

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

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**THE EXERCISE OF PATRONAGE BY THE
COLEGIADA DE GUIMARÃES IN THE CHURCH
OF SÃO MIGUEL DO CASTELO DURING THE
FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES**

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Abstract: The church of São Miguel do Castelo belonged to the patronage of the collegiate church of Santa Maria da Oliveira. This article explores the dynamics and procedural involvement of this connection throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Patrons were usually responsible for presenting the parish priest whenever the office became vacant. With this case study, a better understanding of the entire process – from the moment a church was ‘vacated’ until the swearing in, or the ‘enthronement’ of the new priest – will be demonstrated. Moreover, this study sets out to tackle other specific aspects relating to this subject, such as deciphering if this time of vacancy is variable or took a standardized form. Furthermore, this work aims to address the origin of the parish priests, both geographically and socially, as well as utilizing additional information that extant sources provide. Likewise, attention will be given to the benefits the patrons derived from ‘their’ church – as well as the obligations to which they were subject. To undertake this study, documents from the Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Guimarães, preserved in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo and in the Alfredo Pimenta Archive will be analyzed.

Resumo: A igreja de São Miguel do Castelo pertencia ao padroado da colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira. Este artigo explora a dinâmica e o envolvimento processual desta ligação ao longo dos séculos XIV e XV. Os padroeiros eram normalmente responsáveis pela apresentação do pároco sempre que o cargo ficava vago. Com este estudo de caso, pretende-se compreender melhor todo o processo, desde o momento da "vacância" da igreja até à tomada de posse ou "entronização" do novo pároco. Para além disso, este estudo pretende abordar outros aspetos específicos relacionados com esta temática, como por exemplo, perceber se este tempo de vacância é variável ou se assume uma forma padronizada. Além disso, este trabalho pretende abordar a origem dos párocos, tanto a nível geográfico como social, bem como utilizar informações adicionais que as fontes existentes fornecem. De igual modo, será dada atenção aos benefícios que os fregueses retiravam da "sua" igreja, bem como às obrigações a que estavam sujeitos. Para a realização deste estudo, serão analisados documentos da Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Guimarães, conservados no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo e no Arquivo Alfredo Pimenta.

Introduction

The church of São Miguel do Castelo, set in the medieval urban – almost periurban – fabric of the current city of Guimarães, belonged to the *padroado* (sphere of patronage) of the collegiate church (*Colegiada*) of Santa Maria da Oliveira. This article explores the dynamics and procedural involvement of this connection throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Approaching this topic across a broad time period forms part of a strategy to arrive at a more consistent understanding of the evolution and interconnection between the parish of São Miguel do Castelo and the *padroeiro* (patron), on the grounds that a more extensive and analyzed documentary base will provide more useful data and a more rigorous analysis.

The church of São Miguel do Castelo is known to have been connected to the Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira – the chronology, and the form this connection took upon entering the Colegiada’s sphere of patronage is ripe for examination and comprehension. Patrons were usually responsible for presenting the parish priest whenever the office became vacant – even so, the recommended person would have to be confirmed by an ecclesiastical entity, usually the archbishop or bishop. This poses another question to be answered: would it be so in this specific case? Would it be up to the Archdiocese of Braga to confirm a parish priest presented by the Colegiada of Guimarães? With this specific case study, a better understanding of the entire process – taking place from the moment a church was ‘vacated’ (usually due to the death of its incumbent) until the swearing in, or the ‘enthronement’ of the new priest – will be demonstrated, contributing clarity to a theme that is oft under-researched by historians. Moreover, this study sets out to tackle other specific aspects relating to this subject, such as deciphering if this time of vacancy is variable or took a standardized form. Did it fit the same period registered in the placement of the new incumbent, or are there specific documented cases in this procedure throughout the two centuries that vary from the norm?

The presentation and confirmation of the new parish priest were, as can be seen, two fundamental steps in this entire process, but there was a third and final element that is equally relevant: the swearing-in by the nominee. It was the culmination of the entire journey, the end of the vacancy with the effective assumption of functions by the new priest. This first contact with the temple was also guided by a very particular ceremony or ritual, which will also be analyzed. Furthermore, this work aims to address the origin of the parish priests, the holders or heads of the parish, both geographically and socially, as well as utilizing additional information that extant sources provide. Likewise, attention will be given to the benefits the patrons derived from ‘their’ church – as well as the obligations to which they were subject.

In order to undertake this study, documents from the Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Guimarães, preserved in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo and in the Alfredo Pimenta Archive – and importantly the church of São Miguel do Castelo itself, included in the Ecclesiastical Documentation of the Colegiada – will be subject and central to the analysis and its conclusions.

1. Regarding origins

The church of São Miguel do Castelo (lit. Saint Michael of the Castle) is located, as can be inferred from its name, close to the medieval Castle of Guimarães. There is no concrete information regarding the date of construction of this temple, nor consensus among the various authors who have devoted their attention to it. There are multiple opinions and reasonings in regards to the probable period of its original construction, and such perspectives are, in general, compiled in a work that Barroso da Fonte dedicated to this church¹. Without having new data that would allow a contribution toward answering this question, this paper will refrain from delving in to the subject, adhering only to the synthetic limits the uncertain, even problematic, nature of its origin sets.

As such, there are two theses with dedicated followers – one that suggests its construction in a more distant period, and the other, arguably having more support, locating its foundation to the beginning of the twelfth century, attributing the sponsorship of this building to Count Henrique and his wife, Teresa². Fundamental to this dating is the similarity of its architectural elements with those of other religious constructions reported for this period, but also – and above all – the strength of a tradition that took root in recent centuries, according to which Afonso Henriques – the eldest son of Henrique and Teresa,

¹ Barroso da Fonte, *A Igreja de S. Miguel do Castelo* (Braga: Editora Correio do Minho, 1992).

² See, for example, Luís de Pina, “O Românico no concelho de Guimarães – II: Igreja de S. Miguel do Castelo”, *Revista de Guimarães* 37 (2-3), (Abr.-Set. 1927): 141.

who became the first king of Portugal – was baptized in this small temple. This, naturally, presupposes the existence of the church at the beginning of the twelfth century. This tradition, according to Mário Cardoso, was conveyed from the Chronicle of Afonso Henriques, written by Duarte Galvão, and is closely linked to the association between the birth of the first king of Portugal and Guimarães³.

A further thesis refers the construction of this Romanesque church to the reign of Sancho I, in other words, during the end of the twelfth century and the beginnings of the thirteenth⁴ – however, its existence has been diligently proven for the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It is referenced in 1216, in connection with a friendly exchange between the archbishop of Braga and the provost and chapter of the Colegiada of Guimarães: this agreement results in the exemption from payment of the census by the churches of São Miguel do Castelo, as well as São Paio, Santa Eulália de Fermentões and São Miguel de Creixomil, with the provost of the Colegiada being in control of these said same churches, holding the right of presentation there⁵.

This connection and dependence of the church of São Miguel do Castelo to the Colegiada is demonstrated by a document dated to 1223, when the provost's *mensa* and the chapter's *mensa* were divided, where the assets and various rights of the institution were inventoried, with reference to the church of “Sancti Michaelis de Castello”, and in which *mensa* kept half of the received goods⁶.

³ Mário Cardoso, “Igreja de S. Miguel do Castelo de Guimarães”, *Revista de Guimarães*, 76 (1-2), (Jan.-Jun. 1966):167. It should be noted that the *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques*, by Duarte Galvão, was written in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and only published in 1726 (see Duarte Galvão, *Chronica de el-rei D. Affonso Henriques* (Lisbon, Escriptorio, 1906), 6-11).

⁴ Manuel Monteiro, “O Românico Português – Sobrevivências vimaranenses”, *Revista de Guimarães* 58 (3-4), (Jul.-Dez. 1948): 198.

⁵ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 1, Doc. 2; M. 4, Doc. 28. Published in *Vimaranis Monumenta Historica : a saeculo nono post Christum usque ad vicesimum*, Parte 2, edited by Sociedade Martins Sarmento; introduction and compilation by João Gomes de Oliveira Guimarães (Guimarães: Tipografia de A. L. da Silva Dantas, 1931), 128 (doc. 179).

⁶ ANTT – CSMO (Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira), Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 1, Docs. 5, 6. This document is also published in *Vimaranis Monumenta Historica...*, Parte 2, 189-192 (doc. 201).

From this time forward, the church is regularly mentioned, being contemplated in the wills of some testators, such as those of Fernando Peres, made on 24 June 1226⁷, or canon Gonçalo Gonçalves, drawn up in 1232⁸ – even being chosen as a last resting place, as with João Anes Enxate, whose will was drawn up on 21 December 1398⁹.

Despite its unquestionable existence in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, it is nonetheless intriguing that the blessing of the church only took place in 1239 – an act carried out by the Archbishop of Braga, Silvestre Godinho (1229-1240) – if credibility is given to the veracity of an inscription that was preserved in the church, in a wooden frame, as referenced by several authors¹⁰. Naturally, the date attributed to the blessing deserves thoughtful consideration, as there is a possibility this is a second blessing – possibly motivated by jurisdictional disputes between the Colegiada and the bishops of Braga¹¹, which were frequent and dragged on for several centuries¹².

⁷ *Vimarani Monumenta Historica...*, Parte 2, 195-196 (doc. 211).

⁸ *Vimarani Monumenta Historica...*, Parte 2, 202 (doc. 219).

⁹ Albano Bellino, *Archeologia christã: Descrição histórica de todas as igrejas, capellas, oratorios, cruzeiros, e outros monumentos de Braga e de Guimarães* (Lisbon: Empresa da História de Portugal Sociedade Editora, 1900), 44-45.

¹⁰ Padre António José Ferreira Caldas, *Guimarães: apontamentos para a sua história*, 2ª ed. (Guimarães: Câmara Municipal de Guimarães/Sociedade Martins Sarmiento, 1996), 266; Monsenhor Cônego José Augusto Ferreira, *Fastos Episcopales da Igreja Primacial de Braga (Séc. III - Séc. XX)*, Tomo II (Braga: Edição da Mitra Bracarense, 1930), 20-21; Luís de Pina, “O Românico no concelho de Guimarães – II: Igreja de S. Miguel do Castelo”, *Revista de Guimarães* 38 (1-2), (Jan.-Jun. 1928): 33. Probably by mistake, in the book of Castro Caldas the blessing is dated to 1236.

¹¹ On this hypotheses, see Fonte, Barroso da, *A Igreja de S. Miguel do Castelo...*, 1992, p. 11. While this line of research cannot be excluded, the first question to ask should address what would motivate a new blessing of the temple. In fact, it is theoretically conceivable – if one assumes the church was erected in the first quarter of the thirteenth century – that this was not a second blessing, but rather the dedication, or initial blessing, of the temple, especially as this was a troubled period in the relations both between the Archbishop of Braga and the Colegiada de Guimarães, and between the monarch, Afonso II, and the prelate of Braga, with Guimarães siding with the king (see Maria da Conceição Falcão Ferreira, *Guimarães “Duas Vilas, Um Só Povo”. Estudo De História Urbana (1250-1389)*, (Braga: Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaço e Memória / Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade do Minho, 2010), 121-125). The tension between the parts would explain the unavailability of the archbishop(s) for the consecration and the subsequent dragging of the process. There is always hope new documents and studies will come to light that may help clarify this matter.

¹² About this question see Franquelim Neiva Soares, “Conflitos jurisdicionais entre a Colegiada e o Arcebispo de Braga (Século XIII a 1831)”, in *Actas do Congresso*

2. From the connection of Santa Maria da Oliveira to São Miguel do Castelo and its jurisdiction

The connection and dependence of the church of São Miguel do Castelo dates back to at least 1216, as evidenced by its first documented reference. That composition shows that the provost of the Colegiada was in possession of the church of São Miguel do Castelo, being responsible for the presentation of the parish priest. This prerogative is confirmed to him by Jean Halgrin d’Abeville, bishop of Sabina and apostolic legate, who, when examining and determining its Statutes on his visit to the Colegiada in 1229, makes it clear that the presentation and confirmation of priests in the churches of São Paio de Guimarães, São Miguel do Castelo, Santa Eulália de Fermentões and São Miguel de Creixomil were responsibilities of the provost of the Colegiada de Guimarães¹³.

The *Inquirições* (‘great survey’) of Afonso III, from 1258, also confirm the subordination of the ‘Eclesie Sancti Michaelis Castellii Vimaranes’ to the Colegiada, stating that ‘Didaci, juratus et interrogatus cujas est Ecclesia, dixit quod est suffraganea Sancte Marie...’, at a time when Gonçalo Godinho was its parish priest¹⁴. This means that the church of São Miguel do Castelo was part of the extensive list of churches under the rule of the collegiate church – nearly twenty, by the middle of the thirteenth century – under the patronage of the Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira¹⁵. Thus, exercising this right, in 1265, the provost and the Colegiada presented João Eanes as priest

Histórico de Guimarães e Sua Colegiada (850º aniversário da batalha de S. Mamede (1128-1978)), Vol. II, (Guimarães, 1981): 11-29.

¹³ *Vimaranis Monumenta Historica...*, Parte 2, 201 (doc. 217).

¹⁴ *Portugaliae monumenta historica : a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintumdecimum... Inquisitiones*: V. 1, fasc. 4 and 5, iussu Academiae Scientiarum Olisiponensis edita, Olisipone, Typis Academicis, 1897, 736-737.

¹⁵ See Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, “A população e a propriedade na região de Guimarães durante o século XIII” in *Homens, Espaços e Poderes (sécs. XI-XVI) – vol. I – Notas do Viver Social* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1990), 154, 168 (note 64).

to the church of S. Miguel do Castelo¹⁶, and, ten years later, the presbyter Martinho Peres¹⁷.

3. One church, two names

Especially from the fourteenth century, the church of São Miguel do Castelo was also designated 'church of Santa Margarida' (lit., church of Saint Margaret). In the list of churches and monasteries paying tax in 1320, it is already identified by that name, being taxed 40 pounds¹⁸.

Note that this name was not only used locally, but extended to the centre of power itself. Proof of this is the letter of privileges that King Fernando granted to the inhabitants of the village of the castle, dated 18 June 1370, which says: 'and I command that henceforth, every week, they will assemble these judges on a day of the week, within the village of the castle, under the porch of Santa Margarida' ('E mando que daqui en diante em cada huua domaa façam andar esses juizes ambos huum dia da domaa dentro na villa do castello so o alpende de Sancta Margarida')¹⁹.

Thus, the church appears, and in this specific case, its porch, as a binding and gathering space for community life, which occurred from at least the first ten years of 1300. In fact, a document was located, dated from 21 July 1325, where it is written that the *alcaide* (of which the nearest equivalent is mayor) was 'on the porch next to the Church of São Miguel do Castelo listening to the petitions ('no alpende dante a Igreja de Sam Migel do Castello ouvindo os preitos')²⁰.

¹⁶ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 1, Doc. 38.

¹⁷ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 2, Doc. 3.

¹⁸ Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, vol. IV (Porto-Lisbon: Livraria Civilização Editora, 1971), 108.

¹⁹ ANTT – Chancelaria de D. Fernando, Livro I, fl. 63v.-64.

²⁰ AMAP – Pergaminhos da Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 8-1-1-12. This document is reproduced in a later instrument.

Another reference, whose exact date is uncertain but can be dated to the fourteenth century, confirms this same facet, revealing that it was ‘under the porch of the church of Santa Margarida of the village of the castle of Guimarães’ (‘soo o alpendre da Igreja de Santa Margarida da vila do castelo de Guimaraens’) that the will of Domingas Domingues was read and published²¹.

If there were any doubts as to the fact that the church of Santa Margarida do Castelo and that of São Miguel do Castelo are in fact the same, a document from 1366 is enough to dispel them – as the church appears in that particular source with both forms of its name being used²².

Throughout the fourteenth century, it continued to be identified in both ways, and, within these denominations, small variations and embellishments in the name sometimes appear, such as in documents from 1430 and 1450 that identify it as Church of São Miguel ‘of the old castle rampart’²³.

Whilst this is not a unique case, this double-designation is nevertheless unusual, naturally derived from the two main saints worshiped there, which, in itself, seems to demonstrate the effusive veneration given there to these figures – the archangel, and the protector of pregnant women – with two medieval images of these two patron saints having survived over the centuries²⁴.

²¹ AMAP – Irmandade de São Crispim e São Crispiniano, Pergaminhos, 8-5-4-60.

²² ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 3, Doc. 34.

²³ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 52, Doc. 25.

²⁴ Barroso da Fonte, *A Igreja de S. Miguel do Castelo* (Braga: Editora Correio do Minho, 1992), 36. In the Museum Alberto Sampaio there is an image of Saint Margaret in polychrome limestone of that provenance, dated from the fifteenth century (<https://www.museualbertosampaio.gov.pt/museu/espacos/sala-pintura-escultura/santa-margarida/>).

4. From the presentation of the parish priest to the confirmation and ceremony of enthronement

Patronage was bestowed with several privileges, amongst which was that of introducing, or presenting, a new parish priest, curator, or vicar whenever the church became vacant, a situation usually caused by the death of the incumbent, although there are several situations that can contribute to the alteration and replacement of any religious functionary of a particular church. As will be shown, this also happened in São Miguel do Castelo.

At this point, and without intending to dwell on the issue of presentation itself, as it involves a complexity derived from the rights of patronage,²⁵ intersecting and often colliding with the norms of canon law, a case will be presented where an examination avoiding these convolutions is possible.

In general terms, after the process of choosing and nominating a new holder for the position (by the patron, or patrons), the nominated individual has to be confirmed by the ecclesiastical entity with competent jurisdiction, normally the bishop, and only from that moment will he be sworn in²⁶.

In the specific case of the church of São Miguel do Castelo, the presentation was 'in solidum' – it was exclusive to a single patron, the Colegiada of Santa Maria da Oliveira, and its right extended to the confirmation itself, meaning that the Archbishop of Braga was not involved (and thus could not interfere) in the process. Structured as such, procedures were much more rapid and much less fraught, meaning the holder of São Miguel do Castelo was quickly replaced

²⁵ The right of patronage included a specified number of rights, obligations, and benefits belonging to the founders of a church or a monastery. It could be passed on by sale, concession, or exchange. It should be noted that the right of presentation is only one of the possible elements within the right of patronage and, as such, one does not necessarily equate with the other.

²⁶ On this matter, see Padre Miguel de Oliveira, *As paróquias rurais portuguesas, sua origem e formação* (Lisbon: União Gráfica, 1950), 149-155. For confirmation letters and their forms, see: Silva, Maria João Oliveira e, "Reconstructing formularies: the charters of the episcopal chancery of Porto in the Middle Ages", ..., 2018, pp. 283-294.

when necessary, avoiding months of vacancy – as happened in many other parishes. In these cases, problems could arise when patrons failed to reach agreement, whether about the person responsible for the presentation – because it could alternate amongst a group – or the suitability of the individual presented, or indeed when the candidate was rejected by the confirmer (i.e. competent authority) as being unsuitable.

In the case of Santa Margarida do Castelo, or São Miguel do Castelo, the appointment, presentation, and investiture or confirmation of a new parish priest proved to be an extremely quick procedure. There was a twofold contribution to this: firstly, it was a process that did not involve entities outside the Colegiada, and secondly most of the priests appointed were already canons of Santa Maria da Oliveira²⁷.

Of the various processes that were analyzed, the longest recorded delays were always linked to the need to issue commission letters, when the participants were at considerable distances, the process accruing the time emissaries required to pass their messages to the recipients. This was experienced in 1366, when Gonçalo Teles, provost of the church of Santa Maria de Guimarães, needed to install a new incumbent for the church of São Miguel do Castelo, after the death of Domingos Migueis, his perpetual vicar²⁸.

The provost of the Colegiada, absent from Guimarães and unable to travel because he was ‘ocupado doutros negocios no studo de Coimbra’ (lit. engaged in other business in the university of Coimbra), entrusted his wishes to the cantor Vicente Domingues, acting together with the chapter of the Colegiada. Duly, they presented canon Gonçalo Anes Pestana, a native of Évora and a servant of the provost²⁹. This letter delegating functions to the cantor and the Colegiada de Guimarães was written in Coimbra, on 17 December 1366, and it took until 21 December, for the cantor Vicente Domingues to act upon

²⁷ See, below, the list of the titular Priests of this church that were used in this study.

²⁸ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 35, Doc. 2A.

²⁹ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 35, Doc. 2A.

the provost's indications, confirming Gonçalo Anes Pestana as vicar of Santa Margarida do Castelo³⁰. The time between the death of Domingos Migueis and the date the provost became aware of it is unknown but, judging by the days that elapsed between the drafting of commission letters for the cantor and its execution, it is entirely credible that the church was left vacant for a period not longer than ten days.

On the other hand, when the matter at hand was the exchange of benefices or a renouncement, the process was virtually automatic, given that the necessary actions were taken in the Colegiada. This way, when someone made a renouncement, its canonical acceptance and then confirmation and swearing-in of the new priest occurred immediately, as happened in 1430³¹, 1450³² and 1483. In this last case, the confirmation occurred on 30 December, but the swearing-in of the new priest only occurred on 2 January³³.

After the presentation or indication of the new parish priest, the named person being a qualified and reputable candidate, confirmation and investiture ensued, following a ritual that involved some complexity and several phases. Take, as an example, the case of João Afonso who, on 1 June 1430, through exchange, took over the church of São Miguel do Castelo. The incumbent priest of this church in Guimarães was João Anes, canon of Santa Maria de Guimarães, who intended to exchange his canonry and the vicarage of São Miguel do Castelo with João Afonso, up until that time taking income from São Pedro de Rates³⁴. The provost of the Colegiada delegated the process to the treasurer Pedro Anes, who, together with the chapter, gathered in the church of Santa Maria, accepted João Anes's resignation from that church, the canonry, and respective prebend, accepting the intended exchange. João Afonso was then instituted in the canonry

³⁰ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 3, Doc. 34.

³¹ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 45, Doc. 41.

³² ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 52, Doc. 25.

³³ ANTT – CSMO, Pergaminhos, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 5, Doc. 30; M. 5, Doc. 30vº.

³⁴ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 45, Doc. 41.

and also invested as priest of São Miguel do Castelo, through the imposition of the biretta (a square cap with three ridges or peaks on its upper surface, worn by clerics of all grades from cardinals downwards) that Pedro Anes (representing the provost) and the canon João de Oliveira (representing the chapter) placed on his head, whilst he knelt before them. Then they moved to the Church of São Miguel, where João Afonso took bodily possession of stone, earth and tile, chalices, clothing, book, thurible, crosses, pyx, bells, and all other ornaments of that Church, soon presenting himself to the parishioners and renters of that church who, henceforth, would have him as their parish priest and rector of said church, whom they should obey and assist with all their rights and tithes under penalty of excommunication³⁵.

In this specific case, the new priest was present to be invested personally, but the process was also valid if done through a procurator or legitimate representative, as was the case with clergyman Pedro Lourenço, identified as a cleric of the Mass, chairman of the church of Santa Maria de Guimarães and a portioner (*raçoeiro*) from São Gens de Montelongo, who sent a letter of power to his brother João Lourenço, a minor cleric, who was henceforth invested in the name of his brother in the church of São Miguel on 11 December 1450³⁶.

Whilst one could assume that electing a representative would lighten the ceremonial load, everything, however, proceeded in the same way – from the imposition of the biretta, to the taking of bodily possession which implied, as seen above, the representative's departure from the parish priest and whoever invested him in the church, everything unfolding in consonance as if the designated priest himself were there.

Upon taking bodily possession of the church, the priest also took over all the rights, belongings, and income allocated to him, naturally safeguarding the rights of the provost and the chapter of the Colegiada

³⁵ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 45, Doc. 41.

³⁶ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 52, Doc. 25.

(in undertaking his obligations, as such), being that in 1366, the priest had to pay eight maravedis³⁷ to the Colegiada: four to the provost and four to the chapter³⁸.

With each new investiture, parishioners were also reminded of their obligations towards the new parish priest – from that of obedience, to the payment of tithes, rights, fruits, pensions and income – and that non-compliant members of the flock would be punished with ecclesiastical sanctions, which included admonitions and excommunication, with a reminder that, if necessary, the priest could even resort to civil justice³⁹.

Another common undertaking after the death of the rector of a church was to make an inventory of the assets that were held there, so that during the vacant period there was no deviation from – or redistribution of – its contents.

Given the specific character of the patronage of Santa Maria da Oliveira, such a procedure would not be expected but, curiously, there is an inventory made by the new priest João Afonso, who on 1 June 1430, the day he took office, ordered an inventory of the assets that were part of the estate of São Miguel do Castelo: a Sunday missal with a mystic sanctorale (*livro missal dominical e santoral místico*); a lectionary for Sundays (*leccionário dominical*); a missal in red board binding (*um livro missal de tábuas vermelhas*); a Sunday book of responses and antiphons (*um dominical de responsos e antífona*); sanctorale for praying and singing (*um santoral de rezar e de canto*); a book for baptizing, commending, and blessing water (*um livro de batizar e encomendar e benzer água*); an office book of exposed body (*um caderno de ofício de corpo exposto*); a psalter (*um saltério*); a brass thurible; a copper bucket to hold holy water; two cruets without covers; two small basins, one copper and one brass;

³⁷ It is difficult to establish a specific value in terms of conversion for this specific date because the currency suffered great fluctuation at this time, although one of the base values considered is that a maravedi would be worth 27 soldos.

³⁸ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 3, Doc. 34.

³⁹ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 3, Doc. 34.

a silver chalice assessed by João Anes, saddler, as weighing one mark minus two *reais*; another silver chalice said by the same João Anes to weigh seven ounces; a perfect linen cloth garment; two marks of linen cloth; an old closet that has four doors; a broken brass cross⁴⁰.

5. The second half of the fifteenth century – change in the patron’s *modus operandi*

João Afonso, after nearly twenty years as priest of the church of São Miguel do Castelo, resigned his position in favour of Pedro Lourenço, cleric of the Mass, choirman of the church of Santa Maria de Guimarães and portioner of São Gens de Montelongo, acting upon the wishes of the latter, who intended to exchange his portion with Afonso for the rectory of the church of São Miguel⁴¹.

João Afonso added that Pedro Lourenço was “A good clergyman and [proficient] enough, who can read and sing the Church’s rituals” (‘*boo eclisiastico e sofisticado e que sabe bem leer e cantar os costumes da igreja*’). He gave power of attorney to Pedro Anes on 29 November 1450, chaplain and canon of the collegiate church of Santa Maria, so that he could, in his name, resign and dutifully renounce the Church of São Miguel into the hands of the provost of the Colegiada – at that time, Afonso Gomes de Lemos⁴².

After the acceptance and agreement of all the parties involved, it was, as mentioned above, his brother, João Lourenço, who, as his proxy, was invested in the church of São Miguel on 11 December 1450⁴³.

⁴⁰ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 45, Doc. 41. Here is in Portuguese the list of objects identified after the books: *um tribulo de arame; uma caldeira de cobre de ter água benta; duas galhetas sem coberturas; duas bacias pequenas, uma de cobre e outra de latão; um cálice de prata que disse João Anes, seleiro, que pesava um marco menos dois reais; outro cálice de prata que disse o dito João Anes que pesava sete onças; uma vestimenta de pano de linho perfeita; dois marcos de pano de linho; um armário velho que tem quatro portas; uma cruz de arame quebrada.*

⁴¹ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 52, Doc. 25.

⁴² ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 52, Doc. 25.

⁴³ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 52, Doc. 25.

However, this arrangement would not last more than two years, since, on 28 September 1452, Pedro Lourenço had already resigned. There is little information regarding Pedro Lourenço, but the fact of the power of attorney was made in Vouzela suggests that he may have been a native from that village of Viseu.

Unfortunately, the documents available are not sufficient to furnish an understanding of the origins of the priests of this church. In fact, only Gonçalo Anes Pestana's heritage was identifiable, with evidence showing that he was a native of Évora⁴⁴.

Furthermore, it was not possible to identify all the priests that were in São Miguel do Castelo throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. From the documentary sources that were available and analyzed, a dozen priests could be identified, as the following table illustrates.

Date	Name	Designation	Situation	Place of origin
1346-05-15	Domingos Tristão ⁴⁵	Priest of Santa Margarida	In office	
1350-12-14	Domingos Miguéis ⁴⁶	Priest of Santa Margarida	In office	
1351-11-05	Domingos Miguéis ⁴⁷	Priest of Santa Margarida	In office	
1366-12-17	Domingos Miguéis ⁴⁸	Perpetual vicar	End of functions (death)	
1366-12-21	Gonçalo Anes Pestana ⁴⁹	Vicar (Canon of Santa Maria de Guimarães)	Confirmation (start of functions)	Évora
1402 (Feb-Mar.)	Pedro Afonso ⁵⁰	Priest of Santa Margarida (Canon of Santa Maria de Guimarães)	In office	
1404-09-03	Pedro Afonso ⁵¹	Priest of Santa Margarida	In office	
1410-11-08	Afonso Domingues ⁵²	Priest of Santa Margarida	In office	

⁴⁴ ANTT – CSMO, Pergaminhos, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 3, Doc. 34; Docs. Particulares, M. 35, Doc. 2A.

⁴⁵ AMAP – CSMO, Livros de Notas, Nota Antiga – L. 1, fl. Xv.

⁴⁶ AMAP – CSMO, Pergaminhos, 08-02-04-15.

⁴⁷ AMAP – CSMO, Livros de Notas, Nota Antiga – L. 1, fl. XIX.

⁴⁸ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 35, Doc. 2A.

⁴⁹ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 3, Doc. 34.

⁵⁰ AMAP – CSMO, Livros de Notas, Nota Antiga – L. 8, fl. 1-2. His name appears in several documents written in February and March of that year.

⁵¹ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 40, Doc. 35.

⁵² AMAP – CSMO, Livros de Notas, Nota Antiga – L. 10, fl. XV.

Date	Name	Designation	Situation	Place of origin
1412-06-10	Afonso Domingues ⁵³	Priest of Santa Margarida	In office	
1428-10-29	Álvaro Anes ⁵⁴	Priest of Santa Margarida (Canon of Santa Maria de Guimarães)	In office	
1430-06-01	João Anes ⁵⁵	Priest of Santa Margarida	End of functions (Exchange)	
1430-06-01	João Afonso ⁵⁶	Portionary of São Pedro de Rates	Exchange (start of functions)	Ulhô(?)
1449-08-08	João Afonso ⁵⁷	Priest of Santa Margarida (Canon of Santa Maria de Guimarães)	In office	
1450-11-29	João Afonso ⁵⁸	Priest of São Miguel (Canon of Santa Maria de Guimarães)	End of functions (Resignation and exchange)	
1450-12-11	Pedro Lourenço ⁵⁹	Clergyman of the Mass; church choir of Santa Maria de Guimarães, Portionary of São Gens de Montelongo	Exchange (start of functions)	Vouzela
1452-09-28	Pedro Lourenço ⁶⁰	Priest of São Miguel	End of functions (Resignation)	
1452-09-28	Pedro Anes ⁶¹	Canon of Santa Maria de Guimarães	Attached to canonicate	
1483-12-30	João Álvares ⁶²	Priest of Santa Margarida (Canon of Santa Maria de Guimarães)	End of functions (Resignation)	
1484-01-02	Nuno Gonçalves ⁶³	Mass clergyman	Confirmation (start of functions)	
1485-12-14	Nuno Gonçalves ⁶⁴	Priest of Santa Margarida	In office	
1499-12-13	Nuno Gonçalves ⁶⁵	Priest of Santa Margarida	In office	

Table1. Priests of the church of São Miguel do Castelo / / Santa Margarida do Castelo⁶⁶.

⁵³ AMAP – CSMO, Livros de Notas, Nota Antiga – L. 10, fl. XXXI.

⁵⁴ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 45, Doc. 12.

⁵⁵ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 45, Doc. 41.

⁵⁶ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 45, Doc. 41.

⁵⁷ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 52, Doc. 10.

⁵⁸ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 52, Doc. 25.

⁵⁹ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 52, Doc. 25.

⁶⁰ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 4, Doc. 6.

⁶¹ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 4, Doc. 6.

⁶² ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 5, Doc. 30.

⁶³ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 5, Doc. 30vº.

⁶⁴ AMAP – CSMO, Pergaminhos, 8-6-1-9.

⁶⁵ AMAP – CSMO, Pergaminhos, 8-4-5-8.

⁶⁶ List referring to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Returning to Pedro Lourenço, it is known that he resigned in 1452. This information was harvested from a document dated from 28 September that same year, in which Gil Afonso, canon and vicar general of the Colegiada de Guimarães, on behalf of the provost Afonso Gomes de Lemos, together with the cantor and the chapter of the Colegiada, enacted an annexation of the church of São Miguel to Pedro Anes' canonry⁶⁷. Such an annexation would only last while Pedro Anes was alive, with the basis for this decision being that the church was vacant due to the resignation of its last incumbent, Pedro Lourenço, whilst accounting for the fact that it was not an appealing position because of its low income – not enough to comfortably keep the resident priest – they, thus, opted for this solution because canon Pedro Anes had always served, and continued to serve, the church of São Miguel⁶⁸.

At this point, there was a change in the way the right of patronage was exercised – the church of São Miguel, which, until then had always had a resident priest, was now losing, at least temporarily, its autonomy by being integrated into a canonry. In legal terms, there were no irregularities, given that the patron had full control over the church's management, to the point that, as Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho recalls, the right of patronage itself could be alienated, its holders being free to 'vender, doar ou escambar as igrejas' (sell, donate or exchange [their] churches)⁶⁹. However, it is curious to see a form of legitimization of the act by the provost, noting that the church is 'ours to present, confirm and manage, in concerted plenary, without resort to any ordinary power, thanks to an old and memorable custom founded on an agreement between the Church of Braga and this Church' of Santa Maria de Guimarães ('da nossa apresentação, confirmação e disposição em sólido plenário e escusa de toda potência

⁶⁷ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 4, Doc. 6.

⁶⁸ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 4, Doc. 6.

⁶⁹ Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, "A população e a propriedade na região de Guimarães durante o século XIII" in *Homens, Espaços e Poderes (sécs. XI-XVI) – vol. I – Notas do Viver Social* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1990), 153.

ordinária por bem de antigo e memorável costume fundado por uma composição feita entre a Igreja de Braga e esta Igreja’).⁷⁰

This is a reference to the 1216 friendly agreement between the archbishop of Braga and the provost and chapter of the Colegiada mentioned above. The integration of the church of São Miguel do Castelo into a canonry was maintained during the incumbency of João Álvares, who resigned from the church of São Miguel do Castelo on 30 December 1383, detaching it from its canonry⁷¹.

The normality experienced over the previous century and a half – which had been interrupted for about three decades – would now resume. On 2 January 1484, the cleric of the Mass Nuno Gonçalves, servant of canon João Álvares, became the priest of Santa Margarida (São Miguel do Castelo) and administrator of the chapel of João Anes Enxate, located in the church of São Miguel do Castelo⁷².

Conclusion

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the church of São Miguel or Santa Margarida do Castelo was part of the network of churches where the Colegiada de Guimarães held the right of presentation. During the preparation of this work, it was possible to identify many of the church’s priests, allowing the reconstitution of a list with an interesting level of sequencing. It further allowed a deeper understanding of the process of presentation, confirmation and installation of the priest in this parish.

Commonly, the confirmation of a priest was made by bishops, but in this particular church, the provost and the chapter could confirm the priest independently, thanks to previous decisions and arrangements made by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Braga and the Colegiada, resulting from many earlier jurisdictional conflicts. As far as the

⁷⁰ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 4, Doc. 6.

⁷¹ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 5, Doc. 30vº.

⁷² ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Eclesiásticos, M. 5, Doc. 30; M. 5, Doc. 30vº.

Colegiada was concerned, this situation was exclusive to the church of S. Miguel and was not repeated in the other churches where it held the right of presentation, confirmation still being the responsibility of the bishop.

As such, it can be considered that, in relation to this aspect of ecclesiastical process, this work can act as a useful starting point to support and indeed further the study of similar cases. In relation to the process of investiture, given the existence of a common and standardized procedure across the broad generality of churches during the Portuguese high and late Middle Ages, further studies to identify any differences and variances in this process, depending on patrons or the different regions of the kingdom, could provide valuable information and insight.

It is hoped that the emergence of new contributions enabling a better understanding of this process – in addition to further clarification on this whole matter – will allow, at a later stage, the establishment of comparative tables and records with the models registered in other European countries for this period.

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