appropriate penalty applied to them (Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document I, 127/157, no. 5).

⁶⁸ He thus renewed a prescription of Pedro Serrano, who ordered (until 1 October of that year, 1484) that someone be chosen and kept in the monastery who knew how to instruct the young religious in the rudiments of the first arts, after expressing the wish that there should be teachers in Alcobaça who would teach there (Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document I, 135/165-166, nos. 54-55).

⁶⁹ The codices of the library of the monastery of Alcobaça produced during the abbacy of Estêvão de Aguiar have already been inventoried and studied by Carlos Roma Fernandes, *O scriptorium de Alcobaça no tempo de D. Estêvão de Aguiar (1431-1446)* (Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa,

“We, don Estêvão de Aguiar, [...] considering [...] how the definitions and the statutes of the said order [of Cîteaux], with the other things that are in this volume, were and are very necessary and profitable to the said monastery [of Alcobaça], both in the spiritual and in the temporal, which, because they were written in Latin, were not kept there and were despised, as something that was neither understood nor declared [...], we ordered this book to be translated from Latin into language, so that whoever reads it may understand it, even if he is not Latinised [...]”⁷⁰

[6] Still in the context of the schooling of the community, following the prescriptions of Benedict XII, which dated back to 1335,⁷¹ and renewing the determinations of Pedro Serrano of 1484, Pierre de Virey determined that the monastery, within the period of 2 or 3 years, should provide enough conditions to send a group of 2 or 3 of these young people, more predisposed and better prepared for higher sciences, to obtain the Masters in Theology in Paris, Salamanca or Lisbon, if they prove worthy of such an honour.⁷² In the same vein, the visitation to the monastery of Sobrado only evokes the possibility of studies in Salamanca.⁷³

This moratorium corresponds, roughly, to the period during when João Claro dwelled in the monastery as elected abbot of Alcobaça, between 1492 and 1495.⁷⁴ In

1970 [Graduation Dissertation]). For a summary of the reformist role of Estêvão de Aguiar, see Catarina Fernandes Barreira, João Luís Fontes, Paulo Catarino Lopes, Luís Miguel Rêpas and Mário Farelo, “Normatividade, unanimidade e reforma nos códices medievais de Alcobaça: dos tempos primitivos ao abaciado de Frei Estêvão de Aguiar,” *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura* 19 (2019), 345-377. More recently, Aires A. Nascimento published a study on the translations carried out in the monastery of Alcobaça, in which he registers some allusions (direct or indirect) to illiteracy in the monastic world, as in the Constitutions of the Synods of Braga of 1333 and 1477, with recommendations for translation into Portuguese and for the monks to read the monastic rules in Portuguese, or in the complete ignorance of the Rule of Saint Benedict by the monks of the Benedictine monastery of Paço de Sousa, which led Friar João Álvares to provide them with a translation of the Rule in Portuguese, information that has come down to us through a letter of 1467 (Aires A. Nascimento, “Traduções em Alcobaça, em tempos de renovação monástica: ao lado dos rios, o curso da voz quotidiana,” in *Um Mosteiro Entre os Rios. O território alcobacense*, ed. António Valério Maduro and Rui Rasquilho (Alcobaça, Hora de Ler, 2021), 641-642, note 93). However, and despite its great interest, it adds little about the level of literacy of the Alcobaça community in the second half of the 15th century.

⁷⁰ Original version: “Nos dom Steuam d’agyar [...] consirando [...] como as definições e statutos da dicta ordem com as outras cousas em este uolume contiudas eram e som mujto necessarias e prouectosas ao dicto mosteiro asy no spyritual como no tenporal as quaces porque eram spritas em latim se nom gardauam e menosprezauam em elle asi como cousa que nom era entendida nem a todos declarada [...] mandamos traladar este liuro de latim em lingoagem asy declaradamente que quallquer que o leer posto que latinado nom seia o posa entender (...)” (Lisbon, BNP, Alc. 218, fl. 1 [*Prologus*, authored by Estêvão de Aguiar himself]).

⁷¹ Joseph-Marie Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, t. III: *Ab anno 1262 ad annum 1400* (Louvain: Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1935), 429, no. 31.

⁷² Pedro Serrano, in the same vein, had ordered the prior and the convent to choose at least two monks to be sent to some general study of the Order, at the monastery’s expense and with sufficient income, by the month of November that year, 1484 (Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document I, 135/165-166, no. 54).

⁷³ *Colección diplomática de Galicia histórica*, 418-431, doc. XCVI.

⁷⁴ On João Claro’s career, see Rêpas, Farelo and Barreira, “Uma Visitação inédita ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Cós, de 1492. II,” 211-214.

fact, with the reaffirmation of the rights to Alcobaça abbey by Cardinal Jorge da Costa, precisely in 1495, it is known that João Claro went to Paris, where he entered the university. The information of this visitation helps our understanding of this choice: it is very likely that João Claro was elected abbot of Alcobaça due to the intervention of the visitor Pierre de Virey,⁷⁵ and João Claro's departure for Paris corresponded to the beginning of the support *causa studii* that Pierre de Virey had determined at the time of his visitation.⁷⁶ João Claro's presence in Clairvaux – as he will state in a later letter⁷⁷ – and his stay in Paris (where Pierre de Virey also stayed after resigning as abbot of Clairvaux in 1496) may indicate a degree of proximity between the two Cistercians.

Although, occasionally, some monks from Alcobaça, like João Claro himself, stood out for their cultural sophistication, the general panorama of the community would however not have changed significantly, since, in 1523, the bishop of Títople, visitor, informing the king about the most capable and suitable monks of the Order to occupy the position of abbot (of the Seíça monastery, which, at the time, was

⁷⁵ We have defended this idea in another article (Rêpas, Farel and Barreira, “Uma Visitação inédita ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Cós, de 1492. II,” 213). We recall that Friar Isidoro Tristão, abbot of Alcobaça, died in May 1492, that Pierre de Virey visited the monastery of Alcobaça in the same month (the visitation record is dated the 19th) and that João Claro had meanwhile been elected abbot of Alcobaça, since it was in this position that he accompanied the abbot of Clairvaux on his visitation to the nunnery of Cós. It is probable, therefore, that Pierre de Virey had some intervention in the election of João Claro, especially since, in this way, the visitor, the elected and the community of Alcobaça could have been trying to prevent the return of the previous abbot commendatory, the Cardinal of Alpedrinha, Jorge da Costa, who had resigned in favour of Isidoro Tristão, or the appointment of a new abbot commendatory. According to Friar Manoel dos Santos and José Sebastião da Silva Dias, the election of João Claro was due to the king of Portugal, João II, a hypothesis that we do not exclude, since the monarch “was at that time at open war with the Cardinal” and also wanted to prevent, at all costs, the latter from regaining his power over the abbey of Alcobaça (Frei Manoel dos Santos, *Alcobaça Ilustrada* (Coimbra: Officina de Bento Seco Ferreira, 1710), 301-306 and 316-317, and José Sebastião da Silva Dias, *Correntes de Sentimento Religioso em Portugal (Séculos XVI a XVIII)*, Tomo 1 (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1960), 101).

⁷⁶ João Claro's journey to Paris around 1495, which is more plausible than the dates generally referred to, was defended by Mário Martins, *Vida e obra de Frei João Claro (f. 1529)*. Doctor parisiensis e professor universitário (Coimbra: Por Ordem da Universidade, 1956), 14, and explained by Rêpas, Farel and Barreira, “Uma Visitação inédita ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Cós, de 1492. II,” 212, note 31.

⁷⁷ Lisbon, ANTT, *Gavetas*, Gaveta 15, Mç. 2, no. 42, published in [Francisco Marques de] Sousa Viterbo, *A Livraria Real especialmente no reinado de D. Manuel* (Lisbon: Por ordem e na Typographia da Academia, 1901), 67-70, doc. XIV [separata of *Memória apresentada à Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, Tomo IX - Parte II], and *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, ed. A. da Silva Rego, vol. 4 (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1964), 148-153, doc. 3066, and commented on in Martins, *Vida e obra*, 19-23. Critically dated by Aires A. Nascimento to the end of the 15th century (Aires A. Nascimento, “Em busca dos códices alcobacenses perdidos,” *Didaskalia*, 9 (1979), 286, reprinted in idem, *O Scriptorium de Alcobaça: o longo percurso do livro manuscrito português* ([Alcobaça]: Direção-Geral do Património Cultural / Mosteiro de Alcobaça, 2018), 161-162, 297) and, more recently, from c. 1500 by the Bitagap team (BITAGAP manid 7196), it cannot have been written prior to João Claro's appointment as abbot of São João de Tarouca, a position documented only in 1507, since it mentions works carried out in this monastery by order of the monarch and already completed under his rule, as well as others carried out on his initiative (Sousa Viterbo, “A Livraria Real,” 68 and *As Gavetas*, 150; João Claro's abbacy in the monastery of Tarouca is fixed between 1507 and 1521 by Saul António Gomes, “A Congregação cisterciense de Santa Maria de Alcobaça nos séculos XVI e XVII: elementos para o seu conhecimento,” *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd serie, 18 (2006), 382).

vacant and was affiliated to the Alcobaça monastery), suggests ten monks (five from Alcobaça and five from Seiça), saying, in the end, about them, that none of them was noble nor literate:

“All those whom I here name to Your Highness deserve gratitude. They are not men of blood, nor educated, they are, as I said, good clerics of the Order, they know it well and use it properly. Both those from Alcobaça, whom I know, and those from Seiça are not literate, because neither our Order nor our Religion commands us to be so.”⁷⁸

[7-10] The visitation then dwells on the obligation of a number of activities, such as the holding of the chapter or the supervision of the dormitory. In this sequence, the visitor establishes the period of work between Easter and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September), that is in spring and summer.

[11-13] Then follows a wide range of provisions on the use of common spaces and on the monks' behaviour in those spaces. First, the visitor recommends avoiding the delay before entering the refectory, which caused the monks to wander uselessly around the cloister. In the refectory, he is concerned with the silence that should be absolutely respected so that all the monks could hear and understand the readings, so that they can receive the benefit of it; he is also concerned with the removal of food from the refectory and with the prayers to be said after eating. In the dormitory, he is preoccupied, above all, with preventing its improper access, by placing doors, and closing them, so that it may be used only during the authorised periods. In addition, Pierre de Virey wants to abolish the practice of sharing beds between monks, which would be frequent, as in Almoester, where the abbess and some nuns slept in pairs, out of the dormitory, according to the 1522 visitation to that convent:

“And [the abbess Isabel da Cunha] says that they do not all sleep in the dormitory”;

“Isabel de Gorizo prioress of the said monastery said [...] that Dona Guiomar de Albuquerque and [the abbess] Dona Isabel da Cunha slept outside the dormitory, in a bed, as well as Antónia Freira with Filipa da Cunha, her sister”;

“Isabel de Sousa sub-prioress [...] said [...] that they do not all sleep in the dormitory, namely Dona Guiomar de Albuquerque and [the abbess] Dona Isabel, both in one bed, and Filipa da Cunha and Antónia Freira in another bed”;

“Catarina Mendes [...] said that Dona Guiomar slept with Dona Isabel, outside the dormitory, as did Filipa da Cunha with Antónia Freira, who said they did so out of fear”;

⁷⁸ Original version: “Estes todos que aqui nomeo a Vosa alteza todos merecem merce, nam sam homens de sangue nem letrados, sam como dise boons clerigos da ordem e sabem na bem, e usam della, asy hos d'alcoabaça que conheço, como hos de ceïça letrados nam sam, porque nem a ordem e Religiam nosa nam no lo manda” (Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document IV, of 29 May 1523, 210).

“Leonor Mendes said [...] that [the abbess] Dona Guiomar sleeps with Dona <Isabel> outside the dormitory, just as Filipa da Cunha with Antónia Freira and the witness with Catarina Çacota, her niece”;

“Filipa da Cunha [...] said [...] that many sleep outside the dormitory, namely Dona Guiomar with [the abbess] Dona Isabel, in a bed, and others”;

“Catarina Çacota [...] said [...] that some nuns sleep two by two and some outside the dormitory”;

“Dona Antónia [...] said [...] that they do not all sleep in the dormitory, but that some sleep two and two and outside the dormitory.”⁷⁹

He also orders the prior and the sub-prior, each night, to try to maintain a greater regular discipline in the dormitory, after the doors have been closed, so that no conversation, discussion, quarrel or misunderstanding may take place there.

[14] The lay brothers deserve Pierre de Virey’s careful attention, namely in terms of the appointment of a master of the lay brothers, once again listing the prerequisites and the functions to be performed; in addition, he lists a series of liturgical prescriptions with which they had to comply.

[15] In the same way, he determines that there is to be a virtuous elder to be the master of the novices and to instruct them in humility, obedience, good manners and regular discipline. He also commands that, as soon as the novices arrive at the monastery with the intention of entering religion, they are not to remain at the lodge for many days, nor are they to socialize with the seculars, nor are they to wander about the neighbouring places, but as soon as possible they are to be clothed in the habit of novices and placed in the novitiate.

[16-17] Pierre de Virey, then, focuses on the question of possession of goods (or, in his words, the “*detestabile vicium proprietate*.”), which he intends to eradicate among the members of the community, both monks and lay brothers. Reminding them of the vows they took when they chose to make poverty their form of life, he exhorts them to possess nothing without the knowledge and permission of their abbot, as

⁷⁹ Original version: “E [a abadessa Isabel da Cunha] diz que nom dormem todas no dormytorio”; “Jsabell de gorizo prioresa do ditõ moesteiro disse [...] que quanto era ao dormytorio [...], que dona guyomar d alboquerque e dona Jsabell da cunha do[r]myam anbas ffora do dormytorio em huã cama., E jssso mesmo antonya freira com filipa da cunha sua jrmã”; “Jsabell de sousa soprioressa [...] disse [...] que nom dormem todas no dormytorio .scilicet. dona guyomar d alboquerque e dona Jsabell ambas em huã cama., E filipa da cunha e antonya freyra em outra cama”; “catarina mendez [...] disse que dona guyomar dormya com dona Jsabell anbas fora do dormytorio E jssso mesmo filipa da cunha com antonea freyra e que dizem que o fazem com medo”; “ana da cunha [...] disse que dona guyomar e dona Jsabell dormem juntamente em huã cama fora do dormjtorio”; “Lianor mendez disse [...] que dona guyomar dorme com dona <Jsabell> fora do dormytorio., E asy filipa da cunha com antonea freyra., e ella testemunha com catarina çacota sua sobrinha”; “filipa da cunha [...] disse [...] que dormem muitas fora do dormytorio .scilicet. dona guyomar com dona Jsabell ambas em huã cama e outras alguãs”; “guyomar d oliueira [...] disse que dormem fora do dormytorio dona guyomar e outra com ella em huã cama., E outras alguãs”; “britiz de matos [...] disse que dormem fora do dormytorio., dona guyomar e dona jsabell anbas juntas e outras alguãs”; “catarina çacota [...] disse [...] que dormem as monjas delas duas a duas e fora delas do dormytorio”; “dona antonea [...] disse [...] que todas nom dormem no dormytorio., mas que delas dormem duas e duas e fora do dormytorio” (Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, pages 191-206).

Saint Benedict recommended in his Rule: “Above all, let the vice [of property] be radically eradicated from the monastery, so that no one dares to give or receive anything without the abbot’s permission, or to own anything”.⁸⁰ To this end, he ordered the monks, every year before Holy Thursday, to hand over to their abbot, or in the presence of their prior, all the money they might have, as well as clothes, books and any other things they might have, so as to ensure their use only with the permission of the superior of the community. The transgressors were to be punished with heavy ecclesiastical penalties, according to the definitions and statutes of the Order⁸¹.

However, to dispel from the monks the idea of the desirability of owning their own property, Pierre de Virey orders the abbot, the cellarer and the bursar that the monks be provided with food, clothing and all other necessities, both the healthy and the sick, which again is in accordance with the Rule of Saint Benedict:

“But they [the monks] must expect from the father of the monastery whatever they may need, and no one may have anything that the abbot has not given or authorised”;⁸²

“And, in order to cut this vice of property from its roots, the abbot should give everything that is necessary, namely: *cogula*, tunic, stockings, shoes, belt, cutlass, stiletto, needle, handkerchief, tablets [of writing], so as to eliminate any excuse, under the pretext of necessity”.⁸³

In this context, the visitor specifies the cycle (annual, biennial or triennial) for the delivery of footwear – shoes (“*pedulum*”) and sandals (“*caligarum*”) – and of the various pieces of clothing to each of the religious and lay brothers.

Unlike what happens in the convent of Cós, inhabited by nuns and visited by Pierre de Virey four days later, where clothing deserves exhaustive norms,⁸⁴ in the monastery of Alcobaça the visitor does not dwell in detail on the habits. Most probably, the clothing of the sisters was then more subject to abuses caused by the fashion of the time, as we can see, once more, in the visitation of Almoester, of 1522.⁸⁵ Still, Pierre de Virey forbids monks to wear open tunics (little or much), gibbons and black or coloured sandals (as well as closed or tied), recommending in all cases honesty and simplicity, to imitate their patron Saint Bernard, so that nothing to do with the body could offend those who look at them.

⁸⁰ *Rule of Saint Benedict*, Chapter 33, 1-3. We have used the following English translation: Benedictus, *Sz. Benedict's Rule for Monasteries*, ed. and trans. Leonard J. Doyle (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1948), henceforth referred to as *Rule of Saint Benedict*.

⁸¹ The visitor again follows the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, Chapter 55, 16-17, according to which the abbot was to examine the monks’ beds frequently, lest they hide some object there which they had appropriated. If anything was found there that a monk had not received from the abbot, the offender was to be subjected to severe punishment.

⁸² *Rule of Saint Benedict*, Chapter 33, 5.

⁸³ *Rule of Saint Benedict*, Chapter 55, 18-19.

⁸⁴ Rêpas, Farelo and Barreira, “Uma Visitação inédita ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Cós, de 1492. II,” 219.

⁸⁵ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, 191-206.

But in Alcobaça the visitor shows himself, once again, concerned with the problem of possession of goods, in this case old clothes, focusing on the number of garments that each monk accumulated and the destination of them. Thus, he determines that whoever receives a new garment is obliged to return the old one, and whoever has more clothes than are due must hand over the surplus to the community wardrobe, under penalty of incurring the vice of property.⁸⁶ In this sense, he also forbids the monks to give or sell their own clothes to any regular or secular person and to receive more than one tunic or one *cogula* in the same year.

The seriousness of the situations observed even led the visitor to order the imprisonment of those who refused to correct the aforementioned irregularities within eight days, the latter serving as punishment for their conduct and the others as an example.

[18] However, he safeguards that the cellarer and the bursar provide in advance writing materials (“*papyrus*” and “*calam̃*”) to all those who wish to study, and objects for the daily use to all the monks, for small necessities, such as knives, drinking vessels, and soap for washing the robes.

[19] Pierre de Virey, following what had been determined in the visitation of Pedro Serrano in 1484,⁸⁷ shows himself equally attentive to the care to be given to the sick, exhorting the monks to serve them diligently and charitably and to show them all humanity and gentleness in deed and word, an aspect, once again, addressed in the Rule of Saint Benedict, where it is said:

“First and foremost, one should take care of the sick and serve them as if they were Christ himself [...]. For their part, the sick should consider that it is for the honour of God that they are being served; and they should not sadden the brothers who serve them with their unreasonable demands. [...] The abbot should therefore take the greatest care not to be in the least negligent towards the sick. For the sick, there is to be a separate cell, destined for this purpose, and a God-fearing, diligent and solicitous servant. [...] The abbot is to take the greatest care that the cellarers and servants do not neglect the sick, because he is to be held responsible for the faults committed by his disciples.”⁸⁸

Following what Saint Benedict had prescribed in his Rule, Pierre de Virey exhorts the abbot to be vigilant for the sick, lest they be neglected by those to whom he has entrusted them. He also ordered that, as soon as possible, two or three more rooms in the infirmary be furnished with all the utensils. Since the income of the infirmary is not sufficient for this purpose and for the care of the sick, the visitor orders the bursar and the cellarer to make up the missing amount.

⁸⁶ Once again, the fulfilment of the Rule of Saint Benedict is at stake: “Those who receive a new garment must always hand over the old one immediately, which is to be kept in the wardrobe for the poor. It is enough for a monk to have two tunics and two *cogulas*, to change at night and to wash them. Anything extra is superfluous and should be taken off. Shoes and anything old should be handed in whenever something new is received.” (*Rule of Saint Benedict*, Chapter 55, 9-12).

⁸⁷ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, 137-138/168-169, nos. 62-67.

⁸⁸ *Rule of Saint Benedict*, Chapter 36, 1, 4, 6-7, 10.

[20] The visitor also makes recommendations about the concession of alms, especially during Lent, when they should be more abundant, as was done in ancient times.

[21] In terms of the daily relations with seculars, Pierre de Virey did not fail to address the issue of enclosure, through the prohibition of women in to monastic spaces: he ordered, therefore, to protect the chastity (“*castimoniae*”) and honesty of the monks, as well as the reputation of the house, that no woman shall be admitted within the enclosure of the monastery, nor be admitted to the cellar or any other place in the monastery for cleaning wheat or for any other reason; likewise, and similarly to what Pedro Serrano had prescribed in 1484, they shall not be allowed to enter the church either. Pedro Serrano was more explicit on this point. According to this visitor, women could only enter up to the chapel where the kings were buried, located in the narthex (or *galilé*), at the entrance to the church – meanwhile deactivated, “the royal coffins being transferred to the minor nave of the church’s transept,”⁸⁹ and now totally non-existent – from where they heard the divine offices, not going beyond the threshold of the main door of the church, next to which he ordered the construction of a wooden grill.⁹⁰ Pierre de Virey orders precisely that they may not cross this barrier that his predecessor had ordered to be placed in the chapel of the kings: “*Sed neque in ecclesia ultra limen ipsius ecclesie et ultra rethe lineum quod est in capella illa Regum in fine ipsius ecclesie quomodocumque ingredi permittantur*”.⁹¹

The visitor orders the abbot, the cellarer and the other officials to diligently guard the gate of the cemetery, which is to remain continually closed, day and night, the keys remaining with the abbot. He also orders the abbot and the cellarer, under penalty of excommunication, not to allow any suspicious or disreputable woman to reside within the monastic fence (“*in curia ipsius monasterii*”); he forbids, under the same penalty, all regular persons, both religious and lay brothers, to enter the houses therein which are inhabited by women (who work for the monastery), without specific and express permission.

[22] In terms of the management of the estates and money of the community, the action of the Abbot of Clairvaux was guided by the alteration of some of the previous orders left by Pedro Serrano in 1484. The latter had determined the creation of two

⁸⁹ Gomes, “A Congregação cisterciense de Santa Maria de Alcobaça,” 383; António Saul Gomes, “Uma paisagem para a oração: o Mosteiro de Alcobaça em Quatrocentos,” in *Paisagens Rurais e Urbanas – Fontes, Metodologias, Problemáticas. Actas das Terceiras Jornadas*, ed. Iria Gonçalves (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos, 2007), 49. See also Vergílio Correia, “Mudança dos túmulos reais de Alcobaça,” *O Instituto: jornal científico e literário* 77 (1929), 273-293; idem, “Uma descrição quincentista do mosteiro de Alcobaça,” *O Instituto: jornal científico e literário* 77 (1929), 529-549. A recent synthesis on this space (the chapel of kings) can be found in Luís Miguel Rêpas and Catarina Fernandes Barreira, “Place and liturgy in an illuminated Ritual from Santa Maria de Alcobaça,” in *Imagens e Liturgia na Idade Média*, ed. Carla Varela Fernandes ([Lisbon]: Secretariado Nacional para os Bens Culturais da Igreja, 2016), 220-222.

⁹⁰ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, 131/161, no. 41: “*Ordinamus denique ac precipimus quod <h>ora qua missa conuentualis celebratur, porte ecclesie aperiantur ut laycis pro audiendo diuino officio pateat ecclesia usque ad rethe illud quod retro eorum positum est, mulieres nero in capella ubi reges sepulti sunt sub inuocatione sanctorum thome et martini constructa ingrediantur ibique diuina audiant officia limen porte principalis ecclesie nequaquam transgredientes, in quo etiam limine rethe ligneum fieri precipimus.*”

⁹¹ Lisbon, ANTT, *Gavetas*, Gaveta 20, Mç. 7, no. 46 and Lisbon, ANTT, *Reforma das Gavetas*, Liv. 49, folios 298-311 (edited at the end of this article in its original Latin version).

bursars (one of whom was the principal), entrusting them with the receipt of all the monastery's rents, revenues and earnings, as well as the accounts rendered, once a year, by cellarers, *priores*, tenants and masters of the farms. The other officers were to render written accounts to the abbot or the elders of the monastery. All accounts were to be recorded in the book of the purse and all money was to be kept in the treasure chest, locked with four keys, which were to be handed over to the abbot, the bursar, the prior and a monk of the monastery.⁹²

Faced with this situation, Pierre de Virey ordered that the reception and management of the cereals, bread, wine and animals of the members of the community be placed under the exclusive responsibility of the cellarer. It would be up to the bursar, he alone and exclusively, to receive the monastery's monies and revenues, as well as placing them in a chest, under the guardianship of the cellarer, now made up of three locks (in charge of the abbot, the prior and the said bursar). Instead of being presented before the abbot or all the elders of the monastery, the accounts of *private* officials, such as *granetarius* and vinedressers, had to be regularly presented to the cellarer and the bursar. In turn, the latter would have to present their own accounts before the abbot and the majority of the monks. As a result, no doubt, of his status as a scholar and a prelate attentive to administrative book-keeping, Virey also insists on the importance of writing: when describing the duties of the bursar, he had determined that this official had to record, for each expense, the respective beneficiary, type and amount; furthermore the accounts to be presented by the cellarer and the bursar had to be, obligatorily, of double entry (putting on one side all the income and its sum and, on the other, the expenses individualised in articles and specified clearly), and they had to declare, at the end, if the expenses exceeded the income (or vice versa).

[23, 25, 29] As was the case in 1484, when the Abbot of Clairvaux visited the monastery of Alcobaça in 1492, its assets were still poorly managed. The relatives of the former abbot (Isidoro Tristão) and several seculars had carried out multiple transactions that had impoverished the abbey. As well as urging the Alcobaça abbot, in a clear and forceful manner, to remove any of the latter from the management of the monastery's property, the viaticum recommended by Pierre de Virey tended to follow the measures ordered by the abbot of Piedra. In effect, the latter had ordered that the revenues of the institution should be administered by ecclesiastical persons – as stipulated by common law and the various regulations of the Order – and not by seculars “ignorant of the precepts of the monastery”.⁹³ Not only did the Abbot of Clairvaux reiterate this last measure, but he also ordered the revocation and annulment of the letters of sale and the emphyteutical contracts made to the detriment of the monastery (as these did not have the licence of the Abbot of Clairvaux and of the General Chapter, following the reasoning of Pedro Serrano on this point) and ordered that the officers of the monastery should not participate in any contract that harmed the institution. Furthermore, the abbot, the prior, the sub-prior, the cellarer and the bursar were not to aggravate the institution with such contracts, but were to seek the best for the monastery when they were concluded. In

⁹² Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, 142-143/173-175, no. 88-90.

⁹³ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, 142/173, no. 88.

addition to this fact, the visitor, from the monastery's accounts, realised that many seculars, under the pretext of being its officers, received many stipends, including for services that were not necessary. Consequently, Pierre de Virey had such offices suppressed, and the sums saved were to be transferred to the repair of the buildings and to the other needs of the abbey.

[24] In fact, the visitation report does not ignore the question of repairs. Unlike Pedro Serrano, who had ordered major works in the monastery (sacristy, dormitory, refectory, cloister, multiple pavements, doors and windows) and, in general terms, the construction of the missing buildings and the repair of the existing ones, as well as the fence,⁹⁴ the Abbot of Clairvaux insists, above all, on repairs. Perhaps the eight years between the two visitations were sufficient for the community to fulfil the multiple determinations of the Abbot of Piedra, or, perhaps more likely, it is possible that Pierre de Virey deliberately kept silent in his visitation about the non-fulfilment of works that the financial incapacity of the abbey would certainly have made impossible, preferring to emphasise the “possible” repairs to the monastic buildings.

Even if their number prevents Virey from listing them and from determining a deadline to its completion, he exhorts the abbot, the cellarer and the bursar to carry out all the works (including those not listed in the document), according to the “urgency of the need”, and describes nevertheless those in progress: the works on the roof and the walls of the refectory, to be completed that same year.

At the same time, the visitor determines the need to inspect the roof of the church, in such a way that it is possible to repair whatever is necessary, so that it does not rain inside the church and its structure does not degrade.⁹⁵ More urgent, then, would be the re-establishment of the monastery's water supply. In this regard, the visitor determined that, as soon as possible, repairs should be made to the hydraulic system (aqueduct, lavatory and cloister), to allow the flow of water to the monastery, as in the old days.

The Abbot of Alcobaça, unlike his predecessor, showed little interest in noting repairs to the monastery's movable goods. Apart from the three months granted for equipping the refectory with the necessary utensils for the members of the community to take their meals, Virey only established that, within three months, the vestments for the celebrations were to be put back in the existing wardrobe in each altar and that these were to remain closed. Curiously, Pedro Serrano did not specifically allude to these wardrobes, since he preferred to reinforce the role of the sacristy as a place of deposit for the liturgical implements. In effect, the latter ordered that the sacristy (certainly the old one, adjoined at the northern end of the transept of the church) should be covered with wooden shelves along its walls, as well as large cedar cupboards, “suitable for the keeping and conservation of the vestments”.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, 129-130, 135-136, 138-141/159-160, 166-167, 170-173, nos. 21, 26, 29, 33, 34, 35, 56-57, 69-70, 76-80, 83-84.

⁹⁵ Pedro Serrano had ordered, in 1484, the repair of the church roof and the rest that was necessary, besides having specifically ordered the construction, around it, of pipes for the draining of water (Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, 129/159, no. 27).

⁹⁶ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, 129/159, no. 24-25. Significantly, Pedro Serrano ordered the construction of another sacristy, “over the portico of Santiago” (*ibid.*, no. 26).

However, these cabinets were important, as the aforementioned Friar João Claro underlines, in an undated letter about the works to be carried out in Alcobaça, in reply to the questions the king had put to him on the subject.⁹⁷ According to the testimony of this monk, who had been raised in Alcobaça and who had visited about 70 monasteries of the Order in France and Flanders, the practice of placing a cupboard at each altar dated from the foundation of the Alcobaça monastery, in which were placed “each his vestment, book, corporal, cocks and bell”. According to the practice in force in the Order, after the hour of Prima, the novice or new monk would go with his key to the cupboard and remove from it the necessary implements to prepare the altar for mass. Due to the fact that in these wardrobes were kept a large part of the necessary implements for the liturgical services, said João Claro, all these sacristies were small, because only relics, silver and other ornaments were kept there. And – continues the ancient prior of Alcobaça –, if it was necessary to build a new sacristy for the conservation of cloaks, vestments and tapestries, there was a place that had already been mentioned many times: on the porch that was “at Santiago’s door” (certainly at the location previously mentioned by Pedro Serrano), in which three of the four walls were already erected, lacking only an arch and the window irons to allow the ventilation of the vestments, the latter as the visitor had established in 1484.⁹⁸

[26] One must recognise the few determinations about the scriptorium and the library, unlike other visitations, such as that of Sobrado, in which a set of rules on the production of books is detailed, or that of Nogales, in which it is ordered that certain books which were missing be made up,⁹⁹ probably a sign that both facilities, in the Alcobaça case, were in order. Pedro Serrano, in 1484, had only established that the library should be furnished with cupboards and other things.¹⁰⁰ This specific issue was not mentioned by the Abbot of Clairvaux, since he only ordered the return of the books that had been removed from the monastery’s “common” library, even with recourse to the courts, seeking to respect the contents of a letter from the King Duarte of Portugal that forbade the removal, sale and lending of any book from that same “common” library, under penalty of excommunication. It is important to stress that this measure was reaffirmed forty years later by Edme de Saulieu,¹⁰¹ a sign that

⁹⁷ Lisbon, ANTT, *Gavetas*, Gaveta 15, Mç. 2, no. 42, published, as already mentioned, in Sousa Viterbo, “A Livraria Real,” 67-70, doc. XIV and *As Gavetas*, vol. 4, 148-153, doc. 3066, and commented on in Martins, *Vida e obra*, 19-23. We have already expressed our position on the critical dating of this letter in note 77 of this work.

⁹⁸ Sousa Viterbo, “A Livraria Real,” 67 and *As Gavetas*, vol. 4, 149. João Claro calls this house *new sacristy* (“*sacristia nova*”) and refers to the existence of a crevice in the wall of the monastery (“*do mosteiro*”), behind the altar of Santiago – much larger than those in the *charola* (of the chancel) and wide enough to be passed through by a monk with a *cogula* almost without brushing against the wall – in which a door could be made to serve as entrance to the said sacristy.

⁹⁹ *Colección diplomática de Galicia histórica*, 428; Gregoria Cavero Domingues, *Colección documental del monasterio de San Esteban de Nogales (1149-1498)* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 1969), 579.

¹⁰⁰ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, 130 /160, no. 32.

¹⁰¹ Soalheiro, “*More Cisterciensis Ordinis: Acta da visitaçao de D. Frei Edme de Saulieu*,” 618, no. 31: “*Item. Conformiter ad cartam serenissimi domini Portugaliæ regis Eduardi jhibemus ne de communi libraria huius monasterij aliqui libri extrahantur aut extra idem monasterij[um] quacumque occasione transportentur, prestentur vel quomodolibet*

he had access to the act of visitation of 1492 or, at least, was aware of the existence of this precise determination, which was not fully complied with.

[27] Besides the library, the visitation refers to the need to repair the abbey's jails, so that no one was imprisoned in the castle adjacent to the monastery. The repair of the latter had been ordered by Pedro Serrano upon his careful inspection.¹⁰² In fact, it had become necessary to provide a precise holding space, since some of the penalties provided for in the document foresee the use of imprisonment.

[28] This group of prescriptions ends with the nunnery of Cós. While Pedro Serrano's determinations specify the type and quantity of food, oil for lamps and clothing to be given to each nun,¹⁰³ the Abbot of Clairvaux confined himself to confirming them: the nuns were to be provided with decent and competent food and clothing, according to what was formerly the custom. With this in mind, and so that expenses would not increase, Pierre de Virey determined that there should be no more than eight women in this convent (and that they could only accept a new religious when their number had fallen to seven), who were to be provided for by the abbot.¹⁰⁴ He was to keep himself frequently informed about their lives and customs, and was also to provide for their reprimand, if necessary.

[30-31] Finally, Virey exhorts the abbot, in various expressions, to carry out his duty correctly, certainly in view of the importance of the latter in the implementation or otherwise of the measures advocated at the time.

Significantly, it was the latter who, within a period of one year, would have the duty of having the visitation record translated into Portuguese, so that it could be correctly understood. In this regard, Virey probably intended to facilitate the practice of periodically reading the document, the frequency of which Pedro Serrano had established at four times a year (on the feasts of the Nativity of the Lord, the day after Resurrection Sunday, the day after the Assumption of Holy Mary and the second day after All Saints), providing for its translation only if necessary, so that no one could "allege ignorance".¹⁰⁵

Conclusion

The visitation report of Pierre de Virey respects the traditional division between spiritual and temporal matters, since it does not fail to address, in the former, questions associated with worship and the correctness of the liturgical ceremonies

alienentur. Et si aliqui jam sunt translati, prestiti, vel commodati, omnibus vijs et medijs possibilibus recuperentur et ad monasterium referantur quam citius poterit fieri?

¹⁰² Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, 141/173, no. 85.

¹⁰³ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, 146/178-179, no. 102.

¹⁰⁴ The question of the number of nuns admitted to Cós and its sustainability by the monks of Alcobaça has already been analysed by us elsewhere. Let us only remember that, four days later, when visiting the convent of Cós, Pierre de Virey, to make this limit imposed on the number of nuns operational, "inhibited the abbess, under pain of removal from her post, from receiving novices without the express permission of the abbot of Alcobaça" (Rêpas, Farelo and Barreira, "Uma Visitação inédita ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Cós, de 1492. II," 220-222). In fact, there would be no point in setting a maximum number of nuns in Cós if the abbess of this house continued to admit novices who, once they had completed their novitiate, would naturally make profession!

¹⁰⁵ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, document III, 148/181, no. 109.

celebrated in the abbey, on the one hand, and the observance of the Rule of Saint Benedict and the customs of the Order, on the other, and, in the latter, questions related to the occupation and repair of the buildings within the monastic enclosure, as well as the good management of the patrimony tutored by the community.

It presents the visitor's guidelines of what the daily life of that Cistercian community was and of what it should be. These ideals were the result of a set of measures that were part of a "reforming" current and which were intended to be in harmony with the original precepts of the Order, namely those carried by the Rule of Saint Benedict. It is worth noting that, throughout the document, reference is made several times to some of the most basic and important monastic principles, such as obedience, silence and humility, present in chapters 5, 6 and 7 of the Rule of Saint Benedict; there is also a particular attention to the correct execution of liturgical times, to which the Rule devotes 13 chapters, or to the fulfilment of the vow of poverty, present in chapters 33 and 55 of the Rule. In this sense, the intervention of the visitor did not intend to innovate, or to establish a new practice, but was almost always in the sense of correcting the deviations, and of returning to the ancient practice. The intention was, therefore, to guarantee the rigorous fulfilment of the main guiding (and regulating) text, the Rule of Saint Benedict, as well as to align the monks' conduct with the spirit of the great Cistercian references, like Saint Bernard of Clairvaux or Pope Benedict XII (by the bull *Fulgens sicut stella*, of 1335), and with the norms of the Cistercian Order, expressed in the statutes approved in the General Chapters and in the subsequent definitions.

This "return to the origins" was also guided by measures which reveal the personality of Pierre de Virey. As a good scholar, he quickly became aware of the rudimentary level of knowledge of Latin on the part of the Alcobaça monks, worrying about the limitations that this represented for the community and, consequently, for monastic life.¹⁰⁶ Concerned by the illiteracy of the community with regard to Latin texts, as well as by the lack of religious education, Virey tries to solve these problems by thinking towards the future, towards the new generations of monks, focusing, to this end, on the instruction and the personal and religious formation of the novices. Hence the care he takes in ordering the contracting of a master to guarantee their instruction in grammar and other elementary sciences, and to make them proficient in letters and good manners, as well as the requirement that all these young men be obliged to speak Latin always and everywhere.

The appointment of a novice master, an old and virtuous man, who was to instruct them in humility, obedience, good manners and regular discipline, also contributed to this. Thus, in addition to illiteracy, he tried to solve other problems, such as the reduced participation (or the passive attitude) of the younger monks in the divine office, which led them to idleness, the lack of respect for silence in the refectory (where, most likely, they would pay little attention to the daily readings) the incorrect behaviour in the dormitory, the manners less suited to their condition as

¹⁰⁶ "Et quoniam ignorantia mater est cunctorum errorum et maxime in dei seruis Religiosis et deo dicatis hominibus est vitanda que tamen cum impletisque tam prelati quam subditis nostri ordinis professis vigeat personis quam magna et irreparabilis monasterijs et personis dicti bordinis ut pro dolor experientia docet in spiritualibus et temporalibus acutit detrimenta dampna et incomoda." (Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, 135/165, no. 54).

religious, a little everywhere, their eventual little interest in matters of religion and, still, in general, their incapacity to read and understand the works of great erudition that were kept in their own library.

Still in the field of literacy, but on another level, and also with the constitution of a new generation of more literate monks in mind, we should finally emphasise the monastery's obligation to organise itself in order to guarantee, within a maximum period of 3 years, the necessary conditions to send the brightest of these young men to university, not only at Lisbon University in Portugal, but also at Salamanca and Paris, where they could obtain the Masters in Theology. In this sense, Pierre de Virey would have realized the intellectual capacities of João Claro – who was surely one of the first to benefit from its operationalization –, thus opening doors for him to a brilliant career.¹⁰⁷

Certainly, the identification of Pierre de Virey with João Claro must have been immediate. Although we cannot prove the intervention of the visitor in his election – a hypothesis we have already suggested elsewhere,¹⁰⁸ but which this minute does not clarify –, there is no doubt that many of the measures that Pierre de Virey ordered, especially in the field of literacy, had in João Claro – also a scholar, an erudite man, who understood very well the thinking of the abbot of Clairvaux – an executant up to the challenge. It is natural that the visitor saw in João Claro the right person for this change of paradigm, which was not easy, since it had already been attempted eight years earlier, unsuccessfully, by Pedro Serrano.¹⁰⁹

In fact, this concern was not new. Pedro Serrano also had it, in 1484, justifying it eloquently.¹¹⁰ However, Pierre de Virey's prescriptions for combating the illiteracy of young religious are much more incisive and severe (with harsh punishments for the monks themselves). Besides, comparing the two acts, and taking into account the different size of each one, we can affirm that the measures concerning the education of novices and young monks occupy much more of Pierre de Virey's attention than Pedro Serrano's, who devotes only two chapters to them out of more than 100, dispersing himself, before and after, in a multiplicity of other subjects.

We can also see that Pierre de Virey's intervention was above all rational and utilitarian in nature.¹¹¹ Unlike Pedro Serrano, who was concerned – not to say

¹⁰⁷ We have already elaborated a synthesis of the path of João Claro, to which we refer (Rêpas, Farelo and Barreira, “Uma Visitação inédita ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Cós, de 1492. II,” 211-214). In the present work we only add this idea, which associates the presence of Pierre de Virey in the monastery of Alcobaça, in 1492, and the obligation of this community to provide conditions so that its most illustrious monks could pursue studies in Theology (namely in Paris) with the decision made by João Claro, a few years later, probably in 1495, to enter the Theology course in Paris.

¹⁰⁸ Rêpas, Farelo and Barreira, “Uma Visitação inédita ao Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Cós, de 1492. II,” 213.

¹⁰⁹ Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, 135/165-166, nos. 54-55.

¹¹⁰ “*Et quoniam ignorantia mater est euntorum errorum et maxime in dei seruis Religiosis et deo dicatis hominibus est vitanda que tamen cum impletisque tam prelati quam subditis nostri ordinis professis vigeat personis quam magna et irreparabilis monasterijs et personis dicti bordinis ut pro dolor experientia docet in spiritualibus et temporalibus actulit detrimenta dampna et incomoda.*” (Gomes, *Visitações a Mosteiros Cistercienses*, 135/165, no. 54).

¹¹¹ In this regard, and to get a sense of his capacity and personality, see some of the studies dedicated to the inventory that Pierre de Virey made of the library of the monastery of Clairvaux, of which he was abbot, in 1472, among which we highlight that of Vernet, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux*.

obsessed – with the correctness of the monastery, given the more than one hundred prescriptions he left in his visitation record – among which those relating to works to be carried out in almost all the dependencies of the monastery stand out –, the Abbot of Clairvaux shows surprising rationality, often limiting alterations to the indispensable, the possible, certainly in the context of a monastery that he found to be impoverished, as in the case of limiting interventions in the building – in the great majority of cases – to urgent and practicable repairs, such as the walls of the refectory or the monastery’s hydraulic system. Along the same lines is the deadline of 2 or 3 years that Pierre de Virey stipulated for sending some Alcobaça monks to a university, unlike Pedro Serrano, who granted no more than eight months for the same purpose.

The edition of the Alcobaça visitation chart of 1492, set out in appendix, and the forthcoming comparison with other Pierre de Virey’s visitation charts will increase our knowledge about his mission to the Iberian Peninsula and his view of the spatialization of Cistercian abbeys and the relations between Alcobaça, Cîteaux and Clairvaux. They remain altogether essential pieces to better understand the practice of visitation and the changing reforms within the Cistercian Order in Portugal in the late Middle Ages.

Appendix

1492, May 19, monastery of Alcobaça – *Visitation made by Friar Pierre [de Virey], Abbot of Clairvaux, to the monastery of Alcobaça (Portugal).*

A) Lisbon, ANTT, *Gavetas*, gaveta 20, Mç. 7, no. 46. Booklet of 7 folios, in paper, sewn by cord.

B) Lisbon, ANTT, *Reforma das Gavetas*, Liv. 49, folios 298-311.

[fl. 1]¹¹² In nomine et honore Sancte et Individue Trinitatis gloriosissime Virginis Marie et Beatissimi patris nostri Bernardi totiusque curie celestis et pro animarum salute huiusque sacri loci et personarum ipsius in utroque sui statu divina largiente gratia prosperiori directione. Nos frater Petrus abbas Clarevallis Cisterciensis ordinis in diocesi Lingonensis tam paterna et ordinaria nostra quam papali et totius dicti nostri ordinis nobis commissis auctoritatibus hoc insigne et regale monasterium Beate Marie de Alcobacia dicti nostri ordinis Vlixbonensis diocesis nobis et prefato nostro Clarevallensis monasterio immediate subiectum die date presentium personaliter visitantes et adoptate reformationis culmen et gloriam ipsum reducere cupientes preter ea que vivo sermone et qua potuimus meliori ex citatione remonstravimus et diximus facienda etiam paucas sequentes exhortationes mandata et ordinationes in his scriptis redigendas curavimus omnes eiusdem loci regulares personas pro reverentia divine maiestatis obtestantes ut ipsas amonitiones aure propicia suscipere precepta et ordinationes humili et devota obedientia complere studeant scientes quod nisi sic fecerint preter divine maiestatis offensam etiam infrascriptarum penarum et censurarum modos et formas se incursuros quas penas et censuras ut contra rebelles et inobedientes dominus abbas prior et supprior et reliqui omnes pro suo statu et posse quilibet ut executioni tradantur eorumdem coram deo conscientias oneramus.

[1] In primis igitur terrenis celestia preponentes eiusdem loci personas regulares omnes paternis in domino monemus affectibus et in Iesu Christi visceribus caritatis obtestamur quatinus¹¹³ solito maiorem devotionis affectum monstrantes diligentius audito cuiuslibet hore tam vigiliarum quam ceterarum horarum signo omissis ut regula ait quecumque tenebant in manibus quod habent ad cultum Dei fervens animi desiderium ipsa sua diligentia demonstrent et internam mentis devotionem contemplationis vim mortificationis gratiam timorem dei exteriori corporis virtuosa compositione oculorum et faciei serena moderatione depressione humilitione inclinationum et ceterarum sanctarum cerimoniarum observatione se semper retinere contestentur et servitium divinum in omnibus diurnis pariter et nocturnis horis tam de Sancta Maria quam de die et de mortuis suis diebus indefectibiliter horis

¹¹² The booklet containing the document is not numbered, so we have provided a foliation to facilitate access to the information contained in the text. We have also introduced numbered paragraphs to make it easier to read and locate the information. In the transcription that we present, we follow the rules of Avelino de Jesus da Costa, set out in *Normas Gerais de Transcrição e Publicação de Documentos Medievais e Modernos* (Coimbra, INIC, 1993).

¹¹³ This is followed by the crossed-out word *maiozem*.

competentibus devote reverenter morose et cum debitis pausis in medio et in fine versuum psalmodie integraliter persolvant.

[2] Quoniam autem <aut>¹¹⁴ propter defectum visitationis aut propter multam distantiam ab origine et fonte ordinis nostri nonnullas licet parvas varietates et differentias ¹¹⁵ in persolutione divini officii quod in hoc monasterio fit ab usitato Cistercii et Clarevallis modo recitandi ipsum divinum officium reperimus statuimus et mandamus in virtute sancte obedientie ut quo ad persolutionem **[fl. 1v]** ipsius divini servitii hic ordo teneatur ut semper hore de Sancta Maria precedant horas de die sive de tempore excepto Completorio de die quod semper dicitur ante Completorium de Sancta Maria et prima de eadem gloriosa Virgine que ab exaltatione Sancte Crucis usque ad Pascha feriatis diebus et diebus duodecim lectionum et unius misse dicitur post primam de tempore. Et solus presidens ipsas horas de Beata Maria incipiat genibus flexis intelligibili voce dicentes “*Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum*” et conventus respondeat “*Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui*”. Et eodem modo dicatur “*Ave Maria*” ab ebdomadario collectarum post antiphonam “*Missus est*”. Quod inclinent ad Iesus et Maria. De collectis “*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus edificator*” et “*Deus qui miro*” <more ordinis ipse suis locis dicantur>¹¹⁶. Quod presidens dicat “*Dulce nomen*”. Quod hore Beate Marie non recitentur aliter extra chorum quam in choro. De inceptione horarum diei et inclinationibus. Quod post horas diei dicatur in choro “*Spiritus Sanctus*” cum collecta “*Letifica*”.

[3] Quam autem oculariter conspeximus quod etiam nobis presentibus plures de accedendo tam ad vigiliis quam alias horas nocturnas pariter et diurnas remissiores et tardiores sunt dominum abbatem exhortamus ut quam frequentius potuerit ipsas vigiliis missam et alias principales horas ac etiam refectorium commune maxime festivis diebus frequentet. Et primo quidem exemplo deinde verbo exhortationis filios suos ad ipsius chori capituli refectorii et aliorum ad comitatis observantiam requisitorum frequentationem inducere laboret. Eidem necnon priori et suppriori in virtute salutaris obedientie precipientes. Ut quotiens aliquem deficere de vigiliis ultra unam aut ad plus duas vices in mense contigerit pro tali defectu penitentiam discipline regularis et panis et aque abstinentiam pro uno die irremissibiliter infligant. Qui vero de missa conventuali vesperis et aliis horis defecerit per ablationem vini ac etiam alius gravior secundum delicto qualitatem et frequentiam taliter puniatur quod ei vexatione dante intellectum emendetur. Et volumus quod sub premissa pena tam cellararius bursarius computator quam ceteri omnis officiales ad ordinarie ipsas vigiliis frequentandum teneantur.

[4] Mandamus autem omnibus loci huius regularibus personis in virtute salutaris obedientie et priori suppriori ac cantori sub excommunicationis pena. Domino autem abbati sub pena suspensionis a divinis per unum mensem incurrere quotiens contra sequentis nostre ordinationis decretum delinqui contigerit ut quotidie tam feriatis quam dominicis et festis diebus omnis hore de tempore tam Vigilie quam Laudes Prima Tercia Sexta Nona Vesperae et Completorium ac etiam officium defunctorum diebus suis necnon misse omnis **[fl. 2]** conventuales tam prima quam secunda alta

¹¹⁴ Interlined word.

¹¹⁵ The word *in* is crossed out because it is repeated at the beginning of the following line.

¹¹⁶ Words recorded in the left margin, with a call-out in the text.

voce et cum notis cantentur et nulla ipsarum solummodo recitetur. Quod in divino officio utantur solo cantu ordinis sicut in libris ordinis antiquis et bene notatis reperitur. Sub eadem pena excommunicationis et suspensionis a divinis ipsi domino abbati et religiosis omnibus precipimus et mandamus ut misse ordinarie de Sancta Maria et pro defunctis quotidie indefectibiliter celebrentur et similiter missa pro domino Petro rege Portugalie juxta ipsius domini regis intentionem ad minus diebus quibus una tantum missa in conventu decantanda erit alta voce et cum notis decantetur et non solum ut hactenus fiebat recitetur. In ipsis autem divinis officiis ceremonie in usibus et aliis ordinis statutis contente quantum fieri poterit observentur et cetera. Quod dicant confessionem ante missam secundum formam ordinis. Quod nullus sub pena carceris per octo dies celebret sine confessione previa facta in capitulo et non alibi. Quod sacerdotes non intitulati ad missas ter celebrent in ebdomada et juvenes comitent quolibet die dominico et diebus sermonum et fratres laici omnibus precipuis anni festivitibus et solemnitatibus Beate Marie.

[5] Ordinamus preterea et domini abbatis prioris supprioris cantoris ac reliquorum seniorum conscientias coram Deo onerantes precipimus ut de cetero solito diligentius in divino servitio et sacris ceremoniis erudiantur et instruantur ipsi juvenes sic quod bene et prompte cantare et legere sciant et omnes antiphonas tam de die quam de nocte hymnos cantica “*Venite*” tonos et cetera necessaria cordetenus perfecte scire et in vigiliis quarumlibet solemnitatum cantori in claustro et priori aut suppriori in capitulo reddere teneantur et qui ipsas antiphonas hymnos aut cantica reddere cordetenus nesciverit sit in pane et aqua donec et quousque ea omnia cordetenus reddiderit. Sub excommunicationis pena inhibentes omnibus ad quos spectat ne qui novicii ad professionem admittantur nisi ex corde complete et integre psalterium reddiderint et statim postquam professe fuerint intitulentur ad invitorium et ad legendas lectiones et responsoria cantanda nec tanto tempore ut solitum est fieri in hac domo ociosi permittantur. Districtuis inhibentes ne ipsi novicii in quacumque alia re quam in studio suo per quemcumque occupentur nisi fortassis pro missis audiendis et adhuc hoc quantum fieri poterit non sit quando debent et possunt vacare lectioni. Qui aliter vos occupare presumpserit gravissime puniatur. Ad tollendam autem ipsorum juvenum ac ceterorum futurorum damnabilem ignorantiam cum ipsi in premissis ad officium divinum spectantibus conditi et sufficienter instructi fuerint domino abbati priori suppriori bursario et cellarario sub excommunicationis late sententie necnon depositionis a suis dignitate et officiis pena precipimus et mandamus ut continue habeatur et manuteneatur unus magister secularis vel religiosus pro ipsorum juvenum non sacerdotum ac etiam sacerdotum ad addiscendum [fl. 2v] dispositorum instructione in grammaticalibus et aliis primitivis scientiis et ad addiscendum et in letteris et bonnis moribus proficiendum ipsi juvenes rigore compellantur et semper et ubique ad loquendum latinum constringantur.

[6] Ulterius sub premissis penis statuentes ut hinc ad duos vel tres annos incipiatur ac de cetero semper continuetur quod de ipsis juvenibus duo vel tres magis dispositi et ad altiores scientias magis parati Parisius in Salamantico studio vel Ulixbone cum sufficientibus provisionibus teneatur et usque ad gradum magistratus in theologia si se tali honore dignos exhibuerint promoveantur.

[7] De claustro horis debitis tenendur (sic) [*recte* tenentur].

[8] De capitulo quotidiano proclamationibus et punctionibus fiendis.

[9] Quod cantor sit diligentior de cetero excitando dormitantes et negligentes.

[10] Ut autem juxta nostri legislatoris doctrinam tempus utilius expensatur et quod lectionis est lectioni et quod laboris labori occupetur precipimus ut a Pascha usque ad exaltationem Sancte Crucis tempus laboris et spacium manis fiat post Primam et capitulum usque ad Terciam que hora Octava et non ante pulsanda est. Post missam autem servato modico spacio statim pulsetur ad sextam sicut in regula et aliis statutis ordinis continetur.

[11] Ad evitandum etiam plurimam temporis perditionem precipimus priori et suppriori ut ilico finita hora post quam conventus debet reficere solito citius vadant ad refectorium et non sic multo tempore per claustra vel curiam inutiliter vagentur fratres suam refectionem expectantes. In ipsis autem refectionibus composite decenter et disciplinate se habeant et cum magno silentio ut lectio legentis ab ipsis percipi eisque proficere queat. Sumpta autem per quemlibet sua competenti et que sufficere debeat refectione cibi et potus sub pena discipline regularis et levis culpe per tres dies sufferende omnibus et singulis inhibemus ne de sua portione pane et vino aut eius reliquiis quicquam extra ipsum refectorium vel aulam efferre aut quibuslibet personis extraneis vel intraneis dare presumat sed omnia ibidem maneant pauperibus roganda. Similiter etiam neque prior neque supprior ¹¹⁷ aliter quam supradictum est de sua ratione disponere vel de ea ad acquirendos quorumcumque secularium favores quid dare aut extra ipsum refectorium portare presumant aliis per dictum abbatem graviter puniantur. Super quo domini abbatis conscientiam oneramus. De gratiis quoque post quamlibet refectionem Deo agendis nullatenus morem ordinis pretermittant. Quod immo a refectorio post versum et "*Agimus tibi gratias*" finito prandio siue "*Benedictus Deus*" peracta cena cantore "*Miserere mei Deus*" incipiente ad chorum ecclesiam ipsum psalmum cum alio psalmo "*De profundis*" scilicet et ceteris ad hoc spectantibus suffragiis religiose procedant et alternatim per cantantes more prefato eiusdem ordinis ibidem <gratias>¹¹⁸ finiat.

[fl. 3] [12] Circa dormitorii huius sacri et insignis loci regulariorem compositionem primo in virtute sancte obedientie domino abbati bursario et cellarario precipimus et mandamus ut hinc ad unum mensem ad quodlibet ostiorum ipsius dormitorii preter seras quibus nocte et tempore meridiane ipsa ostia clauduntur apponatur alia sera de qua quilibet religiosus clavem habeat et cum qua per diem ipsa ostia continue clausa maneant. Et quicumque religiosus ascendens vel descendens ipsum dormitorium apertum convincetur dimisisse pro illa die vini portione privetur. Cum etiam multis sanctis et rationabilibus ex causis in nostra regula et statutis cautum sit de monachis ut singuli per singula lecta dormiant quam salutarem institutionem ob penuriam matharum et lectis terniorum in sacra et regali hac domo minus observari comperimus domino abbati in virtute salutaris obedientie cellarario et bursario sub pena suspensionis a divinis usque ad huius nostre ordinationis effectualement ad impletionem precipimus et mandamus ut hinc ad dimidium annum

¹¹⁷ The words *aliter quam* are crossed out because they are repeated at the beginning of the following line.

¹¹⁸ Interlined word.

taliter provideant et tantas mathas et lectis ternia de panno comperarent et emant quod in ipso dormitorio singuli regulariter et composite secundum ordinis formam in uno lecto dormire possint. Insuper priori et suppriori precipimus in virtute salutaris obedientie et sub pena destitutionis a suis officiis quatinus de cetero in ipso dormitorio solito citius post Completorium clausis ostiis ampliorem discipline regularis observantiam custodiri procurent et diligens scrutinium nocte qualibet facientes. Caveantque omnino ne in ipso dormitorio quascumque comessiones confabulationes rixas aut dissensiones exerceri permittatur.

[13] De silentio quoque in locis regularibus et post dictum in ecclesia Completorium et ante “*Preciosa*” in capitulo decantatum debite servando et ab aliis servari faciendo se sollicitos exhibeant taliter tran[s]gressores¹¹⁹ maxime non curantes et contemplores panis et aque penitentia cum ¹²⁰ regulari disciplina punientes quod et eis in emendationem et ceteris cedat in terrorem. Quod nullus sub pena excommunicationis ingrediatur cameram alterius in ipso dormitorio. Quod nullus in ipso sine habitu regulari vadat.

[14] Fratribus autem laicis quos ipse barbato nos autem conversos vocamus de hinc ad quattuor menses proxime futuros unus proprius magister bonus et prudens ac senex deputetur qui festivis diebus ipsis capitulum teneat eosque a principio sue receptionis in servitio quod recitare debent atque in cerimoniis ordinis in disciplina regulari ac in bonis et honestis moribus eosdem instruat et erudiat ut sciant horas et suffragia que dicere debent quas horas suas seu divina servitia propter quecumque temporalia agenda occupationes seu etiam propter negligentiam nullatenus omittant. Neque ipsi fratres exire portam monasterii sine legitima necessitate et apparenti occasione exercendorum officiorum suorum permittantur. Diebus autem festivis quibus non laborant omnibus horis diurnis pariter et nocturnis ad esse teneantur et qui de ipsis horis defecerint in suo capitulo se recognoscant ac omnino sicut monachi pro huiusmodi [fl. 3v] defectibus puniantur pariformiter.

[15] Etiam ipsis novitiis sit semper unus virtuosus senex et gravis moribus magister deputatus aptus ut ait regula ad lucrandas animas qui super ipsos novitios vigilantes intendat et consideret si vere Deum querunt quique eosdem in humilitate ¹²¹ obedientia atque bonis et religiosis moribus et disciplina regulari nutriat erudiat et instruat et presertim tam in ipso novitiatu quam post professionem suis presidentibus et senioribus in omni humilitate et reverentia semper obedire doceantur. Quamprimum autem ad monasterium venerint pro ingressu religionis non permittantur multis diebus in hospicio demorari neque cum secularibus frequentare seu communicationem habere aut quovismodo per loca et villagia propinqua discurrere sed quam citius fieri poterit habitu probationis cum cappa vestiantur et in novitiatu ponantur et magistro suo tradantur ut supra diximus inibuenti.

[16] Item ad detestabile vicium proprietates radicitus amputandum omnes huius sacri et regalis cenobii personas tam religiosos quam laycos fratres paternis in domino Iesu monemus affectibus ut votorum que sua labia distinxerunt semper memores quem elegerunt paupertatis statum usque in finem perseveranter tenere et conservare

¹¹⁹ In text: *transgressores*.

¹²⁰ The word *al* is crossed out.

¹²¹ The word *et* is crossed out.

laborent caveantque omnino ne quid proprium sine sui pastoris scitu et licentia retinere presumant et recogitent formidabiles ac horrendas censuras penas imprecationes et maledictiones adversus eos qui huiusmodi detestabili morbo laborant in sacris canonibus et nostri ordinis regula diffinitionibus et statutis latas quas ut perfectuis evitare valeant secundum ipsorum nostrorum statutorum tenorem ipsis et eorum cuilibet sub excommunicationis late sententie pena precipimus et mandamus ut annis singulis ante diem jovis esdomade sancte in scriptis fideliter integre clare et lucide tradant domino abbati suo aut in eius absentia priori omnia tam in denariis si quos habent quam in vestibus libris et aliis quibuslibet rebus quas ex licentia et permissione ordinis suis habent usibus et dispositione permissa eademque omnino in eiusdem sui pastoris omnimoda dispositione reponendo et non nisi de ipsius licentia et permissione eisdem bonis utendo. In quo si quis fraudem aliquam fecisse comunicatur per omnia secundum ipsius ordinis diffinitiones et statuta puniatur. Ac etiam si quod absit moriens quis in ipso detestabili proprietatis vicio deprehenderetur ad ceterorum amplio rem juxta ecclesiasticas sanctiones foras loca sancta in sterquilinio sepeliatur. Ut autem ipsis religiosis omnibus tollatur occasio aliquid proprium retinere domino abbati cellarario et bursario sub onere conscientiarum suarum et quantum sibi commissas animas diligunt in virtute sancte obedientie districte [fl. 4] precipimus ut ipsis religiosis decentes et honeste de victu vestitu et aliis omnibus necessitatibus provideatur tam sanis quam etiam infirmis maxime quo ad vestitum ipsorum religiosorum statuimus et ordinamus ut de cetero semper in vigilia omnium sanctorum cuilibet religioso et fratri layco tradant unum par pedulium et unum par caligarum ac cetera vestimenta scilicet cucullam tunicam scapulare et subtunicam quam gardicorcium dicimus ea tantum forma et modo ut anno quolibet tribuatur cuilibet una tunica. De duobus annis in duos annos scapulare et de tribus annis cuculla excepto hoc anno quia nonnulli male provisi sunt et unicum dumtaxat cucullam habent vel tunicam. Quicumque aliquod novum indumentum accipiet unum vetus reddere teneatur ac etiam anno isto quicumque eiusdem generis cum illo quod recipiet plusquam unum vestimentum habuerit unum vetus reddere et in vestiario dimittere rogatus super quo interrogati sub pena incurrendi vicium proprietatis veritatem dicere teneantur. Nec de ipsis vestimentis suis quicquam quibuscumque personis regularibus vel secularibus dare vel vendere presumant nec plusquam unum genus vestimenti superioris scilicet tunice vel cuculle pro eodem anno quis recipiat. De ipsis autem vetustis vestibis fiant camisie et duplicature parvarum tunicarum de quibus secundum discretionem domini abbatis et suorum officiariorum omnibus prout expedire viderint provideri volumus et mandamus. Inhibemus autem sub pena irregularitatis incurrende ne quis tunicam ante vel retro parum vel multum apertam deferat nec aliqui etiam gippones aut caligas nigri aut alterius quam albi coloris et ipsas quidem caligas non clausas aut simul intertenentes sed solutas deferant in omnibus ordinis honestate et simplicitate servata maxime cum eum nos gloriemur habere patronum cuius primam virtutem caminus fuisse habitum corporis sui quem composite semper agebat ut nil appareret in eo quod posset offendere intuentes cuius nos ut veri filii esse debemus imitatores.

[17] Si autem quod absit quis sese a premissis defectibus corrigere neglexerit seu potius contempserit et dictam irregularitatis penam incurrans eandem per octo dies

sustunierit precipimus priori et suppriori in virtute salutaris obedientie et sub pena excommunicationis ut eundem usque ad condignam satisfactionem strictis mancipent carceribus ac aliis juxta persone et delicti qualitatem eum puniant sic quod etiam ceteris transeat in exemplum omnem quoque aliam cuiusvis habitus inordinationem seu indecentiam totaliter resecari jubemus.

[18] Ipsi in super cellario et bursario districte precipimus ut omnibus presertim invenibus et studere volentibus tradatur papyrus incaustum [fl. 4v] et calami ac etiam ipsi et aliis omnibus de aliis necessariis birretis cultellis vasis ad bibendum et quibuslibet aliis parvis necessitatibus provideatur etiam de savone ad lavandas vestes et de vasis ad hoc necessariis ipsi in virtute salutaris obedientie precipimus quantum necesse erit provideri.

[19] Infirmis etiam juxta nostri legislatoris districtum mandatum precipimus omnem humanitatis gratiam exhiberi eum qui pro nunc habet et pro tempore habebit ipsorum infirmorum curam in domino Iesu exhortantes ut ipsis infirmis summa cum caritate et diligentia inservire et eorum mores supportare eis que factis et verbis omnem humanitatem et mansuetudinem exhibere curet. Dominum etiam abbatem exhortamus et requirimus ut circa ipsos infirmos etiam se vigilantem exhibeat ne ab his quibus commissum negligantur. Et quam citius fieri poterit fiant adhuc due vel tres camere in ipso infirmitorio et omnibus utensilibus muniantur. Ad quod et aliam ipsorum infirmorum curam perficiendam si ad hoc limitati redditus non suffecerint per bursarium et cellararium quod defuerit suppleri volumus et mandamus. Ipsum etiam domnum abbatem eiusque cellararium et bursarium pro Christi reverentia obtestamur eis que nichilominus pro nostre pariter et suarum conscientiarum exoneratione precipimus et mandamus ut supervenientibus hospitibus secundum uniuscuiusque statum decens honor et humanitatis gratia ministretur. Et tales ad ipsorum hospitem servitia deputentur de quorum vita et honestate materiam edificationis et apud Deum gratiarum actionis ipsi hospites reportare valeant.

[20] Solennes etiam et in ordine tempore presertim quadragesime fieri solitas elemosinas in virtute salutaris obedientie de cetero copiosiores et ut antiquitus fiebant fieri precipimus et mandamus.

[21] Ad ampliores autem castimonie et honestatis custodiam et famam sub excommunicationis pena precipimus ut nullis omnino mulieribus intra clausuram huius monasterii pateat accessus nec pro purgando tritico vel pro alia quacumque ex causa in horreo aut aliis quibuslibet locis ipsius monasterii admittantur. Sed neque in ecclesia ultra limen ipsius ecclesie et ultra rethe¹²² lineum quod est in capella illa Regum in fine ipsius ecclesie quomodocumque ingredi permittantur. Domino abbati cellarario et aliis officariis specialiter iniungentes ut super hoc diligentes vigilent et presertim ipse dominus abbas sollicitus sit ut porta cimiterii continue de die¹²³ [fl. 5] et nocte clausa maneat claves que ipsius apud ipsum solum dominum abbatem reserventur. Eisdem domino abbati et cellarario sub excommunicationis late sententie pena precipientes ut nullam mulierem suspectam aut male famatam in curia ipsius monasterii morari permittant. Sub simili etiam excommunicationis late sententie pena inhibemus omnibus huius domus regularibus personis videlicet tam

¹²² The letters *l̄g* are crossed out.

¹²³ The word *et* is crossed out because it is repeated at the beginning of the following line.

ipsis religiosis quam etiam fratribus laicis ne sine expressa et specificata licentia intrare presumant intra domos in dicta curia existentes in quibus domibus quecumque mulieres demorantur. Provide etiam statuimus et ordinamus ut cum eosdem monachos ex licentia causa sumende recreationis conventualiter egredi contigerit quodquidem aliquando secundum ipsius domini abbatis discretionem fieri permittimus nullus a communi ceterorum consortio se segregare aut dictas secularium domos introire permittatur. Qui vero contrarium fecerit carceri mancipetur et ibidem usque ad ipsius domini abbatis discretionem in pane et aqua detineatur sicque castigetur et puniatur quod sibi in emendationem aliis vero transeat in exemplum.

[22] Temporalem substantiam huius sacri et regalis monasterii per cellararium recipi et tractari tam in granis pane vino bestiarum religiosorum et aliis omnibus sub excommunicationis pena precipimus Et¹²⁴ mandamus ut unus sit bursarius qui pecunias omnis et denarios undecumque venientes recipiat et in una archa qui¹²⁵ tres claves diversas habeat recondat et custodiat cellarario et aliis sub eo officariis per domini abbatis mandatum pro necessitatibus monasterii tribuat scribentes quid et quantum et quo die cui et quantum tradiderit. De clavibus autem dominus abbas unam prior aliam et ipse bursarius terciam custodiant. Ipsi domno abbati sub excommunicationis pena inhibentes ne de redditibus et denariis ipsius monasterii quicumque recipiat sed per dictum bursarium recipi permittat. Et cum ipse pecuniis egerit ab eo petat et de per eum receptis cum exposite fuerint ille pecunie rationem reddat. Similiter autem omnes particulares officarii sicut granetarius et ¹²⁶ vinitarius et alii cellarario et bursario frequenter de sibi commissis fidelem comptum et rationem reddant. Cellararius vero et bursarius ad minus semel in anno coram domino abbate et maiore parte conventus generalem de omnibus ad ipsum monasterium spectantibus computationem faciant ponendo in una parte totam receptam et summam eius totalem et ex altera parte expensas per [fl. 5v] articulos bene clare et specificice declaratos et summam totalis expense fiatque in fine confrontatio de expensis atque recepta et videatur et bene designetur si expense receptam aut recepta expensas superaverit.

[23] Quia autem per novissimum huius domus abbatem cuius anima Deo uniat temporalem huius monasterii statum depauperatum fuisse et esse comperimus pro eo quia totam substantiam sui monasterii suis consanguineis et aliis secularibus tractandam commiserat moderno et cuicumque qui pro tempore fuerit regalis huius domus abbati sub excommunicationis late sententie <pena>¹²⁷ necnon depositionis a sua abbatiali dignitate precipimus et mandamus conformiter ad regulam et alia ordinis ac etiam papalia statuta ut per monachos et religiosos ut supradiximus totam substantiam monasterii tractari et dispensari faciat nec quibuscumque secularibus quecumque officia administrationem dictorum bonorum concernentia nec cum ipsis religiosis nec qui supra eos intendere seu videre habere constituat aut commisceat

¹²⁴ The word *Et*, capitalised, is spliced over the word *et*, lower case.

¹²⁵ Following the letters *qui*, there is one letter that has been erased.

¹²⁶ The word *vignitarius* is crossed out and followed, in the text, by *vinitarius*.

¹²⁷ Interlined word.

neque visorem nec alium quemcumque quocumque ¹²⁸ nomine officium ipsum vocitetur sed omnia ut prediximus tam ad vitandas murmurationes quam etiam pro ipsius domus profectu et statutorum nostrorum ad impletionem per monachos exerceantur quod monachos et officiales paternis monemus affectibus ut fideliter in commissis sibi oneribus se habeant ac debitam semper reverentiam obedientiam et honorem domino abbati suo impendant et etiam inter seculares inter quos eos frequentare oportet religiose caste et honeste conversari studeant scientes quod ex eorum vita omnis qui in monasterio sunt ab ipsis secularibus iudicabuntur et quales ipsi exterius se exhibebunt tales qui interius sunt estimabuntur.

[24] Circa reparationes edificiorum quia tam in ipso monasterio quam etiam in grangiis et locis ad ipsum spectantibus tanta est multa reparandi necessitas quod non omnia designari nec temporis prefixione ut fiant ordinari possunt nostram super hoc conscientiam exonerantes dominum abbatem cellararium et bursarium exhortamus eisque in virtute salutaris obedientie precipimus et mandamus **[fl. 6]** ut secundum quod suppetere poterunt facultates ad ipsas reparationes fiendas vigilanter intendant a magis necessariis semper incipientes. Primitus autem precipimus ut hoc anno perficiatur in muris et coopertura refectorium et postea taliter muniatur ab intra mensis scannis mappis et aliis utensilibus quod ibidem conventus suam accipere valeat refectionem. Deinde etiam per operadores et magistros visitetur coopertura ecclesie et ubi invenietur necessarium bene et decenter reparetur sic quod amplius in ipsa ecclesia non pluat ne per huiusmodi pluvias ampliora detrimenta veniant ipsius ecclesie solermissime structure. Mandamus etiam ut infra tres menses ad armariola illa in quibus juxta altaria reponuntur vestimenta ad celebrandum apponantur sere et continuo huiusmodi armariola clausa teneantur. Similiter etiam quam citius fieri poterit taliter reparentur aqueductus lavatorii claustrum quod aqua ad ipsum venire possit sicut antiquitus fiebat. Et generaliter de omnibus necessariis reparationibus quas hic non exprimimus ipsorum domini abbatis et suorum officiariorum conscientias et honorem coram Deo oneramus.

[25] Item etiam et cum per debitam informationem recipientes computationes huius sacri monasterii reppererimus quod multis secularibus personis sub pretextu quorundem officiorum et servitorum ipsi monasterio per eas impensorum magne pecuniarum summe in stipendiis annuatim contribuuntur quorum tantum aut saltem ipsorum maioris partis servitia seu officia omnino necessaria non sunt in virtute salutaris obedientie et sub excommunicationis pena precipimus et mandamus ut huiusmodi superflua aut minus necessaria officia de cetero supprimantur et solite pro eis dari pecunie de cetero non persolvantur sed in edificiorum reparatione et aliis loci necessitatibus exponantur. Similiter etiam cum oculariter in ipsis compotis viderimus multas grangias terras et loca dicto monasterio pertinentia pro vili precio in magnum ipsius monasterii detrimentum arrendata fore multos que tales contractus allocationes admodiationes arrendationes infeudationes venditiones et alienationes ¹²⁹ bonorum ipsius monasterii sine nostra aut generalis capituli licentia factas fuisse merito formidamus **[fl. 6v]** omnis huiusmodi contractus conventiones pacta arrendationes alienationes et venditiones dictorum locorum grangiarum terrarum et aliorum

¹²⁸ The word *o* is crossed out.

¹²⁹ The words *terrarum et aliorum notabilium* are crossed out.

notabilium bonorum ipsius monasterii in ipsius notabile gravamen factas et que nondum per nos aut predecessores nostros sive etiam per generale capitulum confirmationem acceperunt revocamus cassamus et annullamus. Ipsi domino abbati priori suppriori cellarario et bursario ac aliis omnibus officariis sub excommunicationis pena precipimus et mandamus ut huiusmodi contractus et pacta pro infectis habeant eis que amplius non utantur sed per omnes juris et justicie vias monasterium ipsum ut amplius talibus non gravetur sed indemne conservetur laborent et efficaciter procurent.

[26] Consequenter etiam prout per bone memorie illustrissimum dominum Eduardum Portugalie regem specialiter et expresse per ipsius auctenticam cartam cautum fuisse comperimus ne de communis librerie huius sacre domus aliqui libri educerentur et extra ipsum monasterium quacumque occasione portarentur venderentur prestarentur aliis vel quomodolibet aliter alienarentur sub excommunicationis pena dictam legem et constitutionem de cetero districtius observari precipimus sub eisdem etiam penis precipientes ipsi domino abbati cellarario et aliis ad quos spectabit ut si qui libri pro nunc sint quibuscumque personis accommodati vel alius quomodolibet extra ipsum monasterium et eius plenum posse positi per omnem juris et justicie [...]am¹³⁰ eosdem recuperare et ad predictam librariam reportare quam citius poterunt efficaciter laborent et procurent.

[27] Item ipsi domino abbati et ceteris officialibus precipitur ut faciant bene reparari carceres in monasterio existentes et quod nullus de cetero incarceretur in castro extra monasterium.

[28] Quoad provisionem sororibus monasterii Beate Marie de Coz fiendam precipimus ut eisdem de victu et vestitu decenti et competenti secundum quod antiquitus fieri solitum est provideatur. Ne autem per hoc huic domui damnum aut multum notabilis expensa accrescat inhibemus ne de cetero quecumque mulieres ibidem suscipiantur nisi cum reducte fuerint citra numerum septem personarum et tunc poterit suscipi una et non amplius ita scilicet quod mortuis his vel parte illarum que ad presens ibi sunt sub predicta pena non presumat huius monasterii abbas ultra prefatum numerum octo personarum regularium ibidem manutenere sed illis octo aut septem dumtaxat tribuatur pro victu et vestitu decens provisio [fl. 7] et frequenter de ipsarum vita et moribus ipse dominus abbas informet et quod reprehensione dignum invenerit corrigat et emendet.

[29] Postremo ipsum dominum abbatem in domino hortamur et monemus ac etiam in virtute salutaris obedientie et sub sui honoris prejudicio precipimus et mandamus ut ruinam et depauperationem plurimam sue domus que ex superflua famulantium et consanguineorum secularium quos novissimus abbas nutrire et de ipsius monasterii bonis ditare consueverat provenisse creditur semper attendens moderato famulantium numero contentetur omnesque consanguineos quos pro Christi amore reliquimus a se quantum fieri poterit remotes habere procuret ne si eos ex Christi patrimonio ditare crediderit et confusionem ac scandalum apud homines et apud Deum eternam damnationem reportet.

¹³⁰ Word erased and amended, with prejudice to the reading.

[30] Finaliter eundem dominum abbatem paternis in domino monemus affectibus ut curam pastoralis officii quam suscepit diligenter exequi studeat ac super commissum sibi gregem vigilare ipsas que Christi sanguine redemptas oves ab imminentium luporum faucibus tueri easque ad virtutum pascua exemplo et exhortatione deducere curet. Ipsi etiam religiosi tanquam veri obedientie filii ipsi s[u]o¹³¹ patri debitam reverentiam honorem et obedientiam impendant. Et mutuum invicem concordiam pacem et caritatem servantes ad regnum perfecte quietis et pacis pervenire contendant. Quod profecto fiet si suorum votorum memores honeste pudice caste devote et patienter onus Christi suis humeris voluntaria professione susceptum non deponant aut abiiciant sed in finem usque perseveranter portare laborent. Quod ut eis altissimus concedere dignetur devotius exoramus.

[31] Postremo ordinamus domino abbati ut eandem nostram cartam visitationis infra mensem in eorum materno seu vulgari ydiomate per aliquem litteratum fideliter interpretari seu transferri faciat.

Datum in prefato Alcobatie monasterio sub nostri appensione sigilli die nonadecima mensis Maii anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo secundo.

[fl. 7v]

[*In later letter:*] Gaveta 20 Maço 7 N.º 46

Transcripto no Liv. da Reforma dos Documentoz das Gavetas

[*In later letter, perpendicular to the rest of the text:*]

Carta Do Abade de Claraval ao Mosteiro de Alcobaca sobre a observança¹³² da Regra.

Feita a 19 de Mayo de 1492

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Cod. 1494 (Manuscritos: Papéis Avulsos de Figueiredo).

¹³¹ Deteriorated writing support. The reconstitution of the word, with the insertion of the missing letter between [], was made from the meaning of the sentence.

¹³² Interlined letter.

Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, *Clero-Secular_Regular*, carpeta 3738, no. 15.

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