



**Following the Cardinal of Lisbon in the *liber divisionum*
'Obligationes et Solutiones 61': the Chamber and College
of Cardinals between Rome and Constance (1411-1415)**

**Atrás do cardeal de Lisboa no *liber divisionum* 'Obligationes et
Solutiones 61': a Câmara e o Colégio dos Cardeais entre Roma e
Constança (1411-1415)**

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ABSTRACT

Cardinal João Afonso de Azambuja, known to his contemporaries as Cardinal of Lisbon, participates in the divisions of common and minor services registered in a *liber divisionum* produced between 1413 and 1420 and kept in the Vatican Apostolic Archive under the reference “*Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol. 61*”. The main objective of this article is to follow Cardinal Azambuja in the aforementioned record, seeking to analyse the functioning of the Chamber of the College of Cardinals during the pontificate of John XXIII (1411-1415). We also seek to demonstrate how division books, in addition to being useful for calculating the income of the Cardinals’ Chamber or establishing the number of cardinals present in the Curia, can also be used to reconstitute the calendar of consistories and to clarify aspects of individual cardinals’ lives.

Keywords: Chamber of the College of Cardinals, *libri divisionum*, Cardinal João Afonso de Azambuja, Baldassarre Cossa (John XXIII), Papal consistory.

RESUMO

O cardeal João Afonso de Azambuja, conhecido pelos seus contemporâneos como cardeal de Lisboa, participa nas divisões dos serviços comum e menores registadas num *liber divisionum* produzido entre 1413 e 1420 e conservado no Arquivo Apostólico do Vaticano com a cota “*Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol. 61*”. O principal objectivo deste artigo é acompanhar o cardeal Azambuja no referido registo, procurando analisar o funcionamento da Câmara do Colégio de Cardeais durante o pontificado de João XXIII (1411-1415). Procuramos também demonstrar como os livros de divisões, para além de serem úteis para calcular o rendimento da Câmara do Colégio ou estabelecer o número de cardeais presentes na Cúria, podem também ser usados para reconstituir o calendário de consistórios e para esclarecer aspectos das biografias cardinalícias.

Palavras-chave: Câmara do Colégio de Cardeais, *libri divisionum*, cardeal João Afonso de Azambuja, Baldassarre Cossa (João XXIII), Consistório.



Introduction¹

The *libri divisionum* of the College of Cardinals have been used as a source for a diverse range of studies over the years, mostly with the aim of establishing successions of bishops and abbots². The exception came in 1967, when Anthony Antonovics published in the *Papers of the British School at Rome* an article dedicated to the volume *Obligaciones et Solutiones* 80³, which corresponds to the *liber divisionum* between the pontificates of Pius II and Paul II. In this article, the author set out to answer essentially two questions: what were the incomes of the College of Cardinals and of each individual cardinal at the end of the 15th century⁴. More recently, Pierre-Bénigne Dufouleur used this and three other fifteenth-century *libri divisionum*, spanning from 1418 to 1470, to determine the number of cardinals present in consistory⁵. Both studies represent innovative approaches to these records, exploring their potential as sources for studying the cardinal's institutions. The register *Obligaciones et Solutiones* 61⁶, a *liber divisionum* that covers part of the pontificate of John XXIII and Martin V, is not cited by the two aforementioned studies. Its limited use by historians can be mapped in the *Bibliografia dell'Archivio Vaticano*⁷, which shows the occasional use of this register to find references to specific dioceses or countries⁸. Notable among the others is Emil Göller's study on

¹ This article benefited immensely from the communication presented at the conference "Administration in Times of Crisis: The Roman Papacy in the Great Western Schism", held at the Deutsches Historisches Institut in Rom, the 23rd and 24th of October of 2023, by Armand Jamme (CNRS Lyon), who kindly gave us access to the preprint of his text.

² The most emblematic example being: EUBEL, Konrad – *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi sive Summorum Pontificum, S. R. E. Cardinalium, Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series. Editio Altera*. 3 vols. Münster: Librariae Regensbergianae, 1913.

³ The complete archival reference is: Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (hereafter AAV), *Camera Apostolica, Obligaciones et Solutiones* (hereafter *Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.*) 80.

⁴ ANTONOVICS, Anthony V. – "A late fifteenth century division register of the college of cardinals". *Papers of the British School at Rome* 35 (1967), pp. 87-101.

⁵ DUFOULEUR, Pierre-Bénigne – *Léguer sans fils, hériter sans père: Transmission et légitimation du pouvoir chez les cardinaux du Quattrocento*. vol. 1. Paris: Sorbonne Université, 2021. Doctoral thesis. pp. 106-109.

⁶ AAV, *Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.* 61.

⁷ *Bibliografia dell'Archivio Vaticano*. Dir. Commissione internazionale per la bibliografia dell'Archivio Vaticano. Vatican City: Archivio Vaticano, 1962-2003.

⁸ Among them *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*. vol. III-1. Ed. António Domingues de Sousa Costa. Braga: Editorial Franciscana, 1982, p. 785 and COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – *Portugueses no Colégio de S. Clemente de Bolonha durante o século XV*. vol. 1. Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1999, pp. 432 and 444.

the apostolic chamber during the Schism of 1378⁹ and, above all, Paul Maria Baumgarten's book, which uses this volume to understand the workings of the Chamber of the College of Cardinals, transcribing several excerpts in an appendix¹⁰.

In this article we intend to explore this *liber divisionum* by following the trail of Cardinal João de Azambuja. Methodologically, this means that his participation or non-participation in the various moments – consistories and general divisions – guided our reading and analysis of the source. However, this does not mean that we limited ourselves to calculating his income or monitoring his attendance at consistories. We drew on the particular information to make comparisons with the general picture, to understand the workings of the cardinal's institutions – chamber and college – and to follow the troubled path of John XXIII's curia. In addition, we have tried to demonstrate, through this case study, how this type of record has significant potential for studying individual cardinals and the cardinalate in general in the 15th century.

João Afonso de Azambuja, the Cardinal of Lisbon (1411-1415)

João Afonso de Azambuja was born in the second half of the 14th century. He was the son of Afonso Esteves de Azambuja, a nobleman who served at the courts of the Portuguese kings Pedro I (1357-1367) and Fernando I (1367-1383)¹¹. In 1383, with the death of the latter and the emergence of a dispute over his succession by Beatriz, his only daughter and wife of Juan I of Castile, Afonso de Azambuja and his son supported the cause of João, Master of the Military Religious Order of Avis and bastard son of Pedro I. João de Azambuja, a bachelor in canon law, had been a *desembargador*¹² in the chancellery of the Master of Avis since 1384, signing more than three hundred documents during his first years of activity. He witnessed the success of his candidate at the *cortes* of Coimbra of 1385, and his name appears on

⁹ GÖLLER, Emil – “Aus der Camera Apostólica der Schismpäpste”. *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 33 (1925), pp. 72-110.

¹⁰ BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria – *Untersuchungen und Urkunden über die Camera Collegii Cardinalium für die Zeit von 1295 bis 1437*. Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1898.

¹¹ GOMES, Rita Costa – *The Making of a Court Society: Kings and Nobles in Late Medieval Portugal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 115-116.

¹² “High court judge/senior crown magistrate” GOMES, Rita Costa – *The Making of a Court Society*, p. XXI. See: HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho – *O Desembargo Régio (1320-1433)*. Oporto: INIC, 1990, p. 135.

the document that acclaims João I King of Portugal. In addition to his duties in the royal chancellery, which he held until 1395, he also became a member of the royal council¹³.

Royal service took João de Azambuja to the Papal Court, where he was sent in 1388 to obtain from Urban VI the dispensations of illegitimacy and clerical status for the former Master of Avis. João I was trying to free himself from the blemishes that could jeopardise his ascension to the throne and his marriage to Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt and sister of the future Henry IV of England¹⁴. João de Azambuja was still at the curia in 1389, where he encountered obstacles to the success of his mission. Despite returning to Portugal without the desired papal dispensations, João de Azambuja was made bishop of Silves during his stay in Rome in March of that year. He returned to the Roman Curia in 1390, managing to obtain from Boniface IX, in addition to the aforementioned dispensations, a series of other graces and papal privileges¹⁵. Still at the curia in February 1391, Azambuja was transferred to the diocese of Porto¹⁶.

On his return to Portugal, João de Azambuja became less and less active in the royal chancellery¹⁷, dedicating himself to the government of his diocese, during a period marked by the negotiations that would lead to the transfer of the lordship of the city of Porto from the bishop to the king at the beginning of the 15th century¹⁸. He was appointed bishop of Coimbra in July 1398, a dignity with which he joined the Portuguese delegation responsible for negotiating a truce in the conflict with the kingdom of Castile¹⁹, which had been raging more or less continuously since the succession crisis of 1383²⁰. Azambuja remained involved in the peace process and

¹³ FONTES, João Luís Inglês – “João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja”. In FONTES, João Luís Inglês (dir.) – *Bispos e Arcebispos de Lisboa*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2018, pp. 472-473.

¹⁴ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. João Afonso de Azambuja, cortesão, bispo, arcebispo, cardeal, fundador do Convento das Dominicanas do Salvador de Lisboa”. *Actas do III Encontro sobre História Dominicana*. t. II. Oporto: Dominicanos, 1989, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵ FONTES, João Luís Inglês – “João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja”, pp. 474-475.

¹⁶ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. João Afonso de Azambuja”, pp. 6-7.

¹⁷ HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho – *O Desembargo Régio*, pp. 330-331.

¹⁸ RIBEIRO, Luís Mário Araújo – *A transição do Senhorio Episcopal Portucalense para a Coroa em 1406*. Oporto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2009. Master's dissertation; GRAF, Carlos Eduardo de Verdier – *D. João Esteves da Azambuja: exemplo da interligação de poderes (séculos XIV e XV)*. Oporto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2011. Master's dissertation, pp. 60-66.

¹⁹ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. João Afonso de Azambuja”, pp. 20-23.

²⁰ SUAREZ FERNANDEZ, Luis – *Relaciones entre Portugal y Castilla en la época del Infante Don Enrique (1393-1469)*. Madrid: CSIC, 1960, pp. 17-27.

was part of an embassy to the court of King Enrique III of Castile in 1402, the year he was transferred to the archdiocese of Lisbon. Having already accumulated considerable experience in the field of Portuguese-Castilian relations, he kept on the forefront of negotiations with Juan II, the successor to the Castilian throne, between 1407 and 1408, always with the aim of renewing the truce between the two warring kingdoms²¹.

At the beginning of 1409, the archbishop of Lisbon was appointed by the king to preside over the Portuguese embassy sent to the Council of Pisa. Leaving the kingdom after the 20th of April of that year, the date of his will, he joined the conciliar assembly at the end of June²². The Portuguese delegation, despite their late arrival at the council, declared their support for Pope Alexander V and later for Pope John XXIII. After the council, João de Azambuja remained in the papal curia, before undertaking a possible pilgrimage to the Holy Land at the beginning of 1410²³. He returned to Portugal in the early months of 1411, where he received the news of his creation as cardinal, with the title of cardinal presbyter of *S. Petri ad Vincula*, at the consistory on the 6th of June of that year²⁴.

Libri divisionum servitiorum Collegii Cardinalium

The *libri divisionum* (books of divisions) have been preserved in the “*Obligationes et Solutiones*” holding, which contains 91 financial volumes produced between 1295 and 1555 by the Apostolic Chamber and the Chamber of the College of Cardinals²⁵. Of these, only the five *libri divisionum* shown in the table below are preserved for the 15th century²⁶. As can be seen, from the pontificate of Martin V onwards, there

²¹ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. João Afonso de Azambuja”, pp. 24-26; FONTES, João Luís Inglês – “João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja”, p. 479.

²² COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. João Afonso de Azambuja”, pp. 42-43.

²³ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. João Afonso de Azambuja”, pp. 46-47.

²⁴ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. João Afonso de Azambuja”, pp. 49-50.

²⁵ AAV, *Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.* See *Sussidi per la consultazione dell'Archivio Vaticano: lo schedario Garampi, I registri Vaticani, I registri Lateranensi, le rationes camerae, l'archivio concistoriale*. Ed. Germano Gualdo. Vatican City: Archivio Vaticano, 1989, pp. 120-121; BOYLE, Leonard E. – *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings (Revised Edition)*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2001, p. 43; *Taxae pro communibus servitiis. Ex libris obligationum ab anno 1295 usque ad annum 1455 confectis*. Ed. Hermann Hoberg. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944; Index 1036 of the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano “Leone XIII” Index Room.

²⁶ KOWALSKI, Marek Daniel – *Proventus camerae apostolicae debiti: opaty duchowienstwa polskiego na rzecz papiestwa w latach 1417-1484*. Kraków: Historia Jagellonica, 2010, p. 177.

are several books that we don't know about or that haven't reached us, with the pontificate of Eugenius IV being the only one that is completely covered²⁷.

Archival reference	Dates of production	Pontificates covered
<i>Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.</i> 61	1413/06/08 – 1420/11/01	John XXIII – Martin V
<i>Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.</i> 65	1428/03/15 – 1437/06/18	Martin V – Eugenius IV
<i>Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.</i> 69	1437/06/21 – 1443/09/16	Eugenius IV
<i>Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.</i> 63A	1443/10/24 – 1447/02/21	Eugenius IV
<i>Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.</i> 80	1460/03/03 – 1470/01/01	Pius II – Paul II

The *libri divisionum* are essentially made up of two types of records: the individual payments for common and minor services made by ecclesiastics who were granted consistorial benefices, and the general divisions where the shares corresponding to each of the members of the Sacred College are recorded. Each individual payment record is usually made up of the following elements: the date when the payment was made, on whose behalf and which ecclesiastical benefice was concerned, the name of the person who made the payment (whether the beneficiary himself or a proxy), the amount that was paid (since it could be paid in full or in parts), the place and date of the consistory in which the benefice was conferred, the number of cardinals who were present (or officially present, as we will see), a list (in one or more columns) with the names of the cardinals who were present, the percentage that belongs to the clerics of the College of Cardinals (1% of the amount paid), the amount that remains to be distributed to the cardinals (99%) and, finally, the amount that each of the cardinals listed above should receive²⁸.

²⁷ KOWALSKI, Marek Daniel – *Proventus camerae apostolicae debiti*, p. 190.

²⁸ For an example of these individual records see Annex 1. For another example see: DUFOULEUR, Pierre-Bénigne – *Léguer sans fils, hériter sans père*, vol. 2, p. 29.

The *divisio generalis* (general division) took place following a variable number of individual payments and with an equally variable chronological interval. On these occasions, the sum resulting from all these payments was distributed to the cardinals and clerics from the College of Cardinals. The presence of the cardinals at this time was not obligatory, and the amount could be withdrawn on the spot, by the cardinal himself or by a proxy, or recorded in the cardinal's *ratio* to be withdrawn later²⁹. The structure that the records of the general divisions took varied slightly from book to book and even from record to record, with certain elements being omitted or not in the different records (such as the differentiation between living and dead cardinals, the destination of the sums allocated to dead cardinals, the amounts that went to the clerics of the College of Cardinals, etc.). Despite this, the usual structure of a general distribution had the following elements: the date and place where the division was made, the individual payments from which the money to be distributed originated, a list with the names of the cardinals entitled to a portion, an indication of the amount granted to each cardinal, the sum of the amount granted to the set (or different sets) of cardinals, the sum allocated to the clerics of the College of Cardinals, the total of the initial amount and the total of the divided amount³⁰.

Common and minor services

Services were a tax paid to the Apostolic Chamber and the Chamber of the College of Cardinals by patriarchs, archbishops, bishops and abbots when they were appointed by the pope in consistory. The services were divided into *servitia communia* (common services) and *servitia minuta* (minor services). Common services represented the largest portion of the tax and were divided between the two chambers. Minor services represented a smaller amount and were divided between the servants of the two chambers³¹.

²⁹ General division of the 14th of May 1418, at Constance, where we can see the decision of the different cardinals concerning their shares: "habuit", "posit ad rationem suam", "per collegium habuit depositarius", etc. AAV, *Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.* 61, fols. 98v-99. BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria – *Untersuchungen und Urkunden*, pp. CLXIII-CLXV.

³⁰ For an example of a general division record see Annex 2.

³¹ LUNT, William – *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*. New York: Octagon Books, 1965, p. 82.

The origin of the services can be traced to the gifts that the popes received when, as metropolitans, they confirmed the provisions of the prelates of central Italy. On that occasion, offerings were also made to other clerics of the Papal Curia who took part in the provision ceremonies. These gifts were the origin of the common and minor services. Its transformation from a voluntary offering to a compulsory tax has its origins between the end of the 12th century and the first half of the 13th century³². They were definitively structured between the pontificates of Alexander IV (1254-1261) and Gregory X (1271-1276)³³. Despite this, the services underwent constant adjustments throughout the 14th century³⁴.

Only the benefices provided by the pope in consistory paid the common and minor services. However, between the 13th and 15th centuries, the number of benefices covered by the papal collation kept increasing. Clement IV (1265-1268) decreed that whenever a benefice became vacant in the Curia due to the death of its holder, the pope would be entrusted with its provision. Boniface VIII (1294-1303) went on to include all benefices that became vacant within two days' travelling time of the Curia. Clement V (1305-1314) added all the benefices vacated by the death of cardinals, apostolic nuncios and papal chaplains or officials. John XXII (1316-1334) extended the reservation to all benefices vacant due to papal deposition, deprivation, promotion or transfer, cancellation of elections or resignation at the hands of the pope. With Urban V (1362-1370), the reserve came to include all patriarchal, archiepiscopal and episcopal churches with annual incomes of more than 200 florins and all male monasteries with incomes of more than 100 florins, regardless of the circumstances in which they became vacant. This pope also reserved the benefices left vacant by all papal officials, including collectors and sub-collectors. Eugenius IV (1431-1447) raised the threshold for papal collation monasteries to 200 florins, but it was lowered again to 100 at the end of the 15th century³⁵.

³² CLERGEAC, Adrien – *La Curie et les Bénéficiers Consistoriaux: étude sur les communs et menus services 1300-1600*. Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1911. pp. 7-10.

³³ GÖLLER, Emil – *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII*. Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh, 1910, p. 37.

³⁴ CLERGEAC, Adrien – *La Curie et les Bénéficiers Consistoriaux*, pp. 10-18.

³⁵ LUNT, William – *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, pp. 84-86.

The amount charged for the common service corresponded to one third of the total income of the benefice in question. First the value of the income of each benefice was initially estimated by a local enquiry, then successive promises to pay for the services were recorded in a separate register and these began to determine the amount paid by the future occupants of the benefice. At the end of the 14th century, the amount corresponding to the common service of each benefice was recorded in the *Liber taxarum*. When the benefice provided could not be found either in the previous obligation registers or in the *Liber taxarum*, a commission was appointed to determine the value of the benefice, which was usually the responsibility of either local prelates or collectors. The amount to be paid could be updated if the income from the benefice fell, usually due to extraordinary circumstances, such as a prolonged war³⁶.

The minor services represented a set of five services and their amount depended on the number of cardinals present in consistory at the time the benefices were provided. A service corresponded to the share that each cardinal received from the common service, with some variations between the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century. From Paul II onwards, in 1470, each service of the minor service no longer depended on the number of cardinals actually present in consistory but was fixed at 1/14th of the common service paid to the Chamber of the College of Cardinals. Each service, of the five that made up the minor service, was distributed among different officers of the two chambers, the chancery and other members of the Papal Curia³⁷.

Those who received the provision of a consistorial benefice had to pledge to pay the fees due for common and minor services, receiving the bull of provision only after paying the amount due for said services³⁸. Payment could be made by the beneficiaries themselves, through proxies appointed for the purpose or through bankers. In the case of bankers, they could advance the payment for the services to the two chambers and they received the benefice's bull of provision, which they

³⁶ LUNT, William – *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, pp. 86-87.

³⁷ LUNT, William – *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, pp. 89-90.

³⁸ CLERGEAC, Adrien – *La Curie et les Bénéficiaires Consistoriaux*, pp. 188-206.

handed over to the beneficiary when he had paid off his debt³⁹. Prelates who failed to fulfil this promise ran the risk of being excommunicated. They were also obliged to pay any debts left by their predecessors in the benefice⁴⁰.

The Chamber of the College of Cardinals

The development, structure and functioning of the Chamber of the College of Cardinals were studied in depth by Johann Peter Kirsh (1895)⁴¹, Baumgarten (1898)⁴² and Göller (1910)⁴³, and their studies remain relevant despite their advanced age. Nevertheless, and given the lack of recent studies on the subject, the origins of the Chamber of the College of Cardinals remain unclear. Georg Schneider refers to the existence of a separate deposit for the cardinals' funds and a college chamber since the pontificate of Alexander III⁴⁴. However, we only know for sure that it existed from the 13th century onwards, when the first clear documentary references appear⁴⁵. At least as early as 1250 there was a common box for the College of Cardinals, where the funds allocated to it by the pope were deposited, and from 1272 onwards there is mention of the first chamberlain of the sacred college⁴⁶. The structure of the chamber of the College of Cardinals became more complex from its beginnings and throughout the 14th century, as its income increased. At least from 1332 onwards, it is possible to describe its hierarchical structure. It was led by the college chamberlain, chosen from among the cardinals, assisted by the two clerics of the college, who were his main sub-officials, an unspecified number of servants and

³⁹ In addition to payments for common and minor services, there were also a series of other fees that had to be paid by clerics provided with a consistorial benefice, such as the *sacra* (1/20 of the common service), the subdiaconate (1/3 of the *sacra*), the *propina* (of variable value and paid to the cardinal who proposed the candidate in the consistory), among other fees. LUNT, William - *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, p. 90.

⁴⁰ LUNT, William - *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, p. 86.

⁴¹ KIRSCH, Johann Peter - *Die Finanzverwaltung des Kardinalkollegiums im XIII. und XIV. Jahrhundert*. Münster: Verlag von Heinrich Schöningh, 1895.

⁴² BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria - *Untersuchungen und Urkunden*.

⁴³ GÖLLER, Emil - *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII*, pp. 20-70.

⁴⁴ SCHNEIDER, Georg - *Die finanziellen Beziehungen der florentinischen Bankiers zur Kirche von 1285-1304*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humbolt, 1899, pp. 45-47. See GÖLLER, Emil - *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII*, pp. 21-22.

⁴⁵ KIRSCH, Johann Peter - *Die Finanzverwaltung des Kardinalkollegiums*, p. 43; BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria - *Untersuchungen und Urkunden*, pp. XLIII-LI.

⁴⁶ BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria - *Untersuchungen und Urkunden*, p. LI; DENDORFER, Jürgen; LÜTZELSCHWAB, Ralf (eds.) - *Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2011, p. 183.

scribes, who were responsible for the documentary production of the college's chamber⁴⁷. This structure went through the 14th and 15th centuries practically unchanged and is the one we find in the register *Oblig. et Sol.* 61.

One of the main functions of this structure was to distribute the revenues of the College of Cardinals among its members. At least since the 13th century, the various popes had endowed the college, for example, with part of the censuses paid by the Christian kingdoms to the papacy and with part of the common services, which came to represent an additional way of financing the Sacred College⁴⁸. On the 18th of July 1289, Pope Nicholas IV published the bull *Caelestis altitudo*⁴⁹, in which he allocated half of the church's secular income to the cardinals, essentially half of the aforementioned censuses and income from the provinces of central Italy. However, nowhere in this bull are the services mentioned. As Göller said, there is no known document that establishes the equal distribution of common services between the pope and the cardinals. This may have started before the bull of Nicholas IV, influencing it, or it may have started afterwards, influenced by it⁵⁰. Throughout the 15th century, including during the pontificate of John XXIII, which is of interest to us here, the sharing in half of the common service between the pope and the cardinals remained unchanged.

Liber divisionum "Obligationes et Solutiones 61"

The volume *Oblig. et Sol.* 61⁵¹ records the general divisions of the Chamber of the College of Cardinals from June 1413 onwards. Cardinal João de Azambuja died on 23rd of January 1415. During this period of about 20 months, Cardinal *Ulisbonensis*

⁴⁷ BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria – *Untersuchungen und Urkunden*, p. XLIII. On successive pages the author makes a list of the chamberlains and clerics of the Chamber of the College of Cardinals.

⁴⁸ KIRSCH, Johann Peter – *Die Finanzverwaltung des Kardinalkollegiums im XIII. und XIV*, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁹ Published in *Bullarum privilegiorum ac diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum. Amplissima collectio cui accessere Pontificum omnium Vitæ, Notæ & Indices opportuni. Opera et Studio*. t. III, part 2. Ed. Charles Cocquelines. Rome: Typis, et Sumptibus Hieronymi Mainardi, 1741, pp. 52-53.

⁵⁰ "Es läßt sich also hieraus auch kein Beweis für den Zeitpunkt der gleichmäßigen Teilung der Servitien entnehmen; immerhin aber liegt die Wahrscheinlichkeit nahe, anzunehmen, daß, nachdem einmal bei den regelmäßigen Einkünften das Prinzip der Teilung durchgeführt war, dasselbe auch bei den *Visitationes* und Servitien zur Geltung kam (...) Kurz, es existieren weder päpstliche Konstitutionen über jene Fragen, noch lassen sich indirekt Beweise hierfür erbringen". GÖLLER, Emil – *Die einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII*, pp. 22-23.

⁵¹ AAV, *Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.* 61.

took part in a total of 10 general divisions. However, his name continues to appear in the records for a further 24 general divisions. Although the last five of these divisions are found in the *Oblig. et Sol.* 65 register⁵², they have been considered in the totals presented below. After the division in July 1433 during the pontificate of Eugenius IV, Cardinal Azambuja is not mentioned again⁵³.

Living cardinals' shares

The information gathered allows us to calculate not only the amount accrued by Cardinal Azambuja for his participation in the consistory over the course of about a year and a half, but also the amount owed to him for obligations that were not settled during his lifetime. Thus, between the 18th of June 1413 and the 11th of July 1433, Azambuja was awarded a total of 1253 florins, 6 solidi and 8 denarii. Of these, the cardinal only received 673 florins, 33 solidi and 1 denarius, that is, the amount allocated to him until the general distribution of 24 December 1414, the last one he participated in before his death. The remaining 579 florins, 23 solidi and 7 denarii were awarded to him posthumously. In the following table are the amounts attributed to all the cardinals who took part in the 10 general divisions recorded in the *Oblig. et Sol.* 61 during the Portuguese cardinal's lifetime⁵⁴.

Cardinals	Totals from 1413/06/18 to 1414/12/24
Angelo d'Anna Sommariva (Laudensis)	722 fol. 10 s. 4 d.
Rainaldo Brancaccio (Brancatiis)	722 fol. 10 s. 4 d.
Giordano Orsini (de Ursinis)	676 fol. 27 s. 2 d.
Antoine de Challant (Challanco)	676 fol. 27 s. 2 d.
Pietro Stefaneschi (S. Angeli/Romanus)	676 fol. 27 s. 2 d.
Francesco Zabarella (Florentinus/de Padua)	673 fol. 48 s. 11 d.

⁵² AAV, *Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.* 65.

⁵³ The 34 distributions recorded in the two volumes are compiled in Annexes 3 and 4 respectively.

⁵⁴ The following works were used to identify the cardinals present in this table: BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria – *Untersuchungen und Urkunden*, pp. 266-283; EUBEL, Konrad – *Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. 2, pp. 22-62; DENDORFER, Jürgen; LÜTZELSCHWAB, Ralf (eds.) – *Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter*, pp. 84-96.

Cardinals	Totals from 1413/06/18 to 1414/12/24
Antonio Panciera (Aquilegensis)	673 fol. 48 s. 11 d.
Francesco Lando (Venetiarum)	673 fol. 48 s. 11 d.
Tommaso Brancaccio (Tricaricensis)	673 fol. 48 s. 11 d.
João de Azambuja (Ulixbonensis)	673 fol. 33 s. 1 d.
Jean de Brogny (Ostiensis)	645 fol. 10 s. 4 d.
Lucido Conti (de Comitibus)	633 fol. 48 s. 11 d.
Oddo Colonna (de Columna)	623 fol. 9 s. 5 d.
Guillaume Fillastre (S. Marci)	571 fol. 38 s. 11 d.
Pedro Fernández de Frías (de Yspania)	488 fol. 30 s. 7 d.
Landolfo Maramaldo (Barensis)	482 fol. 21 s. 4 d.
Ludovico Fieschi (de Flisco)	466 fol. 22 s. 8 d.
Amédée de Saluces (Salutiarum/de Salutiis)	454 fol. 15 s. 10 d.
Pierre Gérard (Aniciensis)	395 fol. 27 s. 2 d.
Alamanno Adimari (Pisanus)	376 fol. 36 s. 9 d.
Pierre d'Ailly (Cameracensis)	309 fol. 37 s. 10 d.
Francesco Ugucione (Burdegalensis)	272 fol. 15 s. 4 d.
Giacomo Isolani (S. Eustachii novus)	272 fol. 15 s. 4 d.
Branda da Castiglione (Placentinus)	249 fol. 8 s. 8 d.
Antonio Caetani (Aquilaensis Senior)	249 fol. 7 s. 8 d.
Simon de Cramaud (Remensis)	171 fol. 34 s. 6 d.
Corrado Carracciolo (Militensis)	41 fol. 21 s. 7 d.
Antonio Calvi (Tudertinus)	41 fol. 21 s. 7 d.
Giovanni Migliorati (Ravennatensis)	31 fol. 27 s. 1 d.
Guy de Malsec/Malesset (Penestrinus)	31 fol. 26 s. 7 d.
Niccolò Brancaccio (Albanensis)	26 fol. 16 s. 7 d.
Pierre de Thury (de Tureyo)	26 fol. 16 s. 7 d.
Pierre Blau/Blavi (Sancti Angeli Gallicus)	26 fol. 16 s. 7 d.
Enrico Minutolo (Neapolitanus)	15 fol. 10 s. 6 d.

The total received by the 34 different cardinals taking part in these 10 general distributions is 13024 florins, 8 solidi and 7 denarii, with the average amount received by each cardinal being 394 florins. The median value per cardinal stands at 454 florins, while quartile 1 is 106 florins and quartile 3 is 673 florins. The amount received by João de Azambuja is thus among the 25% highest and significantly above average.

What was the significance of the 673 florins received by João de Azambuja over a year and a half? The church of Lisbon had an estimated annual income of 6000 florins⁵⁵, so since the beginning of the 14th century, elected ecclesiastics had to pay a common service of 2000 florins⁵⁶. This was the amount that João de Azambuja undertook to pay to the Apostolic Chamber in 1402 when he was transferred to the archbishopric of Lisbon⁵⁷, whose administration he would maintain until his death. The division of the common service thus seems to be far from being Azambuja's main source of income, and certainly that of his colleagues at the College of Cardinals, although it should represent a significant supplement to the cardinal's treasury.

Regarding the cardinals as a whole, in quartile 3 we find four cardinals created by the Roman obedience, controlling the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 5th positions of the table. A cardinal created by Avignon's obedience, Antoine de Challant, is in the 4th position, while the remaining five cardinals were created by John XXIII in 1411⁵⁸. Between quartile 3 and 1, where we find intermediate incomes, the obediences are quite heterogeneous, with cardinals created by the two obediences mentioned and by the Pisan pope. Finally, in quartile 1 we have exclusively cardinals created by the popes of Rome and Avignon. The main justification for the positioning of the last eight cardinals is the fact that, with the exception of Pierre de Thury, they all died between 1409 and 1412⁵⁹. The differences between the other cardinals are essentially due to

⁵⁵ The most profitable archbishopric in Portugal, according to the estimation of the Apostolic Chamber, was Braga, worth 18,000 florins a year, followed by Viseu, at 7,200 florins, Coimbra and Évora, both at 6,000 florins. The bishopric of Oporto was estimated at 3000 florins and the monastery of S. Maria de Alcobaça, a Cistercian and the richest in the kingdom, 6000 florins a year. *Taxae pro communibus servitiis*, pp. 23, 38, 50, 97, 133, 218.

⁵⁶ *Taxae pro communibus servitiis*, p. 126.

⁵⁷ AAV, *Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.* 57, fol. 79.

⁵⁸ *Geschichte des Kardinalats im Mittelalter*, pp. 495-496.

⁵⁹ BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria – *Untersuchungen und Urkunden*, pp. 266-283.

their greater or lesser attendance at the consistory, with specific reasons for each individual. In the case of João de Azambuja, for example, we will see that he was not in the curia when he was created cardinal, which led him to be absent for several consistories.

Dead cardinals' shares

Ecclesiastics who were provided with consistorial benefices and who promised to pay their *obligatio* sometimes took several years to do so⁶⁰. This meant that some of the cardinals who had been present at the consistory of their provision had already died by the time the payment was made, as we have just seen. Who received the sums allocated to the dead cardinals? It seems that over the centuries the situation evolved significantly. Antonovics says that he can find no indication in the register of 1460-1470 that the popes received the sums owed by the dead cardinals: "there is no trace in the register of the pope having a share"⁶¹.

In the register *Oblig. et Sol.* 61 we find some elements of response. For example, in the general distribution of the 31st of August 1413, the Apostolic Chamber receives the sum of 14 florins, 41 solidi and 6 denarii. which was to be attributed to Cardinals Niccolò Brancaccio, Francesco Ugucione and Enrico Minutolo, who were dead⁶². On 11th of April 1414, Nicholas, bishop of Luca, paid the common and minor services due for his promotion during the pontificate of Boniface IX. Of the 15 cardinals who were present at the consistory, only three were alive. The register indicates that the Apostolic Chamber received the portions belonging to 11 of these cardinals, with the portion belonging to Cardinal Enrico Minutolo (*Neapolitanensis*) being allocated to his heirs⁶³.

There is no reference to this issue in the statutes of the Chamberlain of the Sacred College of 1437⁶⁴ and 1466⁶⁵. It wasn't until 1498, in the reform of the statutes

⁶⁰ DUFOULEUR, Pierre-Bénigne – *Léguer sans fils, hériter sans père*, vol. 1, p. 107. Dufouleur suggests that there should be attendance lists of cardinals present at each consistory, to know which cardinals should receive what. However, if they existed, these lists are lost today.

⁶¹ ANTONOVICS, Anthony V. – "A late fifteenth century division register", p. 94.

⁶² "Camara Apostolica pro cardinalibus mortuis capit". AAV, *Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.* 61, fol. 37.

⁶³ "Neapolitan. heredes / Ceteri sunt mortui pro quibus recipit Camera Apostolica". AAV, *Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.* 61, fol. 54.

⁶⁴ BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria – *Untersuchungen und Urkunden*, pp. LXXXVIII-XCII.

⁶⁵ EUBEL, Konrad – *Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. II, pp. 57-58.

proposed by Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal and approved by Pope Alexander VI, that the portions of the dead cardinals were given a destination:

“Item quod de rata contingente cardinales mortuos detur ordo, quod bene intelligatur et heredibus suis integraliter restituatur; et si non fuerint heredes in Curia, illis absentibus fideliter destinetur; quibus non existentibus pro beneficio animarum suarum in elemosynas vel missas dicendas infra sex menses distribuatur: et de hac rata mortuorum in qualibet divisione fiat certitudo per clericos collegii domino camerario et similis fiat certitudo de quinquenniis solutionum abbatum triannualium, ut facilius omnia intelligantur”⁶⁶.

This determination seems to apply the same rules to the portions attributed by the distribution of services to deceased cardinals as were applied to their other goods acquired *per ecclesiam*. Like the latter, we assume that a *licentia testandi* granted by the pope was required so that these assets, normally inalienable, could be bequeathed to the cardinal's heirs⁶⁷. So, although we do not know the statutes of the chamberlain of the college in force during the pontificate of John XXIII and this issue is not explained in the statutes of 1437 or 1466, it seems that the heirs of deceased cardinals could receive the portions posthumously attributed to their relatives, as we saw happen with the cardinal of Naples.

Also, according to these statutes, if there were no heirs, these sums were to contribute to the salvation of the cardinal's soul, being distributed in the form of alms or used to pay for masses for the soul of the deceased. This determination is also in line with canon law, namely the decree of Alexander III which allows ecclesiastics to bequeath part of their ecclesiastical goods to the poor or for pious causes⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ EUBEL, Konrad – *Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. II, pp. 58-59.

⁶⁷ NICOLAI, Fausto – “Cardinals' Testaments: Piety and Charity”. In HOLLINGSWORTH, Mary; PATTENDEN, Miles; WITTE, Arnold (eds.) – *A Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020, p. 295.

⁶⁸ “Licet autem mobilia per ecclesiam acquisita, ut duximus, de iure in alios pro morientis arbitrio transferri non possint, consuetudinis tamen est non improbandae, ut de his pauperibus, et religiosis locis, et illis, qui viventi servierant, sive consaguinei sint sive alii, aliqua iuxta servitii meritum conferantur”. *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. vol. 2. Eds. Aemilius Ludwig Richter and Emil Friedberg. Leipzig: Officina Bernhardi Tauchnitz, 1881, col. 541-542.

In the book of divisions *Oblig. et Sol.* 61 there is often no separation between cardinals who are alive or dead. As a rule, the living cardinals are listed in hierarchical order and the dead are at the bottom of the list. At other times and very rarely, the dead cardinals are clearly identified⁶⁹. The destination of their portions is also almost always omitted, the case of the cardinal of Naples being one of the exceptions. When it is mentioned, these sums are destined for the Apostolic Chamber⁷⁰, as probably happened with the 579 florins awarded posthumously to Cardinal Azambuja.

Frequency of general divisions

According to the statutes of the chamberlain of the sacred college of 1437, the general divisions were to take place every two months, which could be brought forward or delayed at the request of the cardinals⁷¹. This provision was again affirmed in the statutes published during the pontificate of Paul II in 1466⁷². Regarding the frequency of the 29 general divisions recorded in the *Oblig. Et Sol.* 61, between the first distribution on the 18th of June 1413 and the last on the 1st of November 1420, there is no regular rhythm. Even if we don't consider the exceptional situation that occurred between the general division of 31st October 1415 and 14th May 1418, a total of 925 days perhaps justified by the context of the Council of Constance and the election of Martin V, the irregularity remains significant. For example, only 24 days pass between the general distribution of October 7 and that of October 31, 1413, while, in contrast, 120 days pass between the latter and that of the 7th of April 1414.

In fact, this irregularity is in line with the rules throughout the 15th century. If we exclude the aforementioned exceptional interval of 925 days, the average time between distributions is 65.5 days, with a median of 58 days, i.e. around two months

⁶⁹ AAV, *Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.* 61, fols. 98v-99, 108v, 142-142v.

⁷⁰ AAV, *Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol.* 61, fols. 37, 50v, 55v.

⁷¹ BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria – *Untersuchungen und Urkunden*, p. XC. “Item, quod singulis duobus mensibus prefatus camerarius debeat facere divisionem, et quod sine consensu prefatorum dominorum cardinalium ultra nullatenus illam differre possit, immo etiam ante facere teneatur quotienscumque fuerit requisitus per collegium”.

⁷² Contrary to what Antonovics implies, the statutes of 1437 and 1466 do not differ with regard to this issue. ANTONOVICS, Anthony V. – “A late fifteenth century division register”, p. 90. This was noticed by DUFOULEUR, Pierre-Bénigne – *Léguer sans fils, hériter sans père*, pp. 107-108.

between general distributions, brought forward or postponed according to the will of the college, as provided for in the statutes of 1437 and confirmed by those of 1466. There is a pattern in the distributions for the month of December, which always occur on the 24th, Christmas Eve⁷³.

Presence of the cardinal of Lisbon at consistories

The *libri divisionum* of the College of Cardinals do not just give us information about the income earned by the cardinals. Dufouleur used four volumes of these books, corresponding, with some gaps, to the period between 1418 and 1470, to establish the number of cardinals present in consistory throughout the 15th century⁷⁴. As each individual payment record provides us with the place and date of the consistory in which the benefice was provided, as well as how many and which cardinals were present⁷⁵, it is therefore possible to establish calendars, and attendance lists for the consistories.

Only those cardinals who were present in the consistory at the time of the corresponding beneficial provisions took part in the distribution of the common services. But not all of them, because in order to participate in the divisions, a cardinal had to have gone through the *aperitio oris* ceremony, at which point they had a voice in the consistory and took part in the common service distributions⁷⁶. Cardinals who arrived late to the consistory could also be deprived of taking part in the distribution of services⁷⁷. Furthermore, in exceptional cases, cardinals who were not present in the curia could receive their portions as if they were in the consistory. To do this, they needed a specific license, usually justified by health reasons⁷⁸, such as the one obtained by João de Azambuja on the 6th of September 1414⁷⁹. There was

⁷³ In the Constitutions of the Chamberlain of the College of Cardinals promulgated in 1546, there are four general distributions: at Christmas, Easter, St. John's Day and All Saints' Day. CLERGEAC, Adrien – *La Curie et les Bénéficiers Consistoriaux*, p. 129.

⁷⁴ DUFOULEUR, Pierre-Bénigne – *Léguer sans fils, hériter sans père*, pp. 107-109.

⁷⁵ See Annex 1.

⁷⁶ BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria – *Untersuchungen und Urkunden*, pp. XXXIV-XXXV. About the *aperitio oris* ritual see: DESILVA, Jennifer Mara – “The rituals of the cardinalate: creation and abdication”. In HOLLINGSWORTH, Mary; PATTENDEN, Miles; WITTE, Arnold (eds.) – *A Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal*, pp. 40-49.

⁷⁷ CLERGEAC, Adrien – *La Curie et les Bénéficiers Consistoriaux*, pp. 125-126.

⁷⁸ BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria – *Untersuchungen und Urkunden*, pp. XXXVI-XXXVII.

⁷⁹ Originally published in: COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, p. 785. See Annex 5. If in the pontificate of John XXIII it was the pope who granted this

also the possibility, at least from the pontificate of Sixtus IV⁸⁰ onwards, for cardinals absent on legations to continue to receive their share of the distribution of services, but this had to be discussed and approved in consistory⁸¹.

In Annex 6 we have gathered information on the consistories attended by the Cardinal of Lisbon, allowing us to follow his participation in these meetings and his movements within the Papal Curia⁸². A complete survey of the register would allow us to draw up a list of all the consistories, or at least those in which consistorial benefices were provided, during the pontificate of John XXIII. Such an analysis extended to the five known books of divisions for the 15th century could be even more fruitful, resulting in a significant series of dates and places of consistory meetings from the late 14th century to the pontificate of Paul II.

The analysis carried out by Dufouleur, using the *libri divisionum* to find out how many cardinals were present in consistories from the pontificate of Martin V onwards, is undoubtedly innovative compared to the limited studies that have been carried out using these records so far. It allows us to have a long-term perspective, supplemented by the ceremonialists' diaries for the late 15th and early 16th centuries, on the evolution of the number of cardinals assiduously participating in consistories and involved in the government of the Church⁸³. However, the fact that

license, without mentioning the consent of the cardinals, in the statutes of Paul II it is foreseen that this be granted by the college of cardinals, without the Pope being present: "Item quod aliter quam ut praemittitur absentes, nisi causa infirmitatis curandae vel sanitatis recuperandae, seu alias a collegio licentiatu, nullo modo participant; et quod huiusmodi licentia obtineri debeat a collegio praefato, Papa non praesente: alioquin licentia nulla sit". EUBEL, Konrad – *Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. II, p. 67.

⁸⁰ Paul II's statutes prohibit legates from participating in distributions: "Item statuimus et ordinamus, quod legati de latere in eorum absentia de communibus et minutis servitiis nullo modo participant". EUBEL, Konrad – *Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. II, pp. 57-58.

⁸¹ Just as happens with Cardinal Jorge da Costa, when in March 1484 he travels as a *de latere* legate to Venice: "Die Lune XXII mensis predictus idem Reverendissimus dominus cardinalis Ulixbonensis iter arripuit in suam legationem versus Cesenam associatus per omnes Reverendissimos Dominos Cardinales usque ad portam Beate Marie de Populo et eadem die in Consistorio deliberatum fuit durante dicta legatione sua ut deberet participare de omnibus comunibus et minutis servitiis ac si praesens esset." AAV, *Armadio XXXI*, vol. 52, fol. 101v. See also BAUMGARTEN, Paul Maria – *Untersuchungen und Urkunden*, p. XXXIX.

⁸² To identify incompatibilities between the movements of Pope John XXIII and the data presented in Annex 6, the following studies were essential: EUBEL, Konrad – "Das Itinerar der Päpste zur Zeit des grossen Schismas". *Historisches Jahrbuch XVI* (1895), pp. 552-554, 563; UGINET, François-Charles – "Giovanni XXIII, antipapa". In *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 55 (2001) [Accessed the 10th of October 2024]. Available at [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antipapa-giovanni-xxiii_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antipapa-giovanni-xxiii_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) and PRIGNANO, Mario – *Giovanni XXIII: l'antipapa che salvò la Chiesa*. Brescia: Morcelliana, 2019.

⁸³ DUFOULEUR, Pierre-Bénigne – *Léguer sans fils, hériter sans père*, pp. 106-109.

there were licenses for absences from the curia and that, against the statutes of 1466, there were exceptional cases in which cardinal legates *de latere* could continue to participate in divisions, the attendance lists established are always approximate or, at least, not absolutely exact. On the other hand, the list of dates and places of consistory meetings, apart from any gaps and lapses in the register, can be reconstructed with great precision. So far, this has not been done.

According to the data in Annex 6, between 1411 and 1415, in the consistories attended by Cardinal Azambuja, there was an average of 20 (19.6 or 19.7 if we consider the lower or higher uncertain values) cardinals present. Dufouleur, for the period between 1418 and 1446, indicates an average of 14 cardinals (13.8) and for the years between 1458 and 1469 an average of 19 (19.4) cardinals⁸⁴. The figures we present for these years of John XXIII's papacy would have to be calculated for all consistories, not just those attended by the Portuguese cardinal. However, these figures already represent a significant number of meetings (a total of 100), and the overall average for this pontificate shouldn't be too different. We are thus faced with a “stabilité assez remarquable”, in Dufouleur's words, in terms of the number of cardinals present in consistories between 1411 and 1469, assuming that the notable drop during the pontificates of Martin V and Eugenius IV is due to the exceptional conditions of the Council of Basel⁸⁵.

Regarding the case of Cardinal Azambuja, if we assume the licence he received to be absent from the curia for health reasons was the only one, then we can take for granted his attendance at consistories before the 6th of September 1414⁸⁶. The table in Annex 6 shows a period of absence of several months between 31st of August 1411 and 11th of March 1412. Sousa Costa suspects that João de Azambuja returned to Portugal soon after his creation as cardinal, based on a not very explicit document from the chancellery of King João I⁸⁷, which would justify this absence. A bull dated 10th of September 1411 authorised the cardinal, as administrator of the archdiocese of Lisbon, to conduct visitations to his church through vicars-general, giving him one

⁸⁴ DUFOULEUR, Pierre-Bénigne – *Léguer sans fils, hériter sans père*, p. 108.

⁸⁵ DUFOULEUR, Pierre-Bénigne – *Léguer sans fils, hériter sans père*, p. 108.

⁸⁶ Date the leave was granted, which was valid for 6 months after the first absence. See Annex 5.

⁸⁷ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. João Afonso de Azambuja”, p. 50.

less reason to go to Portugal⁸⁸. However, since we don't have enough news about João de Azambuja's activity between September 1411 and February 1412, we cannot come up with a solution for his absence from the consistory during these months or confirm the hypothesis that he went to Portugal, only that he was absent from the Curia.

The same Sousa Costa states that between the years 1410 and 1413 he has not identified any traces showing the presence of João de Azambuja in the archdiocese of Lisbon, but only documents issued in the name of the archbishop by his vicars-general⁸⁹. Azambuja's return to Portugal would have taken place in the early months of 1414, according to a document that would have been granted in Lisbon on 13th of February by the cardinal, as administrator of the archdiocese. Cardinal Azambuja would have returned to the Curia in April or May of that year, where he appears again in the pontifical documentation⁹⁰. However, the list of consistorial presences that we have established in Annex 6 shows that the cardinal was present at the consistory meetings in December of that year, in Lodi, and then in Mantua, Ferrara and Bologna during the month of February, making it unlikely that he travelled to Lisbon during these months.

The cited document is a judgement on the case that was being heard by the tribunal of the archbishop of Lisbon between the prior and the *raçoeiros* of the church of Santo Estevão de Alfama and the *alcaide pequeno* of the city. It was drawn up on 13th of February 1414, by the notary João Martins, in the cloisters of the cathedral⁹¹. The transcription presented by Sousa Costa begins with the phrase: “Dom Joham, per merçee de Deus e da santa egreia de Roma cardinal de Lixboa”⁹². However, an analysis of the document in question reveals an earlier sentence, more blurred than the rest of the text, which reads: “In nomine domine. Cristove Anes bacharel em

⁸⁸ Published here: COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. João Afonso de Azambuja”, p. 50, note 164.

⁸⁹ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. João Afonso de Azambuja”, p. 53; COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, pp. 774-775 and 781-783.

⁹⁰ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. João Afonso de Azambuja”, pp. 54-55; *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, p. 783, note 579; FONTES, João Luís Inglês – “João Afonso Esteves de Azambuja”, p. 480.

⁹¹ Lisbon, ANTT, *Colegiada de Santo Estêvão de Alfama de Lisboa*, Mç. 8, n. 148. Sousa Costa transcription: *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, p. 783, note 579.

⁹² “D. João, by the mercy of God and the Holy Church of Rome Cardinal of Lisbon”.

degregos vigario gerall per o muyto honrado padre senhor”⁹³. In the same document, the penultimate line reads: “...per mandado do dicto Christove Anes vigairo este publico estromento de sentença scripvi...”. This new reading shows, without a shadow of a doubt, that the document was produced in the name of the cardinal's vicar and not the cardinal himself⁹⁴.

After this clarification, there does not seem to be any documents that solidly prove the presence of João de Azambuja in Portugal after he reached the cardinalate, which is reinforced by his regular presence in the consistory. If his stay in Rome is confirmed, Azambuja would join the group of other Portuguese cardinals from the 15th century who, after residing in the papal curia, did not return to Portugal, that is, Antão Martins de Chaves, Jaime de Portugal and Jorge da Costa.

Conclusion

Through the only surviving book of divisions for the pontificate of John XXIII (1411-1415), part of the archives generated by the distribution of common and minor services among the cardinals, we were able to clarify some aspects of the functioning of the Chamber of the College of Cardinals. Among these, we highlight the fate of the portions allocated to dead cardinals and the functioning of the Curia's leaves of absence. The different types of records and their evolution throughout the volume were also analyzed. Following the presence of Cardinal João de Azambuja in this book of divisions, it was possible to reconstitute not only his consistory income between June 1413 and December 1414 and, posthumously, between January 1415 and November 1420, but also to monitor his presence in the consistory for over four years, from his arrival at the Papal Curia and until his death. In the end, we demonstrate how this type of sources can be used to reconstruct a calendar of consistories from the 15th century and how it is possible to analyze the consistorial attendance of each cardinal, allowing us to clarify aspects about their lives but also about the government of the church by the Pope and the College of Cardinals.

⁹³ “In nomine domine. Cristóvão Anes, bachelor of decrees, vicar general of the most honourable father and lord...”.

⁹⁴ The first two sentences read: “In nomine Domine. Cristove Anes bacharel em degregos vigario gerall per o muyto honrado padre senhor Dom Joham, per merçee de Deus e da santa egreia de Roma cardinal de Lixboa”. Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, *Colegiada de Santo Estêvão de Alfama de Lisboa*, Mç. 8, n. 148.

Annexes

Annex 1

Bologna, 8th of July 1414. Record of a payment of part of the common and minor services by João, Bishop of Silves, to the Chamber of the College of Cardinals.

AAV, Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 55v

“[Left margin:] Silven.

Bononie indictione VII die vero VIII mensis julii pontificatus domini nostri Johannis pape XXIII anno quinto reverendus pater dominus Johannes episcopus Silvensis pro totali sui communis servitii solvit flor. camere II^c et pro totali sui minuti similem flor. XII s. XXXIII d. IIII summam flor. II^c XII s. XXXIII d. IIII or fuit promotus Bononie XIII^o kal. julii anno quinto fuerunt in eius promotione cardinales XVII videlicet

Ostien.	Tricaricen.	De Brancatiis
Lauden.	Sct. Marci	Sancti Angeli
De Ursinis	De Yspania	De Comitibus
Venetia.	De Challanco	Florentinus
Aquilegien.	Pisanus	Sancti Eustachii
Ulixbonen.	Placentin.	

Capiunt clerici collegii flor. II sol. VI den. IIII

Restant floreni II^c X sol. XXVII

Capit quilibet dominorum flor. XII sol. XIX den. III

Restant de indivisis den. III”

Annex 2

Bologna, 7th of April 1414. Record of a general division of the common and minor services between the College of Cardinals.

AAV, Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 49-49v

“[Left margin:] Tabula divisionis

Anno a nativitate Domini millesimo quadringentesimoquartodecimo indictione VII die VII mensis Aprilis pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Johannis divina providentia pape XXIII anno quarto Bononie fuit facta generalis divisio de pecuniis pro parte Sacri Collegii communium et minorum servitorum solutis per prelatos infra scriptos videlicet per dominos Cracovien. Posnanien. et Regen. episcopos et per Sanctorum Benedicti Ilarii et Gregorii Sancti Fructuosi Sancti Petri in Undemburg Sancti Nicolai Furnen. Sancti Petri Forisportam Viennen. Sancti Luciani Sancti Laurii monasteriorum abbates de quorum solutionibus capiunt domini cardinales et clerici collegii ut sequitur:

Ostien.

Lauden.

De Yspania

De Ursinis

Venetiar.

Aquilegien.

Ulixbonen.

Capit quilibet istorum XVII flor. LXII s.

Tricaricen.

XLII d. X

Sancti Marci

Somma istorum flor. M LXVIII s. XXVIII

De Challanco

d.

De Branchatiis

De Salutiis

De Columpna

Sancti Angeli.

Baren.

De Comitibus

Florentinus

Anicien. capit flor. XLII s. XXXI d. III

Pisanus capit flor. XLVII s. III d. IIII

Placentin. capit flor. XIII s. XXXIX d. VII

Cameracen. capit flor. XLVII s. IIII d. IIII

Remen. capit flor. VII s. XVIII d. IIII

Flisco capit flor. XLIX s. III d. III

Sancti Eustachii capit flor. XVI s. II d. I

Somma istorum VII^{tem} flor. II^c XXII s. III d. II

Clerici collegii capiunt flor. XIII solidos II

Somma receptionis flor. M III^c IIII solidi XXXV den. II

Somma divisionis flor. M III^c IIII solidi XXXIII den. IIII”

Annex 3

Table with the revenues of cardinal João de Azambuja from the general divisions of the common services between 1413 and 1420.

Date	Place	No. of living cardinals	No. of dead cardinals	Amount received by cardinal Azambuja	Archival reference ¹
1413/06/18	Siena	14	0	40 fol.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 33
1413/08/31	Florence	22	3	59 fol. 2 s. 6 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 37

¹ For reasons of space, the archival references were shortened. Thus “Oblig. et Sol. 61” and “Oblig. et Sol. 65” correspond to “AAV, Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol. 61” and “AAV, Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol. 65”, respectively.

1413/10/07	Florence	24	9	62 fol. 17 s. 2 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 39-39v
1413/10/31	Florence	22	0	47 fol. 11 s. 5 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 41v-42
1414/03/01	Bologna	25	9	55 fol. 34 s. 11 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 46-46v
1414/04/07	Bologna	24	0	62 fol. 42 s. 10 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 49-49v
1414/05/30	Bologna	25	9	30 fol. 33 s. 9 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 54.
1414/07/31	Bologna	24	0	65 fol. 12 s. 0 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 57v
1414/09/27	Bologna	24	0	29 fol. 33 s. 0 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 60v-61
1414/12/24	Constance	24	0	209 fol. 45 s. 3 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 66
1415/02/23	Constance	23	1	73 fol. 4 s. 2 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 69-69v
1415/04/14	Constance	23	4	16 fol. 41 s. 1 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 72-72v
1415/06/23	Constance	23	10	17 fol. 45 s. 1 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 76-77
1415/07/20	Constance	22	1	7 fol. 40 s. 0 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 78-78v
1415/10/31	Constance	22	2	30 fol. 19 s. 3 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 80
1418/05/14	Constance	26	15	333 fol. 11 s. 0 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 98v-99
1418/08/23	Geneve	26	16	14 fol. 35 s. 5 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 104-104v
1418/12/24	Mantua	22	6	23 fol. 28 s. 6 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 108v

1419/04/15	Florence	23	15	3 fol. 7 s. 8 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 115-115v
1419/05/24	Florence	27	6	0 fol. 42 s. 11 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 119-119v
1419/07/05	Florence	26	13	0 fol. 45 s. 0 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 123v-124
1419/08/22	Florence	26	17	4 fol. 32 s. 0 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 130-130v
1419/12/24	Florence	26	18	2 fol. 26 s. 11 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 142-142v
1420/01/23	Florence	24	7	1 fol. 48 s. 0 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 146
1420/03/01	Florence	25	18	3 fol. 16 s. 8 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 150-150v
1420/04/25	Florence	24	24	19 fol. 32 s. 5 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 158v-159v
1420/05/29	Florence	25	18	2 fol. 11 s. 9 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 164-164v
1420/08/22	Florence	25	15	16 fol. 5 s. 0 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 170
1420/11/01	Rome	23	16	2 fol. 49 s. 0 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 173v-174

Annex 4

Table with the revenues of cardinal João de Azambuja from the general divisions of the common services between 1429 and 1433.

Date	Place	Participant cardinals	Amount received by cardinal Azambuja	Archival reference ²

² See note above.

1429/12/13	Rome	42	1 fol. 8 s. 11 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 65, fols. 86v-87v
1430/11/03	Rome	40	1 fol. 0 s. 11 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 65, fols. 120v-121v
1431/10/31	Rome	42	1 fol. 8 s. 11 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 65, fols. 148-148v
1432/11/13	Rome	41	1 fol. 5 s. 11 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 65, fols. 169v-170
1433/07/11	Rome	40	2 fol. 17 s. 1 d.	Oblig. et Sol. 65, fols. 189-189v

Annex 5

Bologna, 6th of September 1414. Bull of John XXIII authorizes the cardinal presbyter of Saint Petri ad Vincula, João de Azambuja, who was ill, to leave the Roman Curia and be considered present for the divisions of common services during the period of 6 months³.

AAV, Registra Lateranensia 178, fols. 223v-224

"Johannes, etc. Dilecto filio Johanni, tituli sancti Petri ad Vincula presbytero cardinali. Salutem, etc. Dum exquisitam tue circumspectionis industriam diligenter attendimus et paterna consideratione pensamus quod tu Romanam Ecclesiam, cuius honorabile membrum existis, tuorum honores magnitudine meritorum, gratie dignum reputamus et debitum ut eam repperies in exhibitione gratie [fol. 224] liberalem, tuis in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati, tibi, qui, ut asseris, certis infirmitatibus gravaris, ut a Romana Curia ac nostra presentia causa sanitatis recuperande, te per nonnulla tempora absentare necnon communia emolumenta, venerabilibus fratribus nostris sancte Romane Ecclesie cardinalibus ratione capelli exhiberi consueta, per sex menses, a die recessus tui ab eadem Curia immediate sequentes computandos, percipere libere et licite valeas, constitutionibus apostolicis necnon camere apostolice et aliis contrariis nequaquam obstantibus,

³ Originally published in: *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*, vol. III-1, p. 785.

auctoritate apostolica, tenore presentium, indulgemus. [Datum] Bononie, octavo Idus Septembris, anno quinto. Franciscus. Pro domino cardinali de Agello"

Annex 6

Calendar of consistories attended by Cardinal João de Azambuja between 1411 and 1415, containing the date and place of the meetings, as well as the number of cardinals present at each consistory⁴.

Date	Place	No. of cardinals	Archival references ⁵
1411/08/27	Rome	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 95v
1411/08/31	Rome	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 114
1412/03/11	Florence ⁶	20	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 85v
1412/03/28	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 71v
1412/04/06	Rome	22/21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 66v, 93v
1412/04/11	Rome	19/17	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 65v, 70.
1412/06/20	Rome	20	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 65, 137v, 163
1412/07/04	Rome	19	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 102
1412/08/??	Rome	19	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 35
1412/08/09	Rome	19	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 47, 85, 87, 96v
1412/08/26	Rome	19	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 41
1412/09/01	Rome	19	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 101v, 127v

⁴ There is incompatible information about the same consistories in different parts of the register or with the itinerary of the curia of John XXIII. These cases were marked with an asterisk.

⁵ For reasons of space, the archival references were shortened. Thus "Oblig. et Sol. 61" corresponds to "AAV, *Cam. Ap., Oblig. et Sol. 61*".

⁶ There may have been a mistake in the name of the city, we have no information about the presence of John XXIII in Florence in March.

1412/11/02	Bologna ⁷	19	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 85v
1412/11/04	Rome	19	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 85
1412/11/12	Rome	24	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 60v
1412/11/29	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 65, fols. 80v ⁸ , 115, 146, 164
1413/01/02	Rome	21 ⁹	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 76, 86v, 89v, 97, 156
1413/01/20	Rome	20	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 51
1413/01/30	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 113, 133v, 169, 187
1413/02/??	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 36
1413/02/08	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 48v
1413/02/13	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 73
1413/02/15	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 53, 75v
1413/03/29	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 65v, 89, 166
1413/04/??	Bologna ¹⁰	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 36v
1413/04/10	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 38v, 62
1413/04/14	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 70v
1413/04/15	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 90
1413/04/19	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 95, 108, 147
1413/05/18	Rome	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 84v
1413/06/16	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 93
1413/06/21	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 53

⁷ There may have been an error in indicating either the place or the year of John XXIII's pontificate.

⁸ In the original it reads "3 kal. of December year IV of John XXIII", it might be a mistake.

⁹ In folios 76, 86v, 89v and 97 there are 21 present cardinals, in folio 156 there are 23.

¹⁰ Taking into account the date and the number of cardinals, it must be a consistory in Rome, and not in Bologna.

1413/06/27	Constance	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 96
1413/06/28	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 33v, 63v, 73v, 83v-84
1413/07/??	Rome*	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 34
1413/07/03	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 85, 103
1413/07/14	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 34, 48
1413/07/21	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 41, 55
1413/07/26	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 38
1413/07/30	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 79
1413/07/31	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 36v
1413/08/??	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 45v
1413/08/07 ¹¹	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 45
1413/08/08	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 71v
1413/08/23	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 37v
1413/08/25	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 38, 79v, 98
1413/08/29	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 64v, 83, 87v, 88, 90
1413/08/30	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 39, 66v
1413/09/06	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 56v
1413/09/14	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 40
1413/09/25	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 121
1413/09/29	Florence	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 48v, 141v
1413/10/02	Florence	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 68, 83

¹¹ In the original the year is not indicated but taking into account the number of cardinals and the location, we believe that it was a consistory held in 1413.

1413/10/06	Florence	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 40v
1413/10/10	Florence	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 41v, 67v
1413/10/30	Florence	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 60v, 74v
1413/11/08	Florence	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 44, 94, 100v
1413/11/13	Bologna	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 43v, 56v
1413/12/02	Bologna*	19	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 171
1413/12/??	Lodi	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 49
1413/12/??	Lodi	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 67v
1414/02/??	Mantua	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 46
1414/02/24	Ferrara	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 52
1414/02/29	Bologna	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 47v
1414/03/05	Bologna	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 48, 127
1414/03/14	Bologna	16	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 56, 59
1414/03/15	Bologna	15	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 51v
1414/03/31	Bologna	15	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 51, 51v, 58
1414/04/02	Bologna	15	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 58v
1414/04/03	Bologna	16	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 49
1414/04/04	Bologna	17/19	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 52, 79v
1414/04/20	Bologna	16	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 52
1414/04/27	Bologna	21	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 53v
1414/04/28	Bologna	16	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 91
1414/05/02	Rome*	22	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 35
1414/05/04	Bologna	16	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 52v

1414/05/05	Bologna	17	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 68v
1414/05/18 ¹²	Bologna	16	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 55
1414/05/25	Bologna	14 ¹³	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 59v, 61v, 92v, 103
1414/05/30	Bologna	17	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 67
1414/06/15	Bologna	17	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 54v
1414/06/18	Bologna	17	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 55v
1414/06/22	Bologna	17	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 56
1414/07/06	Bologna	17	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 57
1414/07/13	Bologna	17	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 93
1414/08/18	Bologna	14	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 59
1414/08/19	Bologna	16	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 74
1414/08/22	Bologna	18	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 73, 116v
1414/09/??	Bologna	14	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 60
1414/09/12	Bologna	15/17	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 64v, 77v
1414/09/21 ¹⁴	Bologna	15	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 145v
1414/09/24	Bologna	15	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 63
1414/09/25	Bologna	15	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 62v
1414/09/28	Bologna	15	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 61v
1414/11/07	Constance	17 ¹⁵	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 62, 62v, 64, 75v
1414/11/19	Constance	19	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 63v

¹² In the original we read “year IV of the pontificate of John XXIII”, but considering the number of cardinals present and the name of the city, this must be an error.

¹³ In folios 59v and 103 there are 14 present cardinals, in folio 92v there are 16.

¹⁴ In the original we read “year IV of the pontificate of John XXIII”, but considering the number of cardinals present and the name of the city, this must be an error.

¹⁵ In folios 62, 62v and 64 there are 17 present cardinals, in folio 75v there are 19.

1414/11/21	Constance	19	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 63
1414/11/26	Constance	19	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 64, 68v, 86v
1414/12/10	Constance	19/20	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fols. 68, 79
1415/01/26	Constance	20	Oblig. et Sol. 61, fol. 93v

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