



O CLERO DE VISEU E DE LAMEGO: TESTAMENTOS DE CLÉRIGOS E LAÇOS SOCIAIS

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Do acervo documental reunido pelo projecto *Fasti Ecclesiae Portugaliae*, seleccionámos para objecto de estudo a série dos testamentos das Sés de Viseu e de Lamego redigidos entre os anos de 1147 e 1325. AnalisamosAnalisámos as últimas vontades inscritas nos actos testamentários dos bispos, dignidades, cónegos e demais clerezia destas duas sés, atendendo sobretudo nos legados em que estes homens da Igreja deixam entrever algum tipo de ligação com o seu grupo familiar, ou com qualquer outro grupo ou rede social. Pretendemos, desta forma, aferir se a entrada destes clérigos, nas estruturas das Igrejas de Viseu e de Lamego, implicou o seu afastamento do núcleo familiar de origem, em favor de novos laços de confiança e de dependência, ou se, pelo contrário, estes indivíduos faziam coexistir níveis e modos distintos de relacionamento, dentro e fora da Igreja. A confirmar-se esta tendência, interessar-nos-á então identificar essas diferentes redes de relações e avaliar o grau de influência que exerceram na vivência social dos clérigos, através da notoriedade que estes enquanto testadores lhes atribuem na hora de prepararem a morte e de distribuírem os seus bens terrenos.

THE VISEU AND LAMEGO CLERGY: CLERICAL WILLS AND SOCIAL TIES

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From the documentation collated under the auspices of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Portugaliae* project, we selected as the object of this paper the as yet unpublished series of wills of the Viseu and Lamego Sees, penned between the years 1147 and 1325. We focusfocused on the analysis of the final wills inscribed in the testaments of the bishops, dignitaries, canons and other clergy of these two cathedrals, with a particular interest in the bequests through which these clergymen reveal some type of connection to their family group or to other social groups or networks. By means of these data, we study whether the entrance of these clergymen into the Church of Viseu and Lamego implied a breaking off from kinship ties, replacing them with new bonds of confidence and dependence established within the clergy or whether, on the contrary, these men simultaneously continued with distinct levels and modes of relationship, whether within or beyond the Church. Should this latter position be confirmed, we seek to identify the various relational networks and evaluate the influence they exerted on the clergymen's social life, through the importance that, as testators, they ascribed to these relationships at the moment of preparing for death and dividing up their worldly possessions.

THE VISEU AND LAMEGO CLERGY: CLERICAL WILLS AND SOCIAL TIES

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From the extensive documentation that has been collected these past few years by the team of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Portugaliae* project¹, we have selected as the object of this communication the yet unpublished series of wills of the Viseu and Lamego Sees, penned between the years 1147 and 1325. That is to say, the period that falls between the restoration of these dioceses in central Portugal and the chronological *terminus* proposed for the first stage of the *Fasti* project². Aware of the multiplicity of investigative approaches that this kind of source allows us, we have decided to focus on the analysis of the last wills inscribed in the testaments of the bishops, dignitaries, canons and other clergy of these two cathedrals, being particularly interested in the bequests where these Church men reveal some type of connection to their family group or to any other social group or network³.

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¹ For the framing and postulates of this project, cf. JORGE, Ana Maria – *Fasti Ecclesiae Portugaliae: prosopografia do clero catedralício português (1071-1325)*. *Lusitania Sacra*. 13-14 (2001-2002) 665-666.

² This series of wills of the Viseu and Lamego clergy will be published, during 2007, in a two-volume edition by the Centre of Religious History Studies of the Portuguese Catholic University, collating all testaments by bishops and capitular clergy of the Portuguese sees between 1071 and 1325.

³ Among the leading studies on the testamentary of Portuguese cathedral clergy, cf. MARQUES, José – O testamento de D. Fernando da Guerra. *Bracara Augusta*. 33: 75-76 (1979) 175-206; VELOSO, Maria Teresa Nobre – *A morte nos testamentos dos clérigos bracarense do século XIII*. Coimbra: [s.n.], 1988; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz – O arcebispo D. Gonçalo Pereira: um querer, um agir. In IX CENTENÁRIO DA DEDICAÇÃO DA SÉ DE BRAGA – *Actas*. Vol. 2/1. Braga: Braga: Faculdade de Teologia da Universidade Católica Portuguesa; Cabido Metropolitano e Primacial de Braga, 1990, p. 389-462; VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos; SILVA, Maria João Marques – Morrer e testar na Idade Média: alguns aspectos da testamentaria dos séculos XIV e XV. *Lusitania Sacra*. 4 (1992) 39-59; ANTUNES, José – O testamento de Fernando Joanes de Portocarreiro, deão da Sé de Braga e prior de Guimarães (de 1272). *Theologica*. 28-2 (1993) 407-432; VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos – *A vivência da morte no Portugal medieval: a Estremadura portuguesa (1300 a 1500)*. Redondo: Patrimonia, 1995; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário – O cónego da Sé de Coimbra no século XIV. *Revista Portuguesa de História*. 31: 1 (1996) 393-430; CARVALHO, Elisa Maria da Costa – *A Morte do Alto Clero Bracarense: séculos XII a XV*. Braga: Univ. Minho, 1999; IDEM – A fortuna ao serviço da salvação da alma, da família e da memória, através dos

By means of these data, we intend to analyze whether the entrance of these clergymen into the Church of Viseu and Lamego implied a disaffection from the ties of blood to their respective families, replaced by new bonds of confidence and dependence established within the clergy; or if, on the contrary, these men allowed distinct levels and modes of relationship, whether inside or outside the Church, to exist simultaneously. Should this last case be confirmed, we will seek to identify such various networks of relationships, and evaluate the influence they exerted on the clergymen's social life, through the importance that, as testators, they ascribed to these relationships at the moment of preparing for death and distributing their earthly possessions.

However, we do not think we should dwell at length on the choice of wills as our main research source; we believe that their enormous importance for any study in social history is self-evident, even taking into account the limitations they often display – limitations particularly noticeable in Portugal in this period (such as the frequent use of homonymy and the no less usual omission of the degree of kinship or type nature of relationship between the testator and the legatee). Any attempt to examine the alternative strategy – that of focussing our inquiry on the universe of bishops, canons and clerks, not of one but of two Sees, during such an extended period – would exceed the confines of a paper such as this. It must, nevertheless, be emphasized that our choice of methodology was not random.

The investigation we have been working on over the past few years on the cathedrals of Viseu and Lamego as centres of religion and power⁴, and the knowledge we have accumulated on the contents and typologies of their respective archival patrimonies, namely on their series of wills, made obvious that it would be viable to include the clergymen of these two Sees, not only geographical neighbours but also similar in their organization of the ecclesiastical documents. And, indeed, we knew from the start that, if there was to exist any sort of methodological or practical difficulty, it would be related to the modest volume of testamentary information which reached us – especially when compared with the quantities of similar documents preserved in cathedrals archives such as Braga⁵ or Coimbra⁶.

testamentos dos arcebispos e dignatários de Braga na Idade Média (século XII-XV). *Lusitania Sacra*. 13-14 (2001-2002) 15-40; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário; SARAIVA, Anísio Miguel de Sousa – O chantre de Viseu e cónego de Coimbra Lourenço Esteves de Formoselha (...1279-1318): uma abordagem prosopográfica. *Lusitania Sacra*. 13-14 (2001-2002) 75-137.

⁴ The See of Viseu during the Middle Age, and more specifically between 1147 and 1425, is the object of the PhD thesis that we are currently working on. As for the Lamego See, among the several published studies we should point out our Master's dissertation, SARAIVA, Anísio Miguel de Sousa – *A Sé de Lamego na primeira metade do século XIV (1296-1349)*. Leiria: Magno Edições, 2003.

⁵ Cf. the studies by Elisa Maria da Costa Carvalho as quoted in note 3.

⁶ Cf. COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz; MORUJÃO, Maria do Rosário Barbosa – Les testaments du clergé de Coimbra: des individus aux réseaux sociaux (published in these proceedings).

If we look at the data on Table I, we will notice that in between them Viseu and Lamego list 22 wills, 17 of which (77%) belonging to Viseu⁷. The remaining five wills, belonging to the ecclesiastics of the See of Lamego, are not only numerically inexpressive but mainly circumscribed to the second half of the 13th century⁸. This contrasts sharply with most of Viseu's testamentary acts, whose dates cover, not only the entire 13th century (approximately 59%), but also the end of the 12th century and early 14th century.

Table I – Wills of the Viseu and Lamego Sees

	1147-1200	1201-1250	1251-1300	1301-1325	Total
Viseu	2	4	6	5	17 (77%)
Lamego	0	2	3	0	5 (23%)
Total	2	6	9	5	22 (100%)

We can therefore conclude that this testamentary universe originates essentially in the church of Viseu, and also in the 13th Century, with the canons of this cathedral as its main actors. In fact, as it is obvious in Table II, it is from within the group of chapter canons and especially from within the dignities of Viseu that the greater number of testators comes (4 deans, 2 from Lamego and 2 from Viseu, and 3 precentors also from Viseu). The cases of wills made by clerks and portionists are

⁷ This cathedral's ecclesiastical archive preserves both versions of the testament of canon Miguel Guterres (1185, before July 22nd), the testaments of canon Nuno Fernandes (1206, before April 5th), precentor Pagano Gonçalves (1224, January 31st), canon Mem Mendes (1230, September), dean Gonçalo Fernandes (1231), bishop D. Pedro (1253, August), dean Soeiro Pais (1256, September 29th), canons Lourenço Gonçalves (1267, April 7th), Fernão Miguéis (1281, before July 14th) and Paio Fernandes (1292, January 12th), clerk Lourenço Mendes (1298, April 15th), canons Martim Peres (1309, July 8th) and Mestre Martinho (1311, before October 26th), both versions of the will of precentor Lourenço Esteves (1318, before July 6th) and, finally, the testament of choir clerk João Esteves de Arouca (1319, December 28th). See, respectively, Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo (IAN/TT), Sé de Viseu, D.P., m. 4, n. 29, m. 9, n. 38 e 39; Arquivo Distrital de Viseu (ADVIS), Pergaminhos, m. 27, n. 40; IAN/TT, Sé de Viseu, D.P., m. 9, n. 33, m. 7, n. 24; IAN/TT, Sé de Coimbra, 1^a incorp., m. 15, n. 13; IAN/TT, Sé de Viseu, D.P., m. 8, n. 25; ADVIS, Pergaminhos, m. 37, n. 2, m. 25, n. 37, m. 26, n. 43, m. 25, n. 9, m. 49, n. 32, m. 27, n. 93, m. 49, n. 28; ADVIS, Pergaminhos Devolvidos, m. 3, n. 95; IAN/TT, Sé de Coimbra, 2^a incorp., m. 12, n. 549; e ADVIS, Pergaminhos, m. 30, n. 29.

⁸ Specifically between 1246 and 1291. These are the wills of bishop D. Paio (1246), canon Miguel Peres (1250, November 17th), dean Afonso Pais (1264, March 11th), portionist Domingos Eanes (1286, January 28th) and dean Paio Rodrigues (1291, February 28th). Cf., respectively, IAN/TT, Sé de Lamego, Testamentos, m. 1, n^o 2, 4, 6; and *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fls. 3v, 150v. The numerical inexpressiveness of the Lamego wills for the 12th century is even more striking during the first half of the 14th century, a period for which we have no record of wills, although we have ascertained some indirect references on their probable composition; cf. SARAIVA – *A Sé de Lamego*, 173.

almost inexistent⁹. This parsimony, oddly, also applies to the expression of the last wills made by bishops: from the 14 prelates of Viseu and the 15 of Lamego that ruled over their dioceses during the almost 200 years covered in our research, only two wills have survived – those of the bishop D. Paio of Lamego, dated from 1246, and the one of bishop D. Pedro Gonçalves of Viseu, dated from 1253¹⁰.

Table II – Testators of the Viseu and Lamego Sees

	Bishop	Dean	Precentor	Treasurer	Canon	Clerk	Portionist	Total
Viseu	1	2	3	0	9	2	0	17
Lamego	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	5
Total	2	4	3	0	10	2	1	22

Despite the numerical scarcity of this documental universe, these wills still provide us with interesting data. Bishops, dignitaries, canons, clerks and portionists show the same fears and worries in a similar way to all other social groups¹¹, expressing their fear of the proximity of the day of their death (*timens diem mortis mee*) as the foundation drive to their institution of a will. But, in an also recurrent absence, we are seldom told about the actual reasons for such fear and for the subsequent concern in guaranteeing the salvation of their souls. Only the Lamego portionist Domingos Eanes justifies it, alleging the agony he was going through, lying in bed and waiting for death¹² – a death that arrived three days after the will had been produced¹³.

This was surely not a unique circumstance; dictating the last will a few days or weeks before the actual day of passing was a common tendency, as we were able to confirm when comparing the dates of the wills with the records of the obituaries of Viseu and Lamego. In the cases under analysis the lapse of time between the composition of the will and the date of passing vary from one day to five months¹⁴. We can therefore confirm that the composition of the will was dictated

⁹ Cf. notes 7 and 8.

¹⁰ Cf. notes 7 and 8.

¹¹ VILAR – *A vivência da morte no Portugal medieval*, 73-85.

¹² "... ego Dominicus Johannis portionarius Lamecensis positus in lecto egritudinis ..." (1286, January 28th), IAN/TT, *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fol. 3v.

¹³ January 31st (1286), IAN/TT, *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fol. 92.

¹⁴ One day passed between the composition of the will of the dean of Lamego, Paio Rodrigues, and his death (1291, March 1st), IAN/TT, *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fol. 97v. This period was of two days for the canon of Viseu Martim Peres (deceased 1309, July 10th), IAN/TT, *Obituário da Sé de Viseu*, fol. 94; of three days for the portionist of Lamego Domingos Eanes, cf. previous note; less than twenty days for the bishop of Viseu, D. Pedro (deceased August 20th 1253), IAN/TT, *Obituário da Sé de Viseu*, fol. 111V; between three to five months for the canon of Viseu Paio Fernandes (deceased April 3rd 1292) and the dean of Lamego Afonso Pais (deceased August 10th 1264), IAN/TT, *Obituário da Sé de Viseu*, fol. 48v; *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fol. 125v.

by the circumstances, the agony of an illness or the uncertainty of a journey. There are two significant examples for this latter motive. Miguel Guterres, canon of Viseu, had his will written in 1185¹⁵ while preparing for the long, uncertain pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and he was quite right, too, as it turns out, since we know he did die that same year, in Salerno, although we do not know whether before or after having reached the Holy City¹⁶. The canon of Lamego, Miguel Peres, also took care of expressing his last wills before leaving for the Roman Curia in the year 1250¹⁷.

These and other examples in the *corpus* help to demonstrate how, when realising the approaching of their death or in anticipation of it, the clergymen of these cathedrals took the time to prepare their passing properly, guaranteeing the saving of their souls and eternal life. As they disposed of their earthly belongings, they ensured the presence of their mark beyond death, by compelling their legatees to participate in their redemption. If we take a close look at the beneficiaries, the analysis allows us to draw a most interesting picture of these clergymen's lives and social relationships – the main purpose of this communication.

In this collection of 22 wills, 18 (that is, 82 % of the total) include one or more legatees to a man or a woman identified as a relative, either by blood or marriage bonds. It is frequent to find references to blood relations such as nephew or niece¹⁸, brother or sister¹⁹. Although less representative, there are also references to sons and daughters²⁰, male or female cousins²¹,

¹⁵ “*Ego Micahel Guterriz si mortuus fuero in ista via de Jherusalem facio mandam et testamentum pro remedio anime mee*”, IAN/TT, *Sé de Viseu*, D. P., m. 4, n° 29.

¹⁶ His death was registered on July 22nd (1185), IAN/TT, *Obituário da Sé de Viseu*, fol. 100.

¹⁷ “*Quando parabat se eundi ad Curiam domini pape*” (1250, 17th de Novembro), IAN/TT, *Sé de Lamego*, Testamentos, m. 1, n° 4.

¹⁸ Found in all the wills of Lamego except the one of bishop D. Paio (1246), IAN/TT, *Sé de Lamego*, Testamentos, m. 1, n° 2. In Viseu, they are found in practically half of the listed wills, namely those of canon Miguel Guterres (1185), precentor Pagano Gonçalves (1224), canon Mem Mendes (1230), dean Soeiro Pais (1256), canon Lourenço Gonçalves (1267), precentor Lourenço Esteves (1318) and clerk João Esteves (1319); respectively, IAN/TT, *Sé de Viseu*, D. P., m. 9, n° 38; ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 27, n° 40; IAN/TT, *Sé de Viseu*, D. P., m. 9, n° 33, m. 8, n° 25; ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 37, n° 2; m. 49, n° 28; m. 30, n° 29.

¹⁹ In Lamego these are found on two wills, those of canon Miguel Peres (1250) and of dean Paio Rodrigues (1291), IAN/TT, *Sé de Lamego*, Testamentos, m. 1, n° 4; *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fol. 150v. In the See of Viseu, they are mentioned in six testaments: those of canon Miguel Guterres (1185), precentor Pagano Gonçalves (1224), bishop D. Pedro (1253), canons Lourenço Gonçalves (1267) and Paio Fernandes (1292), and clerk João Esteves (1319), IAN/TT, *Sé de Viseu*, D.P., m. 9, n° 38; ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 27, n° 40; IAN/TT, *Sé de Coimbra*, 1ª incorp., m. 15, n° 13; ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 37, n° 2; m. 26, n° 43; m. 30, n° 29.

²⁰ Verified only in four wills of Viseu. Canon Nuno Fernandes endows his son Árias (1206), canon Fernando Miguéis his two daughters Clara and Maria Fernandes (1281), Martim Peres a daughter (1309) and precentor Lourenço Esteves his three children João Lourenço, Egas Lourenço and Guiomar Lourenço (1318), IAN/TT, *Sé de Viseu*, D. P., m. 9, n° 39; ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 25, n° 37; m. 49, n° 32 e 28; *Pergaminhos Devolvidos*, m. 3, n° 95.

²¹ Examples being the Viseu canons Fernando Miguéis (1281) and Mestre Martinho (1311), and the choir clerk of that same See, João Esteves (1319). The first endows his cousin and pupil Henrique Eanes, the

consanguineous²², uncle or aunt²³, son-in-law²⁴, grand-daughter²⁵, and even one reference to the mother of children²⁶. It is easy to infer that family, in all different levels of kinship, was present in the life of these testators. But these connections to parenthood and similarly related kinship coexisted with other forms of sociability.

Apart from the family, we can also find an important number of mentions to other types of kinship, such as patronage, and other sorts of protection and tutelage. In 16 of the wills (that is, 73 % of the total) we find mentions to relatives named as: man of²⁷, servant²⁸, youth²⁹, man or woman servant³⁰. These last two, in some cases, may in fact represent hidden forms of blood ties, as can the denomination *clientulus*. As the precentor of Viseu, Lourenço Esteves, in his will, composed in 1318, calls his three children *clientuli*³¹. In three other situations, also related to the clergy of Viseu we find a reference to the designation *alumnus*³², which can suggest a relation of tutelage and protection by the clerk that, in at least two of the cases, we know takes place within their

second mentions an unidentified female cousin, and the third bequeathes clothes to two cousins named Lourenço and Domingos Valente, ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 25, nº 37; m. 27, nº 93; m. 30, nº 29.

²² Kinship announced by two Lamego canons, canon Miguel Peres (1250) and dean Afonso Pais (1264). The first leaves an oven to two “consanguineous”, Maior Peres e Marina Peres, while the second bequeathes his “consanguineous” Paio Martins and Martim Domingues, respectively, a grain field and a house, IAN/TT, *Sé de Lamego*, Testamentos, m. 1, nº 4 e 6.

²³ Viseu canon Fernando Miguéis (1281) and it's choir clerk, João Esteves (1319), bequeath belongings and clothes, respectively, to his aunt Domingas Fernandes and his uncle Martim Miguéis, ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 25, nº 37; m. 30, nº 29.

²⁴ Viseu canon Martim Peres (1309) bequeathes to his daughter and his son-in-law Domingos Martins, clothes and estates, besides releasing them from a debt, ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 49, nº 32.

²⁵ Lamego dean Afonso Pais (1264) bequeathes to his grand-daughter Constança Afonso his own bed, with all relevant linen, and a cape that had belonged to dean Domingos, IAN/TT, *Sé de Lamego*, Testamentos, m. 1, nº 6.

²⁶ Made by the precentor of Viseu, Lourenço Esteves (1318), who bequeathed a sum of money to Maria Soares, mother of his children. Cf. note 20.

²⁷ Whether it is a coincidence or not, we note the reference to “man of” only in the wills of four deans: Afonso Pais (1264) and Paio Rodrigues (1291) of Lamego, and Gonçalo Fernandes (1231) and Soeiro Pais (1256) of Viseu; IAN/TT, *Sé de Lamego*, Testamentos, m. 1, nº 6; *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fol. 150v; *Sé de Viseu*, D. P., m. 7, nº 24 e m. 8, nº 25.

²⁸ In Lamego, by canon Miguel Peres (1250) and portionist Domingos Eanes (1286), and in Viseu, by canon Fernando Miguéis (1281), IAN/TT, *Sé de Lamego*, Testamentos, m. 1, nº 4; *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fol. 3v; ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 25, nº 37.

²⁹ By Lamego portionist Domingos Eanes (1286) and by Viseu canon Martim Peres (1309), IAN/TT, *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fol. 3v; ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 49, nº 32.

³⁰ Recorded only in wills from the Viseu See, namely those of canon Miguel Guterres (1185), clerk Lourenço Mendes (1298), and canons Martim Peres (1309) and Mestre Martinho (1311), IAN/TT, *Sé de Viseu*, D. P., m. 4, nº 29; ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 25, nº 9; m. 49, nº 32; m. 27, nº 93).

³¹ Cf. footnote 20.

³² Mentioned by canons Mem Mendes (1230), Lourenço Gonçalves (1267) and Fernando Miguéis (1281), IAN/TT, *Sé de Viseu*, D. P., m. 9, nº 33; ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 37, nº 2; m. 25, nº 37.

family. Such were the cases of canons Mem Mendes and Fernando Miguéis, who left wealth to a nephew and a cousin mentioned as their *alumni*³³.

Another fundamental side of the social relationships of these testators are the legacies done to members of the clergy. Eighteen wills (that is, 82 % of the total) reveal bonds of trust and dependency established by the grantees within the Church, and particularly within the cathedral system in which they work, with special attention to bishops, dignitaries of the chapter and of the remaining clergy. But these bonds, created between elements of a certain religious group – in this particular case ecclesiastics in the same chapter – often reflect different interests and complicities, even of a family nature when their protagonists are clergymen from the same family unit. Lamego portionist, Domingos Eanes (1286), bequeathes a legate to his brother, canon Paio Rodrigues³⁴; years later, Paio Rodrigues (1291), by now already dean of the Lamego See, identifies in his will Miguel Peres, a cleric his nephew³⁵; to these we may add the bequest that the precentor of Viseu Pagano Gonçalves (1224) bestowed upon canon Mem Mendes, his great-uncle³⁶. When such family bonds do not exist within the capitulary structure, we find a tendency to foster them, by transmitting belongings to relatives on condition that they join the clerical life³⁷ or arrive at a more promising career by through holding a university degree. A good example of this latter strategy is the bequest of the dean of Lamego, Afonso Pais (1264), who destined a significant amount of books to the treasury of the See of Lamego, so that one of his nephews might use them in his lifetime, in case he wished to go to the University and study Canonical or Civil Law³⁸.

The bequest of Afonso Pais, comprising slightly over a dozen books, has a unique status in the universe of wills studied for both dioceses. Since owning a book clearly indicated a high cultural level and strong wealth, it obviously follows that to inherit those would be a mark of privilege and distinction³⁹. On the 6 wills (27% of the total) which contemplate this kind of gift – most of them composed in Viseu, including books of Liturgy or Canonical or Civil Law –, the

³³ Cf. previous footnote.

³⁴ IAN/TT, *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fol. 3v.

³⁵ IAN/TT, *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fol. 150v.

³⁶ ADVIS, Pergaminhos, m. 27, nº 40.

³⁷ Precentor Pagano Gonçalves leaves goods to his nephew Fernando, son of his brother Fernando Gonçalves, on condition he joins the clergy. Cf. previous footnote.

³⁸ IAN/TT, *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fol. 86v; published by PEREIRA, Isaías da Rosa – *Livros de Direito na Idade Média. Lusitania Sacra*. 7 (1964-1966) 57-58.

³⁹ Regarding both the importance of the book as a symbol of wealth and culture and the list of medieval Portuguese ecclesiastical libraries identified so far, see the bibliographical update we presented in the essay SARAIVA, Anísio Miguel de Sousa – O quotidiano da casa de D. Lourenço Rodrigues, bispo de Lisboa (1359-1364): notas de investigação. *Lusitania Sacra*. 17 (2005) 424, note 13.

receivers of the bequest belonged mainly to the religious world⁴⁰. Likewise, the few valuables (such as vases, cups and glasses), mostly in silver, mentioned in these wills are preferentially destined to members of the clergy, another clear sign of the importance that the testators attribute to their “brothers in Christ”⁴¹. Reiterating this importance is also the referential choice of members of their respective chapters and of the remaining diocesan clergy (some of them kin to the testator) as their testamentary executors⁴². Very few have left the execution of their last wills to family relatives or other elements of their social *entourage* rather than to trusted clergy⁴³.

As a conclusion to all the data that we have just gauged, we can verify that the few wills of the clergy of Viseu and Lamego, between 1147 and 1325, which have survived until now share all the attitudes and circumstances of all other wills made by the medieval man: the proximity, preparation and fear of death.

⁴⁰ Bishop D. Pedro (1253) bequeathes books of Canons and Law to Martim Eanes and a commented Psalter to his abbot Fernando Pais, IAN/TT, *Sé de Coimbra*, 1ª incorp., m. 15, nº 13; canon Paio Fernandes (1292) leaves a New Psalter to the chapel he founded in Viseu, ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 26, nº 43; canon Martim Peres (1309) destins a *Domingal*, a Psalter and a *Santal* to the church of Burgães, ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 49, nº 32; canon Mestre Martinho (1311) mentions he owns a Psalter, but the name of the legatee is unknown, ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 27, nº 93; precentor Lourenço Esteves (1318) bequeathes the Book of *Petrus Boneti* to his son João Lourenço, ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 49, nº 28; and clerk João Esteves (1319) leaves all his (unnamed) books to his nephew friar Martinho, ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 30, nº 29.

⁴¹ In Lamego, the transmission of silverware is recorded in the wills of bishop D. Paio (1246) and deans Afonso Pais (1264) and Paio Rodrigues (1291), IAN/TT, *Sé de Lamego*, Testamentos, m. 1, nº 2, 6; *Martirologio-Obituário da Sé de Lamego*, liv. 1, fol. 150v. In Viseu, the ownership of valuables is not restricted to the capitulary dignitaries, such as dean Gonçalo Fernandes (1231), but is also found in other elements of the canonical college, such as canons Mem Mendes (1230), Lourenço Gonçalves (1267) and Martim Peres (1309); respectively, IAN/TT, *Sé de Viseu*, D. P., m. 7, nº 24, m. 9, nº 33; ADVIS, *Pergaminhos*, m. 37, nº 2, m. 49, nº 32.

⁴² In Lamego, bishop D. Paio (1246) designates as executors dean Pedro Eanes and treasurer M. Mendes; dean Afonso Pais (1264) chooses bishop D. Pedro; portionist Domingos Eanes (1286), canon Paio Domingues, his *cobrother*; finally, dean Paio Rodrigues (1291) indicates his nephew and clerk Miguel Peres. Cf. note 8. In Viseu, canon Mem Mendes (1230) entrusts his last will to dean Gonçalo Fernandes; this same dean (1231) nominates as executor precentor Soeiro Pais; bishop D. Pedro (1253) attributes this task to the treasurer, to his abbot Fernando Pais and to canon Mónio Moniz; dean Soeiro Pais (1256) chooses canon Gomes Pais (possibly a relative); canon Lourenço Gonçalves (1267) entrusts the responsibility to the rector of Torredeita Domingos Mendes, whom he classifies as “dilectissimum meum”, and canon Domingos Peres; canon Mestre Martinho (1311), to portionist Pedro Domingues and chaplain Domingos Martins; and clerk João Esteves (1319) elects, among others, the abbot of Alcofra Vicente Eaneas. Cf. footnote 7.

⁴³ This happens in only four men of the chapter of Viseu: canon Nuno Fernandes (1206), who chooses as executors merchants Lourenço Fernandes and Martinho Fernandes (probably relatives); canon Paio Fernandes (1292) chooses citizens Pedro Ermiges, Pedro Pais and Lourenço Pais; clerk Lourenço Mendes (1298) refers layman Estêvão Moniz; and finally canon Martim Peres (1309) entrusts his will to his own daughter and son-in-law. Cf. note 7.

But in this particular case, these documents are full of elements which allow us to identify the social networks in which such clergymen were involved, and to understand the extent to which family bonds and ecclesiastical solidarities have often crossed each other at very similar points. There is, however, one distinguishing factor: the choice of those who were to be the addressees of their most valuable estate (books and assets) and the executors of their last wills fell upon those in whom most trusted: the members of the chapters of the churches of Viseu and Lamego, where sometimes their blood families were also represented.

These are just the first results of a preliminary systematization of the data drawn for the ecclesiastical testamentary of these two Sees, and a brief first approach to the analysis of one of the multiple research lines which this kind of source will allow us to explore.