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FAMILY ARCHIVES AND
HISTORICAL RESEARCH

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USING ANCIENT ARCHIVAL INVENTORIES FOR THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL FAMILY DOCUMENTARY PRODUCTION: PROBLEMS AND METHODS

ABSTRACT: The article is based on the significant results of INVENT.ARQ project, benefiting also from the subsequent research, which has resulted in the discovery and (still progressing) study of some more ten inventories. The text opens with a description of the documentary material, followed by the discussion the questions and problems posed by its scientific use, and finally suggest some avenues of historical and archival research coming from and using ancient inventories of family archives. The essay is most of all of a methodological and pedagogical character, thinking in particular of the growing interest from young researchers. It offers a reflection on the difficulties encountered during an extended period of work on this type of source.

Keywords: historical archivistics; family archives; inventories; theory and methodology

RESUMO: O artigo parte dos resultados do projecto INVENT.ARQ, dedicado aos inventários de arquivos de família século XV ao XIX (2014-2015), e da continuação da investigação desde inícios de 2016, que permitiu a localização e estudo de mais cerca de uma dezena de inventários. Começa-se pela descrição do material documental reunido, para de seguida discutir as questões e problemas colocados por uma sua utilização científica e, por fim, sugerir alguns temas de investigação histórica e de arquivística histórica, a partir de, e com, os documentos em estudo. O texto tem essencialmente um carácter metodológico e pedagógico, reflectindo sobre as dificuldades encontradas nos anos de trabalho com esta fonte.

Palavras-chave: arquivística histórica; arquivos de família; inventários; teoria e metodologia

The use of ancient archival inventories in Portuguese historiography has been relatively rare, including among medievalists. Most often, their research

has focused on a few ecclesiastical archives, a couple of noble family archives, and the Crown archives at the Torre do Tombo¹. A few honorable exceptions confirming the rule, this scarcity of interest calls for a broadening and deepening of the field, in particular by drawing up new perspectives. This will be the case with this article, by using the significant results and the (numerous) methodological questions arising from INVENT.ARQ, a project dedicated to the study of archival inventories from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, notably to the sub-group of family archives; and also by the research that followed that project and which has resulted in the discovery and (still progressing) study of more than a dozen inventories. What follows describes the documentary material, discusses the questions and problems posed by its scientific use, and suggests some avenues of historical research and of historical archivistics coming from and using ancient inventories of family archives. It should be stressed that this essay will be essentially of a methodological and pedagogical character, thinking in particular of the growing interest from young researchers. It offers a reflection on the difficulties encountered during an extended period of work on this type of source.

Ancient inventories of family archives in Portugal: the corpus so far assembled

It is now possible to identify about 50 inventories of family archives for the Kingdom of Portugal, reflecting inventorial procedures from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Nevertheless, the documents indexed in these inventories go back to the thirteenth century². This is enough to show that, as far as knowledge of the organization of archives goes, information mainly belongs to the late Middle Ages, reaching further back in terms of the production and preservation of documents. In the scope of the INVENT.ARQ project, 36 ancient archival inventories coming from eleven archival

¹ On the ancient inventories of a wide variety of institutions, see RIBEIRO, 2003, vol. 1, chapter 1. Meanwhile, other inventories have been located and studied especially for ecclesiastical archives, for example GOMES, [2003]; ROLDÃO, 2017; FARRICA, 2017. For an overview, SANTOS, 1996.

² About 50, since some of them are quite hybrid as books (see below).

institutions or owners (five of them public and six private) were located, described and studied. The chronological distribution of the inventories is quite unequal, with a vast majority belonging in the nineteenth century, ironically in a context of restriction and then of extinction of the institutions which had produced those documents for centuries. There are two inventories from the fifteenth century, five from the sixteenth century, five from the seventeenth century, seven from the eighteenth century, and fifteen inventories for the nineteenth century³.

Subsequent research into family archives has either improved knowledge of those that were previously known⁴ or allowed the discovery of several others. A detailed analysis of the latter is under way but can be summarized even introductorily (see Table 2). The chronological information already ascertained confirms the sample already mentioned, in that eight inventories belong in the nineteenth century, three in the eighteenth century, one in the seventeenth century; while two earlier books may be called “hybrids” (since, formally speaking, they stand between copybooks of letters and books of scriptures), not by incident belonging to the transition period corresponding to the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. Among the objectives of the current research program⁵ is to locate the inventories produced before the fifteenth century. They probably correspond to plain lists of documents, reflecting simpler ways of preserving and identifying documentation.

The scientific use of a neglected documentary typology.

Questions and problems

Historical research has had an ambivalent — even naive, unreflective — relationship with ancient archival inventories. At one extreme, documentary summaries are seen as unreliable, and their accuracy impossible to ascertain

³ See Table 1, the INVENT.ARQ database (<http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/>) and the studies and catalogue in ROSA, HEAD (eds.), 2015 (<http://iem.fcsh.unl.pt/ebooks/estudios13/>). The catalogue will be referred to as CATALOGUE hereafter.

⁴ In the PhD theses in History/Historical Archivistcs submitted to FCSH NOVA — Lisbon (SOUSA, 2017) or in preparation (in relation to nr 31 of the CATALOGUE – GAGO, 2018).

⁵ See presentation, outputs, and other information at <http://fcsh.unl.pt/arqfam/>.

given that the documents have disappeared. In contrast, there is optimism in characterizing inventories as a “mirror of the archive”, therefore as a unique, even comfortable opportunity to access institutions’ documentary production. One must try to overcome either attitude and to build a correct working relationship with the documents.

It is true that in many cases the documentary summaries are too short, although the most common problem seems to be a large fluctuation between summaries, depending on the importance the documents held with the family, on the interest they had for the person elaborating the document, or even on that person’s ability to read ancient writing. Certainly the greatest obstacle is dating, namely through absence, variation (sometimes the original is the dated document itself, other times it is the public-form), and error — all this complicating a document’s use for the historian. There are further issues, including compound references to documents (such as “a pack”, “letters”), or variations on the summaries of identical documents, found in different inventories. On the other hand, concerning their “specular nature”, almost always inventories mirror the documents only partially, more often than not reflecting concrete circumstances (that can be imposed externally), or are even incomplete due to prosaic circumstances (the work was too much, etc). In addition, inventories’ later histories further complicate their direct use and technical expertise becomes necessary to date, locate, and even relate them to producers. In general, they were working documents, what we would call “technical documents”: they were handled very often, as shown in several documents in the INVENT.ARQ sample which are truncated in the initial pages, worn out or reduced to some parts; commonly, when the inventory was the fruit of the work of a house servant, authorship was not indicated; besides, authorship began to appear more frequently only from the end of the eighteenth century onwards; finally, there can be several inventories for the same archives, with often conflicting descriptions of the documents.

It should be emphasized, however, that most of these questions, even if difficult, are technical and can usually be solved by using traditional source criticism. The most troublesome issue of this kind has been that the dating of documents in inventories, in which the result can sometimes be too broad

margins. This causes problems in setting an order for the inventorial work, for example.

The main question is actually another and is found at a more complex level: the need to carry out more in-depth, contextualized and even theoretical analyses of this type of source, before attempting to use the contents. Of course, partly, contextualizing is once again the historian's work: who commissioned the inventory, when, and for what purpose. But it is important to move further on, given the nature of these materials. If not a mirror, they are a representation. Replacing one term for the other is relevant, because it substitutes a metaphor for a concept; and because «mirror» would actually be erroneous as a metaphor in this case, since it leaves social agency aside. A mirror is a preexisting device that changes nothing, only reflects, while representation indicates conscious action from the subject.

The problem remains unsolved, of course: most of the time, the author of the representation does not give much detail about it; on the other hand, he will follow what can be called — anachronistically — canons, techniques, established procedures, even fashions, all of which must be identified in order to determine their effects. Finally, the social functions of the kind of work that result in the inventories have a complex history: it is not only a matter of knowing where the documents were (and still less of their historical interest), but of *using* the information. In all, in addition to the traditional «context», any attempt to use «content» must equally take «form» into account. These three spheres must be clearly interconnected, and therefore constructed by the historian and explained to the reader. In particular, «form» cannot be ignored, or at best referred back to a description of the archivist's responsibility. Besides abandoning this ideological view of the status of archival work, the historian cannot partake in this separation of concepts. Form conditions content. Or, using a fundamental idea of the linguistic turn that was very important for the renewal of medieval history, we must be attentive to the «content of form» (Gabrielle Spiegel). Besides, as we shall see next, there are recent developments in historiographical and archival science that can greatly assist in this task by renewing and enriching the use of old archival inventories.

Heuristics and the epistemology of History materials. An in-depth historical contextualization

Elio Lodolini, the great Italian archivist and a well-known exponent of the *metodo storico*, always insisted that the archivist's main task is to characterize the producing institution, as well as the documents produced — definitely not to simply organize holdings in contemporary archives. Or, to put it more simply, to organize any set of documents according to a “matrix study” of institutional, administrative and archival history⁶. In many respects, these ideas find parallel in recent writings in the epistemology of History, which claim a different, more complex and informed relationship between the historian and his sources (it can be recalled that Lodolini often complained about the simplistic and even ignorant terms of historians' approach to the complex objects that archival *fonds* are⁷). Other currents, such as Anthropology, Archival Science and the recent field of «History of archives and information» have drawn attention to the need to conceive the archive not as a repository of materials for the historian, more or less neutral and rarely questioned, but as an object of study in itself; and, in any case, as an object to «study before use»⁸.

Three basic aspects can be highlighted on recalling the main benefits of these various perspectives. All connect with the subject under consideration directly. In the first place, the historian should question the metaphorical status of «sources» of his materials, a task which first of all leads to the refusal of sources as being at the origins of investigation, to realize that they are a «point of arrival» rather than a starting point. Consequently, the historian must integrate in research the entire trail of social information, from production to the archive. In the case of inventories, this means to understand why sources were made, by whom, to which purpose/constraints; then, to understand how sources were used and reused, at different stages in their «life», including entrance into archival institutions (or custody by private owners), and their

⁶ LODOLINI, 1991.

⁷ LODOLINI, 1989.

⁸ For more elements and an appreciation of the various contributions mentioned in this and the following paragraph, ROSA, 2017.

use by researchers. Secondly, extending the previous point, the historian will have to study the information producer and the ways leading to producing/documentalizing/conserving/using information; that is, what type of producing/recipient institutions there were and how they functioned: a noble house, or *morgado*, for example, had far less «technical» resources than a religious congregation. As such, the way that documentation was organized, or at least represented, in noble inventories seems to have depended heavily on the demands of the more structured external bodies with the power to demand «evidence», that is the Crown and the Church; also, the difficulties of archiving and providing evidence of the legal nature of the different components of the heritage (entailed assets, Crown property (“bens da Coroa”), free assets, etc.), were not always taken care of, causing various problems when documentary mobilization was required. Finally, the historian should be concerned with constructing a clear manner of relating to the working materials and with presenting them to the reader, so that an understanding exists of the extent to which the information being received reflects a complete conceptualization of the object and subject of study: for example, how far the analysis of the production context of the inventory went, and what set of questions was applied.

It is not possible to sketch out but briefly the context of the informational and documentary production leading up to the inventories, and much less of their custodial history. Some of the most important steps can nevertheless be indicated.

The foremost measure is to analyze these documents as archival documents, taking away from them their character as library documents, which the vicissitudes of time and disciplinary variations often confer them. Within the set studied in the INVENT.ARQ project, several inventories are deposited in libraries or classified as «book collections» in archives. This happens because they were originally stored in the «libraries» of the houses, or in the offices, rooms, and so forth, and because they were often deemed worth keeping, even when the documents themselves were delivered to the new properties' owners, or simply were no longer useful⁹. Another interconnected reason is

⁹ What actually happened to most of the documentation in terms of «non-accidental loss» is analyzed in detail in NÓVOA, 2016.

that archival inventories were among the few documents to remain in the families after the extinction of entails, and from the end of the nineteenth century onwards were sold to heritage institutions. Libraries, at the time, had much more of the status of heritage institutions than the still incipient «national archive». But in fact inventories are not at all library documents. If we want to use a paradigm that places the emphasis on the information conserved instead of contemporary custodial institutions, we have to consider them to be organizational information.

Following this through, it is necessary to assign an inventory back to its commissioner/producer, to the intentionality of production, to the organizational context. A first step would be to characterize the nature of the producing institution, using due care for the institutions/organizations of pre-modern society. Was this institution a «house»? a “family”? What kind of family? The INVENT.ARQ project has tried to explore all of these questions as deeply as possible, because they are historically relevant, of course, but also because archival descriptions and records of authority compel decisions in this regard, much more (and regrettably) so than in historiographical reflection. For example, in the successive incorporation of given «families» into «other families,» or in the transition from *morgados* and other kinds of properties to the more encompassing but institutionally more fluid «house» structure, old inventories were redone, manipulated, interpolated. In such cases, whom is the document to be assigned to? More broadly, given the plasticity of this institution, including in terms of female successions, when is one to consider that «one family» ends and another begins, even in cases of *morgado* succession? Indecisions in this respect and the provisional nature of some of the solutions followed were all registered — voluntarily — in the authority records of the project’s inventories¹⁰. However, it should be said that resolving the issues involved requires research to be done in extended collaboration, namely in what concerns the legal and institutional frameworks of “familial organizations”.

It is further necessary with ancient archival inventories to keep an open mind when beginning to read, and trying to define or find logic, in them.

¹⁰ At <http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/actor/browse>.

The «history of the lists», in its more playful¹¹ as well as «serious» side¹², has fully proven this. In terms of disciplinary perspectives, whilst trying to overcome the anachronistic *grand partage disciplinaire* of the nineteenth century, which unfortunately still influences academic research greatly, the solution may lay in analysis from historical anthropological perspectives. The inventories were often (very) hybrid documents, only gradually becoming more “organized”, or at least patterned, lists. But even the most «rationalized» of the eighteenth-century inventories did not escape observations, comments, or less clear options. Finally, these documents do not in any way condense all of the information of the producing institutions: not all documentary information (in a strict sense), let alone all probative information. The concept of proof and the variety of related information were far broader than those defined by “modern State” legal codes. In fact, the point is that the «family archives» of premodern societies were much more than archives. In this sense, even the very idea of archiving should be replaced by that of «archival practices». Moreover, the historian can profit a lot from using, when characterizing those set of practices, the conceptualization of «new archives» (and/or new “evidentiary documents”, “new forms of evidence”) that has been put forward in the last few decades, by groundbreaking archival science which is also anthropology and anthropological history of archives and information¹³.

A final issue, equally important to archivistics, is how the informational act resulting in an inventory should be situated; and how to place the inventory in the organization and classification of the archival fonds, if that is the case (or, if this is not possible, so as to improve the study of the inventory’s context). After all, although it speaks to us about documents, this still is a document like any other. In the case of family archives classified according to the institution’s structure (and not according to themes or functions), it will be necessary to place the inventory in the section that produced it. When adopting the model that considers generations as being the constituent element

¹¹ ECO, 2009.

¹² POUR FAIRE, 2014; Project POLIMA — <http://www.dypac.uvsq.fr/polima-le-pouvoir-des-listes-au-moyen-age-351370.kjsp>.

¹³ EL-LEITHY, 2011; CLANCHY, 1980-1981; LESLIE, 2002; HUBNER, 2007.

of the «archival section», the inventory should be placed in the generation of the person who commissioned it, even if it is later possible to «distribute» the documents inventoried across the generations of their producers/recipients¹⁴. In models that adopt other institutional structures, such as — hypothetically, given their scarcity — the notary office, the «house administration», or the «house lord», the inventory will be placed where it was produced, or with whom it was produced by¹⁵. To follow a functional model implies assigning these documents to «inventorial functions», which seems somewhat reductive since not only does it risk anachronism (by absolutizing the function, which in premodern family organizations was very diffuse) but, above all, it hollows out the relationship with the organization “head” («lord of the house», “chief of the lineage”), which is almost always a direct one, ascribing documents a status of a bureaucratic routine product that is anachronistic.

Historical research themes from, and with, ancient family archives’ inventories

Ancient inventories open a large set of possibilities for research in medieval history. What follows aims to offer some insights on the research avenues concerning them. A first question is the way in which the use of ancient inventories enriches historical thought transversally, especially in what regards the historian’s relation with the working materials; secondly, there is the docu-

¹⁴ This was the model followed for the classification of the archive of the *casa* of Mateus, Vila Real, Portugal (SILVA, 2005; RODRIGUES; SILVA, 2012). In the case of inventories that contain only the summaries, the task implies redirecting documents in a virtually double way (as done in SOUSA, 2017).

¹⁵ However crucial, the question of the internal structures of institutions such as «houses» (be these «simple», entailed, or titled) is still insufficiently known both to historians and archivists in what most interests us here — the intersecting of knowledge in elaborating organic classification tables and subsequently the classification of fonds (in which «house» eventually overlaps with «family», the basic element of categorization as proposed in SILVA, 1997; SILVA, 2004; RODRIGUES, 2013). In BELTRAN CORBALAN, 2018 there are further indications, based on the in-depth study BELTRAN CORBALAN, 2014. Some studies on the patrimonial bases and management of the houses give elements for their bureaucratic and administrative organization, although there is still a lot to be determined (see, for example, BECERRICA SANZ; SALVADO, 2009).

ment itself and the informational act that it translates; thirdly, contextualization in the field of the “social history of the archive”; lastly, the use of the contents summarized for the most diverse research subjects (these remarks being left to the end on purpose, to get around the historian’s traditional leaning to collect «concrete data» before anything else). Recent bibliography shall be provided in all four instances, aiming to assist future investigations.

By allowing access to a documentary reality that once existed but itself disappeared, remaining only as representation, the inventories open interesting questions about documentary transmission in History; on the information that was produced, documented and preserved, but also on the information that was eliminated and therefore disappeared. Using them to reconstruct the history, in the *longue durée*, of the archives from which they proceed (whenever possible adding documents that exist in their «actual» form), increases these possibilities exponentially. By representing «lost information» — information that does not exist in the archives — they allow us to start from «what there was», not from «what is left». One can thus think of a «map of the informational production” (and subsequent phases in its life) of family organizations (as of any other institution). In a certain sense, this operation liberates the historian, at least partially, from «remaining» documentary sets (which moreover are not even looked at as such)¹⁶. In addition to the much greater analytical depth that this enables, there is another important gain: greater acuity in measuring the degree of veracity, accuracy, plausibility, and so on, of historiographical conclusions. Rarely do medievalist historians (not only medievalists, but they are particularly affected by documentary «losses») explain to their readers that only a fraction of what was produced remains in the archives. The practice of situating, in terms of information networks and meanings, these “remaining sources” is even less common.

Secondly, inventories may serve, of course, for the history of inventorying practices, the act of inventorying. Far beyond technical interest, studying these aspects can lead us to very up-to-date historiographical subjects, such as technologies of knowledge organization, historical writing, the development of the «profession» of archivist, bureaucratic power, the importance of political

¹⁶ ROSA, 2017, with examples of research on this subject.

information (and other), the relationship between information organization and archiving and the development of the «modern State». All these fields have seen a strong historiographical interest in the last decade, particularly in Germany, England and the United States¹⁷.

A third field of study sits in what has been called the «Social history of the archive»¹⁸, in this case applying to the specific field of archives produced by “institutional configurations of the noble family”. The inventories and knowledge of the contexts of their production, in particular, allow for more knowledge of the informational and documentary production of the families, of the way the documents were managed, used and manipulated. This will allow us to better understand the activity facets of the family as an institution, which the preferential (and sometimes exclusive) scholarly use of the archives of the Crown and the Church has left in the dark, even propitiating false research assertions and hypotheses, such as postulating that subjects like these cannot be studied for Portugal due to a lack of sources — or, more radically — that in premodern Portugal family organizations did not follow these practices at all, due to institutional weakness, a peripheral character, scarcity of means, etc. The use of inventories, on the contrary, is testimony to practices of management and administration of assets, acquaintance with writing and other practices of literacy/numeracy, strategies of transmission and division of property, intricate management of marriage alliances¹⁹, relations with local and central

¹⁷ BRENDENCKE *et al.*, 2008; FRIEDRICH, 2013 [2018]; VIVO, *et al.* (eds.), 2015, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c; CORENS *et al.* (eds.), 2018; HEAD, [2019]. Portuguese medievalists have studied this type of practice mainly from diplomatic and Archival Studies perspectives, making important contributions (GOMES, 2007; RODRIGUES; SILVA, 2012, and some of the essays in ROSA;HEAD, 2015). Yet, in recent years perspectives have broadened (n. 1 above). On the inventorization and the inventories of house/family archives, see the bibliography in ROSA, 2012c and, among others, PÉREZ LATRE, 2004; GUIJARRO SALVADOR, 2007; BERLTRAN CORBALAN, 2014; HÉLARY *et al.* (dir.), 2016; ADOT, 2017. For Portugal, see recently NÓVOA, 2016; SOUSA, 2017; LEME, 2018. The forthcoming book resulting from the ARCHI.FAM research program, based in the Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, will be an important contribution in what concerns the Iberian Peninsula and southern France.

¹⁸ For the state of the art see: VIVO *et al.*, 2016 and 2016a; CORENS *et al.* (eds.), 2016.

¹⁹ This is has been proven in the theses already submitted in the remit of the FCSH-NOVA PhD program on History/Historical Archivistics, concerning family archives in Portugal, in the medieval and modern periods (see NÓVOA, 2016; SOUSA, 2017; LEME 2018).

powers²⁰, domestic relations, religious practices and (more or less) «private» devotion²¹. Some of the inventories even allow going a little further, giving information about sets of books²², personal letters²³, and even rarely found documents such as «duel challenges» or documents on heraldic practices²⁴. Taken globally, all this information enables a much more complete and complex view of premodern family organizations. No less importantly, they allow historical research to reach the “persons’ own voices», something quite absent in the historiography on the medieval elites in particular.

Finally, let us see what inventories can bring us at the level of «objective information», that is, the information in the documents themselves. A concrete example will open the door for presenting the results of the work in progress more broadly: Table 3 of this article refers to the AtoM instance of the INVENT.ARQ project, on which several documents are being uploaded, either transcriptions of the “summaries” found in the inventories, or the very images in case of inventories easy to read or for which permission was obtained²⁵; this is a first attempt to systematically identify the producers (families/ persons) of the documents summarized in the different inventories.

In conclusion, the fascinating example of the inventory of the documents pertaining to four *morgados* belonging to the *casa* of the Brito/Brito Nogueira family can be given — in its version, re-copied and reorganized somewhere

²⁰ For example in the case of the inventory of the *casa* of the counts of Castelo Melhor, relative to Madeira Island (ROSA *et al.*, 2019).

²¹ There is always a considerable amount of information concerning chapels, funerals, suffrages, chaplains, charitable and pious institutions, etc., largely because these aspects intersected with the Church, which always dealt with business in writing and with archives. (An interesting example of monographic studies using in part the information from inventories 5 and 7 of the CATALOGUE in SILVA, 2012; SILVA, 2016; SILVA, 2017).

²² SILVA, 2017.

²³ For instance, CATALOGUE nr. 32, regarding familial and business correspondence since the seventeenth century; CATALOGUE nrs. 16 and 22; the 1767 inventory of the Almada Lencastre Basto archive (see Table 2).

²⁴ ROSA, 2012e and “Appendix”, below.

²⁵ See Table 3. The long-term objective is the transcription of the summaries of the inventories described, provided they are dated or datable, as well as those of inventories that will be incorporated in the database, as is the case with the eleven volumes of the *casa* of Castelo Melhor archives inventory. In some cases, the inventories were digitized and, given their easy reading, inserted directly (nrs. 17, 18 and 19).

between c. 1570 and 1646²⁶. The inventory reproduces, in terms of inventoried documentation, a previous book dating from 1542²⁷, the date of the last document summarized and also of the event which, as I have proposed in a previous study, led to its elaboration: the lord of the house's coming of age. He was Lourenço de Brito (c. 1526-c.1592)²⁸, who since 1537 (the probable date of his father's death)²⁹ had been under guardianship from his mother, Isabel da Costa³⁰. The summaries of this inventory are almost always of great quality, and standardized in form and content, namely: the type of action documented, the family member who performed it, adding further details about the subject, date, place and notary. In some cases, they provide detailed descriptions of the properties traded or the terms of wills, for example. Moreover, taken as a whole they cover a wide range of documentary typologies, in general absent from public archives. In addition to some examples that published in the Appendix at the end of this article, the study by Mário Farelo in the book at hand, as well as others carried out on the viscount of Vila Nova de Cerveira's archive, fully prove this information³¹.

From the quantitative perspective, we have made a verification centered on one of the most influential figures in the family, widely referred to in the inventory under consideration: Luís de Brito (died c. 1523)³². In the actual archive, there remain 91 documents with him as the main producer; in the inventory of c. 1570-1646, in the same category there are an additional 178. This contrast is already interesting in itself, highlighting the importance of

²⁶ CATALOGUE, nr 7. The insertion of all documentary references into a table was carried out for this document because it was the only one available when the work was completed in 2009 (in digitized format only). The older inventory was restored, scanned and made available online on DIGITARQ only later. The older inventory contains more documents, namely the ones relating to the *morgado* of Santo Estêvão de Beja, whose summaries in the later inventory were in pages that were cut and handed over to the future owner of the lands, the husband of one of the heiresses of the house of the viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira (for details, ROSA, 2012c).

²⁷ CATALOGUE, nr. 5.

²⁸ Authority record at <http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/brito-lourenco-de>.

²⁹ The date of the first reference to Isabel da Costa as a widow (authority record at <http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/costa-isabel-da>).

³⁰ ROSA, 2012c: 591-92.

³¹ FARELO, 2012a; SILVA, 2012; SILVA, 2016; SILVA, 2017.

³² On him see ROSA, 2012c: 514 ff.; 774; SILVA, 2012: 119-123.

inventory information. Besides, the information from the family archives in numbers makes up an impressive 269 documents, in stark contrast to the ten documents contained in the numerous royal chancery books that relate to the period in which Luís de Brito lived (the reigns of Afonso V, João II and Manuel).

Table 1. Inventories studied in the INVENT.ARQ project and the subsequently processed data

Inventory³³	Date	Availability of images/processed information
1	1458-c.1496	---
2	1497-1498	Edited in: NÓVOA 2016, “anexo 13”
3	1515	Edited in: GREGÓRIO 2002
4	1536-1541	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
5	c. 1542	Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4343895
6	c. 1565	Edited in: OLIVEIRA 2001
7	c.1694-1755	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
8	16 th -17 th cents (after 1583)	---
9	1588-1609	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
10	17 th cent.	Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4344502
11	1609	---
12	1675-1677	Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4343897
13	c.1694-1755	Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4343885
14	18 th cent.	Microfilm available at: ANTT, MF 5500
15	1709	
16	1722	Table available in: SOUSA 2017
17	c.1725-1753	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
18	1782	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
19	18 th cent.	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
20	1784	---

³³ The numbers refer to CATALOGUE.

21	1804-1805	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
22	1807	Table available in: SOUSA 2017
23	1815	Partially edited in: NÓVOA 2016, “anexo 6”
24	1817	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
25	1819	CD-ROM available at ANTT – Reading room
26	1821	---
27	1825	---
28	1825	----
29	1825	----
30	1817	---
31	1836	---
32	1836	Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4628121
33	1846	---
34	1855-1862 (?)	---
35	1862 (?)	---
36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/

Table 2. Inventories located/studied after conclusion of the INVENT.ARQ project³⁴

Date	Name	Holder
1570	<i>Tombo do morgado instituído por D. Gil Eanes da Costa, vedor da Fazenda, e por sua mulher D. Joana da Silva</i>	BN, <i>Reserv.</i> , Il. 196; ANTT, <i>Núcleo Antigo, Instituições de morgados e capelas</i> , nr 190
c. 1607-1606	[Escrituras do morgado de Rui Teles de Meneses]	BN, <i>Reserv.</i> , <i>Cód.</i> 11084

³⁴ The presentation of this table was possible thanks to the teamwork of the ARQFAM group and the generosity of other researchers who have been very helpful ever since the beginning of the program. I would like to thank Alice Gago (whose GAGO 2018 study should be consulted for more information on the inventories listed here from ALB), Fábio Duarte (MA in Modern History student, at FCSH NOVA, preparing a thesis on the inventory of Gregorio de Castelo Branco), Margarida Leme (see LEME, 2018: 140, for the first document), Pedro Pinto, Miguel Aguiar.

c. 1627-1662	<i>Tombo do Cartório da Casa de Villa Nova feito no tempo do Conde D. Gregório de Castelo branco filho do Conde D. Manoel de Castelo Branco</i>	Centro de Documentação e Arquivo Histórico do Museu de Portimão, Grupo de Fundos Arquivos Históricos, <i>Colecção de Documentos</i> , Caixa 1, Cotelha 1.1
1767	<i>Inventário dos papéis que acho no cartório do sr. Diogo Pereira Forjaz Coutinho Barreto de Sá e Resende</i>	BN, <i>ALB, Enc.</i> , pac. 17, cx. 17A, cap. 2
1799	<i>Livro da Fazenda da Casa do Il.mo e Ex.mo Senhor D. Miguel Pereira Conde da Feira</i>	BN, <i>ALB, Enc.</i> , pac. 32, cx. 32, cap. 1,
18 th cent.	<i>Livro indicativo das ex.mas Casas de Meneses e Pereiras e mais bens, e direitos que pertencem à casa</i>	BN, <i>ALB, Enc.</i> , cx. 39A, liv. 14
1819 (?)	Índices do cartório da Senhora Condessa [Joana Eulália Freire de Andrade, condessa do Vimieiro]	BN, <i>ALB, Enc.</i> , pac. 27, cx. 27II, i)
1825	[Inventário do cartório de Miguel Pereira Forjaz Coutinho Barreto]	BN, <i>ALB, Enc.</i> , pac. 27, cx. 27I, liv. h) vol. 1 e liv. b) vol. 2
1825	[Index do Cartório da Casa da Tapada – S. João de Reis]	<i>Biblioteca de Estudos Humanísticos</i> ³⁵ , NB/ AEH/ A-0001-0038
c. 1831-1871	[Inventários de documentos relativos a diversas propriedades e bens da Casa Castelo Melhor – 8 vols]	Private archive; see ROSA <i>et al.</i> 2019
19 th cent.	Índice do Cartório da Exma. Casa de Redondo	Fundação Eugénio de Almeida, Arquivo Histórico, lv 14
19 th cent.	<i>Catálogo dos bens do Morgado de Nicolau Ribeiro Soares e sua mulher D. Violante Rebelo em Torres Novas, Lamego e Casas à Mouraria</i>	BN, <i>Reserv.</i> , Cód. 8634 (MF 749)
19 th cent.	[Documentos relativos ao morgado de Argemil]	BN, <i>ALB, ANTT</i> , cx. 6, doc. 594a.
19 th cent.	<i>Rellação dos títulos pertencentes ao Morgado d'Argemil e Fajozes. Títulos antigos desde 1373 até mil setecentos e tantos</i>	BN, <i>ALB, ANTT</i> , cx. 6, doc. 594b

³⁵ Bibliographic and archival collection that belonged to late professor Prof. José V. de Pina Martins, currently (2018) kept in the precinct of Novo Banco, Tagus Park, Oeiras, Portugal (consultation upon demand).

Table 3. Families/houses/persons (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) for whom documents can be found in the inventories of the INVENT.ARQ project³⁶

Producer	Dates (by century)	Inventories ³⁷	Inventory's date	Availability of images/processed information
Abreu/ Pereira	16 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Alarcões	15 th -16 th	17 ³⁸	c.1725-1753	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Almeidas	15 th -16 th	21	1804-1805	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Almeidas	15 th -16 th	23	1815	Edited in: NÓVOA 2016, "anexo 6"
Barreto, Costa	16 th	24	1817	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Barretos	15 th -16 th	26	1821	---
Britos, Évora	14 th -15 th	5 ³⁹ /7	c. 1542/c. 1694-1755	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [7]

³⁶ The table presents a first attempt to systematize data on documentation producers in the context of the «organization- family» until the end of the sixteenth century. The aim is first of all to offer the research data on family and personal documentation hitherto unknown (in this sense, alphabetical ordering has been chosen because it allows easier location). The inventories mentioned are those already treated in the INVENT.ARQ project; data on new inventories will be made available in the project database as it is completed. It is important to take into account some of the options taken regarding the presentation of data: 1) institutional contours: encompasses *morgados*, houses, and simple lines of descent referred to by family name. Only detailed researches on the immense documentary mass present in the inventories will allow to better discern the institutional circumscriptions of each producer's group, in each epoch of its effectiveness (and taking into account the great fluidity of this type of organization); 2) producers' completeness: in the inventories already studied, and in particular in those which relate to a single family/person, or to more stable and perennial institutional structures, it is possible to discern and group at least the main producers; such work is only possible through in-depth genealogical studies. It should be noted that inventories may refer dozens of producers, not always being clear the reason for their inclusion of the archive to which the inventory belongs; 3) some isolated characters were indicated, for inventories that did not contain any other mentions to documents in the period considered; 4) the groups and persons here assembled do not dispense and can be greatly improved by querying the information, namely the processed in tables/databases, or digitizations available in the INVENT.ARQ website, for which information is given in the last column on the right.

³⁷ The numbers refer to CATALOGUE.

³⁸ Transcribed (with organization errors that compromise the use of contents) in LÁZARO, 2009.

³⁹ The same documents that in CATALOGUE, 7. Many of these documents are summarized (usually with less information) in subsequent inventories of the same archive (CATALOGUE, 13, 25), which are not yet studied in detail as to the content of the summaries and therefore were not indicated in the table (for a first analysis of those inventories, ROSA 2012).

Britos-Nogueiras, Lisboa	15 th -16 th	5 ⁴⁰ /7	c. 1542/c. 1694-1755	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [7]
Camões	16 th	31 ⁴¹	1836	---
Carvalho	15 th -16 th	31 ⁴²	1836	---
Carvalho Patalim	16 th	35	1862 (?)	---
Carvalhos	15 th -16 th	21	1804-1805	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Castelo-Branco	15 th -16 th	32	1836	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Castelo-Branco (meirinhos-mores, counts of Sabugal)	16 th	9	1588-1609	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Castro	16 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Castros (Évora, Viana)	15 th	9	1588-1609	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Catarina Gonçalves/ Guiomar Afonso	15 th	18	1782	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Catarina Lopes (<i>morgado</i> of)	15 th	31 ⁴³	1836	---
Cogominhos	14 th -15 th	20	1784	---
Correias	15 th	21	1804-1805	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Costas	15 th -16 th	35	1862(?)	---
Costas (from Gil Eanes da Costa)	15 th -16 th	32	1836	Table available at: LEME 2018
Costas/Barretos, Algarve	15 th -16 th	14	18 th cent.	Microfilm available at: ANTT, MF 5500
Coutada (Santa Maria da Feira)	15 th -16 th	20	1784	---
Coutinhos-Condes de Marialva	14 th -16 th	6	c. 1565	Edited in: OLIVEIRA 2001

⁴⁰ See n. 7.

⁴¹ The families producing the documentation summarized in this inventory are studied exhaustively for the period under review in the PhD thesis prepared by Alice Gago (see GAGO, 2018).

⁴² See n. 9.

⁴³ See n. 9.

Dinis/Vasques, Gaia	15 th	1 ⁴⁴	1458-c.1496	---
Eças (Moura)	15 th	9	1588-1609	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Estêvão Eanes (chancellor)	13 th	20	1784	---
Falcão	16 th	34	1855-1862(?)	---
Figueiredos, Figueiredos Correia	15 th -16 th	16 22	1722 1807	Table available in: SOUSA 2017
Fonsecas e Vasconcelos, <i>morgados</i> of Esporão	15 th -16 th	4	1536-1541	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Fragoso	16 th	34	1855-1862(?)	---
Geraldo Martins	14 th	20	1784	---
Góis	13 th -15 th	11	1609	---
Góis/Silva	16 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Homem	15 th	21	1804-1805	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Lafetá	16 th	35	1862(?)	---
Leis	14 th -15 th	5 ⁴⁵ /7	c. 1542/c. 1694-1755	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [7]
Leis	14 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Leitões	16 th	18	1782	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Lemos	15 th	11	1609	---
Lima Brito Nogueira (viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira)	16 th	5 ⁴⁶ /7	c. 1542/c. 1694-1755	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [7]

⁴⁴ Some of these documents are summarized in a later inventory of the same archive, which has not yet been studied in detail as to the content of the summaries (indicated in Table 1; for a first analysis see GAGO, 2018); it was therefore not indicated in the table (CATALOGUE, 31).

⁴⁵ See n. 7.

⁴⁶ See n. 7.

Limas (viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira)	16 th 15 th -16 th	10 12 ⁴⁷	17 th cent. 1675-1677	Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4344502 Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4343897
Lobo	16 th	27	1825	---
Lobo (Alvito)	15 th -16 th	20	1784	---
Lobos	15 th -16 th	23	1815	Edited in: NÓVOA 2016, “anexo 6”
Luis Álvares, mestre-sala de D. João I	15 th	27	1825	---
Mascarenhas	16 th	24	1817	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Mascarenhas	15 th -16 th	32	1836	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Melo	16 th	24	1817	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Melo	16 th	31 ⁴⁸	1836	---
Melos (Fernão de Melo)	15 th -16 th	17 ⁴⁹	c.1725-1753	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Mirandas, <i>morgados</i> of S. Cristóvão e Patameira	15 th -16 th	15 19	1709 18 th cent.	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [19]
Mirandas/ Miranda-Henriques	15 th -16 th	23	1815	Edited in: NÓVOA 2016, “anexo 6”
Moreira	16 th	27	1825	---
Nogueiras, Lisboa	14 th -15 th	5 ⁵⁰ /7	c. 1542/c. 1694-1755	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [7]
Oliveiras, <i>morgados</i> of Oliveira	14 th -16 th	15 19	1709 18 th cent.	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [19]

⁴⁷ It is possible that some of these documents were summarized (usually with less information) in subsequent inventories of the same archive (CATALOGUE, 13, 25), which have not been studied in detail yet as to the content of the summaries and therefore were not indicated in the table (for a first analysis of those inventories, ROSA, 2012c).

⁴⁸ See n. 9.

⁴⁹ See n. 6.

⁵⁰ See n. 7.

Palhavã	14 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Pereira	16 th	24	1817	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Pero Eanes do Canto	15 th -16 th	3	1515	Edited in: GREGÓRIO 2002
Pero Vaz da Praça (<i>morgado</i> of)	15 th -16 th	31 ⁵¹	1836	
Pimentéis	14 th -15 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Pinas (Rui de Pina)	15 th -16 th	17 ⁵²	c.1725-1753	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Queimado de Vilalobos	15 th -16 th	2/23	1497-1498/1815	Edited in: NÓVOA 2016, “anexo 6” and “anexo 13”
Ravasco	16 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Ribeiro, Gaia/Porto	15 th	1 ⁵³	1458-c.1496	
Salemas	15 th -16 th	23	1815	Edited in: NÓVOA 2016, “anexo 6”
Salemas	15 th -16 th	32	1836	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Sás (Porto)	15 th -16 th	18	1782	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Sequeira	15 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Silveiras	15 th -16 th	11	1609	---
Silveiras	15 th -16 th	20	1784	---
Soares (Torres Vedras)	15 th -16 th	17 ⁵⁴	c.1725-1753	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Sousas	15 th -16 th	20	1784	
Sousas, baron Alvito	15 th -16 th	14	18 th cent.	

⁵¹ See n. 7.

⁵² See n. 6.

⁵³ See n. 12

⁵⁴ See n. 6.

Távoras, <i>morgados</i> of Caparica	16 th	15 19	1709 18 th cent.	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [19]
Teles	15 th -16 th	8	16 th -17 th cents (after 1583)	---
Vasco Lourenço (<i>morgado</i> of)	15 th -16 th	31 ⁵⁵	1836	---

APPENDIX

Sample of the summaries contained in the *Tombo em que se contem todas as propriedades, rendas, foros, privilégios, bulas e alvarás dos morgados de Santa Ana e de São Lourenço de Lisboa, Gaião e Santo Estêvão de Beja* (CATALOGUE, 7)

I

“Lisboa na ponte de Lousa.

Aforamento entre vidas a Pedro Alvares lavrador morador na ponte de Lousa de dois casais que estão além da ponte de Lousa, scilicet um que se chama casal das Oliveirinhas que tem uma courela de mato, que parte de ambas as partes com mata debaixo, uma courela que se chama a Cabeça de mato, um serrado de mato em cima da quinta, outra courela que se chama a peça, outra courela dos mortórios, outra courela a serradinha das figueiras, um serradinho que parte com vinha da Sé. Paga deste sete quarteiros de pão meado, e uma dúzia de bolos, e uma dúzia de queijadas, e um par de galinhas e um carneiro de dois anos . E outro casal que se chama da boa cal que tem estas courelas – a courela da talaya, a da carvalha, a da galega, a do barro, a do arneiro, outra do arneiro que parte com rossio e com a serra, deste paga cinco quarteiros de pão meado por Nossa Senhora de Agosto e um carneiro de dois anos, e uma dúzia de bolos, e uma dúzia de queijadas por Páscoa, com condição que neste casal de boa cal faça casas da feitura deste a um ano e não as fazendo pague três mil

⁵⁵ See n. 9.

reis mouros, e não pagando a pensão dentro de oito dias perca a propriedade; feito por João Martins tabelião geral em Lisboa a 25 de Fevereiro de 1502.

Por Luís de Brito.”

Fl. 5v

II

“Lisboa. Testamento de mestre Pedro I fundador deste morgado.

Traslado em latim do testamento de mestre Pedro físico del Rei cónego da Guarda, e do Porto, Prior de Santiago de Óbidos, e primeiro instituidor deste morgado; no qual testamento faz de toda sua fazenda morgado, e a deixa a seu irmão Lourenço Pires que por dezasseis anos o possua, e passados seja de seu filho mais velho, e morto o dito filho, vá a outro mais velho lídimo, e dali vá sempre de barão em barão filho mais velho lídimo, e nunca fêmeas, declarou que possa vir a colaterais em defeito dos direitos, e que se o que tiver este morgado for clérigo, o possa comtudo ter, mas se for criado em Bispo ou Arcebispo, logo perca este morgado, e passe ao parente mais chegado.

Deixou de encarregos que haja um capelão em São Lourenço de Lisboa na sua capela, docto, e de bom viver que cada dia diga missa de requiem pela alma dele mestre Pedro, del Rei seu senhor, e de seu pai e mãe, e bemfeitores. E aos dias, em que por constituição da igreja se não puder dizer missa de réquiem, scilicet dias de Nosso Senhor e de Nossa Senhora então em tais se diga missa da festa com comemoração destes finados, e seja sobre a cova no fim de cada missa com responso.

Item que este capelão reze todos os dias as horas dos finados, e por este trabalho lhe manda dar setenta libras cada ano, e se pelos tempos não achar capelão por este preço, lhe dêem mais pelos frutos desta capela, pelos quais se reparará a mesma de cálices, e vestimentas, e lâmpadas acesas, e do al.

Item que a custa destas rendas se criem na dita capela três moços ao menos de sete anos cada um, e o dito capelão os ensinará o salterio e cantar. Ele levará por este trabalho cinco libras cada ano, e como isto souberem os passarão à gramática, e o [...] [?] que os ensinar, levará outras cinco libras por ano e serão mantidos de todo o necessário por oito anos, e acabados os despedirão e tomarão outros etc.

Item deixa por seus testamenteiros o vigário que pelo tempo for deste Arcebispo, e o prior de São Lourenço, e seu irmão Lourenço Peres, os quais vigários vis-

item por Natal a dita capela, e capelão e o administrador dela, e tirarão o capelão se não for tal, e porão outro capelão, e isso mesmo para ao administrador, se dissipar os bens da capela ou os alienar, ou danificar ou não cumprir o que aqui lhe é mandado. E o tal vigário por fazer esta visitação levará cada ano cem soldos, e levará quando for visitar o traslado deste testamento, e se não o levar, não haverá os ditos cem soldos.

Feito em Lisboa a 21 de Fevereiro 1334. Mestre Pedro

Por estar em latim, e por ser este a raiz e fundamento deste morgado, o sumei [*sic*] tão largo. O n° é o próprio testamento que está às folhas 95 verso.”

Fls. 87v-88

III

“Lisboa. Partilhas por morte de Alvaro Nogueira.

Partilhas que se fizeram por morte de Alvaro Nogueira filho de Afonso Eanes Nogueira entre ele, seu pai e Caterina Gonçalves mulher do dito finado nas quais couberam a metade de toda a fazenda que houve Afonso Eanes Nogueira por morte do dito seu filho as peças seguintes. Item o casal de Peralonga = o casal de Segurão = o casal do outeiro = o casal do Castanheiro = o casal da Chicolla = a torre do pato, e de casais aforados para sempre os seguintes = o casal da ribeira = o casal do seu mieo = o casal de Orraca chicola = oito alqueires de pão meado dos quinze que fazem as courelas da cenha, e dos casais de quatro os seguintes = o casal da choutaria = o casal ventoso. E de vinhas aforadas as seguintes = duas courelas que trás João Delgado = a courela de vinha que trás Gil Marinheiro = a courela de vinha que trás João Estevez pipo = duas courelas de vinhas que trás Afonso Velho = uma courela de vinha que trás João Lourenço carpenicas = outra que trás picamilho da carregueira = outra que trás João Anes, que foi do Jurgo = outra vinha que trás João Afonso = a metade do vimial da cenha, que trás João Lourenço bativelhas, scilicet, a metade da metade = a metade do pomar da parte do poente com a servidão pelo curral dos merceeiros, e quem levar o pé da árvore apanhe o fruto onde cair = a adega, e lagar em Belas, a casa um tem a metade, e ficou místico não lhe achei confrontações, e isto tudo diz que em anexo à quinta e lugar de Belas, que aqui foi partida por meio, e dá esta escritura no principio a entender que os juizes do lugar de Belas eram postos por estes senhorios. Tabelião de Lisboa Gomes Martins 4 de Junho de 1458 Afonso Eanes Nogueira.”

Fls. 49v-50

IV

“Instrumento publico do aparato, com que Luiz de Brito hia a dar sua resposta da sé de Lixboa ao desafio que Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho lhe mandou fazer, E de quanto se sobre isto então passou, e de como jndo já por caminho com suas trompetas, com bandeiras de suas armas, E com seu arauto vestido na cotta de suas Armas acompanhado de muitos fidalgos foi impedido pello Conde Pedro de Mello Conde de Atalaya, o qual lhe mostrou hum Alvará feito E assinado por mão del Rey que non fosse sob pena de morte e perdimento de Bens, e os escritos, E autos que sobre isso erão feitos se rompessem, Pello que se tornou a caminho da Sé. Tabeliam de Lisboa André Afonso. 27 de Junho de 1468. A horas de terça.”

Fl. 213

[...]

“Carta del rey de Grada para ver de como ha por desobrigado a Luiz de Brito do desafio que Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho lhe tinha feito perante o dito Rey de Grada, vista a prohibição que fez a Luís de Brito El Rey de Portugal. Escrita em Alfambra, a 6 de Outubro, era de Mafamede 873”

Fl. 216v

[...]

“Segurança Real que El Rey Dom Afonso deu a Luiz de Brito de Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho, por virtude de hum Alvará do ditto Gonçalo Vaz que está inserto na mesma carta cujo treslado he o seguinte: Senhor Satisfazendo ao que tenho prometido a V.A. no feito de Luiz de Brito digo por este meu assinado que Eu prometto a Vos, como a meu Rey e senhor, de nunqa errar ao dito Luiz de Britto em estes Reynos por mim nem per outrem, E isto Emquanto he pellos feitos e erros que antre nos sam passados so pena de corpo E de perder per esse mesmo Cazo todos meus bens patrimoniais E da Coroa do Reino, Escritto em Lisboa a 10 de Julho de 1469. E ttambem prometo de lhe nõ errar por nenhum outro cazo sem lho primeiro fazer saber por mym nem por outrem so as mesmas penas. Feito no dito dia Mez e Era. E o alvara del Rey foi/ feito 28 de Julho de 1469. Rey»

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