

# ESSAYS ON LAY AND ECCLESIASTICAL COMMUNITIES IN AND AROUND THE MEDIEVAL URBAN PARISH

MARIA AMÉLIA CAMPOS  
COORD.



**‘ARTIFICIAL FAMILIES’ WITHIN THE PARISH:  
INTERTWINED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN  
CONFRATERNITIES AND PARISH CHURCHES  
IN MEDIEVAL COIMBRA<sup>1</sup>**

**Ana Rita Rocha**

Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Instituto de Estudos Medievais

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-4709-5927

**Abstract:** Between the beginning of the twelfth century and the end of the fifteenth century, we estimate in forty the number of confraternities founded in the town of Coimbra. This chapter aims to analyse the developed relationships between the confraternities of Coimbra and the urban parish churches. At first, after a brief general presentation of the documented medieval confraternities of Coimbra, we will identify and describe those established in the parish churches, paying attention to their chronology and main characteristics and functions, as well as the confraternal practices within the parish context. Finally, using a small but significant set of written sources, we will pay particular attention to the interdependent relationships between the studied confraternities and the parish churches where they were based. These relationships are especially clear in the moment when a confraternity was extinctic and its assets were annexed to the church. Therefore, we intend to analyse how this

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incorporation took place and how it was reflected over time, beyond the existence of the confraternities themselves.

**Resumo:** Entre o início do século XII e o final do século XV, calcula-se em quarenta o número de confrarias fundadas na cidade de Coimbra. Este capítulo tem como objetivo analisar as relações desenvolvidas entre essas confrarias e as igrejas paroquiais urbanas. Numa primeira fase, após uma breve apresentação geral das confrarias medievais documentadas em Coimbra, identificaremos e descreveremos as que se estabeleceram nas igrejas paroquiais, atentando na sua cronologia e nas suas principais características e funções, bem como as práticas confraternais no contexto paroquial. Por último, recorrendo a um pequeno, mas significativo conjunto de fontes escritas, daremos particular atenção às relações de interdependência entre as confrarias estudadas e as igrejas paroquiais onde estavam sediadas. Estas relações são particularmente evidentes quando uma confraria se extinguiu e o seu património era anexado à igreja. Pretendemos, por isso, analisar como se processava esta incorporação e como se refletia ao longo do tempo, para além da existência das próprias confrarias.

## Introduction

Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, forty separate confraternities were documented in the city of Coimbra, around half of which were based in urban parish churches. These institutions constituted a new network of sociability and solidarity, and rather than substituting the bonds people had with one another in the Middle Ages, they helped strengthen them. Members of these confraternities found new ‘families’, where the bonds resembled ties of kinship<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Catherine Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France: XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1994), 49.

and offered both physical and spiritual protection<sup>3</sup>. As Catherine Vincent maintained, two inextricable aspects co-existed: prayer, congregating the faithful around one or more patron saints, and mutual assistance<sup>4</sup>. These associations played a fundamental role in the religious landscape of medieval society, helping to strengthen both devotional life and social and cultural ties, to integrate the faithful in the parish and ‘to forge a sense of a unified parochial identity’, alongside other agents, as demonstrated by Colm Lennon<sup>5</sup>.

As one of the most important medieval exemplifications of secular piety and devotion, confraternities have consistently captured the attention of historians, who have written monographs and articles on the subject, both in Portugal and further afield, concentrating on specific countries, regions, or cities. Studies worth noting were carried out by Catherine Vincent<sup>6</sup>, Jacques Chiffolleau<sup>7</sup> and Noël Coulet<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, “As confrarias medievais portuguesas: espaços de solidariedades na vida e na morte”, in *Cofradías, gremios y solidariedades en la Europa medieval. XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales. Estella '92* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1992), 156-157.

<sup>4</sup> Catherine Vincent, “La confrérie comme structure d’intégration: l’exemple de la Normandie”, in *Le mouvement confraternel au Moyen Âge. France, Italie, Suisse. Actes de la table ronde de Lausanne (9-11 mai 1985)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1987), 113.

<sup>5</sup> Colm Lennon, “Confraternities in Late Medieval Ireland: The Evolution of Chantry Colleges”, in *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 207-208. On the importance of the confraternities in the integration of the individual into the community and the different roles played by their individual members, as the devoted follower, the supportive neighbour, and the engaged citizen, see Marina Gazzini, “Urban Society and Lay-Religious Communities: Notes on Confraternities in Italian Communes and Signories”, in *Religious Connectivity in Urban Communities (1400-1550). Reading, Worshipping, and Connecting through the Continuum of Sacred and Secular*, ed. Suzan Folkerts (Turnhout: Brepls, 2021), 30.

<sup>6</sup> Vincent, “La confrérie comme structure d’intégration”; Catherine Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées. Les confréries normandes de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: École Normale Supérieure, 1988); Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales*.

<sup>7</sup> Jacques Chiffolleau, “Les confréries, la mort et la religion en Comtat Venaissin à la fin du Moyen Âge”, *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 91, no. 2 (1979): 785-825.

<sup>8</sup> Noël Coulet, “Le mouvement confraternel en Provence et dans le Comtat Venaissin au Moyen Âge”, in *Le mouvement confraternel au Moyen Âge. France, Italie, Suisse. Actes de la table ronde de Lausanne (9-11 mai 1985)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1987), 83-110.

The works of Gervase Rosser<sup>9</sup> are also of great significance, allowing the British associations of this kind to be included in the international historiographic debate, and likewise the classical work of John Henderson<sup>10</sup> on confraternities in Florence. In Spain, a considerable number of works about medieval confraternities have been produced, among which the recent work of Esther Tello Hernández on brotherhoods in Aragon<sup>11</sup> is highlighted. Finally, in Italy, the innovative works published by Marina Gazzini, both as an author<sup>12</sup> and editor<sup>13</sup>, brought, amongst others, a new vision of the relationship between the Italian confraternities and medieval society, studying their influence of inclusion or exclusion, in association with their functions of solidarity<sup>14</sup>, and their integration in urban society, contributing to the ideal and construction of a civic community<sup>15</sup>.

Maintaining step with the currents of European historiography, Portuguese medievalists also turned their attention to the confraternal movement – especially from the 1980s and 1990s – and have maintained a relatively stable rhythm of production and revision. In this

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<sup>9</sup> Gervase Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Guilds in England 1250-1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

<sup>10</sup> John Henderson, *Piety and charity in late medieval Florence* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).

<sup>11</sup> Esther Tello Hernández, *Aportación al estudio de las cofradías medievales y sus devociones en el reino de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2013). Unable to cover, even partially, the multitude of studies that have been published in Spain in recent decades, reference is made to the article by Antonio Martín-Viveros Tajuelo, who makes a historiographic assessment on Castilian confraternities in the Middle Ages. Antonio Martín-Viveros Tajuelo, “Las cofradías castellanas en la Edad Media. Pasado, presente y futuro de la producción historiográfica”. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, H.<sup>a</sup> Medieval* 25 (2012): 285-308.

<sup>12</sup> Marina Gazzini, “Solidarity and Brotherhood in Medieval Italian Confraternities: A Way of Inclusion or Exclusion?”, *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 13, no. 2 (2012): 109-120, <http://www.serena.unina.it/index.php/rm/article/view/4787/5379>; Gazzini, “Urban Society and Lay-Religious Communities”.

<sup>13</sup> Marina Gazzini, ed., *Studi confraternali: orientamenti, problemi, testimonianze* (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2009), <http://digital.casalini.it/9788884539380>.

<sup>14</sup> Gazzini, “Solidarity and Brotherhood”.

<sup>15</sup> Gazzini, “Urban Society and Lay-Religious Communities”.

context, the studies of Maria José Ferro Tavares<sup>16</sup>, Maria Ângela Beirante<sup>17</sup> and Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho<sup>18</sup>, as well as Saul António Gomes<sup>19</sup>, Mário Farelo<sup>20</sup> and this author<sup>21</sup>, who analyzed the different components and geographies of confraternities in Portugal, may all be highlighted as contributing to the field.

This forms the historiographic background of this article, the objective of which is to identify and characterize the confraternities that were established in parishes, and to analyze the relationships that developed between both types of institutions – confraternities and parish churches – from the twelfth century to the late fifteenth century in Coimbra.

The determination of these chronological limits followed the actual evolution of the confraternal movement. The oldest documented confraternities in Coimbra date to the first decades of the twelfth century. They are part of a broader context of charitable development, and of the founding of regular and secular communities within the church<sup>22</sup>. The fifteenth century closed a cycle of confraternal expansion in Portugal, when the reform of charitable assistance during the reign

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<sup>16</sup> Maria José Ferro Tavares, *Pobreza e Morte em Portugal na Idade Média* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1989).

<sup>17</sup> Maria Ângela Beirante, *Confrarias Medievais Portuguesas* (Lisbon: [s.n.], 1990).

<sup>18</sup> Coelho, “As confrarias medievais portuguesas”; Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, “Pratiques communautaires des laïcs: confréries et institutions collégiales et municipales dans le Portugal medieval”, in *La vie communautaire et le service à la communauté: L'exemple canonial et ses répercussions dans le monde laïc (Europe Occidentale, du XIe au XVe siècle)*, ed. Anne Massoni and Maria Amélia Campos (Évora: Publicações do Cidehus, 2020). <http://books.openedition.org/cidehus/11737>.

<sup>19</sup> Saul António Gomes, “Notas e Documentos sobre as confrarias portuguesas entre o fim da Idade Média e o século XVII: o protagonismo dominicano de Sta. Maria da Vitória”, *Lusitania Sacra*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 7 (1995): 89-150; Saul António Gomes, *O Livro do Compromisso da Confraria e Hospital de Santa Maria da Vitória da Batalha (1427-1544). Estudo Histórico e Transcrição Documental* (Leiria: Magno Edições, 2002).

<sup>20</sup> Mário Sérgio da Silva Farelo, “A rede confraternal na cidade de Lisboa (séculos XIII-primeira metade do séc. XVI)”, in *Espaços e poderes na Europa urbana medieval*, ed. Amélia Aguiar Andrade, Catarina Tente, Gonçalo Melo da Silva and Sara Prata (Lisbon: IEM and Câmara Municipal de Castelo de Vide, 2018), 465-492.

<sup>21</sup> Ana Rita Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra na Idade Média: Dimensão Urbana, Religiosa e Socioeconómica (Séculos XII a XVI)” (PhD diss., University of Coimbra, 2019).

<sup>22</sup> Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 189-200 and Coelho, “Pratiques communautaires des laïcs”.

of King Manuel I profoundly altered the medieval ‘model’ of helping the poor<sup>23</sup>. Meanwhile, a new secular religiousness emerged which required greater spiritual benefits and sought new and more effective intercessors. Thus, confraternities increasingly acquired a liturgical and religious nature, reaching a new apogee after the Catholic Reform<sup>24</sup>.

The city of Coimbra provides a singular setting for the study of these institutions in the period under study. It became the seat of a diocese around 1080, after the restoration of its cathedral and the ultimate defeat of the Muslims in 1064. Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, new churches were built and a tight parochial network was established, resulting in the emergence of nine new parochial churches within the urban perimeter; five parishes arose within the walled area (Almedina) – Santa Maria (of the actual cathedral), S. Pedro, S. João de Almedina, S. Salvador and S. Cristóvão – and four parishes were established on the outskirts of Coimbra – S. Bartolomeu, Santiago, S. João de Santa Cruz and Santa Justa. Moreover, a series of factors led Coimbra to become a favourable environment for the emergence and expansion of brotherhoods of clerics and laymen throughout the last four centuries of the Middle Ages. Among them, were: Coimbra becoming an important focal point for the first Portuguese kings; the urban monastic movement, exemplified at first by the founding of the monastery of Santa Cruz, and later by the arrival of the mendicant orders; the growth of the population, first in the Almedina and later in the peripheries of the city; the ethnic and religious diversity of the people that made up

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<sup>23</sup> José Pedro Paiva, ed., *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: União das Misericórdias Portuguesas, 2003), 18-20, <https://repositorio.ucp.pt/handle/10400.14/8633>; Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, “Pauvres, charité et assistance au Portugal (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)”, in *Minorités et régulations sociales en Méditerranée médiévale: actes du colloque réuni du 7 au 9 juin 2007 en l’Abbaye royale de Fontvraud (Maine-et-Loire)*, ed. Stéphane Boissellier, François Clément and John Tolan (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 97-106.

<sup>24</sup> Gomes, “Notas e Documentos sobre as confrarias portuguesas”, 93-97; Charles-Marie de La Roncière and Jean-Michel Matz, “Le mouvement confraternel”, in *Structures et dynamiques religieuses dans les sociétés de l’Occident latin (1179-1449)*, ed. Marie-Madeleine de Cevins and Jean-Michel Matz, (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 243-253, <http://books.openedition.org/pur/131232>.

the population; economic growth, particularly in the peripheries, which became a commercial area *par excellence*<sup>25</sup>.

Although sources are scarce, and at times notable for their brevity, those that remain prove the importance of Coimbra. Most documents were not produced by the actual confraternities, nor did they directly pertain to them. Mainly, instead, they come from the archives of religious institutions in Coimbra, i.e., the See, the monastery of Santa Cruz, and the collegiate churches (S. Pedro, S. João de Almedina, S. Salvador, S. Cristóvão, S. Bartolomeu, Santiago, and Santa Justa). These documents have different typologies, being mostly wills and leases or tenure contracts, which mention the confraternities in the city of Coimbra as beneficiaries of pious legacies or owners of buildings or properties with shared borders. These documents are indispensable for identifying the confraternities that were established in Coimbra throughout the Middle Ages, to determine a chronology, even if it is only an approximation (and, by nature, vague), and understand their role in the suffrages for the souls of the deceased.

An important set of documents produced by confraternities and by other ecclesiastical institutions in Coimbra that relate specifically to the brotherhoods was compiled. These sources enable a better

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<sup>25</sup> About the city of Coimbra in the Middle Ages, and its evolution over this period, particularly regarding the aforementioned aspects, see José Pinto Loureiro, *Toponímia de Coimbra*, 2 vols. (Coimbra: Edição da Câmara Municipal, 1964); Jorge de Alarcão, *Coimbra: a montagem do cenário urbano* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2008); Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, “Coimbra medieval: uma cidade em maturação”, in *Inventário do Museu Nacional de Machado de Castro. Coleção de ourivesaria medieval. Séculos XII-XV*, ed. Adília Alarcão (Lisbon: Instituto Português de Museus, 2003), 29-47; Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, *O Município de Coimbra – Monumentos Fundacionais* (Coimbra: Câmara Municipal de Coimbra and Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2013); Leontina Ventura, “Coimbra medieval: uma cidade em formação”, in *Inventário do Museu Nacional de Machado de Castro. Coleção de ourivesaria medieval. Séculos XII-XV*, ed. Adília Alarcão (Lisbon: Instituto Português de Museus, 2003), 15-28; Maria Amélia Álvaro de Campos, “Coimbra’s parochial network: aspects of its definition in the 12th century”, in *Ecclesiastics and political state building in the Iberian monarchies, 13th-15th centuries*, ed. Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar and Maria João Branco (Évora: Publicações do Cidehus, 2016), <http://books.openedition.org/cidehus/1596>; Maria Amélia Álvaro de Campos, *Cidade e Religião: a colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra na Idade Média* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2017).



understanding of their religious and charitable objectives, their operation, and the relationships they established with other entities, i.e., parish churches. Ten surviving confraternal statutes are worth noting, dating from 1144 to 1498<sup>26</sup>. There are also a small number of sentences drafted during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that are related to a specific historical context in the life of the confraternities – when these associations were extinguished, either by their own choice or by the decision of ecclesiastical authorities. Although very few of these sentences exist, they are the principal source for an examination of the relationships between the brotherhoods and parish churches and reveal that the former had a certain degree of dependence on the later, as will be shown.

These sources allow questions such as – which of the confraternities documented for Coimbra were installed in the city’s parish churches? What were the implications when a confraternity was located inside a parish church? How was this connection materialized? What relationships were established between the institutions? What role did parish churches play when a brotherhood was not able to fulfill its religious and charitable objectives? – to be answered. These answers will reveal themselves, starting through a contextualization of the confraternal movement in Coimbra throughout the Middle Ages and further, focusing on the confraternities implanted in parish churches and the relationships they established with the ecclesiastical institutions where they were based.

## **1. Coimbra’s medieval confraternities**

From the beginning of the twelfth century, inhabitants of Coimbra, both lay and ecclesiastic, began to organize themselves in the form

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<sup>26</sup> Half of these statutes are copied in the *Tombo Velbo do Hospital Real*, preserved in the Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra. The rest are divided among the fonds of the Cabido da Sé de Coimbra and the monasteries of Santa Cruz and S. Domingos, especially in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 552-554.

of confraternities. Over the course of four centuries, at least forty consecutive brotherhoods were established, although not all of which were simultaneously extant<sup>27</sup>. They began occupying urban spaces, where they formed a ‘network’ of solidarity and sociability, able to address a desire for mutual assistance and the devotion of Coimbra’s faithful.

The first known confraternity in the city of Coimbra is that of the Santo Sepulcro (Holy Sepulcher), documented between 1117 and 1188<sup>28</sup>. Over the course of the twelfth century, nine more brotherhoods were documented<sup>29</sup>. Among them, the confraternity of S. Nicolau (Saint Nicholas) should be highlighted, and whilst documentary references to it are scarce<sup>30</sup>, it is the brotherhood that can be tracked over the longest period. Established in 1144<sup>31</sup>, this brotherhood survived almost up to the early sixteenth century, when its possessions

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<sup>27</sup> In the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, respectively, sixteen and seventeen confraternities operating simultaneously were identified (Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 218, 237). These numbers seem to reveal, on one hand, the ‘charity revolution’ (André Vauchez, “Assistance et charité en Occident, XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles”, in *Religion et société dans l’Occident médiéval* (Turin: Bottega d’Erasmus, 1980), 58) that was also experienced in Coimbra, and on the other hand, a certain stabilization of the confraternal movement, which reached its apogee in those centuries (Coelho, “As confrarias medievais portuguesas”, 155-156; La Roncière and Matz, “Le mouvement confraternel”).

<sup>28</sup> Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, ed., *Livro Preto. Cartulário da Sé de Coimbra. Edição Crítica. Texto Integral* (Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade, 1999), 112 and 375.

<sup>29</sup> This is quite an important figure in terms of the Portuguese context. In a broader study involving the entire kingdom (of Portugal), Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho (Coelho, “As confrarias medievais portuguesas”, 155-156) registered a total of 20 confraternities documented during the twelfth century, some of them located in Coimbra. The author even emphasizes this city as an urban centre where confraternities had strong representativity. It is unavoidable to compare the city under study with Lisbon, where no brotherhood is identified in the twelfth century (Farelo, “A rede confraternal na cidade de Lisboa”, 471), thus highlighting the relative precociousness of the confraternal movement in Coimbra.

<sup>30</sup> Only its ‘tombo’ (book of records) is known, finished in 1503 and included in the volume known as *Tombo Velho do Hospital Real*, which includes the statutes of the institution. Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra (AUC), *Tombo Velho do Hospital Real*, IV-2.<sup>a</sup> E-7-3-6, fls. 91-95v, partially published in Paiva, *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, 265-266.

<sup>31</sup> Paiva, *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, 265-266.

were incorporated into the newly created Hospital Real (Royal Hospital), and it was disbanded<sup>32</sup>.

As the ‘foundational’ period of the confraternal movement in Coimbra, the twelfth century saw the emergence of the following brotherhoods: the first confraternity associated with a parish church, that of S. Bartolomeu (Saint Bartholomew) (1126)<sup>33</sup>; the first to be included in the city’s cathedral, the confraternity of Santa Maria da Sé (Saint Mary of the See) (1152)<sup>34</sup>; and the first confraternity of craftsmen, the confraternity of Pedreiros (Stone Masons) ([1180])<sup>35</sup>. All of these were documented up to the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

During the transition of the twelfth to the thirteenth century, the number of documentary references of new confraternities increased slightly, but then stabilized until the end of the fourteenth century. A great change occurred in the fifteenth century, when the number of new confraternities in Coimbra decreased significantly, with only four new institutions registered<sup>36</sup>.

Over the course of the period under study, several brotherhoods were founded that are notable because of their importance in the welfare and social context of Coimbra. For example, after the stone masons, other craftsmen formed confraternities – such as tailors<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> The Hospital Real was established by King Manuel I between 1502 and 1508, and unified all the existing hospitals in the city, incorporating their properties, as well as several confraternities, which usually administered small hospitals (Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, “A Assistência em Coimbra em Tempos Manuelinos: o Hospital Novo”, *Biblos* 72 (1996): 223-258; Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 245-246).

<sup>33</sup> Maria Cristina Gonçalves Guardado, “A Colegiada de S. Bartolomeu de Coimbra em Tempos Medievais (Das origens ao início do séc. XV)”, vol. 2 (MA diss., University of Coimbra, 1999), 11.

<sup>34</sup> Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, *Livro de D. João Teotónio*, liv. 101, fl. 48v.

<sup>35</sup> Rodrigues, *Livro Preto*, 19.

<sup>36</sup> This decrease was common in the whole kingdom, as noted by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho (Coelho, “As confrarias medievais portuguesas”, 156). There are, however, regions in Europe where a considerable increase in the number of confraternities was experienced, such as in the Comtat Venaissin and in Provence (Chiffolleau, “Les confréries, la mort et la religion”, 790, 793-794; Coulet, “Le mouvement confraternel”, 96-97, 101). In the case of Provence, this increase seems to be linked to the multiplication of craft confraternities (Coulet, “Le mouvement confraternel”, 101).

<sup>37</sup> ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 2.ª inc., mc. 14, n.º 663.

and ironsmiths in the thirteenth century<sup>38</sup>, and shoemakers (1302)<sup>39</sup>. Still within secular devotional practices, there were equally important confraternities dedicated to the Virgin Mary<sup>40</sup>, simply named after Her<sup>41</sup>, with invocation related to a site of Her appearance – Santa Maria de Rocamador (Saint Mary of Rocamadour) (1220-1316)<sup>42</sup> –, or with one of the many Marian devotional titles – Santa Maria da Graça (Saint Mary of Grace) (1457-1500)<sup>43</sup> and Nossa Senhora do Rosário (Our Lady of the Rosary) (1494-1498)<sup>44</sup>. The two latter confraternities deserve special attention because they portended new times – both can be classified as exclusively devotional brotherhoods, as their statutes contemplated only religious-liturgical objectives, without any reference to mutual assistance or aid outside the confraternity<sup>45</sup>, a nascent model of the confraternities of the Modern Period<sup>46</sup>.

## 2. Confraternities within the parish walls

Among the forty confraternities identified in Coimbra, approximately half were installed in parish churches (Table 1, in appendix), intrinsi-

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<sup>38</sup> João da Cunha Matos, “A Colegiada de São Cristóvão de Coimbra (Sécs. XII e XIII)” (Unpublished academic work, Polytechnic Institute of Tomar, 1998), 175.

<sup>39</sup> ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 2.<sup>a</sup> inc., mç. 25, n.º 1060. On craft confraternities in the city of Coimbra, see Ana Rita Rocha, “As confrarias de mesteres no contexto assistencial de Coimbra (séculos XII a XV)”, *eHumanista* 49 (2021): 29-45, <https://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/sites/default/files/sitefiles/ehumanista/volume49/ehum49js.rocha.pdf>.

<sup>40</sup> Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 339-341.

<sup>41</sup> This was the case with the confraternity of Santa Maria da Sé, documented from 1152 to 1394. ANTT, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, *Livro de D. João Teotónio*, liv. 101, fl. 48v and ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 2.<sup>a</sup> inc., mç. 74, n.º 2972.

<sup>42</sup> Maria do Rosário Barbosa Morujão, ed., *Testamenta Ecclesiae Portugaliae (1071-1325)* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa/Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2010), 248 and ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 5, n.º “45 do 6.º sacco”.

<sup>43</sup> Paiva, *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, 401 and ANTT, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, liv. 41, n.º 2.

<sup>44</sup> ANTT, Convento de S. Domingos de Coimbra, liv. 2, fl. 20-21.

<sup>45</sup> Paiva, *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, 401 and ANTT, Convento de S. Domingos de Coimbra, liv. 2, fl. 20-21.

<sup>46</sup> Gomes, “Notas e Documentos sobre as confrarias portuguesas”, 94.

cally associated with the religious entity that was closest to the population – and with which they were required to interact and engage in dialogue. While the parish was the primary religious setting for worshippers, the confraternities helped intensify religious life, and facilitated their integration in the church<sup>47</sup>. They also contributed to the construction of civic ideals, which were fundamental to urban civic cohabitation, through the rhetoric around reciprocal love, charity, peace, and justice, as Marina Gazzini demonstrated<sup>48</sup>.

The first brotherhoods established in parish churches in Coimbra date to the early decades of the twelfth century, gathering clerics and parishioners around common objectives. Benefitting from this proximity to the ecclesiastical environment, the confraternities adopted the collective way of life of the secular and regular clerics as a model, and were, initially, primarily associated with these communities<sup>49</sup>.

The oldest known parochial brotherhood of Coimbra is the confraternity of S. Bartolomeu set in the outskirts of the city, instituted within the church with the same name, and definitively documented from 1126 when Goldregodo and his children sold a house to the '*confratribus Sancti Bartholomei apostoli*'<sup>50</sup>. However, it is possible that this confraternity had been founded earlier, illustrating the mechanism suggested in the previous paragraph. In 1106, a reference to '*fraternitatis ecclesie Sancti Bartolomei*' can be found<sup>51</sup>, but the use of the term '*fraternitatis*' raises some questions, leading to the conclusion that it probably referred to the ecclesiastic community

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<sup>47</sup> Vincent, "La confrérie comme structure d'intégration", 127.

<sup>48</sup> Gazzini, "Urban Society and Lay-Religious Communities", 27.

<sup>49</sup> Coelho, "Pratiques communautaires des laïcs". In Florence, John Henderson (Henderson, *Piety and charity*, 56) also draws attention to the role of the secular clergy in the early confraternities, apart from the mendicant order, although parochial documentation is very scarce. See also Paul Trio, "Confraternities as Such, and as a Template for Guilds in the Low Countries during the Medieval and the Early Modern Period", in *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities*, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 29-31, who describes the monastic or abbatial confraternities in the Low Countries.

<sup>50</sup> Guardado, "A Colegiada de S. Bartolomeu", vol. 2, 11.

<sup>51</sup> Rodrigues, *Livro Preto*, 730.

that was beginning to become organized at this time in the church of S. Bartolomeu<sup>52</sup>, and not to the confraternity<sup>53</sup>. It is clear, however, that the confraternities initially arose in connection with the ecclesiastic environment, and as a consequence of the initiative of auxiliary clerics who were associated to the laity<sup>54</sup>.

In the twelfth century, five other confraternities were established within parish churches – mostly during the second half of the century. More than 20 years after the first reference to S. Bartolomeu, in 1147, evidence can be found of the existence of a brotherhood located in the church of Santiago, with the same name<sup>55</sup>. After Santiago (Saint James the Great), the following confraternities were registered: Santa Maria da Sé (1152)<sup>56</sup>, S. Pedro (Saint Peter) (1159)<sup>57</sup>, Clérigos (Clergymen) (1160)<sup>58</sup> and Santa Cruz (Holy Cross) (1170)<sup>59</sup> (or Santa Maria da Vera Cruz (Saint Mary of the True Cross), as it came to be known later). While the confraternities of S. Pedro and Santa Cruz were located in the parish churches of S. Pedro and S. João de Santa Cruz<sup>60</sup>, respectively, those of Santa Maria da Sé and of the Clérigos

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<sup>52</sup> Guardado, “A Colegiada de S. Bartolomeu”, vol. 1, 26-34.

<sup>53</sup> Curiously, in England the term ‘parish fraternities’ refers to confraternities in general, as they are defined in Portugal, whereas ‘confraternity’ implies an association organized by a religious house, to raise funds for spiritual purposes. Caroline M. Barron, “The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London”, in *Medieval London: collected papers of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2017), 136-139.

<sup>54</sup> Anne Massoni, “La participation des chanoines à l’encadrement religieux”, in *Structures et dynamiques religieuses dans les sociétés de l’Occident Latin (1179-1449)*, ed. Marie-Madeleine de Cevins and Jean-Michel Matz (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 85-94, <https://books.openedition.org/pur/131094>.

<sup>55</sup> Leontina Ventura and Ana Santiago Faria, ed., *Livro Santo de Santa Cruz* (Coimbra: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1990), 155.

<sup>56</sup> ANTT, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, *Livro de D. João Teotónio*, liv. 101, fl. 48v.

<sup>57</sup> Carla Patrícia Rana Varandas, “A Colegiada de S. Pedro de Coimbra das origens ao final do século XIV: estudo económico e social”, vol. 2 (MA diss., University of Coimbra, 1999), 6.

<sup>58</sup> ANTT, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, 1.<sup>a</sup> inc., DP, mc. 14, n.º 29 and liv. 4, n.º 42, fls. 17-17v.

<sup>59</sup> ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 1.<sup>a</sup> inc., DP, cx. 27, rolo 3, n.º 25.

<sup>60</sup> The location of the brotherhood of Santa Cruz in the parish church of S. João de Santa Cruz is known through a lease from 1503, which states that the ‘comfraria

were founded in the cathedral of the city, also being the seat of a parish<sup>61</sup>.

In the following century, six new confraternities are documented, all located in parish churches inside the walled area of the city. Four of these (to be focused on later in this text) were installed in the church of S. Salvador. The other two correspond to the confraternities of S. Cristóvão (Saint Christopher), documented from 1259<sup>62</sup>, and of S. Brás (Saint Blaise), first mentioned in 1286<sup>63</sup>. It is worth noting that both adopted the names of the churches where they were installed, since the church of S. João de Almedina was also known as church of S. Brás<sup>64</sup>.

The church of S. Salvador is paradigmatic, as it accommodated within its walls four confraternities: one dedicated to its patron saint, this only documented in the testament of the Canon Martim Martins in 1220<sup>65</sup>, that of ‘Mouzinhos’, mentioned in the same document<sup>66</sup>,

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de Santa Maria da Vera Cruz (...) esta na igreja de Sam Joham da nossa muy noble e sempre leall cidade de Coimbra’ (‘the brotherhood of Holy Mary of the True Cross (...) is [located] in the church of Saint John of our very noble and always loyal city of Coimbra’). AUC, Hospital Real de Coimbra, IV-3.<sup>a</sup>-Gav. 50-n.º 2/11.

<sup>61</sup> Campos, “Coimbra’s parochial network”. In the case of the confraternity of the Clérigos, the association with the cathedral is not as clear as in the case of that of Santa Maria da Sé, whose name sometimes includes a direct reference (see, for example, ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 2.<sup>a</sup> inc., mç. 79, n.º 3390). However, in a document from the thirteenth century, the former was designated as ‘*confrariam clericorum Sancte Mariae*’, which enables the identification of its members, and therefore, of its location within the See (ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 1.<sup>a</sup> inc., mç. 20, n.º 21). The possibility that these two confraternities were the same institution cannot be excluded, as this author maintained in a previous study (Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 198). However, as before, the choice has been made to keep them as two separate brotherhoods.

<sup>62</sup> Matos, “A Colegiada de São Cristóvão”, 187.

<sup>63</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de S. João de Almedina de Coimbra, mç. 1, n.º 4.

<sup>64</sup> Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 252.

<sup>65</sup> Morujão, *Testamenta Ecclesiae Portugaliae*, 248.

<sup>66</sup> On this confraternity and the meaning of its name, see Saul António Gomes, “A solidariedade eclesial na promoção de escolares pobres a estudos universitários: o exemplo coimbrão nos séculos XIV e XV”, in *Universidade(s): história, memória, perspectivas. Actas do Congresso “História da Universidade” no 7º centenário da sua Fundação*, vol. IV (Coimbra: Comissão Organizadora do Congresso “História da Universidade”, 1991), 208-209 and Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 207-208.

that of Santo António (Saint Anthony), known since 1276<sup>67</sup>, and the confraternity of S. Marcos (Saint Mark), founded in 1290<sup>68</sup>.

While the name of the confraternity of S. Salvador (Saint Savior) evokes the parish church where it was registered, the other names are not so easy to place and are, in fact, contingent on the documentary data. For example, a letter of visitation in 1353 by bishop Jorge of Coimbra, elucidates that within the church of S. Salvador there was a brotherhood with the same patron saint, yet with the designation of ‘dos Moozinhos’<sup>69</sup>. Despite having the same name as the church, this was not the confraternity of S. Salvador, since both are referred to in the above-mentioned testament as separate institutions<sup>70</sup>. In turn, the location of the confraternity of S. Marcos in that church is confirmed by a document from 1443 which states that Geraldo was *juiz* (‘judge’) of the ‘confraria de Sam Marcos da dicta igreja (of S. Salvador)’ (‘confraternity of S. Marcos of the said church (of S. Salvador)’)<sup>71</sup>.

The confraternity of Santo António raises other questions, however – for example, its location in the parish church of S. Salvador is not as obvious as the previous cases. Fortunately, some extant data leaves no room for doubts on this matter, as this is one of the Medieval confraternities upon which there are a greater number of surviving sources – preserved in the archive of the church of S. Salvador and currently housed in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo<sup>72</sup>.

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<sup>67</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, Antiga Coleção Especial, mç. 1, n.º 7. This confraternity was also known as the confraternity of Santo Antoninho (‘Little Saint Anthony’) or Santo Antão (‘Great Saint Anthony’), as this author demonstrated in a previous work (Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 208-209).

<sup>68</sup> Paiva, *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, 314-316.

<sup>69</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 10, “Vigésimo outavo purgaminho do 1.º sacco”.

<sup>70</sup> Morujão, *Testamenta Ecclesiae Portugaliae*, 248.

<sup>71</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 11, n.º “27 do 3.º sacco”.

<sup>72</sup> The fond in question is that of the Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, consisting of documentation produced between 1144 and 1569, according to information obtained in the online data base of the Arquivo Nacional (<http://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=1380207>). The survey undertaken allowed the compilation of eight *emprazamentos* (lease) of the properties of the confraternity of Santo António (Saint Anthony), carried



This information reveals a very close connection between the two institutions, as this research asserts and, furthermore, some of these letters were written in the church of S. Salvador<sup>73</sup>, as will be made apparent. Further revealing evidence are a lease and an exchange, from 1439 and 1453 respectively, in which the dean and the portioners of S. Salvador took part as administrators of the properties of the confraternity, implying that these were shared by both institutions<sup>74</sup>.

Over the course of the following centuries, particularly in the 1300s, eight new confraternities were registered in parish churches. In the cathedral, for example, its *bacharéis* (bachelors) established a confraternity in 1324 in honour of Holy Mary and drafted their statutes defining norms of mutual solidarity and religiosity<sup>75</sup> – which were later extended<sup>76</sup>. Some years afterward, between 1343 and 1348, a group of over forty men established a confraternity in honour of the Holy Virgin Mary, in the church of S. Bartolomeu, immediately committing its statutes to documentary form<sup>77</sup>.

It appears that, alongside the existing brotherhood in the church of S. Pedro, another confraternity was established in the twelfth century, that of Santo Isidro (Saint Isidore). This association was first mentioned in a clause in the testament of the muleteer Nicolau Geraldes, known through a copy written in November of 1353 by request of the portioner of S. Pedro. The testator, upon bequeathing

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out by their ‘judge’, ‘stewards’ and confraters, as well as a claim against the king’s falconer and his wife. See, as an example, ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 2, s/n (1343, June, 11) and mç. 8, s/n (1324, December, 23).

<sup>73</sup> See, for example, ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 13, n.º “268 do 9.º sacco” (1396, June, 25).

<sup>74</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 7, n.º “364 do 13.º sacco” and mç. 9, n.º “87 do 8.º sacco”.

<sup>75</sup> Paiva, *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, 323-326.

<sup>76</sup> Abílio Queirós, “Estatutos’ da Confraria dos Bacharéis da Sé de Coimbra”, *Boletim do Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra* 19-20 (1999-2000): 75-92. On this confraternity and its two statutes, as well as the importance of bachelors, see Gomes, “A solidariedade eclesial”, 210-211 and Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 223-224.

<sup>77</sup> Paiva, *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, 345-346. As previously claimed by this author (Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 224), this confraternity had nothing to do with the confraternity of S. Bartolomeu, documented since 1126.

some olive trees to his family and descendants in return for lighting the lamp in the church of S Pedro, determined that once his lineage became extinct, the olive trees would pass to the confraternity of Santo Isidro, whereby its *mordomos* ('stewards') and 'judges' would assume this commitment<sup>78</sup>. Although it is not possible to be completely certain of the connection between S. Pedro and Santo Isidro, the location of the shelter administered by this confraternity and the other properties in the parish of S. Pedro de Almedina<sup>79</sup> leads to a conclusion that the brotherhood was likely located in that parish church.

Santa Justa, the church on the outskirts of the city to the north of the walled area<sup>80</sup>, had the largest number of established confraternities – with five in total, each only documented in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, this was also the only parish church that did not have its own confraternity, as seen regarding the other eight parishes of the city in which brotherhoods devoted to their eponymous patron saints were founded.

It is certain that the confraternities of the Espírito Santo (Holy Spirit), documented from 1309<sup>81</sup>, S. Lourenço (Saint Lawrence), since 1328<sup>82</sup>, and the later S. Sebastião (Saint Sebastian), referred for the first time in the second half of the fifteenth century ([1460-1481])<sup>83</sup>, were emplaced in this church – as evidenced by episcopal visitations in the sixteenth century to Santa Justa<sup>84</sup>. In the case of the confraternity of S. Sebastião, it seems likely that it also developed part of its activity in the church of S. Pedro. According to its first documentary

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<sup>78</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de S. Pedro de Coimbra, mç. 5, s/n (1353, November, 4).

<sup>79</sup> See, for example, ANTT, Colegiada de S. Pedro de Coimbra, mç. 2, n.º 2A (1389, May, 2) and mç. 6, n.º 34 (1402, April, 12).

<sup>80</sup> On this church and parish, see Campos, *Cidade e Religião*.

<sup>81</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de Santiago de Coimbra, mç. 17, n.º 46/322.

<sup>82</sup> ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 2.ª inc., mç. 35, n.º 1483.

<sup>83</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de S. Pedro de Coimbra, cx. 2, mç. 3, s/n. The interpretation of the date of this document raises some doubts. As such, it was decided to date it critically to the episcopate of João Galvão (1460-1481), mentioned in this visitation.

<sup>84</sup> Campos, *Cidade e Religião*, 167. AUC, Coimbra, Capítulos de Visitas, III-1.ª D-5--2-71-1, fls. 18v-19 and 24v-25 and ANTT, Colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra, liv. 4, fl. 11.

mention – at the time of an episcopal visitation during the episcopate of João Galvão (1460-1481) – the brotherhood of S. Sebastião was to be the recipient of fines paid by the dean of S. Pedro in case of failure to obey some of the orders issued by the vicar-general of the bishop. The confraternities' distribution of liturgical functions throughout several places was, in fact, a relatively common practice<sup>85</sup>.

The available information points to the probability that the church of Santa Justa also housed the confraternities of Santa Marinha (Saint Marina) (1332)<sup>86</sup> and Santa Águeda (Saint Agatha) (1375)<sup>87</sup>, both documented until the 1380s, but no further. Other than owning property in the parish of Santa Justa (particularly the confraternity of Santa Águeda)<sup>88</sup>, the existence of a door and chapel dedicated to Santa Marinha<sup>89</sup> and an altar invoking Santa Águeda<sup>90</sup> in that church provide further indicative corroboration.

Residing in parish churches, which acted as the nucleus of the collective organization of the inhabitants of a city, these confraternities considered the parochial perimeter as their main fount of recruitment, mustering the faithful from the parish locale '*tam clericis quam laici sive femine*' ('both clergyman and lay men and women'), such as the confraternity of S. Pedro, in 1159<sup>91</sup>. However, despite knowing the names of some of the members of these brotherhoods, in the great majority of cases these individuals cannot be directly linked to the parish where they were members. One exception were the clerics who held positions in the confraternities' administration. For example, among the stewards of the confraternity of 'Mouzinhos' there was a dean from the church of S. Salvador, documented in 1299<sup>92</sup>, and a

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<sup>85</sup> Tello Hernández, *Aportación al estudio de las cofradías*, 123-124.

<sup>86</sup> Paiva, *Portugalíae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, 390.

<sup>87</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra, mç. 4, n.º 64.

<sup>88</sup> See, for example, ANTT, Convento de Santana de Coimbra, mç. 4, s/n (1 July 1386).

<sup>89</sup> Campos, *Cidade e Religião*, 291 and 337.

<sup>90</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra, liv. 4, fl. 11.

<sup>91</sup> Varandas, "A Colegiada de S. Pedro", 6.

<sup>92</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 16, n.º "392 do 13.º sacco".

portioner from the same church, mentioned between 1316 and 1327<sup>93</sup>. This confraternity relied on the portioners of S. Salvador, Pedro Peres and Domingos Martins, as their procurators, the first between 1311 and 1327<sup>94</sup> and the second in 1352<sup>95</sup>.

This data reveals a tendency that was more common in the early stages of the founding of the parish confraternities, and which gradually disappeared over time. As Pascal Vuillemin observed regarding Venice, these confraternities gradually extended their sphere of recruitment beyond the parish limits<sup>96</sup>. In effect, the main administrative positions in Coimbra – with only a few exceptions such as those mentioned above – were also held by deans and clerics of other parishes, comparable to the structure seen in Aragon<sup>97</sup>.

The confraternities studied here celebrated their liturgical services in the churches where they were established – in particular, ceremonies to honour their patron saint and to pray for the souls of their deceased members and benefactors, who had made the confraternities beneficiaries of their estates through their wills, in order to attain eternal salvation<sup>98</sup>. Similarly, it was in these temples that ‘judges’, ‘stewards’

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<sup>93</sup> See, for example, ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 5, n.º “45 do 6.º sacco” and ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 15, n.º “246 do 9.º sacco”.

<sup>94</sup> See, for example, ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 14, n.º “41 do 6 sacco” and ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 15, n.º “246 do 9.º sacco”.

<sup>95</sup> See, for example, ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 13, s/n (10 March 1352).

<sup>96</sup> Pascal Vuillemin, “« Des paroisses à la ville » et la redéfinition des réseaux de solidarités à Venise à la fin du moyen âge (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)”, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 123-1 (2011), <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.654>. A situation that was common to other regions, as observed by other authors (Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées*, 260-265; Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity*, 4). Nonetheless, in the Low Countries there were some parish confraternities that ‘recruited almost exclusively within the parish boundaries’ (Trio, “Confraternities as Such”, 32).

<sup>97</sup> Tello Hernández, *Aportación al estudio de las cofradías*, 123. A complete list of the ‘judges’, ‘stewards’, and other officials known for the medieval confraternities of Coimbra can be consulted in Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 555-560.

<sup>98</sup> On the confraternities’ role as mediators and their inclusion in testaments, as beneficiaries of pious legacies, see Jacques Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Âge (vers 1320 - vers 1480)* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2011), 274-295 and Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar, *A vivência da morte no Portugal medieval: a Estremadura portuguesa (1300 a 1500)* (Redondo: Patrimonia, 1995), 182-187. See also Gazzini, “Urban Society

and confraters met. Within a church, the members of a confraternity could choose different locations for their meetings, with a clear preference for large spaces that could accommodate all the participants. Other than meetings held in the church, without specifying the location<sup>99</sup>, in 1396 the confraters of Santo António were recorded as assembling in the cemetery of the church of S. Salvador<sup>100</sup> and, in 1453, in the choir<sup>101</sup>; in 1427 and 1507 those of S. Marcos convened in the cloister of their church<sup>102</sup> and, in 1443, in front of the main door<sup>103</sup>.

The confraternity of the Bacharéis da Sé (Bachelors of the Cathedral) was an even more paradigmatic example. These clerics, which, as seen, formed a confraternity in 1324, would convene ‘hu se faz o cabiidoo dos coonigos da dicta See’ (‘where the canons of the said see meet in chapter’)<sup>104</sup>, that is, ‘dentro na Castra da dicta See’ (‘in the cloister of the said see’), as specified in the second statutes<sup>105</sup>. Although it appears similar in its aspects to the prior examples, particularly to the confraternity of S. Marcos, convening in the cloister, this case shows one of the most relevant aspects of confraternal meetings, further strengthening the bonds between these associations and the ecclesiastic institutions. In effect, as indicated by the sources, the members of the confraternities met in these different places ‘in cabido’ (in chapters), a clear replication of parish chapters, as well

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and Lay-Religious Communities”, 31, who emphasizes the celebration of confraternal ceremonies in the circumscribed space of the parish churches.

<sup>99</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 13, n.º “268 do 9.º sacco” (25 June 1396).

<sup>100</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 13, n.º “87 do 8.º sacco”.

<sup>101</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 9, n.º “87 do 8.º sacco”.

<sup>102</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 4, n.º “14.º do 2.º sacco” and AUC, Hospital Real de Coimbra, IV-3.<sup>a</sup>-Gav. 50-n.º 2.

<sup>103</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 11, n.º “27 do 3.º sacco”.

<sup>104</sup> Paiva, *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, 324.

<sup>105</sup> Queirós, “‘Estatutos’ da Confraria dos Bacharéis”, 91.

as those of cathedrals and monasteries. As Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho demonstrated, the confraternities were strongly influenced by the secular and regular clergy – and even by municipal institutions – imitating their models of organization<sup>106</sup>.

To perform liturgical and administrative activities in the parish churches the confraternities required certain objects, kept within the locale of these duties<sup>107</sup>. Whilst these objects are rare in Coimbra, and are from later dates, they are sufficient to illustrate this affirmation. Regarding the episcopal visitations to the church of Santa Justa in the 1580s, sources indicate that at that time the confraternity of Espírito Santo had a wax casket and a footstool, probably used in liturgical and funerary ceremonies, as well as in its chapters<sup>108</sup>. Moreover, the ‘stewards’ of Espírito Santo tried to prevent their equivalents from other confraternities using these items on the feast days of their associations. They were, however, unsuccessful since the bishop (or his vicar) considered that these items could very well be used by different confraternities, given the lack of space in the church for more footstools and wax caskets. The confraternity of S. Sebastião had an altar in the church of Santa Justa, which was transferred in the sixteenth century to a different location by the confraters with the help of the parishioners<sup>109</sup>.

The proximity between confraternities and parish churches inevitably led to the development of relationships between these institutions, which left a mark on the existence of each one of them to some degree.

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<sup>106</sup> Coelho, “Pratiques communautaires des laïcs”. On confraternal chapters, see Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 318-321.

<sup>107</sup> Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées*, 270.

<sup>108</sup> AUC, Coimbra, Capítulos de Visitas, III-1.<sup>a</sup> D-5-2-71-1, fls. 18v-19v and 23v-25.

<sup>109</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra, liv. 4, fl. 11. On the possessions that the confraternities preserved inside parish churches and chapels built therein, see Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées*, 270-278. Paul Trio (Trio, “Confraternities as Such”, 32) also identified the use by confraternities of an altar or chapel at the back of parish churches in the Low Countries. Unfortunately, as evident from the aforementioned examples, there is almost no information about confraternal chapels, altars, or other decorative elements in Coimbra.

### 3. Intertwined relationships between confraternities and parish churches

The relationships that were established between the confraternities and parishes churches could have different forms, some of which have already been explained. The mere existence of a confraternity within a parish church required constant dialogue between the clerics and the members of the brotherhood. As such it was necessary to discuss various affairs, including those associated with the celebration of liturgical service (which were probably carried out by the clerics of the actual church), the occupation of the spaces where the confraternal chapters were held, as well as the management of the objects belonging to the associations, kept inside the temple itself. Although they were independent entities, the confraternities were always reliant – to some degree – on the churches, since the brotherhoods occupied a space not belonging to them, and had to be careful not to impinge upon on parochial life<sup>110</sup>.

However, the sources that are available regarding these topics in the medieval confraternities of Coimbra are very limited. The few examples that have survived specify the compliance or noncompliance of obligations that the confraternities had with the churches, as evidenced in two instances, one involving the confraternity of S. Marcos, and the other that of Santa Cruz (or Santa Maria da Vera Cruz).

In the first case, after an exchange with the notary Pedro Afonso and his heirs (at an unknown date), the confraternity of S. Marcos was legally bound to pay a perpetual annuity of 3 pounds to the church of S. Salvador for their new properties, as the previous owner had done<sup>111</sup>. However, the reimbursement only was made when the

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<sup>110</sup> Vincent, “La confrérie comme structure d’intégration”, 129. On the relations, very often complementary, between confraternities and parishes, see Andrew Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury, 1250-1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 132-152 and Henderson, *Piety and charity*, 430-438.

<sup>111</sup> These properties were obliged to pay a perpetual fee – the *censo* – to the church of S. Salvador, to support acts of worship for the soul of the donor, who, in this case, is unknown (probably Pedro Afonso or one of his ancestors). The *censo*s

dean and the portioners complained about the lack of payment. In order to comply with their obligation, in October 1443 the brotherhood bound all its assets, accepting to pay the fee on the first day of January of each year<sup>112</sup>. This was, however, a duty which the confraternity had to pay as owner of real estate, and not for its activity as a secular association of charity and mutual assistance.

The confraternity of Santa Cruz, on the other hand, had to deal with a problem related to the commemoration of the dead, which was one of the principal objectives of these institutions<sup>113</sup>. In 1332, Lourença Pires bequeathed several properties to the chapel of S. Salvador, registered in the church of Santa Justa, the administration of which was to be handed over to that confraternity after the death of her husband, Francisco Lourenço<sup>114</sup>. The confraternity was thus bound to manage the assets of the chapel and was responsible for guaranteeing the annual liturgical services, ordering sung masses (*missas cantatas*) and giving alms to the poor<sup>115</sup>. Later, Marinha Lourenço, daughter of the settlor and her husband, altered that clause, whereby the confraternity would only assume the administration in

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were attached to the properties on which they fell, and even when these were sold, donated or exchanged, the new owner was bound to pay the church, in charge of praying for the donor's soul, as can be seen in the example described here. On *censos*, see Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues, "Patrimónios, direitos e rendimentos eclesiásticos", in *História Religiosa de Portugal*, ed. Carlos Moreira Azevedo, vol. I, *Formação e Limites da Cristandade*, ed. Ana Maria Jorge and Ana Maria Rodrigues (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2004), 265-267.

<sup>112</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 11, n.º "27 do 3.º saco".

<sup>113</sup> Beirante, *Confrarias Medievais*, 27-28; Coelho, "As confrarias medievais portuguesas", 172-174; Rocha, "A Assistência em Coimbra", 345-353.

<sup>114</sup> According to Maria de Lurdes Rosa, it was relatively frequent for the settlors of entails, in particular chapels, coming from the lower echelons of society to hand over the respective administration to confraternities, showing the 'fraqueza dos laços linhagísticos entre estas [pessoas] e a função suplente das confrarias, no que toca ao desempenho de encargos fúnebres' ('weakness of the lineage bonds between these [people] and the substitute role taken on by confraternities regarding funeral responsibilities') (Maria de Lurdes Rosa, *As «Almas Herdeiras». Fundação de Capelas Fúnebres e Afirmação da Alma como Sujeito de Direito (Portugal, 1400-1521)* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 2012), 432).

<sup>115</sup> Paiva, *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, 391. On this and other chapels established in the church of Santa Justa in Coimbra, as well as other ways of praying for the souls of deceased parishioners, see Campos, *Cidade e Religião*, 334-345.



the case of termination of lineage. She also determined that the confraternity was to report all the assets and income of the chapel to the dean and portioners of the church of Santa Justa, to whom they should pay, with that income, the celebration of the ceremonies<sup>116</sup>. However, as a possible consequence of economic problems in the late Middle Ages<sup>117</sup>, the confraternity was no longer able to comply with its responsibilities, even concealing some of the assets associated with the chapel. In 1473, the confraters of Santa Maria were ordered to hand over the ownership of an olive grove to the dean and portioners of the church of Santa Justa thanks to a verdict delivered by the vicar-general of bishop João Galvão, ostensibly for not complying with the testamentary wishes of Francisco Lourenço, within which they were compelled to light the lamps in the chapel of S. Salvador, located in that church<sup>118</sup>. Since the olive grove was donated to the chapel and not to the confraternity, the confraternity's compliance with the clause was supervised by the clerics of Santa Justa, who had soon attempted to resolve the issue. However, problems appear to have persisted since, in 1503, another judgement was issued in favour of the church of Santa Justa against the same confraternity<sup>119</sup>.

These examples show that when confraternities defaulted on their responsibilities, they immediately turned to the competent authorities, a sign of submission toward – or even dependence on – the parish churches with whom they were connected, and further, on the episcopal power to which they were also subordinated<sup>120</sup>.

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<sup>116</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra, mc. 24, n.º 468. This document corresponds to the transfer, on 14 August 1395, of the clauses of the testament of Marinha Lourenço, but it cannot be dated with precision.

<sup>117</sup> Rocha, “A Assistência em Coimbra”, 308.

<sup>118</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra, mc. 9, n.º 181-A. The light and the task of lighting the souls of the confraters and benefactors of the confraternities were fundamental elements of their existence, as demonstrated by Noël Coulet (Coulet, “Le mouvement confraternel”, 108).

<sup>119</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra, mc. 1, n.º 8. Given the bad state of preservation of this document, a more complete and thorough analysis of its content was not possible.

<sup>120</sup> Vincent, “La confrérie comme structure d'intégration”, 128.

The sources are particularly rich in details describing how the confraternities, together with parish churches, confronted their process of disbandment. Through a small but important number of documents preserved in the archives of some of those churches – S. Salvador, S. João de Almedina, S. Cristóvão, and Santiago – an understanding of the relationship of interdependence between the two kinds of institution can be created, before and after the cessation of the brotherhoods. This process of cessation occurred between the mid-fourteenth century and the early decades of the fifteenth century, within a much wider context of general crisis affecting charitable institutions<sup>121</sup>.

According to the available examples, in the case of the confraternities of ‘Mouzinhos’, Alfaiates (Tailors), S. Cristóvão, and S. Brás, all ended their activity either by their own volition or by episcopal order. The reasons behind this closure were twofold – firstly, because of their loss of financial capacity to carry out their religious and charitable activities and furthermore because of a reduced membership to a very small number of confraters. For example, in 1353 the confraternity of ‘Mouzinhos’ had only four confraters<sup>122</sup>, and in 1422 the confraternity of S. Cristóvão had only two<sup>123</sup>. The confraternity of S. Brás, also by the 1420s, was barely operating: ‘se nom fazia em ella nenhũa obra meritoria nem avia ja memoria dos conffrades della’ (‘there was no meritorious work undertaken in that name, nor was there memory of its confraters’)<sup>124</sup>. Coimbra was not a unique case in the European scenario, however, as revealed by the example of the parochial confraternities in Venice, which, at the end of the fourteenth century, suffered a major crisis as a consequence of rivalry

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<sup>121</sup> Paulo Drumond Braga, “A crise dos estabelecimentos de assistência aos pobres nos finais da Idade Média”, *Revista Portuguesa de História* 26 (1991): 175-190.

<sup>122</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 10, “Vigésimo outavo purgaminho do 1.º sacco”.

<sup>123</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de S. Cristóvão de Coimbra, mç. 20, n.º 20.

<sup>124</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de S. João de Almedina de Coimbra, mç. 3, n.º 7.

with other brotherhoods, leading to a decrease in both their membership and income<sup>125</sup>.

When the cessation of their activities and organization became inevitable, it was still necessary to make provisions for the continuation of the spiritual duties to which the confraternities were obligated by the testaments of their benefactors in perpetuity, be they confraters or not. Their belongings therefore had to be transferred to another institution that could fulfill these responsibilities, and in the analyzed examples, the choice always fell to the parish churches where the confraternities were located<sup>126</sup>. In S. Cristóvão, the opinion of the confraters was taken into consideration. When the canon of the See of Coimbra, Raimundo Eanes, visited the shelter administered by the confraternity, by order of the vicar-general of the bishop, he asked the confraters if they agreed with the handover of the administration of their possessions and celebration of anniversaries to the dean and portioners of the church of S. Cristóvão, the church in which they were housed<sup>127</sup>.

The possessions of the confraternity of 'Mouzinhos' were also incorporated into the church of S. Salvador, but for different reasons. In this case, it was the actual parish church that was in such economic crisis that it was prevented from carrying out its divine obligations. Furthermore, the brotherhood had only four remaining confraters – the bishop thus ordered the incorporation of its estate into the church, which was henceforth responsible for the celebration of anniversaries for the souls of their confraters and benefactors, and

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<sup>125</sup> Vuillemin, “« Des paroisses à la ville »”.

<sup>126</sup> In Zaragoza, in 1395, the confraternity of S. Salvador (Saint Savior), established in the parish church with the same invocation, handed over their possessions to the chapter of that church for them to be administered (Tello Hernández, *Aportación al estudio de las cofradías*, 304). Although there is no knowledge to hand of the context in which this donation occurred, it seems plausible that it might have been a similar situation to the ones described here.

<sup>127</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de S. Cristóvão de Coimbra, mç. 20, n.º 20.

for the administration of their shelters and hospitals<sup>128</sup>. This provides a clear illustration of how the relationships of dependency and assistance between parish churches and confraternities worked in both directions.

The incorporation of possessions in parish churches did not always go as expected, however. In 1378, the confraters of the Alfiates decided, of their own volition, to donate some of their properties to the church of Santiago – to celebrate masses for the souls of their deceased members – as they were unable to maintain the brotherhood and hold the services and prayers to which they were obligated. Bishop João of Coimbra granted their request and authorized the donation that year<sup>129</sup>. However, the confraternity did not comply with its part of the agreement, instead embargoing the assets and rents that they had previously donated to the church of Santiago. Consequentially, the church took legal action against the confraternity the following year. Geraldo Peres, vicar-general of the bishop, issued a judgement requiring them to hand over the assets to the church. He also gave three canonical admonishments to the ‘judges’, ‘stewards’, and confraters of that brotherhood, and threatened them with excommunication if they tried to impede the transfer<sup>130</sup>.

It should be noted that these processes of dissolution and incorporation of the confraternities’ assets in parish churches took place with the oversight of the episcopal authorities. These authorities thus either determined the closure of the institutions because of their failure to fulfill their objectives, or otherwise authorized the donation of their belongings to religious institutions. As can be seen, firstly, the parish churches were subordinate to the bishop of the city, just as the confraternities were<sup>131</sup>. Furthermore, secondly and perhaps

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<sup>128</sup> ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 10, “Vigésimo outavo purgaminho do 1.º sacco”.

<sup>129</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de Santiago de Coimbra, mç. 12, n.º 553/372.

<sup>130</sup> ANTT, Colegiada de Santiago de Coimbra, mç. 3, n.º 289/771.

<sup>131</sup> According to Catherine Vincent, based on the example of Normandy, episcopal control over the confraternities was compulsory, which seems reasonable, given the

more importantly, a consideration of what was at stake should be held in mind – ‘the properties of the souls’, bequeathed to these confraternities by individuals on their deathbeds, who hoped to receive the perpetual celebration of anniversaries and masses for their souls and salvation in exchange. However, conflicts between the Crown and the Church arose, especially, throughout the fifteenth century, when the jurisdiction and legislation of the ‘properties of the souls’ and pious works were still under the authority of the Church<sup>132</sup>, whereby any alteration to the pious suffrages that had been entrusted to the confraternities required episcopal approval.

## Conclusion

In the context of the confraternal movement in Coimbra, approximately twenty confraternities were established between the first decades of the twelfth century and the end of the fifteenth century in the various parish churches of the city, both within its walled area and the city perimeter. The faithful, whilst respecting the importance that the parish had in their community life, found a new form of integration, which complemented the spiritual support provided by the churches, in these associations.

As shown, all the parish churches in Coimbra accommodated one or more confraternities, some of which adopted the same patron saint. Nonetheless, the churches of S. Salvador and Santa Justa are noteworthy for having registered the most confraternities (four and five, respectively): perhaps, however, this is an artefact of the considerable number of written sources for these parishes compared to other churches. Therein, more relevant and revealing information is available

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religious and funerary objectives of these associations (Vincent, “La confrérie comme structure d’intégration”, 128).

<sup>132</sup> On these questions, particularly regarding jurisdiction of the so-called ‘properties of the souls’, see, for all, Rosa, *As «Almas Herdeiras»*, 165-307.

about these brotherhoods, disclosing such aspects as the composition of these confraternities, the places where the chapters were held, the objects that these associations had for the practice of their religious and social activities, and the interaction of the institutions in times of conflict or cessation of the confraternities. Beyond this data, there is information originating from other churches and confraternities that enrich the overview of these different topics.

Perhaps the most innovative information that was gathered relates to the way that both the confraternities and the parish churches approached the dissolution of the former, when the scarcity of resources, the inability to fulfill their objectives, and the reduced number of confraters made their cessation inevitable. The data collected from the sources allowed a conclusion to be made that, at those stages, the parish churches became the bona-fide depositories of the confraternities' estates, ensuring the perpetuity of suffrages for the souls of all those who had benefitted them – and even their charitable functions. This transfer of resources and obligations demonstrates the existence of a very close relationship between both institutions and a certain dependence of the confraternities on the parish churches where they were established.

To conclude, whilst not always amicable, these relationships were based, above all, on cooperation and interdependence, indelibly marking the nature and operation of the Medieval brotherhoods in Coimbra.

## Appendix

Name	First documental reference		Last documental reference		Location
	Date	Source	Date	Source	
Confraternity of S. Bartolomeu (Saint Bartholomew)	1126	Guardado 1999, vol. 2, 11.	1376	ANTT, Convento de Santana de Coimbra, mç. 4, s/n (1376, July, 8).	Church of S. Bartolomeu
Confraternity of Santiago (Saint James the Great)	1147	Ventura and Faria, 1990, 155.	1175	ANTT, Mosteiro de S. Jorge de Coimbra, 1.ª inc., mç. 4, n.º 8.	Church of Santiago
Confraternity of Santa Maria da Sé (Saint Mary of the See)	1152	ANTT, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, Livro de D. João Teotónio, liv. 101, fl. 48v.	1394	ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 2.ª inc., mç. 74, n.º 2972.	Cathedral of Coimbra
Confraternity of S. Pedro (Saint Peter)	1159	Varandas 1999, 6.	1406	ANTT, Colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra, mç. 33, n.º 764.	Church of S. Pedro
Confraternity of the Clérigos (Clergymen)	1160	ANTT, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, 1.ª inc., DP, mç. 14, n.º 29 and liv. 4, n.º 42, fls. 17-17v.	1422	ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 1.ª inc., liv. 1, fl. 17.	Cathedral of Coimbra
Confraternity of Santa Maria da Vera Cruz (Saint Mary of the True Cross)	1170	ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 1.ª inc., DP, cx. 27, rolo 3, n.º 25.	1504	AUC, Tombo Velho do Hospital Real, IV-2.ª E-7-3-6, fl. 45v.	Church of S. João de Santa Cruz
Confraternity of S. Salvador (Saint Savior)	1220	Morujão 2010, 248.	-	-	Church of S. Salvador
Confraternity of 'Mouzinhos'	1220	Morujão 2010, 248.	1394	ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 15, "Septimo purgaminho do 2.º sacco".	Church of S. Salvador
Confraternity of S. Cristóvão (Saint Christopher)	1259	Matos 1998, 187.	1422	ANTT, Colegiada de S. Cristóvão de Coimbra, mç. 20, n.º 20.	Church of S. Cristóvão
Confraternity of Santo António (Saint Anthony)	1276	ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, Antiga Coleção Especial, mç. 1, n.º 7.	1453	ANTT, Colegiada do Salvador de Coimbra, mç. 9, n.º "87 do 8.º sacco".	Church of S. Salvador

Name	First documental reference		Last documental reference		Location
	Date	Source	Date	Source	
Confraternity of S. Brás (Saint Blaise)	1286	ANTT, Colegiada de S. João de Almedina de Coimbra, mç. 1, n.º 4.	[1419-1429]*	ANTT, Colegiada de S. João de Almedina de Coimbra, mç. 3, n.º 7.	Church of S. João de Almedina
Confraternity of S. Marcos (Saint Mark)	1290*	Paiva 2003, 314-316.	1507	AUC, Hospital Real de Coimbra, IV-3. <sup>a</sup> -Gav. 50-n.º 2.	Church of S. Salvador
Confraternity of the Espírito Santo (Holy Spirit)	1309	ANTT, Colegiada de Santiago de Coimbra, mç. 17, n.º 46/322.	1435	ANTT, Colegiada de Santiago de Coimbra, mç. 17, n.º 654/528.	Church of Santa Justa
Confraternity of Bacharéis da Sé (See Bachelors)	1324	Paiva 2003, 323-324.	1447	AUC, Hospital Real de Coimbra, IV-3. <sup>a</sup> -Gav. 50-n.º 20.	Cathedral of Coimbra
Confraternity of S. Lourenço (Saint Lawrence)	1328	ANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 2. <sup>a</sup> inc., mç. 35, n.º 1483.	1510	ANTT, Colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra, mç. 30, n.º 683.	Church of Santa Justa
Confraternity of Santa Marinha (Saint Marina)	1332	Paiva 2003, 390.	1383	ANTT, Colegiada de Santiago de Coimbra, mç. 6, n.º 38/539.	Church of Santa Justa
Confraternity of Santa Maria de S. Bartolomeu (Saint Mary of Saint Bartholomew)	1348*	Paiva 2003, 345-346.	1507	ANTT, Convento de Santana de Coimbra, mç. 7, "maço 3.º n.º 21".	Church of S. Bartolomeu
Confraternity of Santo Isidro (Saint Isidore)	[a. 1353]	ANTT, Colegiada de S. Pedro de Coimbra, mç. 5, s/n (1353, November, 4).	1389	ANTT, Colegiada de S. Pedro de Coimbra, mç. 2, n.º 2A.	Church of S. Pedro
Confraternity of Santa Águeda (Saint Agatha)	1375	ANTT, Colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra, mç. 4, n.º 64.	1386	ANTT, Convento de Santana de Coimbra, mç. 4, s/n (1386, July, 1).	Church of Santa Justa
Confraternity of S. Sebastião (Saint Sebastian)	[1460-1481]	ANTT, Colegiada de S. Pedro de Coimbra, cx. 2, mç. 3, s/n.	1524	ANTT, Colegiada de Coimbra, liv. 4, fl. 11.	Church of Santa Justa

Table 1. Confraternities located within the parish churches (Coimbra, twelfth-fifteenth centuries).



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- Colegiada de S. Pedro de Coimbra, mç. 2, 3, 5, 6.
- Colegiada de Santa Justa de Coimbra, mç. 1, 4, 9 24; liv. 4.
- Colegiada de Santiago de Coimbra, mç. 3, 12, 17.
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