

EARLY MODERN COIMBRA: THE TOWN AND THE UNIVERSITY

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We might say that the main identifying feature of Coimbra is nowadays— and has been for long — its university. No doubt this is true for many other university towns. I think, however, that each of them has its own story worth being told. The purpose of this paper — a case study according to the intention of this meeting* — is to present Coimbra under the perspective of the relationship between the university and the town within specific time boundaries that could define what we might call the early modern period, with a specific beginning in 1537, the date of the final settlement of the university in Coimbra, under John III; a period whose final term could be put in 1772, the year of the enlightened reformation carried out under the authority of the Marquis de Pombal, which signified a structural change by the creation of two new faculties.

If we are going, in some aspects, to pass beyond these time boundaries, it is only to understand better the period under observation. In fact, in the dynamic symbiosis that characterizes the relationship between town and university with mutual contributions to each other's development, structural features and historical evolution play a role we should not minimize.

1. Coimbra: natural characteristics and historical evolution.

Some geographers¹ assert that the original capability of Coimbra to become an important urban center rooted primarily in its geographical and topographical characteristics, in other words, in the conjunction of *site* and *position*. The old Aeminium of the roman occupation was implanted upon a hill as easy to defend as it was hard to reach. The abundance of water and the fertility of the surrounding soil contributed as well to humanize the place². But the subsequent prosperity of Aeminium — which absorbed the role and even took the name of the neighbouring but less fortunate roman city of Conimbriga — would not perhaps become possible if the needs of circulation did not make it a cross-roads of different ways: the roman way (*via*) from Ulissipo (Lisbon) to Bracara (Braga), in the north, crossed the river Mondego, by means of a bridge, precisely at the foot of the hill; the river itself (navigable in a substantial part of its course) linked the lower and flat region between Coimbra and the sea and the more mountainous one upstream.

The historical circumstances stressed the natural characteristics: during the period of what we call the Christian Reconquest, Coimbra was a town in the frontier (thus taking advantage of its strategical capacity), under the constant menace of the Muslims; later, as the country spread towards the south and the ideal of independence turned into reality, this town became the residence of the first king of Portugal and his successors, for more than a hundred years (1131-1255).

In the beginning of the fourteenth century (1308), when for the first time Coimbra received the portuguese university — founded in 1290 in Lisbon — the relevant features of its face were quite well outlined³: to the eyes of any inhabitant or visitor there was a clear distinction (or even opposition) between the high town (*almedina*) and the low town (*arrabalde*). The first one was contained within a circle of walls with its five gates. The *arrabalde* (as the name says) was situated outside the walls, to the west and north. This dichotomy would remain with its social counterpart: on the top of *almedina* there stayed the royal palace and, very near, the castle; one step down, the bishop's palace and, some two hundred metres away, the cathedral. The city council held their meetings in the Tower of Almedina (beside the gate with the same name, at the very bottom of the walls, not very far from the cathedral). We may say that this was the aristocratic, political and military part of Coimbra⁴ with an important cultural pole as was the cathedral. When king Alphonse III decided to stay longer in Lisbon (from 1255 on) and the royal officers and services gradually moved to the new capital, *almedina* was partially abandoned and the efforts to fully repopulate it had a limited success⁵.

On the contrary, the *arrabalde* was humming with activity: craftsmen, merchants, passing travellers or businessmen crowding the inns, men and women selling vegetables, fish, wine or bread in the market or in their shops⁶ created a quite different and lively atmosphere. But in this space dedicated to the handicraft and commercial activities — or even to less licit ones —, in the confluence of two of the principal streets, was settled the Monastery of Santa Cruz (The Holy Cross). It dominated the main circulation pivot in the town⁷ and played a crucial role in the portuguese political and cultural history since its foundation (1131). Protected by the first king (whose magnificent tomb can be seen in the monastery's temple) who sought support and advice in the founders of the monastery, enriched both out of donations of the powerful and by the acquisition of landed property⁸, it became a powerful institution, competing and sometimes conflicting with the other ecclesiastical power, the bishop and the cathedral⁹. For the purpose of this paper it is more relevant, however, to emphasise the cultural dimension of the monastery: it possessed an important *scriptorium*¹⁰ and in its school eminent masters taught Grammar, the Arts, Theology and even Medicine¹¹.

Coimbra developed in a polycentric manner: significantly, in 1358, the municipal proclaimer to whom was committed the announcement of a council order, fulfilled his task by crying it in front of the royal palace, near the council tower, in the square before the church of St. Bartholomew and in the square in front of Santa Cruz, thus identifying the principal public spaces¹².

2. "Early Modern Coimbra was born in 1537"¹³

Then, in 1537, the university moved in. Not for the first time. During two periods in the fourteenth century (1308-1338 and 1354-1377) it had already stayed in Coimbra¹⁴ (the rest of the time since

its foundation — 1290-1308; 1338-1354; 1377-
-1537 — the university town had been Lisbon).

The reasons that led king John III to take this decision are not completely known. We can probably say that what seemed important to the monarch was to remove the university from Lisbon and seize this opportunity to completely regenerate the old *Studium*. In 1533, answering a letter of the town council of Coimbra, the king stated that certainly the university would leave the capital city although he had not yet made up his mind where to¹⁵. It was known the interest of other towns, namely Évora, to receive the university. The evasive answer of the king can be justified by his want of keeping secret a plan he had begun to execute some years before.

In fact, in 1527, the monarch, thus following in a larger scale previous examples, had decided to grant scholarships to fifty portuguese students in the College of St. Barbara in Paris, thus providing essentially for the renewal of Theology and for the preparation of future professors. In the same year — and probably in connection with this first decision — he ordered the reformation of the monastery of Santa Cruz, to be carried out by Brás de Braga, a monk of St. Jerome. A special care was taken in reviving the studies in the monastery, which implied building new colleges. An active correspondence between the king and Brás de Braga¹⁶ informs us of the crucial role this institution played in the establishment of the university in Coimbra: in one of these letters the monarch says that he always had in mind — when ordering the monastery to be reformed — to transform its schools in a *studium generale*¹⁷. The idea was that the lessons should commence on the first of March 1537 (they really began only in May) and, once more, Brás de Braga was requested to have things prepared for it — rooms, chairs, benches and everything necessary. No doubt, his personal involvement must be emphasised, but it would not be enough if he couldn't count upon the institutional and economic support of the monastery.

The king appointed professors to the faculties of Theology, Canon and Civil Law and Medicine. The Arts, he said, would be taught by the monastery's professors. But soon enough (royal decree of April 1537, confirmed in July in response to the protest of the university), he put the faculty of Theology under the authority of the monastery and functioning in its premises. Some time later, it was the turn of Medicine to move to Santa Cruz, on the basis of its close relationship with the Arts. If we read the *Description and sketch of the Monastery of Santa Cruz*, we can see the way its author depicts the intellectual atmosphere of this Monastery in this very moment:

Near this courtyard [facing the church of the monastery] there's a large square paved with stones and surrounded by an iron barrier [...] On this square we can see a great number of students who continuously speak to one another, some of them about Grammar, others on Logic, Rethoric or the other Liberal Arts; some disputing about the Holy Theology, others about Medicine, which restores human health. All of them commit themselves not to speak any language other than Latin or Greek, which is a marvellous scene for the passers by to observe. The students come, as if they

were swarms of diligent bees, from two polished colleges [St. Augustin and St. John, the Baptist] one on the right and the other on the left of this monastery [...] They have ten lecture rooms, paved with bricks and furnished with artistic chairs. And the most is that the friars have a balcony from where they listen to the lectures of all sciences apart from the laymen but not so apart that these last ones could not take advantage of the good example of their conversation.

In this way, a longstanding tradition of intellectual work provided the solid grounds

For some years the university was divided, not only in what concerned the places where the faculties were taught but also in terms of jurisdiction: within the monastery it belonged to the Prior, except in case of lawsuit; outside Santa Cruz, professors and students were submitted to the university Rector and privy judge (Conservador). To the Prior of Santa Cruz was besides conferred the dignity of Chancellor¹⁸, originally held by the bishop (during the stay of the university in Lisbon) and afterwards (1537) bestowed to the university Rector.

We can truly say that modern Coimbra was born in 1537 and was generated by this coming of the university: but it is not less true that the town had a special disposition to receive it. Not only because the university had been there before, or because of the pacific atmosphere propitious to intellectual work, but also counting on the fact that an ancient and renewed institution was able to provide the grounds for it to be founded. Founded and funded: in fact, the Priorate of Santa Cruz, by royal request and papal concession, was the source of a most substantial part of the university's financial support. After the death of last Great Prior (Prior-Mor, D. Duarte, an illegitimate son of the king), the rents and assets of the Priorate¹⁹ were divided into three parts: two of them intended to the establishment of two new dioceses (Leiria and Portalegre), the other one to be incorporated into the university's property (1545 — the university took possession in 1546)²⁰. Although originating a lengthy conflict between the university and Santa Cruz, only solved by mutual agreement (enforced by the king) in the first years of the seventeenth century, this annexation corresponded to a huge contribute to the university's economic survival²¹.

Let's add two last lines to the picture drawn until now. The uneasy situation created by the fact that three faculties had their lessons in Santa Cruz and the other two outside the monastery was solved in two steps: first, the king lent his palace²² to shelter the two law faculties; later (1544), to prevent an increase of the already existing conflict, he ordered all the faculties to be gathered in this same place. The other relevant fact was the creation, in 1548, of the College of the Arts with a professoral élite invited by the monarch himself. This period lasted only a few years of unquestionable splendour, although marked by internal dissent, until the College was put under the direction of the Jesuits (1555)²³. But this movement of foundation of new colleges had begun before and was reshaping the face of the town.

Reshaping the face of the town

In the few months between May and September 1537 the university stayed in the house of the first Rector, D. Garcia de Almeida (in the middle of the hillside, facing the river). The plan to construct new buildings for it, on the top and eastern part of the hill, was not accomplished and the solution, as we have already seen, was to move to the royal palace. Soon enough, however, a crown of colleges gradually surrounded the university. Gradually, because not only their foundation was widely spread in time, but also (we are speaking of the colleges in terms of buildings) their construction took, in some cases, several years or even decades; in other cases the members of these communities moved from one place to another. There's no doubt, however, that the final result was a substantial change in the urban configuration²⁴.

If we take as reference the moment when the new buildings were commenced we can have an idea of the rhythm of that change: between 1540 and 1550 an entire street was outlined in the *arrabalde*, to the north of Santa Cruz, by a group of seven colleges, all of them belonging to religious orders. In this same decade, three other colleges were established: the jesuits settled theirs in the higher part of the town, first in temporary lodgings, then in a new and huge building (occupying a surface of about ten thousand square metres), which took a long time to be finished and was intended to receive 200 students²⁵; close to the university, in the place where the schools had been situated in their medieval stay, was founded the college of St. Paul, while the canons of St. John the Evangelist (they wore a blue gown, from which they were called by the greek-derived name of *Lóios*) used the premises of the hospital they ran to shelter their students.

The new foundations, in the second half of the sixteenth century and afterwards (some of them took place during the two following centuries until 1779) tended to get closer to the university, except two of them: but even those ones were not farther than a ten minutes walk. In the very yard of the university a new building was added to the west wing, beside the Chapel: the Library (built between 1716 and 1728), a jewel of the university and of the town²⁶.

Not all the colleges were of the same nature: St. Paul (since 1563) and St. Peter (from 1572 on), immediate to the university, were colleges for graduates who intended to pursue a teaching career (they were called secular colleges). The fellows²⁷ were maintained by the college (for a period of nine years, although frequently extended for some years more) during the time they were in the situation of "opositores", i. e. candidates to the property of a Chair (they belonged formally to the university body, participated in its government and could eventually be substitute lecturers, but did not receive a regular salary), or even some years after obtaining a teaching position. But they could also pass directly from the college to high places in the royal service or in the Church²⁸.

The majority of the colleges belonged to religious or military orders. It is known that the regular clergy cultivated essentially the study of Theology²⁹. Their colleges, while playing a similar role to the secular ones in training candidates to the professorship — as most of the lecturers of Theology were monks and had to wait a long time before they could own a Chair³⁰ — had regular classes of

Grammar, Arts and even Theology (some of them). These studies were recognized by the university and a significant number of these monks matriculated as graduates, only to accomplish the last steps before they gained the degree of doctor or (the expression having the same meaning in the faculty of Theology) of master.

The Arts College was different from the others: it was intended to prepare students for the higher faculties (a degree in Arts was necessary to enter Theology or Medicine and the candidates to the faculties of Law were submitted to an examination in Latin in the College) but the artists could obtain an autonomous graduation (as bachelors, licenciates or masters). As far as teaching was concerned, it was independent, submitted to a Principal, but the degrees in Arts were granted in the university.

Briefly, we may say that, except for three colleges with specific roles, the collegiate system, in Coimbra, worked only in the faculty of Theology. This one (if we look at the matriculation books) has been, in the long term, the less numerous. The great majority of the students, those attending Canon or Civil Law and Medicine, lived outside the colleges, among the town population.

The students in the town

We may ask ourselves what was the effect, in terms of population numbers, of the coming of the university.

In 1527, the town had 1,329 “vizinhos” or “fogos”³¹, 370 in *almedina* and 839 in the *arrabalde*³², corresponding to some 5,300 inhabitants (souls). From this starting point, the observation (through the parish registers) of the marriages and christenings during the period 1540-1640, shows a growing trend. The demographic crises (the most violent burst in 1599) did not change the overall panorama³³. For 1647, an estimate made on the basis of military recruitment, points out (with an interrogation mark) the number of 9 or 10,000 inhabitants³⁴. The inquiry of 1758 gave the result, for eight of the nine parishes of the town, of 2,985 households. Adding an estimate of 2,000 people for the missing parish, we could have the total of 13,200 inhabitants³⁵.

These rough figures may serve as a background to the observation of the number of students matriculated in the four “senior” faculties³⁶. There’s not enough evidence, for lack of records, from 1537 until 1573³⁷, although we may probably say that the gap between the numbers we know (537 students in 1540, 693 in 1570) was filled by a continuous growth. From that last year on, we dispose of regular information. The curve of matriculations³⁸ (1573-1771) shows an ascending trend with only one major negative slope (1629-34 — 1674-79). This trend can be quantified as representing an average increase of 3.5% every five years, but it was not a continuous one: a straight line at the level of 1,000 or 1,100 matriculations would represent the student population in the century between 1573-1674; ten years after, another platform is reached, at about 1,700

matriculations, going on until 1720; and again, a steady jump puts the number of students above 2,500. This global outline was the result of an uneven contribution of the faculties: Canon Law dominated³⁹, leaving the other ones far behind; the evolution of matriculations, if considered separately, is not parallel; the rapid increase of 1679-1689 marks also a growing proportional importance of Canon Law (from 68% to 77%).

It is almost obvious (if we bear in mind that the examinations necessary for obtaining a degree (actos) only took place after some years during which the students were merely “listeners”⁴⁰) that not all who matriculated remained in the university. This was an old problem with no solution, although, after and because of a riot against the Vice-Rector⁴¹, in 1660, a royal order forced the students to sign up their names in the matriculation books not only in October and May, as usual, but two more times, during the school year, on uncertain dates (“uncertain matriculations”). An account of the Rector Figueiroa, in 1727, tells us that, in spite of that and other measures taken to improve the students attendance, only one half or even a third of those who matriculated stayed in Coimbra. We can imagine they were those who couldn’t easily go back home, after being matriculated (those who came from Brasil, the islands of Azores and Madeira or from the more distant places in continental Portugal) and those who would soon be submitted to examinations or were close to obtaining a degree.

As important as this fact are the reasons (besides negligence) the Rector puts forward to explain it: first, there were no classrooms that could hold all who matriculated, “especially in Canon Law where”, he says, “although being a very large one, the room (“geral”) can’t contain not even half of those who are enrolled”⁴²; the second reason was that houses to be rented were in very short supply; and finally he thought that, if all the students were actually staying in town, there would be a serious danger of disturbance.

The lack of houses for convenient accomodation of students and professors was a very old complaint⁴³. In 1537 and subsequent years, several times the monarch gave instructions and orders about this matter. The right the students had to be given lodgings all over the town (“direito de aposentadoria”) was only limited by one exception⁴⁴, but was encountered by practical difficulties⁴⁵. The problem had no final solution or, at least, reappeared every time the number of students increased sharply. According to the Rector, reporting in 1727, a constant effort had to be made because the river, overflowing frequently, destroyed the houses in the lower area of the town, leaving behind several ponds, source of infectious diseases. There’s no doubt, whatever the real number of students staying in Coimbra might be, that their presence put under pressure the house rental market: in 1762-63, after one of the uncertain matriculations was abolished (1758), and because an extraordinary number of students had graduated in the previous year, the prices of new rentings went down and some tenants demanded a reduction of the old ones.

If the number of students is relevant, we shouldn't forget their quality of a young⁴⁶ male privileged group. Some of them were already privileged by their family background⁴⁷. All of them exactly because they were students.

The most important of their privileges was their immunity from the ordinary judges⁴⁸. The jurisdiction over them (as well as over all the privileged of the university) belonged to the university's private judge (Conservador). He had his own court, where up to eight lawyers could be admitted, after being approved by the Rector and his council, and was assisted by clerks and a bailiff who had ten men under his orders. His jurisdiction comprehended both civil and criminal matters; from his court the appeals should go directly to the "Casa da Suplicação", a higher court in the capital city. For the students this privilege meant that either as plaintiffs or defendants they were entitled to demand to have their causes judged before the "Conservador" even if they were arrested by any other judicial officers, in Coimbra or elsewhere⁴⁹. And they were usually kept in the university's jail.

Being the most important one, this was not the only privilege the students enjoyed. A special care had always been taken in easing their life⁵⁰ by providing for their basic needs. Something has already been said about housing. Let's add something about food supply.

Soon after the university moved to Coimbra several royal orders dealt with this matter: the students should have a place for their exclusive supply of meat and fish as well as a weekly market — every tuesday — where poultry, vegetables, fruit, live sheep or kids, eggs and milk, the fish caught in the river Mondego, could be sold without paying any duties⁵¹. Beef was supplied by contract, at fixed prices, at the university's slaughter-house. The merchants who assumed this obligation could drive livestock from any part of the country, ask for help of the local authorities to carry out their duty and were exempt of some municipal impositions. Similar rights were granted to those who brought fish from the neighbouring coast⁵².

At the disposal of the students was also a special transport and mail service, organized, in the same way, on the basis of contracts signed by the university council with merchants or muleteers. These ones were responsible for the security of the goods and the money they carried. Prices were fixed, according to the distance, as well as terms to the parcels to be delivered.

As segregated as the students might be by all these peculiarities (and certainly by their dresses and behaviour), the fact is that they depended greatly on the town population. The way they lived in Coimbra is described by Ribeiro Sanches: "every two or three students have a woman servant ("ama"), one and sometimes up to three male servants; if the student is a gentleman he has a cook, a servant and a page; the splendour of a nobleman [...] consists of a greater number of servants and of being able to afford to have a mule or a horse"⁵³. Maybe there's some

exaggeration, as this was intended to be a criticism to the way the students treated themselves. But we know, from other sources, that this kind of association of some students paying for the services of a woman servant who cooked their meals, of a boy servant and of a washerwoman, was frequent⁵⁴. Others rented houses only for themselves, sometimes expensive ones. In the other side, we find poor students living with the owners of the houses, receiving food and some other material help in exchange for their services, or in collegiate communities as “family” (familiares), “washing the feet” (as a document says) of the college fellows.

The general situation was summarized by the first Rector after the reform of 1772 (complaining about the difficulty in maintaining discipline among the students): “it is well known that the students don’t live in colleges; they are spread all over the town in private houses they hire”⁵⁵.

This daily familiarity could create friendship⁵⁶ or, on the contrary, be a source of disturbance. At least in two ways: first, because the problems among students or between them and the academic authorities had an immediate echo on the town’s life; then because sometimes conflict burst between the students, in one side, and the non-student population, in the opposite one.

We could consider different types of student violence⁵⁷ according to its source: the normal conflict of interests between persons; the opposition to academic authorities; the fights between groups formed spontaneously on the basis of some common characteristic (for example, geographic origin⁵⁸); the imposition (or, eventually, the resistance to it) of some customarily rules of behaviour proper to the students (such as the ritual of submission the freshmen had to perform⁵⁹). And we can’t exclude criminal behaviour of organized student gangs⁶⁰. Sometimes, however, they were the weak point through which social tension could be vented⁶¹.

The *Palito Métrico* describes the new student on his first arrival at Coimbra: he is surprised by the high buildings and by the multitude of people wearing black gowns and caps⁶². The students were the hallmark of Coimbra. Curiously, their participation in the university’s government was severely weakened (or even annulled) when, in 1654, they were deprived of the only real influence they had: the right to vote in the appointment of lecturers. They were an intermediate body between a less literate population and the university, whose authority was entirely held by professors and officers under the lead of the Rector. The “academy” was somehow divorced from the “university”⁶³.

The university in the town: some aspects

The university may be regarded also as an institution with a particular role and weight in the life of the town. Here, we will see briefly three aspects: the university as source of privilege for those who served it; the role it played directly in the town’s government by appointing one of the four members of the town council; the academic ceremonies as a festive meeting point between the university and the city.

It is well known that the academic degrees were an important instrument of social promotion. If this is true for the society in general, it applied as well to the town where the university stayed. Besides that, however, the physical presence of the institution created a specific demand of services: one of the ways the university had to guarantee an efficient supply was the faculty of granting its servants special privileges. The list of the privileged of the university was a long one and included both those who constantly were occupied in its service⁶⁴ and others performing temporary tasks, besides the servants of the Rector, Chancellor, lecturers, students, officers and colleges.

This situation of privilege was a coveted one: besides being under the jurisdiction of the university judge (exclusive of any other one), those who enjoyed it were free of serving some municipal charges and of paying specified taxes. No wonder that some of them considered privilege — and the honour they caught from it — as a sufficient compensation for their services⁶⁵.

For the town, on the contrary, the great number of privileged of the university (and they were not the only ones) was a burden: their economic weight can be measured by the fact that their contribution to an extraordinary tax, in 1613, corresponded to 24.1% of the total one. And more: they were the most qualified to serve municipal charges. Their exemption caused them to be served by lesser people⁶⁶.

A more close tie with the town was even the participation of the university in the municipal government, by appointing one of the town councillors. The first notice about this prerogative (26 March 1546) tells us that this new councillor was added to the other three already existing. His role is defined in a letter (15 49) sent by the king to the Rector: "...to let the other councillors know the privileges of the university in such a way that nothing could be done or ordered to the detriment of the university"⁶⁷. In spite of this, it can be said that, in fact, the "councillor of the university body was not a delegate of the institution to enforce its domination [...] or to negotiate advantages or strategies"⁶⁸. He acted as any other councillor, except that he couldn't serve as ordinary judge. This peculiar magistracy had the advantage of smoothing the natural conflictuality that could arise between two powers acting in a common space, and was demonstrative of the importance the university had in a province town⁶⁹.

The appointment was annual. In the period 1640-1777, we can count 114 of these university councillors. Most of them were appointed in the beginning of their academic careers: 67 fellows of the secular colleges (29 of St. Peter, 38 of St. Paul); 77 already as lecturers (although 22 as "condutários" i. e., not yet owning a chair); 49 were graduated in Civil Law, 43 in Medicine and 19 in Canon Law⁷⁰.

The real influence the university exerted and the close institutional tie with the municipal government had a visible counterpart: the academic festivities overflowed to the town. Regularly, on dates fixed by the *Estatutos*, the whole body of the university, orderly gathered around the

Rector (*per modum universi*) walked either a few hundred metres or crossed the town to the outskirts: a mass was celebrated and a sermon was preached; the rest of the day was dedicated to repose (as well as the eve in the afternoon) or to exercises and examinations. Two more formal processions took place, on the Christmas Eve (or the day before Epiphany, after 1612) and on 6 June, between the university and Santa Cruz. The doctorate suite went through the same path. Music and the sound of bells would announce it. Royal marriages or the birth of royal offspring would be celebrated in the same way.

In all these occasions, members of the colleges, lecturers, doctors, students and university officers were urged to participate. A long lasting tradition reproduces nowadays these colourful celebrations: one of the duties of doctors has always been to honour the university by wearing their insignia⁷¹.

More important, however, is the actual omnipresence of students in the town: they are now about twenty three thousand — and we could add about four hundred of the Erasmus-Socrates programmes and those foreigners who come from all over the world to attend the annual or summer courses of portuguese language and culture. The festivities in the beginning of the school year, and especially those of May (“Queima das Fitas”) are the highlights of the academic life: but we must say that they are also among of the most popular events in the city. A huge crowd of hundreds of thousand people fill every year, both sides of the streets through which the students cortège is passing: it begins in a symbolic spot — o Largo da Feira (the one where once the students market took place); it ends in the lower town, in the main commercial street. In this way, an ancient connection is repeatedly brought to memory, renewed , and made stronger.

* “University and town: a dynamic symbiosis”, Louvain, 2-4 February 2000.

1 Amorim Girão, “Civitas Aeminiensis (Subsídios para um estudo geográfico da cidade de Coimbra)”, in *Coimbra. Colectânea de Estudos*, Coimbra, 1943, pp. 73-85; Alfredo Fernandes Martins, *Esta Coimbra [...]. Alguns apontamentos para uma palestra*, Coimbra, 1951.

2 António de Oliveira, *A vida económica e social de Coimbra de 1537 a 1640*, Coimbra, 1971, vol. I, p. 150.

3 Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, “Coimbra trecentista — a cidade e o estudo”, in *A Universidade de Coimbra no seu 7º centenário*, Academia Portuguesa da História, Lisboa, 1993, pp.73-100; António de Oliveira, *A vida económica*, p. 150 ss.

4 Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, “Coimbra trecentista”, pp. 73-74

5 António de Oliveira, *A vida económica*, pp. 153-159.

6 I think it’s possible to extend to earlier periods the image depicted by Guilhermina Mota in “O trabalho feminino e o comércio em Coimbra (sécs. XVII e XVIII). Notas para um estudo in *A mulher na sociedade portuguesa. Visão histórica e perspectivas actuais*, Coimbra, 1986, vol I, pp. 351-367.

7 Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, “Coimbra trecentista”, p. 76.

8 Leontina Ventura, Ana Santiago Faria, *Livro Santo de Santa Cruz*, Coimbra, 1990, *Introduction* by Leontina Ventura, pp. 20-40.

9 Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, “Coimbra trecentista”, pp. 77.

10 António Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra na cultura portuguesa da Idade Média*, Bibliotheca Portucalensis, vol. V-VI, Porto, 1963-64; Maria José Azevedo Santos, *Da Visigótica à Carolina. A escrita em Portugal de 882 a 1172*, Coimbra, 1988.

11 Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, vol. I, Porto, 1967, p. 243; Maximiano Lemos, *História da Medicina em Portugal*, 2nd ed., vol. I, Porto, 1991, p. 18-19. In *the Description and sketch of the Monastery of Santa Cruz (Descrição e debuxo do Moesteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra)*, Coimbra, 1957, ed. facsimile por I. S. Révah we can see the intellectual and artistic atmosphere of the monastery: on a large balcony over the cloister, they practised music — namely the “canto de órgão” or polyphony — (the monastery itself having produced several fine composers such as Pedro de Cristo, Pedro da Esperança, Francisco de Santa Maria and others); or disputed on Philosophy, or entailed spiritual conversations. Of no lesser importance was the printing workshop with several sets of latin and greek printing types, where only the monks worked without any external help (p. 13)

12 Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, “Coimbra trecentista”, p.77.

13 António de Oliveira, *A vida económica*, p. 1.

14 See, for this medieval stay in Coimbra, the already quoted article by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho “Coimbra trecentista - a cidade e o estudo”; Mário Brandão, “A Universidade de 1290 a 1580” in *A Universidade de Coimbra. Esboço da sua história*, Coimbra, 1937, pp. 45-104; Teófilo Braga, *História da Universidade de Coimbra nas suas relações com a instrução pública portuguesa*, vol. I, Lisboa, 1892

15 Mário Brandão, *Documentos de D. João III*, vol. I, Coimbra 1937, doc. I.

16 *Ibidem*, doc.s IV, V, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XV, for the period before March 1537. Mário Brandão uses these documents in his precious synthesis “A Universidade de 1290 a 1580” in *A Universidade de Coimbra. Esboço da sua História*, pp. 164-179.

17 “Eu sempre fiz fundamento quando determinei mandar fazer esses estudos de fazer universidade e escolas gerais”, *ibidem*, doc. XV.

18 “Chancellor” is here the translation of the portuguese “Cancelário”. The royal order of 15 December 1539 (*Documentos de D. João III*, doc. CXXXI) defined his functions: to grant the degrees of licenciate, master and doctor and to authenticate the respective diplomas (this last capacity was later committed to the professor of *Prima* of Civil Law). At the same time, it disposed that the examinations and the ceremonial functions to confer the academic degrees would take place in the monastery. These dispositions were later somewhat modified: the Chancellor would also preside in the “exame privado” (“private examination”, the last and most important exam giving access to the degrees of licenciate and doctor) and in the previous choice of the matters to be defended by the candidate; the degrees of Theology continued to be granted in the monastery but those of the other faculties passed to the university grand hall (*Estattutos da Universidade de Coimbra (1653)*, facsimile ed. , Coimbra, 1987, liv. II, tít. XXII).

The reasons for the concession of this dignity are stated by the monarch: the tombs of the two first portuguese kings were in the monastery’s church; the monastery rendered a public service through its colleges; the monarch wanted to honour and exalt the monastery (see document quoted above).

19 The Priorate was independent of the community living in the monastery whose ruler was the “Prior Castreiro”(“Home Prior”): until 1527, the “Prior-Mor”, out of the total income of the Priorate gave the monastery a certain amount of money (around 600,000 réis) divided into portions to be distributed to the members of the community. These portions were administrated by each of them. In that year a contract was celebrated (confirmed in 1530 and again in 1535) by which some of the rents of the Priorate passed to the monastery, remaining under common administration. These rents amounted to 1,001,234 réis thus giving the community a greater economic ease (Archives of the University of Coimbra [AUC], Santa Cruz, box nº 15; see also next note).

20 Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho; Maria José Azevedo Santos, “Contenda entre a Universidade e o Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na segunda metade do século XVI. Breves notas”, in *Universidade(s). História, Memórias, Perspectivas. Congresso História da Universidade*, vol. 3, Coimbra, 1991, pp. 39-61.

21 The university’s patrimony remained practically unchanged until 1774: in the eighteenth century, before that date, the part of the university’s income derived from this annexation represented at least 40% of the total one (Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, *A universidade de Coimbra (1700-1771). Estudo social e económico*. Coimbra, 1992, vol. II, p. 532, note 59).

22 The building was sold by the king Philip II to the the university in 1597, but remained with the privileges of a royal palace. (Manuel Lopes de Almeida, “A Universidade de 1580 a 1937” in *A Universidade de Coimbra. Esboço da sua História* , p. 14).

- 23 The most important study about the Arts College before 1555 has been written by Mário Brandão, *O Colégio das Artes (1547-1555)*, 2 vol.s, Coimbra. 1924-1932).
- 24 António de Vasconcelos, “Os colégios universitários de Coimbra (fundados de 1539 a 1779)” in *Escritos Vários Relativos à Universidade Dionisiana*, vol I, reed., Coimbra, 1987, pp. 155-295; Ana Paula Margarido, Margarida Vilar Queirós, “A Universidade de Coimbra e as alterações na malha urbana da Alta” in *Universidade(s)*, vol. II, pp. 357-393; José Eduardo Horta Correia, “A importância dos Colégios Universitários na definição dos Claustros portugueses” in *Universidade(s)*, vol. II, pp. 269-290.
- 25 António de Vasconcelos, “Os colégios universitários”, p. 191.
- 26 Over the entrance gate, an inscription states that the Library is an ornament of Coimbra: *Hanc augusta dedit libris Collimbria sedem, ut caput exornet bibliotheca suum*. It was commonly accepted that the Library had been built out of the generosity of king John V. In fact, the monarch, as “protector” of the university, had to authorize the extraordinary expenditure that such a work would imply. But the Library was entirely paid by the surplus of the university’s rents Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, *A universidade de Coimbra*, vol. II, pp. 729-730; about the architectural aspects of the Library, see José Ramos Bandeira, *Universidade de Coimbra*, tomo I, Coimbra, 1943, pp. 139-252).
- 27 They were, in theory, 12 in St. Peter and 24 in St. Paul. But, in 1563, when the first fellows of St. Paul were solemnly received in the college, they were only 11, including the rector and one “porcionista”. In fact, the two colleges accepted a few members (undergraduates but sons of the highest nobility) who paid for their stay (“porcionistas”). The number of these was increased, in St. Paul, to a maximum of 8, by royal permission (1696). It’s not easy to say how many members stayed at the same time in each of these two colleges. We know however that, between 1563 and 1728, St. Paul had 187 fellows and 98 “porcionistas”. The numbers in St. Peter are respectively 174 and 59 (*Memórias do Colégio Real de S. Paulo* pelo Doutor Joseph Barbosa in *Collecção dos Documentos e Memórias da Real Academia da Historia Portugueza*, vol VII, 1727; *Catalogo Chronologico dos Collegiais e Porcionistas do Colégio de S. Pedro*, composto pelo Doutor Manuel pereira da Silca Leal in *Collecção*, vol. V, nº XXX, 1725; António de Vasconcelos, *Escritos Vários*, vol. I, pp. 92, note 1). In 1708, there were 11 fellows and 2 “porcionistas” in St. Paul; two years later, a booklet in which the daily expenditure with food was registered informs us that the number of fellow-borders varied from 5 to 9 (Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, *A Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. I, p. 300, note 4).
- 28 These colleges may be compared to the spanish “colegios mayores”, “centres of power” in the expression of Ana Maria Carabias Torres (*Los Colegios Mayores, centros de poder*, 3 vol.s, Salamanca, 1986; see also Damaso de Lario, “Mécenat des Collèges Majeurs dans la formation de la bureaucratie espagnole(XIV.e -- XVIII.e siècles, *Revue Historique*, CCLXXV/2, 1987, pp. 307-342).
- 29 In 1691, the Rector, addressing himself to the king to report about the situation of the university, emphasized the fact that 54 of the 71 students who had matriculated in Theology were members of religious orders “which causes” he added “that they gain almost all the profit from the lecturers work”. In the other hand, the lecturers themselves came from the same institutions (Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, “Uma Relação do estado da Universidade de Coimbra em 1691, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, vol. XXIV, Coimbra, 1990, pp. 265).
- 30 We may suppose that the situation (at least in relative terms) in the seventeenth century, and even in a great part of the previous one, was not very different from the one it was possible to observe in the period 1700-1771: the average length of time between the doctorate and a first appointment as “condutário” or “proprietário” (the first only received a salary, the second owned a Chair) was: for Theology - 27 years; for Canon Law - 15 years; for Civil Law - 14 years; for Medicine - 4 years (Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, *A Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. I, p. 401).
- 31 These names stand for counting units (and not for individuals). They could be considered as households. The average number of individuals in a “fogo” (household) was about 4 (henceforth the estimated number of c. 5,300 individuals). The regular clergy and the nuns as well as the floating population were not included.
- 32 António de Oliveira, *A vida económica*, vol. I, p. 150.
- 33 The most important and necessary reference for these matters is António de Oliveira, *A vida económica e social de Coimbra (1537-1640)*. The author studies in detail the demographic phenomena, not only in the parishes of the town but also in some ones of the surrounding county. Here we can’t go beyond a very summary outline.
- 34 *Ibidem*, vol. I, p. 187.
- 35 The estimate, using an average of 3.8 people per household, is made by Armando Carneiro da Silva, “Evolução populacional coimbrã”, *Arquivo Coimbrão*, vol. XXIII, 1968, p. 223 and p. 242.

36 António de Vasconcelos, “Estatística das matrículas efectuadas na Universidade de Coimbra durante dois séculos (1573-1772)” in *Escritos Vários*, vol. II, Coimbra, 1941, pp. 111-123. Vasconcelos grouped the matriculations by periods of five years and did not consider separately the freshmen of the Law faculties (those who matriculated in the preparatory course of Instituta). For the period 1700-1771 a new count was made, year by year and taking into consideration the students of Instituta (Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, *A Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. I, pp. 24-25; vol. II, Apêndice, quadro A. I. 3.). There are no continuous records of the matriculations in Arts, except for the period 1710-1758 (AUC, *Livro dos assentos dos estudantes do curso de Artes desta Universidade (1710-1758)*). During it there were around 150 students in the four years of the course (this number is an average of values between 109 — 1731-1740 — and 190 — 1710-1720).

37 For the years 1537-1540, Vasconcelos gives us some information (including the students of Grammar and Arts): 1537-38 — 230; 1538-39 — 221; 1339-40 — 83; 1540-41 — 537. In 1573-74, the total number of matriculations was of 693. (*Escritos Vários*, vol. II, pp-117-118).

38 It was first drawn, for the period 1573-1644, by António de Oliveira (*A vida económica*, vol. II, fig. 94); then by Roger Chartier and Jacques Revel, when comparing the attendance of several european universities (“Université et société dans l’Europe Moderne. Position des problèmes”, *Revue d’Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, tome XXV, Juillet-Septembre 1978, pp. 353-374). The one I refer to here is based, like the others, on the data of António de Vasconcelos except for the period 1700-1771, for which my own counting slightly differs from his.

39 This faculty counted for 72% of the total matriculations (1573-1771); the proportions for the other faculties are: Civil Law — 15.3%; Medicine — 7.1%; Theology — 5.6%.

40 To have the possibility of being examined and obtaining a degree, the student had to prove that he had attended the classes for the time fixed by the Statutes. The time was counted in “courses” (each one of eight months) and the way to prove attendance was by means of two fellow-students who acted as witnesses. Law students had to prove five courses before their first examination, six to be a bachelor, and eight to be a “formed bachelor” (always being submitted to the respective examinations). “Formed bachelors” were qualified to enter the professions (as well as “approved physicians”, after six “courses” in the faculty of Medicine).

41 The Vice-Rector wanted to verify if the matriculated students really attended the lessons, by calling the roll. The students, who usually took their younger fellows of the Arts College to answer for the absent ones, couldn’t do so this time, since, by agreement with the Vice-Rector, the Principal would call the roll on the same day. The students surrounded the Vice-Rector crying for him to leave, made such a noise that his voice couldn’t be heard and threw down the stairs his chair, symbol of his authority (Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, *A Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. I, p. 373).

42 *Ibidem*, p. 360.

43 When, for the first time (in 1308), the university moved to Coimbra, one of the greatest difficulties to be overcome was precisely providing for the students lodgings. The owners of the houses were reluctant to rent them since the students were considered as bad tenants and worse payers. Trying to solve this problem, the king (in 1309) instituted rate fixers (“taxadores”) two of the town and two of the university charged of estimating fair prices for house rentals; urged those who owned houses in *almedina* to rent them and even to rebuild ruined ones; gave the students permission to buy houses for their accomadation; and finally made *almedina* an enclosure only for university people (Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, “Coimbra trecentista”, p. 89). The problem arose again in 1354 (Mário Brandão, *A Universidade de 1290 a 1580*, pp. 101-102).

44 The core of the commercial activity (the “Calçada” and the square near the church of St. Bartholomew — “Praça”) was excepted of this obligation (*Documentos de D. João III*, vol I, doc. XXXIII). Later on, the Statutes (1597) exempted also the houses of high magistrates (desembargadores) if they didn’t want to rent them (*Estatutos*, liv. II, tit. XXXI, § 20, 21).

45 In 1537 (8 November) instructions were sent to the university about the appointment of two rate fixers, the enrolment of all the houses to be rented and the fixing of rental prices (*Documentos de D. João III*, vol. I, doc. XXXIII); the next month, a royal letter stated that the owners of the houses had no reason to fear low rental prices, since one of the rate fixers represented them (doc. XXXIX); another letter (8 July 1538) confirmed that the new buildings for the university would be constructed within the walls, so that those who wanted to build new houses to let them to the students could confidently proceed (doc. LIV); then a royal decree exempted from price fixing, for twenty years, the houses that were built in *almedina* within two years (doc. LXIV); in the meantime, some grounds had been assigned to build new lodgings, in the northern side of the *arrabalde* (doc. LXI); other decrees established that even the houses of the orphans should be rented to the students (doc. LXXXVIII) or imposed penalties for those who demanded a higher price than the one fixed (doc. XCI). All these determinations were confirmed by the *Estatutos* (1597), liv. II, tit. XXI.

46 The analysis of two samples of graduates in Canon and Civil Law, in the XVIIIth century, showed that the majority of them graduated (as “formed bachelor”) when being 24-26 years old. Taking into consideration that the average time they had spent was around 7 years we may think that the ages of the students would be comprised between 16-18 and 24-26 years old. There were some significant marginal values in both sides of the distribution: the lower ones indicate that some students were extremely young (14 - 12 years old, in a few cases still younger) when they entered the university .

47 Among the students we find sons of the nobility (most of them dwelling in Lisbon) and of the provincial gentry. A sample of candidates to the magistracy career (all of them were at least “formed bachelors” by Coimbra) shows us the following distribution of the social categories of the graduates’ fathers: nobles and gentry — 15.6%; “letrados”(magistrates and persons holding a university degree) — 26.1%; clergy — 1.5%; businessmen — 7.5%; landowners — 15.6%; army officers — 13.1%; craftsmen —10.6%; undetermined designations — 10.0%. To better understand this distribution it must be said that the nobles seldom applied and sons craftsmen and other “mechanical” workers were considered unable to apply for magistracy (Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, *A Universidade de Coimbra*, vol I, p. 267).

48 See, for the origin and development of this privilege, António de Vasconcelos, “Génese e evolução histórica do foro académico da Universidade portuguesa; extinção do mesmo” in *Escritos Vários*, vol. I, pp. 297-334.

49 *Estatutos*, liv. II, tit. XXVII; Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, “Uma relação”, pp. 253-256. Some episodes, however, show some limitations to this right.

50 The founding charter of the portuguese university (1 March 1290), while highly praising science (“because the world is enlightened by science”), promised security for all the students to be. (*Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis*, pub. by Artur Moreira de Sá, vol. I, Lisboa, 1966, doc. 3).

51 *Documentos de D. João III*, doc. CXLVII.

52 *Ibidem*, doc.s XLVII, XLVIII. The contracts with these merchants have been studied by António de Oliveira, *A vida económica* (chap. VI- O abastecimento, especially pp. 212-226, vol. II), and Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, *A Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. I, pp. 315-328.

53 António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, “Apontamentos para fundarse huma universidade real”, *Obras*, vol. I, Coimbra, 1959, p. 120).

54 A collection of texts (most of them poems, some in dog-Latin) of the eighteenth century (the first one was written in 1746) depict the student life in Coimbra. Although having to be cautious (they were intended to amuse), it is possible to draw from them a sufficiently credible image, which probably can be extended either sides of the period in which they were written: *Palito Métrico e correlativa Macarrónea Latino-Portuguesa*, Coimbra, 1942.

55 Francisco de Lemos, *Relação geral do estado da Universidade (1777)*, Coimbra, 1980, p. 210.

56 As an example of a friendly relationship we may present the case of the medical students: they could apply to receive an annual subvention from the university during their studies (“partido médico”) or even be helped to pay for their degrees. Besides having to prove that their parents and grandparents were not jews or “new-christians”, they had to promise — by signing a legal document with the security of a warrantor — that they would finish their studies in due time and would not change faculty (they were forced to return the money received, in case they didn’t meet these obligations). The list of those who stood security for the medical students (1700-1771) includes shoemakers, tailors, barbers, other craftsmen, (these professions amounting to 48,6% of all), booksellers and shopkeepers, chemists and university officers. Doctors, lawyers, clerks are much less represented (Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, *A Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. I, pp. 293-294). This kind of association implies a close relationship and confidence (it must be stressed that most of these students came from various parts of the country). Another example can be found in the “correspondentes”, merchants who forwarded money to pay the expenses of some students being afterwards payed back by their parents.

57 Student violence has been studied and understood not as a fact of a particular place or time but as almost necessarily originated by the characteristics of the student population, as Jacques Verger says: “forts [...] des privilèges juridiques qui leur assurent sinon l’impunité, du moins des sanctions moins graves, un grand nombre d’universitaires [...] se livrent à des violences auxquelles les poussent l’âge, le déracinement, l’appartenance pour une majorité d’entre eux aux deux classes sociales les plus portées à la violence, la noblesse et la paysannerie” (Jacques Verger, “Les universités et les pouvoirs publics au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance”, quoted by Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, “La violence des étudiants à Toulouse à la fin du XV^e et au XVI^e siècle (1460-1610), *Annales du Midi*, XCIV, 1982, p. 245).

58 In Coimbra, the students from the Alentejo (a southern province of Portugal) lived together near the university in the quarter (“bairro”) of S. Peter, also called “Bairro do Alentejo”. When, in 1670, the judge and

bailiff of the university arrested two armed students, all the others ran to help and took them from their hands. In the following days it was impossible to make any inquiry about the incident. The students, besides resisting with arms, were accused of terrorizing their non-student neighbours, thus preventing them from even stating the names of those who dwelt in the quarter. In 1740, there was a fight involving two groups of students: once more they were formed according to their place of birth — Lisbon, for one of the groups, and a northern province of Portugal (Minho) for the other. One of the students was shot dead. Another incident (1722), this time involving local authorities together with the town population against the students, was provoked during a festivity celebrated by the students of the province of Beira.

59 As described by the *Palito Métrico* (narrating the journey to Coimbra, coming from the mountains, of a certain Jan-Fernandes): the first day this new student arrived in town he was caught by a group of older ones: a saddle was put on him and he was mounted by the others; he had to pay supper and lodgings in a boarding house but he was not allowed to eat and had to sleep on the floor. It's obvious that only a gang could impose such a ritual. Some texts call the freshman ("novato" ou "caloiro") a beast who had to be tamed. This kind of charge (the portuguese word "investida" means precisely that) would be made in the first year of the student's stay in Coimbra, could lead to violence and has lead (in a few cases) to violent death. More generally, the freshman who arrived in town, ignorant of the milieu, was forced to seek protection in the older ones ("veteranos") and had to pay for it.

60 These gangs really existed in Coimbra, the most notorious having been the "Rancho da Carqueja" who was formed and operated between October 1720 and February 1721. In this later date a military force blocked the town gates and caught eighteen of the gang members (most of them born in Lisbon), including their leader (the most relevant exception — he was from the North, near Oporto). There's no need to summarize their misdeeds. I brought this example just to make a consideration: being the most notorious, the behaviour of this group of students was considered by some historians as typical and constant. Teófilo Braga, just to quote the most important, in his *História da Universidade de Coimbra*, considers it as representative of "the intimate life of the students of Coimbra at the time the university accepted the bull Unigenitus" — 1717; and reproduces a comment of an unknown author identifying the "Rancho da Carqueja" with a group operating "in the middle of the eighteenth century". This tells us about how carefully these matters must be dealt with.

61 As was the case, in 1630, when the "old-christian" students expelled from the university their fellows "new-christians" (converted from judaism): in a period of growing activity of the Inquisition, the "new christians" were granted special concessions to which opposed the Church and the Holy Office itself. An increasing tension burst into open conflict when (15 January 1630) the holy host was profaned in Lisbon. The students' riot in Coimbra lasted from monday to saturday (4 to 9 March 1630), in spite of the efforts of the academic authorities to calm it. It was, evidently, caused by a general atmosphere of ill will against the "new christians" reinforced by a difficult economic and political situation (António de Oliveira, "O motim dos estudantes de Coimbra conta os cristãos-novos em 1630", *Biblos*, vol. LVII, 1981, pp. 597-627; *Poder e oposição política em Portugal no período filipino (1580-1640)*, Lisboa, 1991).

62 "Calouríados", in *Palito Métrico*, p. 11.

63 The word "university" is most of the times used, in registers and documents, in a restrictive sense, meaning specifically the body of professors and doctors.

64 The university had an important body of officers, some directly linked to its teaching function, others to administration, justice or religious service. See, for this, Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, "Uma relação do estado da Universidade", p. 233. We must also remember that those who had contracts with the university — even if they didn't live in Coimbra — enjoyed the same privileges: we have already spoken of the meat and fish suppliers; but the same happened with those who collected the university's rents ("prebendeiro", "rendeiros", giving the university a fixed amount in exchange of the right to collect what was due to it in specified areas) and with the "mordomos" (a sort of representatives of the university in various parts of the country).

65 António de Oliveira, *A vida económica*, vol. I, p. 436.

66 *Ibidem*, p. 439.

67 *Documentos de D. João III*, vol. IV, doc. DLV.

68 Sérgio Cunha Soares, "Os vereadores da universidade na Câmara de Coimbra (1640-1777)", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, vol. XXVI, 1991, pp. 45-80. The quotation (p. 46) is a free translation of: "O vereador da Universidade não foi, no período em questão, um delegado da Universidade junto do Município para aí exercer funções de domínio ou tutela, nem tão pouco para negociar interesses ou estratégias".

69 *Ibidem*.

70 *Ibidem*, p. 64.

71 *Estatutos*, liv III, tit. LXXVI, § 5.