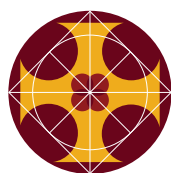


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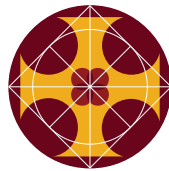


MUNICÍPIO DE
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EGAS MONIZ THE TUTOR

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The Collegiate Church of Santa Maria da Oliveira in the late Middle Ages – structure and organization

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Abstract

This text is broadly in line with the communication presented at Jornadas Históricas. For reasons of space availability for each article, we will focus primarily on the last two medieval centuries of the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria da Oliveira.

This paper aims to address and clarify some aspects related to the operation and organization of the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria de Oliveira throughout the medieval period. First of all, it is important to know its organization, the number of elements that composed it in different periods of its history, the hierarchy, the dynamics of the collegiate body, and the various existing positions, as well as the roles and tasks assigned to each of the canons that integrated it. We will look at the institution's human and demographic dimension, as a sort of sample of a wider ongoing project about all those figures who were part of this Collegiate in medieval times.

Keywords: collegiate, Santa Maria da Oliveira, Guimarães, canons.

1. Brief History

Today, it is consensual that the monastery founded by Mumadona around 950 AD would become the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria da Oliveira in the period between 1107 and 1110 (OLIVEIRA, 1978: 20–21; 30–34) is. Its sustainability, consolidation and growth owed a lot to private donations as a result of its dedicated devotion, but above all to the protection and royal blessings it received.

The strong relationship between the Portuguese monarchs and the Church of Santa Maria de Guimarães seems to have started with Afonso Henriques and continued with his successors, who, in addition to the devotion to Our Lady venerated there, granted numerous privileges to the Collegiate Church and placed its priors, the chapter, its goods, its clerics and tenant farmers under their protection (DGEMN bulletin, 1981: 10).

A decisive moment in the life of the collegiate institution occurred in July 1223, with the celebration of the agreement for the division of the Collegiate's revenues between the Prior and the Canons.¹ This phenomenon also came to pass in most monastic institutions, with the separation and autonomization of the prioral or abbatial board from the cloistral or conventual board. Basically, and somewhat simplistically, it regarded the division of the institutions' revenues and benefits, with one part assigned to the prior and his sustenance, and another part to the monastic community. In the case of the collegiate institutions, this division took on greater relevance because it went beyond the mere division of revenues and usually coincided with another phenomenon — the end of the chapters' cloistral life, i.e., the canons ceased to live in community and in cloister, and each one began to live in his respective house, with community life being restricted to daily duties such as masses, celebration of feasts, anniversaries and other suffrages, as well as intervening in the institution's economic life, by being present or participating in the conduction of diverse contracts. Curiously enough, at this level, the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria da Oliveira seems to have been an exception, since its communal life must have lasted for a subsequent period after this date (MARQUES, 1988: 517–518).

The 14th century is most significant in the existence of the institution, especially the last quarter, indelibly marked by the beginning of construction of the new Church of Santa Maria da Oliveira on May 6, 1387, under architect João Garcia of Toledo and with royal patronage (CALDAS, 1996: 271). John I was thus fulfilling the promise made circa two years earlier, on the eve of the Battle of Aljubarrota, thanking in this way the intercession of Our Lady in the Portuguese victory (DGEMN Bulletin, 1981: 10–13).

The construction of the new temple lasted from the end of the 13th century to the 1420s (SILVA, 2004: 50), and was still unfinished when the new church was consecrated in a ceremony that took place on January 23, 1401, presided by João de Azambuja, the bishop of Coimbra, and attended by John I and the rest of the royal family, including Queen Philippa and the Infantes Edward, Peter, John, Henry and the Infanta Isabella.²

A new architectural campaign would take place at the beginning of the 16th century, also marked by some impact and grandeur, during the priory of Diogo Pinheiro, especially between 1503–1514, with the construction and enlargement of the cloister of Santa Maria da Oliveira. This same Diogo was also commander of the monasteries of São Simão da Junqueira, Carvoeiro, and Castro de Avelãs, first bishop of Funchal (1514–1526), and responsible for the completion of the tower of the Church of Santa Maria da Oliveira (CALDAS, 1996: 285; SILVA, 2004: 50).

¹ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 1, N.º 5 e 6.

² ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, Maço 4, N.º 1; (Oliveira, 1977: 173-174).

2. Structure and organization

In broad terms, the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria da Oliveira followed the same organizational pattern of the cathedral clergy. It can therefore be said that the institution's organic structure obeyed a well-defined hierarchy: the prior at the top, followed by the dignitaries — i.e., the choirmaster, the treasurer, the schoolmaster —, and then the canons, recipients who occasionally could exercise some specific functions, and among whom there was also some distinction, which we will tackle in due time. Let us now focus in more detail on each of these positions.

2.1. The prior

The prior was as the most important element in the institution's hierarchy. Contrary to what usually happened in monasteries, in which their highest representatives — abbots, abbesses or priors — were elected *inter pares* and confirmed in office by the bishop or the archbishop, in the case of the Collegiate Church of Guimarães the position of prior was by appointment — in this case, by royal appointment — and could be for life. The prior's appointment was made via royal appointment or through nomination by then royal family, and did not require any archiepiscopal authorization or confirmation, since the Collegiate enjoyed its own autonomy and jurisdiction at this level. The prior was responsible for the government of the institution and the internal management of the community (conflict management, distribution of service, ensuring the canons' presence and participation in the various liturgical acts, ensuring the correct distribution of rations). He presided over the chapter's meetings, proposed to the collegial body the discussion of certain acts that he considered advantageous to the institution, and supervised and authorized the economic contracts carried out by the Collegiate Chapter (leases, *emphyteuses*, exchanges, sales). He was also responsible for confirming the clerics or beneficiaries who applied for the vacant canonries and for celebrating the masses for the main festivities. He was also the institution's highest representative abroad.

Since the foundation of the Collegiate until the first decade of the 16th century — to account for the first 400 years of the institution's existence, which roughly correspond to the medieval period —, about 40 priors presided over the Collegiate. Regarding the period of about 200 years under discussion here, it is possible to identify more than twenty priors, as can be easily seen in the following table:

Priores da Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira (c.1300-c.1515) ³			
	Prior	Data de início	Término
1	D. Rodrigo Pires	1302	
2	D. Egas Lourenço	1315	
3	D. Pedro VI	1316	
4	D. Miguel Vivas	1327	
5	D. Estêvão Dade	1333	
6	D. João Afonso	1348	
7	D. Afonso Vasques	1353	
8	D. Gonçalo Teles	1363	
9	D. Vicente	1368	
10	D. Martim Anes	1371	
11	D. Gonçalo Vasques	1374	
12	D. João Afonso das Regras	1383	
13	D. Gonçalo Vasques da Cunha	1390	
14	D. Nuno Fernandes	1396	
15	D. Rui Lourenço	1401	
16	D. Luís de Freitas	1403	
17	D. Diogo Álvares de Brito	1403	
18	D. Afonso Martins	1410	
19	D. Luís Vasques da Cunha	1419	1423
20	D. Rodrigo da Cunha	1424	1449
21	D. Afonso Gomes de Lemos	1449	1487
22	D. Fernão Coutinho	1487	
23	D. Henrique Coutinho	1493	
24	D. Jorge da Costa	1501	
25	D. Diogo Pinheiro	1503	1514

³ This table was drawn up from the lists published by Craesbeck (1725), Oliveira (1978), and Caldas (1996), and is intended to serve merely as a guide, since it is not yet possible for us to present a definitive list containing all the titulars, although, from the documentation analysis we have already carried out, we can advance that there are several modifications to the table shown here. As an example, we can say that there is documentation proving that Don Rodrigo Pires or Don Rui Pires was already prior in as already prior in 1301 (ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 2, Nº 29).

⁴ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 3, Nº 22.

⁵ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 3, Nº 22.

⁶ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 2, Nº 29.

Since these positions were by appointment, many of the priors resided in other cities and spent very little time in the Collegiate; therefore, regarding matters where their intervention was imperative, they constituted proxies to represent them. This happened on April 27, 1353, the day Gomes Lourenço do Avelal, canon of Lisbon, was invested in the prebend that vacated following the death of canon Martim Lourenço, having been represented by his proxy⁴ Francisco Vicente. In order for this canonry to be assigned, canon Martim Bentes had to go to Lisbon to be constituted special proxy of the Collegiate Church's prior, Afonso Vasques, precisely by proxy written on April 14, 1353 in Lisbon, at the prior's lodgings, by Vasco Afonso, the king's notary in that city.⁵

The same happened with prior Rui Pires, who on December 19, 1401 was in Paris: it was his proxy Martim Anes, canon of the Cathedral of Braga, along with Domingos Eanes, treasurer of the Collegiate Church, representing the chapter, who invested Estêvão Peres, abbot of Santa Cristina de Longos, in the prebend and canonry that had become vacant following the death of canon Pedro Anes⁶.

The dignitaries

In hierarchical terms, right after the prior, the dignities are the positions of highest recognition and prestige within the Collegiate, hence they were coveted and disputed positions, with the candidates often using their highest influences to reach office. By virtue of the royal family's link to the Collegiate, it is hardly surprising that many of the royal elements had an active role in the nomination of certain individuals for these positions. We mention here just a few demonstrative examples. This was the case of Queen Philippa of Lancaster, who on a date unknown to us, but most certainly in the last decade of the 14th century,⁷ exerted her influence when the Collegiate's chantry vacated and she tried to appoint Pedro Afonso, her servant and notary.⁸

Curiously enough, this strong link of the royal family to the Collegiate Church, as well as their degree of influence, would be even more markedly evident in their descendants. This is the case of the Count of Barcelos, who on November 12, 1434 asked the choirmaster and the chapter of Santa Maria da Oliveira to assign the vacant canonry of schoolmaster to Pedro Gonçalves, his chaplain, saying that he had been told the position was promised to the archbishop of Braga, but that in the meantime he had written to intercede with the latter to release it in favor of his protégé, a request which the Archbishop granted.⁹

The Infante Peter, at the time the kingdom's regent, also exerted his influence on the Collegiate Church, having addressed a letter on December 15, 1442 to the "Choirmaster and Chapter of Guimaraens", telling them of his displeasure with the complaints and dispute between the chapter and his protégé and servant Diego Afonso, who was also canon of Santa Maria da Oliveira.¹⁰ The choirmaster and the chapter answered by letter of February 15, 1443, recognizing the fault and solving the question, "consyrando quanto somos obrigados a servir o Regente nosso Senhor por singular mercees que dele recebemos e speramos de receber a nos aprazamos e queremos e grantoramos que Dieguo Affonso seu servidor e nosso irmaao e coonigo tenha a cadeira de mestre-escola ou a de tesurer, conforme a sua preferêcia".¹¹

Another example is Infanta Philippa, the granddaughter of John I and Philippa. On July 14, 1483, she addresses a letter to the canons, dignitaries and benefactors of the Church Santa Maria de Guimarães, requesting that the bachelor Fernando Álvares be placed there if any benefice vacated, because besides "the love he always had for serving this house, he also wished to be benefited in it". It is also curious that this bachelor was a native of Guimarães.¹² In a letter dated from December 30, 1500, King Manuel I, knowing "that your prebendary has died",¹³ requests the dean, the schoolmaster, the choirmaster and the chapter of Santa Maria da Oliveira to give Pedro Vaz the position that had vacated.¹⁴ Two curious aspects stand out in this request by the king: first, the reference to the dean, a dignity belonging to the cathedral clergy¹⁵ and which is not detected, at least in the 14th and 15th centuries, in the organizational chart of the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria da Oliveira; secondly, the reference to the prebendary, which, not being a dignity, was an important position that could be exercised by a layman or by a chapter member and was a kind of steward, i.e., the person ultimately responsible for the management, execution, collection and receipt of rents, ensuring the compliance of the Collegiate's several contracts and the division and delivery of the revenues or portions to which each canon was entitled (Marques, 1988: 372–373). For instance, on October 24, 1430, Luís Álvares was prebendary of Santa Maria da Oliveira, and Lourenço Anes was the accountant,¹⁶ a position directly associated to the first one.

⁷ The letter, written in Serra de Atouguia, dates from August 20th but without referring the year of issue (ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 39, N° 58). Considering the itineraries of King John I, and even knowing that the king and the queen did not always sojourn in the same place, there is some ground to raise the possibility of having been the year 1393, since throughout the last third of that year, including other dates very close to that period, the monarch was in Paços de Atouguia (Moreno, 1988: 57, 264–265).

⁸ ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 39, N° 58.

⁹ ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 47, N° 28B. Despite all the Count's efforts regarding this process, at the end of November the issue, although well on track, had not yet been resolved, as can be seen from a new letter sent by Count Don Afonso to the Collegiate (ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 47, N° 29B).

¹⁰ ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Régios, M. 3, N° 9.

¹¹ ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Régios, M. 3, N° 9.

¹² ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 64, N° 8B.

¹³ ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Régios, M. 4, N° 3.

¹⁴ ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Régios, M. 4, N° 3.

¹⁵ In the cathedrals, he was in charge of supervising all the affairs of the chapter and was responsible for celebrating the masses on Ascension Day, Our Lady of the Snows Day, Midnight Mass and Christmas Eve (Pinto, 1940: 86).

¹⁶ ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 46, N° 5.

2.2. The treasurer

Contrary to what might be inferred at first sight, the treasurer, even by the connotation that nowadays this term carries, did not perform any functions of economic nature or related to finance, accounting, or income and expenses of the institution. His designation derives from being responsible for the maintenance and safeguarding of the noblest space in the church, the altar, and everything related to that same space and worship service, which is usually called “the treasure”. Besides being responsible for all the ornaments and liturgical objects, namely crosses, chalices, jewels, reliquaries, he also had to conduct frequent inventories of those pieces under his custody (Marques, 1988: 332).

He was entrusted to prepare that space for the liturgical service, including placement of the chalice, the wine and the hosts, and to provide the necessary books and liturgical vestments. Similarly to what happened with the treasurer of the Collegiate of Santa Justa de Coimbra, his functions also included carrying the cross of the Church in processions (Campos, 2017: 229). In the absence of the treasurer, the priest or the canon responsible for celebrating the mass had to provide everything necessary for performing the office, just as at the end he should leave everything clean and in compliance.¹⁷ These functions exerted by the treasurer in the beginning of the 15th century would be later on performed by the sexton, a position also duly documented by this time. Seemingly somewhat limited, the sexton's functions concerned the supervision and care of the vestments, as can be seen in this excerpt from the statutes: “o samcristão não de vestimenta a nenhuum clerigo que trouxer as mamgas mais amchas que dous palmos & se o contrario fizer emcorra na dita pena”.¹⁸ Among his duties was certainly assisting the sexton in cleaning and adorning the altars and in all likelihood to watch over the church, as well as opening and closing the temple doors.

2.3 The choirmaster

According to the Collegiate statutes, it was incumbent on the choirmaster to write on the tablet the names:

[...] dos coniguos e cleriguos que ouuerem de dizer missas e servir nos officios da igreja” ou que mande o subchante escrever essa tábua, que deverá ser colocada no coro, sendo que no “primeiro dia de cada huum mes a ponha no coro em que sejam comteudos todos aqueles que per todo ese mes ouuerem de dizer missas e evangelhos e epistolas e servir nos outros officios eclesiasticos do que nenhuum seja escusado asy dos risydente como dos absemtes que ouuerem as prevemdas...”¹⁹.

Besides having to sing in certain masses or feasts, the choirmaster was in charge of the choir and was responsible for all its logistics and organization, and could not replace a choir priest with a cleric, “except such one who aptly can read and sing”.²⁰ He was also entrusted with coordinating the sub-choirmaster or supervising him in complying with the various rules, the different entrance times for the choir, the number of canons necessary to begin a certain feast or celebration.²¹ We do not know if the sub-choirmaster was provided with his own means, but, similarly to what happened in the Cathedral of Porto, it is very possible that he was maintained at the expense of the choirmaster (Pinto, 1940: 110). The chantry was reinforced with the annexation of the Church of São Paio de Vila Cova on March 4, 1306, curiously enough by proposal of the Archbishop of Braga transmitted to the Guimarães chapter by Martim Anes Barrosas, which would be duly approved by the Collegiate.²²

¹⁷ ANTT – CSMO, Livro 7 (Cópia dos Estatutos Antigos da Colegiada), fl.2.

¹⁸ ANTT – CSMO, Livro 7 (Cópia dos Estatutos Antigos da Colegiada), fl.2.

¹⁹ ANTT – CSMO, Livro 7 (Cópia dos Estatutos Antigos da Colegiada), fl.1.

²⁰ ANTT – CSMO, Livro 7 (Cópia dos Estatutos Antigos da Colegiada), fl.1.

²¹ ANTT – CSMO, Livro 7 (Cópia dos Estatutos Antigos da Colegiada), fl.1.

²² ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 2, N.º 34. Martim Afonso Barrosas was canon of Braga, at least from 1301, but had strong family and patrimonial connections to the region of Guimarães (Rodrigues, 2005: 212–214).

2.3.1 Choir priests

As the name implies, they were the choir clerics. They usually received only the so-called half ration or half prebend, that is, half of what was allocated to the canons. They were directly dependent on the choirmaster.

A noteworthy fact is the existence of a Brotherhood of choir priests who were economically autonomous, possessing their own assets that were managed by the brotherhood, as revealed by a deed dated from September 14, 1458, drawn near the church's main door, with the attendance of Nuno Álvares, Diogo Álvares, Fernão Anes, Rodrigo Álvares, João Álvares, abbot of Infias, Lopo Afonso and João Vieira, steward, all choir priests in the Church of Santa Maria de Oliveira, with "the said steward and choir priests as a College in the said Church", having let by lease to João Martins and Florença Lopes the house, the wasteland and trellis in Rua do Sabugal where choir priest Vasco Gonçalves lived.²³ Based on the documentation, we can say that this Brotherhood already existed at least since the second half of the 14th century, since the brotherhood of the choir priests is already documented in 1359.²⁴

2.4 Schoolmaster

The schoolmaster dedicated himself to pro bono teaching of clergymen and poor students (PINTO, 1940: 32).

According to Manuel Alves de Oliveira, "the honorable position of schoolmaster was created in 1439, with João Gonçalves de Resende being the first grammar and singing master legally appointed and sworn in" (Oliveira, 1982: 425 – note 1). Although we do not know the exact date when this dignity appears in the Collegiate, the available documentation allows us to predate its presence to around a century and a half before the date presented by the distinguished scholar. On August 22, 1324, the Chapter of the Collegiate of Santa Maria da Oliveira met with Martim Anes Barrosas, as proxy of Master Pedro, the Collegiate prior, stating:

"que era de seu plazimento quiserom, mandarom e outorgarom que Martim Anes maestre da escola ouvesse a coonizia perfeyta assy em como a ouvera maestre Johane e isto lhi faziam de graça e diziam que lho faziam a rogo do priol e do dicto Martim Anes Barossas e porque era seu criado delhes e mandarom e outorgarom que o dicto Martim Anes ouvesse a dicta coonizia en sa vida e que lha nom possam revogar e que o dicto Martim Anes sirva come de costume da eygreja e que per esta graça que lhi faziam que ficasse a salvo ao dicto priol e cabidoo o seu deryto pera adeeante per os seus maestres que veerem...²⁵"

The document reveals the existence of schoolmaster João, therefore previous and direct predecessor of Martim Anes, and proves tenure of the position, at least since the beginning of the 14th century. Throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, the schoolmaster, or those who were somehow linked to him, was mentioned in the documentation. Take, for instance, "scolar" Gil Martins, who is listed among the witnesses of a deed dated from December 19, 1401.²⁶

One of the best documented is, in fact, the already referenced "Joham de Reesende meestre scolla", to whom the chapter, on July 10, 1443, lets by lease houses in Rua de Santa Maria, which had belonged to canon Vasco Peres.²⁷ João de Resende also appears as incumbent on May 23, 1446, and Afonso Anes, cleric of the schoolmaster, is mentioned in that same deed.²⁸ On May 2, 1476, Pedro Afonso, canon of the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria da Oliveira and abbot of the Church of São Romão in Mesão Frio, let by lease, to the "honrrado e discreto Lourenço Afonso d'Andrade capellam moor do ducque da dicta villa nosso Senhor e meestre escolla na dicta Igreja de Guimaraes", a house they

23 AMAP – CSMO, Pergaminhos, Docs. Eclesiásticos, 8-4-10-3.

24 AMAP – CSMO, Pergaminhos, Docs. Eclesiásticos, 8-4-10-4.

25 ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 3, Nº 4.

26 ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 2, Nº 29.

27 ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 50, Nº 22.

28 AMAP – CSMO, Pergaminhos, Docs. Eclesiásticos, 8-4-10-5.

had in Rua de Santa Maria, in the town of Guimarães.²⁹ On April 28, 1497, Lourenço de Andrade, also identified as apostolic protonotary, was incumbent in office the day he let by lease a farmhouse in the parish of Creixomil, belonging to the Church of São Tiago, annexed to the schoolmastery.³⁰ His successor must have been Baltasar de Andrade, since on October 11, 1510, he was already identified as schoolmaster.³¹

2.5. Canons

The number of canons of the institution was directly related to income obtained and total annual wealth produced (rents, donations, alms, revenues from advowson churches); many canonries were related to churches whose pastor/abbot was presented by the Collegiate, with the canon being supported by rents of the respective church, as were the cases of São Gens de Montelongo or Brito. Sometimes the archbishop intervened when the institutions were going through difficulties, and the first step to increase the flow of extra income was the annexation of a church. In the mid-XV century, Santa Maria da Oliveira had about two dozen annexed churches, namely: São Paio de Guimarães, São Paio de Vila Cova, Gandarela, São João de Barqueiros, São Martinho do Conde, Santa Ovaia/Eulália de Nespereira, São Tiago de Cadoso, São Vicente de Mascotelos, Santa Maria de Silves, São Tomé de Caldelas, São Mamede de Aldão, São Pedro de Azurém, São Miguel do Castelo, Santo Estêvão de Urgeses, São João de Ponte, and São Miguel do Inferno (Marques, 1988: 538–541).

Santa Maria da Oliveira had up to 59 incumbents or beneficiaries (which per se reflects the immense patrimony and wealth held by the Collegiate), distributed as follows: 33 canons, 1 prior, 1 choirmaster, 1 treasurer, 1 schoolmaster, and 22 choir priests or ration receivers. There were two significant reductions in the 15th century, when the number of canonries dropped down to 37; and in 1435, already in the priory of Rui da Cunha, they were reduced to 30 (Marques, 1988: 534–535), although this reduction had already been ordered by apostolic letter, as can be seen in a deed dated from July 16, 1431, in which it is said “que de trinta e sete coonisyas que avia na dicta Igreja de Santa Maria fossem reedezidas em trinta”.³² Naturally, these reductions were not automatic, since they happened following the death or resignation of the incumbents, who were not replaced and thus the canonry became extinguished.

A canonry had its respective prebend or ration. As we have seen, it was up to the prior, in the case the canonry had been presented by some patron, to confirm and appoint the holder to the benefice. It should be noted that this is one of the privileges of the Collegiate, since in the remaining institutions of the diocese it fell to the archbishop of Braga to confirm the appointment of any person presented to be titular abbot of church or monastery or to enjoy any ecclesiastical benefit, thus implying the episcopal authorization or endorsement.

The appointment of the new ration receiver was associated with a ceremonial that usually had the church of Santa Maria de Oliveira itself as backdrop. It so happened on September 19, 1353, “seendo o honrrado barom Affonso Vaasquiz doutor em Degredo, prior da Egreja de Sancta Maria em cabido, nessa mesma Igreja de Santa Maria da dicta villa”, met in chapter with the choirmaster Domingos Anes, Antoninho Esteves, dean of the Cathedral of Lamego, treasurer Martim Afonso, Afonso Anes, Gil Peres, Domingos Peres and Domingos Tristão, Gil Lourenço, Gonçalo Esteves and Álvaro Peres, canons of the Church of Santa Maria, to decide regarding the canonry and prebend that became vacant following the death of Martim Lourenço, a canon belonging to Santa Maria da Oliveira. In order to avoid creating more rations and economically damage the Collegiate, they entrusted the canonry to Gonçalo Anes, a scholar from Évora, and soon the commission was confirmed to Martim Afonso, treasurer of the Collegiate and Gonçalo Anes’ proxy,

²⁹ AMAP – CSMO, Pergaminhos, Docs. Particulares, M. 60, N° 34.

³⁰ AMAP – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, Pergaminhos, 8-4-4-7.

³¹ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 6, N° 7.

³² ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 46, N° 5.

assigning him the canonry “poendolhy huum barrette na cabeça dizendo que lhi faziam provisom da dicta coonisia ao dicto Gonçal’Eanes se lhy de dereito era devuda”.³³ The ceremony took place in the Church of Santa Maria da Oliveira, which was the most frequent situation, but the ceremony could also be held in any other religious institution, or in another place, even if unexpected. Curiously enough, this happened in another instance: the ceremonial of canon João Vicente, recorded on the “trinta e huum dias do mes de Janeiro da Era do nascimento” of Our Lord Jesus Christ on 1438,

“em a dicta villa, acerca dos paços do Conde Dom Afonso, stando hy seentado Afonso Andre, coonigo da dicta villa, abade da igreja de Sam Geens de Montelongo do arcebispado de Bragaa e outrosy seendo hy seentado em giolhos ante elle Joham Vicente coonigo da Igreja de Santa Maria da dicta villa o dicto Afonso Andre, abade, lhe confirmou hua raçom da dicta sua Igreja que se vagou e estava vaga per morte de Martim Stevez que della foy postumeiro raçoeiro a qual raçom lhe confirmou e lhe fez della collaçom, confirmaçom e instetuiçom per imposiçom de seu barrete que tirara de sua cabeça e o pos na cabeça do dicto Joham Vicente e que mandava ao chaveiro e moordomo da dicta Igreja lhe desse sua raçom quando a servisse asy como a cada huum dos outros raçoeiros da dicta Igreja”³⁴.

As we have seen, with the end of communal life, the canons started living in their own homes. In any case, and to assure due diligence in their service, they were recommended and reminded that:

“amtre a igreja material e os beneficiados em ela nom deve aver distamcia nem alongamento mental nem corporall [...] poreem todos os beneficiados desta igreja que em esta villa morarem afastemse de morarem amtre os leigos [...] & aposemtense a viver e morar em a rua de Santa Maria que he des esta igreja ataa o Sabugal e he asaz hazada pera os beneficiados e clerigos dela poderem melhor e mais onestamente viver e morar & pera esto poderem melhor fazer daqui em diamte nom escambem nenhuuas cassas nem paredeiras desta ygreja que estejam na dita rua por outras casas nem erdades de fora da dita rua posto que mais remdão nem outrosy emprazem nem arendão as ditas cassas a nenhuua pesoa leiga nem ecclesiastica senom aos sobreditos beneficiados...”³⁵.

Let us now examine at the composition of the collegial body in some specific periods: on July 5, 1430, there were gathered in the choir of the Church of Santa Maria, canon Martim Afonso, who held the office of choirmaster in the Church of Santa Maria, treasurer Pedro Anes, Fernão Gonçalves de Araújo, Gil Afonso, Vasco Peres, Luís Afonso, João de Oliveira, João Afonso d’Ulhoo, Gonçalo Peres, Afonso Peres, Lourenço Esteves, Gervaz Gonçalves, Afonso Rodrigues, Fernão Anes, Fernão Gil, all of them canons, exchanged with merchant Pedro Anes and his wife, Catarina de Freitas, some houses that the chapter possessed in Rua de Vale de Donas for an estate located outside the town.³⁶

³³ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 3, N° 22.

³⁴ AMAP – CSMO, Pergaminhos, Docs. Eclesiásticos, 8-3-2-7.

³⁵ ANTT – CSMO, Livro 7 (Copy of the Collegiate Old Statutes), fl.5.

³⁶ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 46, N° 1.

Canons of the Collegiate Church of Guimarães (1430s and 1440s)

Name	Reference Years
Martim Afonso, choirmaster	1430, 1440
Pedro Anes - treasurer	1430, 1436, 1444
Fernão Gonçalves de Araújo, abbot at Pinheiro (1436)	1430, 1436, 1440, 1446, 1450
Gil Afonso	1430, 1436, 1439, 1440, 1442, 1444, 1446, 1450
Vasco Peres	1430, 1439
Luís Afonso	1430, 1436, 1440, 1446, 1450
João de Oliveira	1430
João Afonso	1430, 1437, 1440, 1444, 1446
Gonçalo Peres	1430
Afonso Peres (treasurer – 1450)	1430, 1444, 1446, 1450
Lourenço Esteves	1430
Gervaz Gonçalves	1430
Afonso Rodrigues	1430
Fernão Anes	1430
Fernão Gil	1430, 1436, 1440, 1442
Pedro Afonso, choirmaster	1436, 1437, 1442, 1444, 1447
João Esteves	1436, 1446, 1447
João Gonçalves	1437, 1442
Fernão Martins	1437
Álvaro Anes, archbishop's servant (1444, 1446)	1437, 1444, 1446, 1450
João Vicente	1438, 1440, 1442, 1444
Afonso André	1438, 1439, 1446
Martim Afonso	1440, 1444, 1446
João de Évora	1440, 1442, 1446
Pedro Anes, capelão (vicar's chaplain – 1442)	1442, 1446, 1447, 1450
Álvaro Anes de Freitas	1444
Vicente Martins	1444, 1446, 1450
João de Resende, schoolmaster	1446, 1447
Diogo Afonso Vieira, treasurer	1446, 1447
Nicolau Eanes	1446, 1447, 1450
Martim Lourenço	1446
João Gomes	1446, 1447
Lopo Afonso, abbot at Brito	1446, 1450
Pedro Vasques	1449, 1450

37 AMAP – CSMO,
Pergaminhos, Docs.
Eclesiásticos, 8-4-10-5.

On May 23, 1446, eighteen canons were together in the choir of the Collegiate Church of Guimarães to grant a lease, viz., treasurer Diogo Afonso, schoolmaster João de Resende, Luís Afonso, João de Évora, Martim Afonso, João Esteves, João Afonso d'Ulhoa, Fernão Gonçalves de Araújo and chaplain Pedro Anes, Gil Afonso, the archbishop's servant Álvaro Anes, Afonso Peres and Vicente Martins, Martim Lourenço, João Gomes, Afonso André, Nicolau Eanes, the abbot of Brito Lopo Afonso, all of them prebendary canons of this church, and other canons let by lease to Diogo Afonso Malheiro, the king's accountant in the treasurerships of Guimarães and Ponte de Lima, his *couto* of Moreira [a seigneurie immune to royal power]. Curiously enough, among the witnesses of this deed was prior Rui da Cunha, his squire Pedro Anes, and Afonso Anes, the schoolmaster's cleric.³⁷

On October 11, 1510, a Friday, they met as a chapter at the Chapel of São João, located in the cloister, to create a special statute for the operation of the chapter in times of plague, a statute that would basically allow the canons and other dignitaries to exempt themselves from their functions and flee the town of Guimarães if it were to become

ravaged by the Black Death.³⁸ The meeting gathered bacharel and choirmaster Fernando Álvares, schoolmaster Baltazar de Andrade, João Fernandes de Cabeça Boa, Vasco Martins, Gil Vaz, Vasco Martins, Domingos Botelho, Gonçalo Martins, João Dias, Estêvão Afonso, Jorge Afonso, Gonçalo Ribeiro, Luís de Guimarães, Gonçalo Anes, Mendo Eanes, António Rodrigues, Álvaro Anes, João Mendes, Gaspar Lopes, André Gonçalves, all prebendary canons, and also João Formoso, Pedro Afonso, Pedro Gonçalves, Pedro Fernandes and Brás Lopes, known as Portela, half canons.³⁹ This meant that in the beginning of the 16th century the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria de Oliveira had at least two and a half dozen canonries.

38 ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 6, Nº 7.

39 ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 6, Nº 7.

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