

A «FRENCHMAN» IN PORTUGAL. BISHOP D. HUGO OF PORTO AND THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE NORTH-WESTERN IBERIAN PENINSULA IN THE EARLY 12th CENTURY

FRANCESCO RENZI*
ANDREA MARIANI**
MARIA JOÃO OLIVEIRA E SILVA***
LUÍS CARLOS AMARAL****

Abstract: *The aim of this article is to study Bishop of Porto D. Hugo, a key figure to understand the transformation of Portugal in the 12th century. Probably ailing from France, he was archdeacon in Compostela under Diego Gelmírez and consecrated bishop by Maurice of Braga. D. Hugo dealt with the most important problems of his time: the conflict between the See of Compostela and Braga, the political evolution of the County of Portugal and the relations with the Papacy. The study of D. Hugo reveals a very peculiar image of a medieval bishop: clergyman, politician, writer and tireless traveller.*

Keywords: *Bishop D. Hugo; diocese of Porto; Portugal; papacy; chancery.*

Resumo: *O objetivo deste artigo é estudar o pontificado do bispo D. Hugo do Porto, uma figura-chave para se compreender a transformação do Condado Portucalense no século XII. De provável origem franca, foi arcebispo em Compostela sob o governo de Diego Gelmírez e bispo do Porto consagrado por Maurício de Braga, D. Hugo lidou com os problemas mais importantes do seu tempo: o conflito entre a Sé de Compostela e Braga, a evolução política do Condado Portucalense e as relações com o Papado. O estudo da figura de D. Hugo revela uma imagem muito peculiar deste bispo medieval: clérigo, político, escritor e viajante incansável.*

Palavras-chave: *bispo D. Hugo; diocese do Porto; Portugal; papado; chancelaria.*

GENERAL INTRODUCTION¹

The aim of our contribution is to introduce some of the main features of D. Hugo of Porto's pontificate during the years of 1112/1114-1136. Bishop D. Hugo is a very interesting case study for at least three reasons. First, D. Hugo came from north of the Pyrenees, in the area of modern France, like other bishops in the Iberian Peninsula between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th

* UCP-CEHR. Email: frrenzi@ucp.pt.

** CITCEM-UP. Email: andrea.mariani@museobiassono.it.

*** FLUP-CITCEM. Email: mjpinho@letras.up.pt.

**** FLUP-CITCEM. Email: lcamaral@letras.up.pt.

¹ This essay part is based on the Session (1504) organised and chaired by Francesco Renzi entitled *A Frenchman in Portugal: Bishop Hugh of Porto and the Transformations of the North-Western Iberian Peninsula in the 12th Century, 1112-1136*, Leeds, IMC, 2018, 05-07-2018. Francesco Renzi wrote the general introduction, the general conclusions (both based on MARIANI, RENZI, 2018: 161-187) and supervised this paper. The first version of this work has been concluded in March 2019. This first draft had been submitted for a miscellaneous work that has not been published. This is an updated version to May 2022 and we would like to thank CEM for accepting the publication of this work.

century². This point is very important, because it is necessary to study D. Hugo's life and strategies in a wider ecclesiastical and political context characterised by the reorganisation of the ecclesiastical and political Iberian space; the introduction of Roman Rite in the Iberian Peninsula (especially after the Council of Burgos in 1080); the competitive relationships between Rome, Cluny and the Iberian Kings; the circulation of clergymen in western Europe since the 11th century³.

Second, D. Hugo was a former archdeacon of Santiago de Compostela and so a trustful man of Archbishop Diego Gelmírez (1100-1140). This is a crucial point, because even though D. Hugo was bishop in the County of Portugal, he was supported by the Galician See of Compostela. This connection was so important that D. Hugo can be listed as one of the authors of the *Historia Compostelana*. D. Hugo wrote, in fact, one of the most interesting and controversial pages of the history of the See of Santiago de Compostela and its competition with Braga: the theft of the relics by Diego Gelmírez in Braga in 1102, an episode remembered in the *Historia Compostelana* as the *pío latrocinio* (the «pious theft»), in which D. Hugo took Gelmírez's side by justifying the action led by the then bishop of Santiago⁴.

Third, the international space in which D. Hugo operated. The bishop of Porto travelled several times to get in touch with the popes and the cardinals to get privileges both for his See and for Compostela; privileges often used to solve and open local conflicts against other Portuguese bishoprics⁵. In our opinion, the figure of D. Hugo shows all the complexity of the Iberian ecclesiastical framework characterised by continuous political, religious, social and patrimonial bargaining between the local bishops and the other powers.

To achieve our goal, we will first analyse the transformation of the Iberian Peninsula between the 11th and 12th centuries. Second, we will study D. Hugo's strategy to «territorialise» his power and his conflicts with the other local bishops. Third, we will focus on D. Hugo's chancery, a fundamental step for the consolidation of the restored diocese of Porto in the 12th century⁶.

² On the origin of D. Hugo of Porto see FALQUE REY, *ed.*, 1994: 11-12 and 195; SILVA, 2008: 23-24; DE LA TORRE RODRÍGUEZ, 2006: 437-452 and PORTELA SILVA, 2015: 389. In the opinion of Fletcher, instead, D. Hugo was, possibly, a native of Compostela. See FLETCHER, 1978: 90.

³ RUCQUOI, 2010.

⁴ LÓPEZ ALSINA, 2015: 65; FLETCHER, 1984: 115; GEARY, 1978.

⁵ MARIANI, RENZI, 2019: 78 and footnotes for the bibliography.

⁶ MARIANI, RENZI, 2018: 161-163.

1. THE ECCLESIASTICAL GEOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN PORTUGAL, 11TH AND 12TH CENTURIES⁷

1.1. INTRODUCTION

«May God free us from the plague, hunger, war and bishops on earth». This old and popular Portuguese saying might be rightly evoked at the beginning of our paper. When we start to analyse, although only generally, the complex political and ecclesiastical process which involved the diocesan restoration of the current northern Portuguese territory between the 11th and 12th centuries, it is not inappropriate to emphasise the last proposition of the proverb, namely the presence of «bishops on earth». Leaving aside the not so prestigious association with the classic trilogy of the great evils, what the saying tries to tell us is that we are facing questions so serious and severe that begging for divine compassion is justified.

Surely, in the Latin Christianity there has not been a time and a conjuncture, in which the expression «bishop on earth» has acquired such a thorough and vivid meaning like in the period between the above-mentioned centuries⁸. In all the territories becoming increasingly connected to the Roman papacy, the prelates not only actively collaborated with the gradual definition, strengthening and embedding of its renewed powers, but also assimilated the required instruments and developed the practices and the skills to carry out an efficient spatial translation of those powers. The rigour with which papal documents claimed unique sovereignty for the bishop of Rome — and by extension for the other bishops —, translated itself into a more precise definition of the territories in which the reformed authority was carrying out its functions. This meant that both ancient and new dioceses were evolving into spaces characterised by clearer and more linear borders, preferably fixed «ad perpetuum».

The metaphor of the «Pontifex Maximus» — abundantly used to explain the specificity of the bishops' mission, i. e. the shepherd who knows and guides his flock —, acquires another dimension, namely that of space.

From the city of Rome, the popes will extend their rule beyond the limits of Christianity. Similarly, each bishop shall do the same with the territories they have been entrusted with. As time goes by, not a single corner, as well as no soul, in the diocese will cease to be under the watchful eye of its prelate and clergymen.

⁷ This first part has been written by Luís Carlos Amaral and it is based on his paper (1504-a), *The Ecclesiastical Geography of Northern Portugal, 11th and 12th Centuries*. Leeds: IMC, 2018, 05-07-2018. The text (here published) is a synthesis of AMARAL, 2017a.

⁸ The bibliography on the Reform and the Church reorganisation in western Christianity occurred between 11th and 12th century is very ample nowadays. I can only suggest some of the most recent and innovative research on this theme. See for example MAYEUR *et al.*, *dir.*, 2000, 2001; NOBLE, SMITH, *dir.*, 2008; RUBIN, SIMONS, *coord.*, 2009; ARMOGATHE, MONTAUBIN, PERRIN, *dir.*, 2010.

The diocesan space in which the episcopal entities could exercise their powers, will not be any more a mere sum of its (more or less) organised geographical areas, but it will turn into an ordered and hierarchically organised territory.

1.2. 12TH CENTURY: A NEW CONCEPT OF DIOCESE

When Afonso Henriques (1109-1185) took over the power after the victory in the battle of S. Mamede (June 24th, 1128), he became responsible for a local church composed by three dioceses (Braga, Coimbra and Porto), which by no means had a peaceful and articulated institutional relation among themselves, as we will see⁹. This *scenario* greatly limited the political and military authorities in the «Portuguese» territory in their attempt to organise a church, which would sustain and serve the ambitions of regional powers. Later, this aspect would have a great impact on the transformation of the local church into a «national» institution. Therefore, it is crucial to analyse the circumstances which led to the restoration of the episcopal Sees located between the Minho and Mondego rivers, as well as their internal dynamics and external relations with both ecclesiastical and secular powers. We will mainly focus on the case of Porto, but always paying attention to the general diocesan organisation of the Hispanic North West.

At the beginning of the 12th century, the reconstruction of the dioceses already, and undoubtedly, represented a secular program, which built powerful ties between episcopates, royalty and other civil institutions¹⁰. These close and powerful relations inevitably led to recurring conflicts and tensions, with a promiscuity of interests and goals, which are frequently hard to interpret. In the case of the «Terra Portucalense», we think that the most important aspect to investigate is not so much the intense relations between secular and ecclesiastical powers, for they have already been extensively documented, but how these dynamics strongly influenced first the formation of a regional church and second that of the kingdom of Portugal¹¹.

It is also necessary, as evident as it may seem nowadays, to make clear what it was meant by the term «diocese» in the period we are studying. Today the definition of diocese is quite clear, both in the structures of the Roman Catholic Church and in society in general. Essentially, it is the constituency of the bishop, and by constituency we mean the territory in which the prelate can exert his authority. Simultaneously, it is also a fundamental space for the congregation.

⁹ See Chapter 2. *Porto vs Coimbra and Braga: Bishop Hugo's struggle for diocesan frontiers.*

¹⁰ On this theme see MANSILLA REYO, 1994 and AYALA MARTÍNEZ, 2008: 251-415. For the case of Galicia, or more generally for the north-western Iberian Peninsula, PORTELA SILVA, 1995: 9-70.

¹¹ For an updated contextualisation of the formation process of Portugal, see MATTOSO, 1995, 2006. On the ecclesiastical organisation of medieval Portugal, see: AMARAL, 2007.

Recent research shows that this definition of diocese can only be used after the 12th and 13th centuries. Previously, the term diocese was not only seldom used, but also it referred to a much less well-defined object. Most of the times it solely refers to an *ensemble* of geographically close parochial churches¹². Therefore, dioceses were not territories with clear boundaries.

The 12th and 13th centuries' diplomas emphasised the territorial representation of the diocese, clearly showing the profound ongoing changes in the organisation of the Western Latin Church. In other words, the diocese became a territory. However, this territory only existed to the extent that it is a physical space where the institutional powers of the bishop were active. Since the second half of the 11th century, it is possible to observe a significant effort by the northern Iberian Peninsula bishops to establish the territorial borders of their dioceses by promoting the subdivision of their territories. An example of this politics is the institution of the first archdeacons and territorial parishes¹³. It is also worth to mention the effort of certain prelates in travelling through their dioceses to consecrate churches and consequently to establish their dominion¹⁴. What we have showed so far is sufficient to demonstrate the complexity of the ecclesiastical *scenario* in which the formation of the kingdom of Portugal took place. It is also important to highlight that the kingdom institution follows the above-mentioned processes, giving the Portuguese church an international dimension from the very first beginning.

1.3. THE ECCLESIASTICAL REORGANISATION OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

The events that followed the Islamic invasion of 711 induced a profound disruption of the ecclesiastical geography in the Iberian Peninsula. According to José Orlandis, at the time the Muslims arrived, the Visigoth kingdom was divided into 78 dioceses, assembled in six provinces¹⁵. Nearly three and a half centuries later only ten bishops, eight from the kingdom of León and Castile and two from the kingdom of Navarre, attended the Council of Coyanza in 1055¹⁶. Considering that the maximum number of absent prelates was three, we can confidently affirm that the number of bishops was not higher than thirteen. It is also true that at the time more than half of the Hispanic territory was under Islamic dominion, where there still were some Mozarabic bishops. Nevertheless, the great discrepancy in numbers

¹² MAZEL, 2008: 11-14.

¹³ COSTA, 1997: 335-390 and AMARAL, 2007: 314-331.

¹⁴ AMARAL, 2007: 331-342.

¹⁵ ORLANDIS, 1977: 233-236.

¹⁶ GARCÍA GALLO, 1950: 275-633 and AYALA MARTÍNEZ, 2008: 269-283.

shows us how much the situation had deteriorated. The council priests of Coyanza sought to restore the old Visigoth ecclesiastical order without ignoring the considerable changes that had happened since then. A quick comparison between the diocesan framework in the mid-7th and the beginning of the 12th century reveals that most of the ancient episcopal Sees had been restored and some transferred to other locations.

However, there were now some new diocesan headquarters and, above all, there was a new configuration of the ecclesiastical provinces. This means that the will to bring back the ancient organisation found some obstacles and most importantly it had to deal with the deeply transformed Hispanic political structures. Additionally, the lack of information about the diocesan organisation of the Goth kingdom of Toledo made it even harder to realise the bishop's will. Altogether, it seems clear that the breakdown of the ancient diocesan order ended up initiating a strong reconstruction movement, while simultaneously providing an excellent opportunity for the materialisation of the new ecclesiastical ambitions and territorial realities¹⁷. This interpretation perfectly fits, although in a slightly different way, the restoration process of the churches of Braga, Coimbra and Porto. The lack of preserved historical documents, together with the intricate military and political contexts, is the first obstacle we have to face.

The complex and lengthy process of the restoration of the church of Braga is of particular interest, considering its decisive influence firstly on the reconstruction of the church of Porto and ultimately on the formation of a Portuguese church. Based on sources, we are able to say that King Sancho II of Castile (1065-1072) appointed Pedro (1071-1091) as bishop of the restored church of Braga on May 1071, after having deposed his brother García II (1065-1071) from the throne of Galicia¹⁸. There are two main diplomas which explicitly address the problem of the restoration, offering a plausible description of the events. They are the bull *Et fratrum relatione*¹⁹ from Paschal II (1099-1118) and the *Crónica de Braga*²⁰.

Although they gave different and incorrect information, both sources converge on the same main message. Both sources were written by churchmen and they assigned the church, namely the church of Galicia, the initiative and the control over the process of diocesan restoration. However, both texts were written three decades after the events, which means that they were produced in a different phase of the relations between the Church and the kings. The great change will mainly come from the establishment of numerous exchanges between the Iberian monarchies and the Roman Curia. Consequently, papal decrees started arriving in

¹⁷ HENRIET, 2008: 288-289 and 292-293. On this theme see also DESWARTE, 2004: 94-106.

¹⁸ On the restoration of Braga, see COSTA, 1997: 195-223 and AMARAL, 2007: 216-240.

¹⁹ COSTA *et al.*, ed., 2017: I, doc. 4.

²⁰ COSTA *et al.*, ed., 2017: I, doc. 20.

the north of the Iberian Peninsula, regulating not only the structure of the church but also the lives of the lay people. The regulatory standards issued by the papal Curia found their way to the Iberian Peninsula mainly by the action of the Roman legates and the Benedictine monks of Cluny, among whom there were several bishops. Therefore, it is not surprising that the above-mentioned diplomas display a correct «version of the facts» in line with some of the fundamental principles of the *Reform* of the second half of the 11th century and Pope Gregory VII's action (1073-1085), namely the defence of the *Libertas ecclesiastica* and the definition of the relation between the papal authority and the royal/imperial *potestas*.

The problem of the diocesan reorganisation goes way back and can be included in a longer chronology previous to 1071. In the light of this context, we may assume that Braga's diocese restoration problem was reconfigured by the significant political and ecclesiastical changes that were taking place in the North West of the Peninsula since the mid-11th century. The leading changes are well known. After Fernando I *Magno* (1037-1065) became king, thereby unifying the kingdoms of León and Castile, the expansionist process of Hispanic Christianity had a new thrust. This process had a tremendous impact on the organisations of both the society and the territory of the newly unified kingdom. The region of Entre Douro e Minho was not an exception and turned out to play a fundamental role in the reconquering process led by Fernando I.

At the same time, other important changes were taking place in the counties of «Portucal» and Coimbra, transforming the political framework in León and Castile. After the death of King Fernando I (December 27th, 1065), the kingdom was divided into three autonomous political entities following his will. These new entities were: the kingdom of Castile entrusted to Sancho II; the kingdom of León entrusted to Alfonso VI; the kingdom of Galicia, which included the counties of «Portucal» and Coimbra, entrusted to Garcia II. For the first time since the «Reconquista» had begun, Galicia had a complete political autonomy with an exclusive royal authority. Such a transformation could hardly not have had a deep impact on the society and on the territorial organisation of the Hispanic North West. These new circumstances played an important role in the restoration of the diocese of Braga²¹. We are, therefore, led to the conclusion that it was due to the initiative of King Garcia II that the legal process concerning the restoration of the diocese of Braga was initiated. Under King Sancho II this process quickly ended with the appointment of Pedro as bishop. To understand these events, we always have to consider the political, economic and social developments that were taking place in the area known as Entre Douro e Minho.

²¹ REILLY, 1988: 14-34 and PORTELA SILVA, 2001.

We have briefly exposed the elements that in our opinion better characterise the problem of the restoration of the diocese of Braga. We can observe two different periods: one in which the restoration process seemed impossible, and another in which the whole process was not only feasible, but in a certain way it was also necessary. The most noteworthy aspect of the diocesan reorganisation was how it induced the progressive individualisation of the territories north of the Minho river.

1.4. THE RESTORATION OF THE DIOCESE OF PORTO IN THE NORTH-WESTERN IBERIAN SCENARIO

Once the restoration started, it did not take long until the ancient church of Braga started occupying a central role in the defence of political and ecclesiastical interests of the region. This process was also greatly influenced by the growing importance of the dioceses of León and Castile, which had gained a more significant status after the Council of Coyanza. It is also worth mentioning that the increasing conflicts between prelates and their dioceses ended up reinforcing the churches, which were involved.

In the case of Braga, we also have to consider the rule of the Count of Portugal Henrique (1095/1096-1112) and his wife Teresa of León (1112-1128) in the «Portucalense» County as a decisive factor²². Nowadays it has become very clear to scholars that Henrique and Teresa tried to reproduce the balance and articulation of the policies implemented by the kings of León-Castile. The authority that had been assigned to them by King Alfonso VI was superior to that of the other counts. The extension of their territories, which significantly outsized all the other counties of the kingdom, was a clear sign of Henrique and Teresa's importance. They were royal delegates endowed with special powers. This structure was solid enough to reorganise the local territories and also to resist the ultimate troubled phase of Teresa's rule, but it was not immune and it did not prevent a series of more or less complex conflicts.

The restoration of the diocese of Porto took place during one of those agitated periods following Alfonso VI's death (July 1st, 1109) and that of the Count Henrique (April 24th, 1112). As a matter of fact, in the period that followed the death of the Burgundian count, the county went through a difficult time, being considerably exposed to foreign political and ecclesiastical interests. Although on the one side Teresa had in theory the power, on the other she practically had to demonstrate that she owned the sufficient and necessary skills to occupy such a demanding place. In the meanwhile, the number of disputes between the prelates

²² SOARES, 1989 and AMARAL, BARROCA, 2012.

and the royal powers was growing. These disputes were caused by the tense political and military situation and also by the ecclesiastical tensions, which were mainly driven by the bishop's need to establish the diocese borders and the necessity to clarify the bishop's powers. Similarly to other pontiffs, Braga's new Archbishop Maurice «Bourdin» (1109-1118), who had moved from Coimbra (1099-1108) after Archbishop Geraldo's death (December 5th, 1108), was striving to obtain more benefits for himself and his church, doing his best to overcome the chaotic political *scenario* after Alfonso VI's death²³.

According to the *Historia Compostelana*, Maurice was trying to quickly get close to Diego Gelmírez²⁴, who also saw in this contact an opportunity to extend his local influence. The attempt to put an end to the ongoing dispute over the patrimony that Santiago owned in Braga was itself the pretext. Thus, on September 16th, 1109, just after the reception of the papal privilege accorded by Paschal II, Maurice established the contact with Gelmírez in his new role as canon of Santiago. Diego Gelmírez's greatest achievement was to establish an alliance with Maurice in this phase, which soon proved to be strategically very useful. In the same year (1112), he saw his faithful Archdeacon D. Hugo being appointed to the diocese of Porto (1112/1114-1136) and the treasurer of Santiago, Munio Alfonso, to the diocese of Mondoñedo (1112-1136). On March 23rd, 1113, in the church of S. Salvador de Lérez, near Pontevedra, Maurice consecrated the two new prelates, who immediately rendered him obedience. Bishop D. Hugo quickly gained a reputation as an outstanding political negotiator and manager of his diocese, thereby confirming his impressive *résumé* he had built working with the prelate of Compostela²⁵. However, the local balances were destined to rapidly change. As we will see, Diego Gelmírez's ambitions to reach the archiepiscopal dignity and D. Hugo's territorial policy both troubled the local ecclesiastical *panorama*.

1.5. CONCLUSIONS

Thus, it was in the middle of the intricate circumstances which involved the royalty of León and Castile, that the church of Porto was able to establish itself once and for all. This restoration took place both in the wider transformations occurred in Western Europe in the central centuries of the Middle Ages, and in the very complex north-western Iberian *scenario*. With the beginning of the diocesan reconstruction process, mainly characterised by the definition of new

²³ AMARAL, 2007: 417-447 and RENZI, 2018: 211-235.

²⁴ On the charismatic archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, see PORTELA SILVA, 2016.

²⁵ On D. Hugo of Porto's episcopate, see AMARAL, *dir.*, 2017b and MARIANI, RENZI, 2018, 2019.

territorial limits and the rehabilitation of the bishops' authority, the ancient bishoprics started to be considered as new institutions, strong enough to pressure and influence the other neighbouring powers.

2. BISHOP D. HUGO'S STRUGGLE FOR DIOCESAN FRONTIERS²⁶

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In the first phase of his episcopate, D. Hugo's main target was the confirmation of the diocesan borders. One of the results of his policy of «power territorialisation» was the permanent conflict between D. Hugo and his neighbours in the County of Portugal, i.e., the bishops of Coimbra and Braga. In order to understand and contextualise these local changes in patrimonial and ecclesiastical balances, first it will be very important to highlight the problems concerning the borders of the diocese of Porto, and second to show the difference between the real diocesan frontiers and those D. Hugo claimed all along his pontificate.

2.2. THE EPISCOPAL CONFLICTS FOR THE DIOCESAN BORDERS IN PORTUGAL (12TH CENTURY)

The problems in defining the frontiers between the restored diocese of Porto and its neighbours Braga and Coimbra have been a matter of interest for scholars for several decades²⁷. This specific theme should be studied with peculiar attention towards Portuguese documentary sources, such as the *Censual do Cabido da Sé do Porto*, the *Livro Preto* of the See of Coimbra, the *Liber Fidei* of the See of Braga. Very helpful for this type of research are also Carl Erdmann's papal letters and privileges collection; the papal documents published in the *Patrologia Latina*; and individual papal *Bullaria* like, for example, that of Pope Calixtus II edited by Ulysse Robert. These sources have been used both to carry out a comparative study and to assure, at the same time, the most complete record of all the available material related to this subject.

²⁶ This second part has been written by Andrea Mariani and it is based on his paper (1504-b), *Oporto versus Coimbra and Braga: Bishop Hugo's Struggle for Diocesan Frontiers*, Leeds, IMC, 2018, 05-07-2018.

²⁷ The main studies, directly or indirectly, dealing with this problem are: MANSILLA REOYO, 1955; OLIVEIRA, 1956; MOREIRA, 1971-1990; ARAÚJO, 2002; MARQUES, 2002; SILVA, 2008; CUNHA, 2017; MARIANI, RENZI, 2017, 2018. There are further important and recent works dedicated to the analysis of the castles of the diocese of Porto (or part of it): LIMA, 1993; CARMO, 2016; BARROCA, 2017 and MARIANI, 2018, 2020.

Table 1. Documents concerning the frontier problems between the dioceses of Porto and Braga and Porto and Coimbra

Source	Documents
<i>Papsturkunden in Portugal</i>	14 (1115?), 15, 16 (1116), 18, 19 (1117), 22, 23, 24 (1121), 25 (1124?), 26 (1125), 28 (1135)
<i>Livro Preto</i>	442 (1129), 554 (1129), 593 (1125), 594 (1135), 597 (1117), 598 (1121), 600 (1122), 605 (1116), 606 (1116), 608 (1121), 613 (1128 or 1129), 614 (1116), 624 (1117), 628 (1114), 629 (1116), 631 (1114)
<i>Censual do Cabido da Sé do Porto</i>	pp. 1-3 (1115), pp. 3-6 (1120), pp. 5-6 (1115), p. 6 (1120), p. 7 (1114)
<i>Liber Fidei</i>	554 (1114), 594
<i>Patrologia Latina</i>	Paschal II CDXXXIII (1115), CDXXXV (1115), Calixtus II LXXIX (1120), LXXXIII (1120), LXXXV (1120), CCXL (1119-1124)

In the first table, there are all the documents concerning the frontier problems that we could find so far. As it is possible to observe, the relation between Porto and Coimbra seems to be the most documented. We will propose, far ahead, a hypothesis to explain the lack of (or the very few) sources on the conflicts between Porto and Braga. The second table contains some of the documents we previously introduced, with dates and a description of their content.

Probably, D. Hugo is designated the first bishop of the restored diocese of Porto by the end of 1112, while Maurice the archbishop of Braga consecrated him on March 23rd of the following year, as we have previously seen²⁸. Nevertheless, D. Hugo effectively started his episcopal office in Porto only in 1114. In the month of December of that year, to reinforce his position against archbishop, and primate of *Hispania* since 1088, Bernard of Sauvetat²⁹ and the other north-western Iberian episcopates, Archbishop of Braga Maurice «Bourdin» obtained from Paschal II the confirmation of Braga's diocesan borders, as they were at the time of the Suebian King Miro in the final decades of the 6th century³⁰. As we have previously observed, D. Hugo was a man of Diego Gelmírez, the bishop of Compostela who claimed to reach the archiepiscopal dignity, taking the place of Braga as the most important diocese in the north-western Iberian Peninsula³¹.

The claims of the See of Santiago de Compostela represented a significant challenge in the local ecclesiastical area and Maurice's fears were more than justified. In November 1114, in fact, the bishop of Compostela convoked a synod in Santiago (in the name of the archbishop of Toledo, Bernard) attended by the Galician bishops of Lugo, Tuy, Mondoñedo, Orense and the «Portuguese» bishop

²⁸ COSTA *et al.*, ed., 2017: II, doc. 589.

²⁹ Toledo and Braga were fighting for the control of the bishopric of León, see RIVERA RECIO, 1962: 76-81.

³⁰ COSTA *et al.*, ed., 2017: II, doc. 554.

³¹ FLETCHER, 1984: 202. See also PORTELA SILVA, 2016: 46-56. Gelmírez obtained the title of archbishop in 1120.

Table 2. Selected documents from Table 1, with dates and a short description of their content

Source	Date	Regestum
<i>Livro Preto</i> 631	November 17 th , 1114 Compostela	The bishop of Compostela convokes a synod during which the present bishops signed a pact of «brotherhood». They invited the bishop of Coimbra, Gonçalo, to join their agreement.
<i>Liber Fidei</i> 554	December 4 th , 1114	<i>Bulla Sicut Iniusta</i> : Paschal II confirms Braga's frontiers, as they had been established by the Suebian King of Galicia Miro.
<i>Censual do Cabido da Sé do Porto</i> : p. 7 <i>Livro Preto</i> 628	December 30 th , 1114	Gonçalo and D. Hugo join an agreement establishing the Douro river as the border between their bishoprics.
<i>Censual do Cabido da Sé do Porto</i> : pp. 1-3 <i>Patrologia Latina</i> 163 Paschal II CDXXXIII	August 15 th , 1115 Benevento	<i>Bulla Egregias quondam</i> : Pope Paschal II confirms the borders of the diocese of Porto and gives D. Hugo of Porto the exemption from the metropolitan Authority of Braga. This decision will last until 1119-1124 following PL 163 Calixtus II CCXL
<i>Censual do Cabido da Sé do Porto</i> : pp. 5-6. <i>Papsturkunden in Portugal</i> 14	August 20 th , 1115	Pope Paschal II orders Gonçalo of Coimbra to give back the lands he usurped to D. Hugo of Porto.
<i>Papsturkunden in Portugal</i> 15 <i>Livro Preto</i> 606	April 12 th , 1116 Alba	<i>Bulla Apostolicae Sedis</i> : Pope Paschal II puts the vacant See of Lamego under D. Hugo of Porto's authority.
<i>Papsturkunden in Portugal</i> 16 <i>Livro Preto</i> 605, 614, 629	June 18 th , 1116 Palliano	<i>Bulla Fratrum Nostrorum</i> : Pope Paschal II annuls the <i>Bulla Apostolicae Sedis</i> .
<i>Papsturkunden in Portugal</i> 19 <i>Livro Preto</i> 597	February 24 th , 1117 Burgos	Cardinal Boso establishes the Douro river as the border between Porto and Coimbra. Porto must return Lamego to Coimbra.
<i>Censual do Cabido da Sé do Porto</i> : pp. 3-5 <i>Patrologia Latina</i> 163 Calixtus II LXXXIII	March 2 nd , 1120 Valencia	<i>Bulla Officii Mei</i> : Pope Calixtus II confirms both the borders of the diocese of Porto and all its possession, including monasteries.
<i>Censual do Cabido da Sé do Porto</i> : p. 6 <i>Patrologia Latina</i> 163 Calixtus II LXXXV	March 5 th , 1120 Beuris (Viviers)	Pope Calixtus II orders Paio of Braga to re-establish the borders of the diocese of Porto following the disposition of the council of Burgos (1117).
<i>Papsturkunden in Portugal</i> 23 <i>Livro Preto</i> 598	August 25 th , 1121 Sahagún	Cardinal Boso confirms the disposition of the council of Burgos (1117) concerning the borders between Porto and Coimbra, after consulting both bishops.
<i>Livro Preto</i> 600	April 5 th , 1122	The friendship pact between Gonçalo of Coimbra and D. Hugo of Porto is signed in the presence of Queen Teresa and her Barons.
<i>Papsturkunden in Portugal</i> 26 <i>Livro Preto</i> 593	February 1 st , 1125 Lateran	<i>Bulla Aequitatis et Iustitiae</i> : Honorius II put the diocese of Coimbra under the Apostolic Protection; he confirms the possession of Coimbra, including the administration of the bishopric of Lamego and Viseu; finally, he orders to respect the borders with Porto as established during the Council of Burgos of 1117.
<i>Papsturkunden in Portugal</i> 28 <i>Livro Preto</i> 594	May 26 th , 1135 Pisa	<i>Bulla Officii Nostri</i> : Innocent II confirms the privileges of the <i>Bulla Aequitatis et Iustitiae</i> .

of Porto, in which they signed a pact of «brotherhood» («confraternitate eciam inter nos fecimus») and they invited the bishop of Coimbra, Gonçalo, to join their agreement and solve the frontier problems with Porto³². Moreover, on December 30th, 1114, Bishops Gonçalo and D. Hugo signed an additional pact on their diocesan frontiers³³. By those moves, Diego Gelmírez was able to both consolidate his position and temporarily isolate the Archbishop of Braga Maurice «Bourdin» in his own ecclesiastical province³⁴.

After these first events, and probably being already in Rome on a mission on behalf of Diego Gelmírez³⁵, D. Hugo obtained a first privilege of huge importance from the pope. With the *bull* *Egregias Quondam* Pope Paschal II confirmed the borders of the diocese of Porto and accorded Bishop D. Hugo the exemption from the metropolitan authority of Braga³⁶. This exemption will last until 1121³⁷. This *bull* was a first success of D. Hugo of Porto in his attempt both to establish the borders in which he would have exercised his own authority and, simultaneously, to widen it. A few months earlier, in fact, D. Hugo and Gonçalo of Coimbra had mutually established the Douro river as the border between their dioceses³⁸. By Paschal's privilege, D. Hugo obtained a larger southern area, including approximately the territories between the Douro and Antuã rivers, until the ocean in the nearby of the modern city of Aveiro seventy kilometres south of Porto³⁹.

After this first initial success, D. Hugo dared further with the *bull* *Apostolicae Sedis*, accorded in April 1116⁴⁰. He obtained the control over the not so long-ago restored diocese of Lamego, traditionally under the influence of Coimbra. However, two months after, on June 18th, 1116, Paschal II revoked his decision because of the protests of the bishop of Coimbra⁴¹. What was the reason for Paschal II's choice? From north-western Iberian Peninsula to Rome and back, the journey lasted approximately four months⁴² and the cost of travels and privileges

32 OLIVEIRA, 1956: 33 and CUNHA, 2013: 138; ERDMANN, 1935: doc. 1; RODRIGUES, COSTA, eds., 1999: doc. 631.

33 It is very interesting to notice that in the version contained in the Censual D. Hugo reserved for himself the control of all the churches pertaining to Porto even south of Douro. GRAVE, ed., 1924: 7; RODRIGUES, COSTA, eds., 1999: doc. 628. See also CUNHA, 2013: 137-139, 141-144 and CUNHA, 2017: 154; MARIANI, RENZI, 2018.

34 Maurice in that period was in Rome to defend his position before Pope Paschal II, who had suspended him after the accusation of usurping the bishopric of León from the archbishop of Toledo, see DAVID, 1947: 460-463. The Douro river was established as the border between their bishoprics. On the ecclesiastical province of Braga see ROMERO PORTILLA, 2006: 251. Until the 14th century, Braga had all the Galician bishoprics, except Compostela, under its jurisdiction.

35 OLIVEIRA, 1956: 34.

36 GRAVE, ed., 1924: 1-3; MIGNE, ed., 1854: CLXIII, ep. CDXXXIII; MARIANI, RENZI, 2018.

37 MANSILLA REOYO, 1955: 139; MARIANI, RENZI, 2017.

38 GRAVE, ed., 1924: 7; RODRIGUES, COSTA, eds., 1999: doc. 628.

39 GRAVE, ed., 1924: 1-3; MIGNE, 1854: CLXIII, ep. CDXXXIII. On the two different versions of this agreement see CUNHA, 2013: 139. See also MARIANI, RENZI, 2018.

40 ERDMANN, 1927: doc. 15; RODRIGUES, COSTA, eds., 1999: doc. 606.

41 ERDMANN, 1927: doc. 16; RODRIGUES, COSTA, eds., 1999: docs. 605, 614, 629. See also MARIANI, RENZI, 2017: 95-96.

42 CHERUBINI, 2000: 560.

was very high⁴³. Therefore, if the second document is two months later than the privilege in favour of D. Hugo, it means that the pope changed his position while D. Hugo was travelling back to Portugal, or even while D. Hugo was still in Rome. The circumstances are unclear. With the data we dispose, Paschal II's decision seems not so clear. Perhaps this choice might not be surprising, if one thinks that it was not the first time the pope reversed a sentence or a decision in his ecclesiastical career since he was a cardinal, like in the case of the diocese of Compostela at the end of the 11th century⁴⁴.

We must not exclude the fact that the papacy pursued a sort of strategy of *divide et impera*. Paschal II was plausibly chasing a political goal. The pope and his cardinals knew reasonably well the Galician-Portuguese situation and more in general the Iberian political and ecclesiastical *panorama*, for example cardinal-legate Boso of Santa Anastasia had already entered in contact with the Iberian reality at that time⁴⁵, and the documents were temporally close to each other⁴⁶. These elements suggest that it is difficult that a poor knowledge of the Iberian affairs pushed Paschal II to make his decisions. By according and revoking privileges or opening new conflicts, Rome could strengthen its Primacy. D. Hugo now had to ask the pope for a new privilege; in this way he was certifying the authority and the right of the bishop of Rome to intervene in local issues to solve conflicts between episcopates or in a single diocese⁴⁷.

This strategy, connected to the process of affirmation of the Roman primacy, is particularly evident in Portuguese sources, in which the language of the bishops of Rome reflected the conception of their role and its ecclesiastical political objectives⁴⁸. In any case, this language should be read very carefully by scholars, because in many cases, it represents the ambitions and the aspirations of the Papacy, rather than the popes' concrete means of intervention in the central centuries of the Middle Ages⁴⁹.

2.3. CARDINAL-LEGATE BOSO'S INTERVENTION (1117)

The situation for D. Hugo seriously worsened a few months later, during the Council of Burgos (February 18th, 1117), presided by cardinal-legate Boso of Santa Anastasia⁵⁰. A few days later, on February 24th, 1117, Boso himself ordered

⁴³ FLETCHER, 1978: 213.

⁴⁴ CANTARELLA, 1997: 9; MARIANI, RENZI, 2017.

⁴⁵ ZAFARANA, 1971.

⁴⁶ MARIANI, RENZI, 2017: 96.

⁴⁷ CANTARELLA, 2005: 65-74 and CARIBONI, 2003: 65-108; BRANCO, 2011.

⁴⁸ MARIANI, RENZI, 2017: 98-100.

⁴⁹ MACCARRONE, 1995: 168-169; MARIANI, RENZI, 2017.

⁵⁰ ZAFARANA, 1971. On the Council of Burgos see also: RODRIGUES, COSTA, eds., 1999: doc. 624 and FITA, 1906: 387-407.

Bishop D. Hugo and Bishop Gonçalo to solve their conflicts⁵¹. D. Hugo had to return the diocese of Lamego to Coimbra and the border between the two dioceses would go back to the Douro river. The Cardinal of Santa Anastasia accorded to the See of Porto only some specific properties legitimately acquired south of the border. In this way, D. Hugo lost what he had apparently gained with the aforementioned *bull*a of 1115, the *Egregias Quondam*.

The decisions that took place during the Council of Burgos had important consequences in D. Hugo's struggle for the diocesan boundaries. In 1120, the bishop of Porto tried again to recover his position of 1115 and he obtained from Pope Calixtus II a new privilege that confirmed the borders until the Antuã river⁵². Once again D. Hugo attempted to change the local patrimonial balances based on the reference to ecclesiastical geography of 6th-7th centuries, before the Muslim invasion of 711 — a geography defined by the so-called *Parochiale Suevorum*, a very controversial document⁵³ —, which still constituted a source of legitimation for the Portuguese bishops in the 12th century⁵⁴. Moreover, Calixtus II's privilege accorded D. Hugo the jurisdiction over twenty-four monasteries and two churches⁵⁵. However, the analysis of the content of this papal *bull*a shows how several monasteries mentioned in the document could not be under D. Hugo's authority, because they were clearly outside of the diocesan borders or because they belonged to the archdiocese of Braga⁵⁶.

The privilege altered the situation especially in the southern border. The new frontier offered D. Hugo, and eventually his successors, the opportunity to claim their authority even over all the monasteries in the lands confirmed by Calixtus II. Therefore, these papal privileges were not a reliable representation of the territory, but a «territorial projection» of D. Hugo's interests and policy. This privilege represents one of the last D. Hugo's victories together with the Calixtus II's decisions against Braga. In the same year, 1120, probably a few days later after the *bull*a *Officii Mei*, Pope Calixtus II orders Paio Mendes, archbishop of Braga, to re-establish the borders of the dioceses of Porto, following the disposition of the

⁵¹ ERDMANN; 1927: doc. 19; RODRIGUES, COSTA, eds., 1999: doc. 597.

⁵² GRAVE, ed., 1924: 3-5; MIGNE, ed., 1854: CLXIII, ep. LXXXIII.

⁵³ On the *Parochiale Suevorum* controversies see: RENZI, MARIANI, 2020: 92-97.

⁵⁴ LÓPEZ ALSINA, 2013: 105-132.

⁵⁵ GRAVE, ed., 1924: 4: «Ecclesia sancti Iacobi de Custodijs cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus. Quintanam ejusdem villae cum pertinentijs suis Monasterium de Ruiuo tinto ecclesiam Ulvar [...] infra quos fines hic perhibentur monasteria continerj Monasterium santi tirsi de ripa, Monasterium de Burguaes, Monasterium de Roderitis, Monasterium de Vilarinho Monasterium de Palunbario, De antinj, De Arnoio, De vila cova, De Telonis, De frauxino, De Mancelis, De Santio, De Riali, De Varzio De villa nova episcopi, Monasterium de palaciolo, Monasterium santi Iohannis, Monasterium Anxedi, De suilanis, De inter ambos rruuos De Baucis, De Citoffeita, De Aquis santis, De Macanarijs, De Lecia, De uairano, Santae Marinae de Portu dorii, De Petrosso. Haec igitur et alia omnia monasteria vel ecclesiae quae infra predictos fines continentur apostolica auctoritate precipimus ut supradictae portugalesis ecclesiae obedientiam debitam iustitiamque persoluant». See also MARIANI, RENZI, 2018.

⁵⁶ MARQUES, 2002: 30-31 and MARIANI, RENZI, 2018.

Council of Burgos (1117)⁵⁷. This time the decisions taken at the Council of Burgos succoured Bishop D. Hugo. In the northern border, the territorial disputes were all in his favour and we do not find in the episcopal sources any clear proof or sign of a reaction from Braga to the claims of Porto.

Which was the reason why the Apostolic See supported Porto against Braga? There are, at least, two possible answers. First, D. Hugo, as we have seen, was a man of Diego Gelmírez, who was very close to Calixtus II. The pope, in fact, accorded the archiepiscopal dignity to the See of Compostela, by the transfer of the ancient rights of Mérida to the Galician diocese⁵⁸. The archbishop of Braga had very bad relations with Diego Gelmírez in the same years. In the *Historia Compostelana*, for example, Paio is severely attacked being called «idiot» and accused of illegally detaining some properties belonging to the See of Santiago. This very active policy led by the archbishop of Braga was a problem for Gelmírez and his allies and probably Calixtus II intervened to defend and support his most trusted men in the north-western Iberian Peninsula⁵⁹.

Second, we must remember that the predecessor of Paio Mendes, Maurice «Bourdin», had been antipope (Gregory VIII, 1118-1121), in opposition to Gelasius II and the same Calixtus II. This could suggest that in 1120 the relation between Braga and Rome was still very delicate⁶⁰. This is not a minor detail, if we think that in the 13th century Toledo, sources still referred Maurice «Bourdin»'s story to neutralise Braga's primatial claim on the *Hispania*⁶¹. However, the borders indicated in the Paschal II's privilege have only a theoretical validity, since — as underlined by José Marques and Maria Cristina Cunha —, the archbishops of Braga do not seem to lose or to renounce to their jurisdiction over those territories⁶². Therefore, it will be difficult to trace the concrete boundaries between the two dioceses: the results of the scholars who studied these territories, like Moreira and Oliveira, do not even coincide between them⁶³.

In the clash with Coimbra, we saw how D. Hugo's victories have been temporary: the decisions of the cardinal-legate Boso seem to have been an overwhelming obstacle for the bishop of Porto during his episcopate. The Bishops of Coimbra, Gonçalo and Bernard, always tried to deny the access to this area to the bishops of

⁵⁷ GRAVE, *ed.*, 1924: 6; MIGNE, *ed.*, 1854: CLXIII, ep. LXXXV (March 5th 1120). I dated the privilege of Calixtus II to the 2nd of March 1120, according to MIGNE, *ed.*, 1854: CLXIII, ep. LXXXIII. See also ROBERT, 1979: docs. 150 and 152.

⁵⁸ LÓPEZ ALSINA, 2015: 50, 78 and ROMERO PORTILLA, 2014: 853.

⁵⁹ MARIANI, RENZI, 2017: 97; FALQUE REY, *ed.*, 1988: Lib. I, cap. CXVII, 197. On Paio Mendes see AMARAL, 1999.

⁶⁰ FLETCHER, 1984: 203; MARIANI, RENZI, 2017: 97; MIGNE, *ed.*, 1854: CLXIII, ep. LXXIX. On Maurice «Bourdin» see ERDMANN, 1935: 13-71; DAVID, 1947: 441-501; SCHREINER, 1989: 156-202; STROLL, 2004: 52-57 and 329-332; VELOSO, 2006: 125-135 and RENZI, 2018: 211-235.

⁶¹ HENRIET, 2004: 291-318.

⁶² MARQUES, 2002: 30-31 and CUNHA, 2017: 155.

⁶³ The first author carried out impressive research on published and unpublished sources (MOREIRA, 1971-1990), while the second one based his work on papal privileges (OLIVEIRA, 1956).

Porto. It is not a coincidence that in 1121, 1125 and 1135 the bishops of Coimbra asked and obtained the papal confirmation of the disposition against Porto taken at the Council of Burgos of 1117⁶⁴.

2.4. BORDERS AND FORTIFICATIONS: A HYPOTHESIS OF INTERPRETATION

Finally, we deal with the possible correlation between borders and fortifications. It would seem normal to think about towers and castles built to defend the borders. However, this does not seem to be the case of the diocese of Porto. Currently, there are about fifty defensive elements testified to have been active during D. Hugo's pontificate (1112-1136), in the territory he claimed as part of his diocese. This claim was based on the aforementioned papal privileges of 1115 and 1120. In its majority, this territory corresponds to the current area of the diocese of Porto. At least half of those castles survived the first bishop of the restored diocese of Porto⁶⁵. This number could be underestimated, because any consultation of unpublished documentation could increase this list⁶⁶. In 1120, *Regina* Teresa accorded D. Hugo the «Couto» over the borough of Porto⁶⁷. This means that in the area delimited by Teresa's privilege, D. Hugo was the landlord of the only borough of the diocese mentioned in the sources we analysed so far and he could administrate justice. It is very interesting to notice the fact that under D. Hugo's jurisdiction, there was only one castle (*Castro Luneta*) existing from at least 1072, but which apparently disappeared in documents after 1138⁶⁸. This element could suggest that *Castro Luneta* had much older origins: we could even hypothesise — or at least not exclude — its origin in the second Iron Age. *Castro Luneta* might be an example of the so-called *castros* belonging to the *Cultura Castreja*⁶⁹.

On the one hand, we cannot exclude that, already at the time of D. Hugo, this defensive element had lost its military/defensive function, because, among the possible explanations, the territory of Porto since the last attack moved by Almanzor (†1002) had not been involved in military operations, aside occasional Viking attacks in the first decades of the 11th century. On the other hand, in the 1120 document, we read: «et castro quod a vulgo dicitur Luneta cum omnibus pertinencijs suis» which seems to indicate a still active structure. This situation is

⁶⁴ ERDMANN, 1927: docs. 23, 26 and 28; RODRIGUES, COSTA, eds., 1999: docs. 593, 594 and 598.

⁶⁵ MARIANI, 2020: *passim* and, among others: ALMEIDA, 1978; BARROCA, 1991, 2017; LIMA 1993; CARMO, 2016; MARIANI, 2018.

⁶⁶ The archive research carried out in January 2018 in the Torre do Tombo Archive in Lisbon (Portuguese National Archive), however, seems to confirm the numbers proposed above.

⁶⁷ AZEVEDO, 1958: doc. 53. On the Countess-Queen Teresa, see AMARAL, BARROCA, 2012.

⁶⁸ *Diplomata et Chartae*: doc. 500; AZEVEDO: 1958: doc. 165. On *Castro Luneta* see MARIANI, 2020: 249-250.

⁶⁹ On the *Cultura Castreja* see, among others, SILVA, 1986.

quite peculiar because it differs, for example, from other European realities where bishops, archbishops, but also monasteries were owners of castles. These castles should be considered like a concrete expression of the landlords' power in the territory they controlled. These castles were, basically, fortified points used to protect landlords' properties⁷⁰. Initially built also by the rural communities as their last stronghold, the other castles of the age of D. Hugo belonged to the local aristocracy⁷¹. Some among them became the so-called «Cabeça de Terra»; the headquarters of the *Terras*, the territorial administrative units developed in the County of Portugal from the middle of the 11th century, under the reign of the King of León-Castile Fernando I⁷².

2.5. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, we have showed how the privileges granted by Rome do not represent the local reality, but they reflect the political objectives of both popes and bishops. The Portuguese sources also illustrate another extremely interesting hint: the very close relation between Porto and Rome since the restoration of the diocese at the beginning of the 12th century. This should encourage scholars to reconsider the history both of the diocese from an international and comparative perspective with the history of the papacy and other local European Churches⁷³.

3. THE BIRTH OF A CHANCERY: THE ROLE OF BISHOP D. HUGO IN THE DIOCESE OF PORTO⁷⁴

3.1. INTRODUCTION

When D. Hugo arrived in Porto, he found it necessary to restore his diocese to organise the territory, administrate rights and possessions, (re-)establish relations with neighbouring dioceses and with the Pontifical Curia. But to carry out all these tasks writing became essential. On this account, a service in charge of producing documents, that is, an episcopal chancery was quickly born. For this reason, it is very important to present the formularies, the scribes and the handwriting that characterised the acts produced during the twenty-four years of D. Hugo's episcopate.

⁷⁰ For the case of the north area of Milan see: MARIANI, 2015, 2017, 2020: *passim*.

⁷¹ On the northern Portuguese aristocracy see, among others: MATTOSO, 1982 and SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, 2014.

⁷² BARROCA, 1991: 91-92, 115-126. For some examples of *Cabeça de Terra* castles see MARIANI, 2021.

⁷³ MARIANI, RENZI, 2017: 103.

⁷⁴ This third part has been written by Maria João Oliveira e Silva and it is based on her paper (1504-c), *The Birth of a Chancery: The Role of Bishop Hugo in the Diocese of Porto*, Leeds, IMC, 2018, 05-07-2018.

3.2. THE DOCUMENTS OF THE CHANCERY OF BISHOP D. HUGO

The first known document, which we considered to have been produced at the episcopal chancery, dates from 11 September 1116, and it establishes the resignation of D. Hugo to the privilege of *parada* (or *jantar*) of the Porto's Cathedral in the monastery of Paço de Sousa in exchange for three inheritances⁷⁵. The original of this document was not preserved, but the canon and diplomatist João Pedro Ribeiro (1758-1839) consulted it when it was still kept in the archive of that monastery⁷⁶. Its formulary, that is, the set of formulas and clauses, essential and secondary to the *dictamen* of the document, constitutes the first documentary model of the Porto chancery.

By that document we know that it starts with an invocation. Of Christian tradition, this formula became common practice in the texts throughout the Middle Ages although it was not essential to the *dictamen*. As many of the documents were read publicly, the verbal invocation attracted the attention of the hearers and reinforced its importance because it was in the name and under the protection of the Lord that it was spoken⁷⁷. In the concrete case the document and the action contained therein were placed under the protection of the Holy Trinity: «In nomine Sancte et Individue Trinitatis Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti Amen». The Trinitarian invocation is «the richest in both the vocabulary and style, and the number of divine persons invoked... the Holy and Indivisible Trinity with the expression of the divine persons: the name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit»⁷⁸. This *invocatio* was used systematically during the episcopate of D. Hugo, remaining hegemonic until 1154.

Next is the subscription, that is, the clause that discloses the name of the author of the document and its title⁷⁹. As for the *intitulatio*, it is the formula that specifies the titles and qualities (actual or desired) of the author of the written document, eventually accompanied by an indication of the origin or nature of the power exercised, or a formula of devotion or humility⁸⁰. In the case of the 1116 exchange, D. Hugo subscribes as «ecclesie Portugallensis (*sic*) episcopus», preceding the title with the formula of humility *gratia Dei*, thus indicating the divine foundation of his prelacy⁸¹.

⁷⁵ BUC. Ms.703, pp. 1-2; AZEVEDO, 1980: doc. 20.

⁷⁶ João Pedro Ribeiro says that the archival quota for this document was Gaveta 1ª, Maç. 1º, Nº 13.

⁷⁷ We will not dwell on the history of invocation by referring to works that speak of it, for example, GUYOTJEANNIN *et al.*, 1993: 72; CHENEY, 1950: 60-61; SANTOS, 1990: 1443-1444; CUNHA, 2005: 306-310; GOMES, 2007: 727-728; NICOLAJ, 2007: 94.

⁷⁸ SANTOS, 1990: 1446.

⁷⁹ CÁRCEL ORTÍ, *dir.*, 1994: n.º 187.

⁸⁰ CÁRCEL ORTÍ, *dir.*, 1994: n.º 189.

⁸¹ GUYOTJEANNIN *et al.*, 1993: 73. A similar definition can be found in CÁRCEL ORTÍ, *dir.*, 1994: n.º 190.

Another clause typical of the instruments produced in D. Hugo's episcopate is the greeting «In Domino Deo eternam salutem»⁸². As can be seen, through this salutation, the author of the action expresses to the addressee his greeting or his vows⁸³, but the most striking formula of D. Hugo's documents is certainly the preamble. The preamble is the part of the text by which it is generally justified by legal, religious, moral or just convenience, not revealing in it the real causes that led to the preparation of the document⁸⁴. This clause thus assumes the role of *benevolentiae captatio*, of catechetical or pedagogical «object»⁸⁵, and even propaganda vehicle of political and religious ideas. It gained literary expression and conceptual content but lost in frequency: it ceased to be a «mandatory» formula being used only in certain documentary typology, usually of a more solemn character⁸⁶.

There are several types of preambles⁸⁷, but those of D. Hugo are all of memory, that is, they talk about the importance of writing as guarantor of the perpetuity of legal acts, as opposed to the fragile human memory that in time turns the agreed upon uncertain and doubtful. These preambles appear for the first time on April 18th, 1120⁸⁸, and they say: «By the authority of the Holy Fathers, we are warned that everything we want to be firm and stable in writing we commend it to the memory of the present and the future ones».

The sanction is another typical formula of the documents of the chancery of D. Hugo. Its purpose was to try to ensure the execution, validity and perpetuity of the act by enumerating negative sanctions, translated into threats of penalties for offenders, or of positive sanctions, constituted in promises of reward for the abiding. None of the documents analysed has this last type of *sanctio*, but, on the contrary, there is a high presence of acts with temporal and spiritual punishments for transgressors. In the case of the exchange of 1116, the temporal penalty is reduced to the payment of five hundred «soldos» (a monetary unit).

The offender(s) should also pay the costs resulting from a possible judicial process, that is, the *iudicatum*. We also have the canonical penalties of separation

⁸² For example, in the following documents GRAVE, *ed.*, 1924: 156-157 (1119.09.23); AZEVEDO, 1980: doc. 104, and GRAVE, *ed.*, 1924: 160-161 (1131.08.31).

⁸³ CÁRCEL ORTÍ, *dir.*, 1994: n.º 194.

⁸⁴ CÁRCEL ORTÍ, *dir.*, 1994: n.º 196. A similar definition can be found in GUYOTJEANNIN *et al.*, 1993: 76 and LASALA, RABIKAUŠKAS, 2003: 53.

⁸⁵ As Maria José Azevedo Santos points out: «Dozens of harangues [from private documents dated between 773(?) and 1123], some of a more formulatory, repetitive type, others more unusual and erudite, they all seem, however, to pursue a pedagogical objective. We believe, however, that only a reduced social stratum of the High Middle Ages would have access to the symbolic, allegorical, and typological thinking of that clause. The social strata to which a great number of those who wrote or engraved them belonged — the clergy — which may lead us to conclude that the preamble is, for the most part, a message, essentially esoteric» (SANTOS, 1992: 320).

⁸⁶ GUYOTJEANNIN *et al.*, 1993: 76; LAFFÓN ÁLVAREZ, 1989: 146.

⁸⁷ They may be legal (or legally based) or non-legal, namely biblical, moral (or ethical), of memory (or diplomatic), or obligation.

⁸⁸ AZEVEDO, 1962: doc. 53.

of the Church and the deprivation of the Body and Blood of Christ («a liminibus Sancte Ecclesie seu Corpore et Sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit alienus»), and the eternal curses of having part with the Devil and Judas traitor («et cum Diabolo vel Juda traditore sit particeps»). In the documents of D. Hugo, the eternal curses of condemnation in the Last Judgment⁸⁹, the anathema⁹⁰ and the descent into Hell⁹¹ also appear. Although it was not an essential clause, the dating appears in most of the documents. As in the case of the exchange, it mainly arises in the form of day/month/year through the Roman retrograde count of the *nonas*, *idos* and *kalendas*⁹², but it may contain other elements. And, in fact, it was during the government of D. Hugo that the most complete dates appeared, with references to the year of the episcopate, to the epact⁹³ and the indiction⁹⁴, which reveal the bishop's taste for the forms of papal dating.

Finally, in the *corroboratio* the grantors confirmed that the *conscriptio* agreed with the *actio*. In the example of the 1116 exchange, this formula was announced through the expression «Ego Ugo [...] hanc cartulam propriis manibus roboro». In his copy, João Pedro Ribeiro points out the presence of a cross between the first two letters of the word *roboro*. This document was also validated by enumerating confirmers («Ego Helias monachus eiusdem Sancte Sedis Portugalensis confirmo, Ego Gonsalvus Ermigiz archidiaconus confirmo, Ego Petrus Garcia archidiaconus confirmo, Ego Monio Garcia archidiaconus confirmo») all aligned, also according to João Pedro Ribeiro, in a first column. It was also validated by fictitious *testes*, that is, by figurative witnesses («Martinus testis, Gonsalvus testis and Petrus») in a second column, and by «eyewitnesses» — as the expression *qui vidit* indicates, listed in a third column («Fagildus monachus qui vidit, Pelagius monachus qui vidit, Rodericus monachus qui vidit»). This document, which is an absolutely exceptional case, was also validated through the signatures of the respective dictator («Fernandus abbas fecit») and notator («Sisnandus monachus scripsit»), that is, the formal author and the material author of the document, and the subscription of the grantor, the Bishop D. Hugo («Hugo Portugalensis Episcopus»).

⁸⁹ In documents from: GRAVE, *ed.*, 1924: 42 (1123.01.10), 43-44 (1123.06.12) and 230-231 (1141.12).

⁹⁰ In documents dated from: GRAVE, *ed.*, 1924: 161-162 (1122.06.02), 233-234 (1144.08); ADP. *Cartório do Cabido, Livros dos Originais*, 1672, fl.41 (1147.04.01) and GRAVE, *ed.*, 1924: 384-385 (1158).

⁹¹ In a document from: GRAVE, *ed.*, 1924: 167 (1137.01.03).

⁹² SARAIVA, 1943: 25-220. The same reality was observed in other Hispanic chanceries, see, MORUJÃO, 2010: 614-615; CÁRCEL ORTÍ, 1995: 402; PUEYO COLOMINA, 1995: 423.

⁹³ The epact is «un chiffre qui indique au 22 mars (premier terme pascal) l'âge de la lune, c'est-à-dire le nombre de jours qui se sont écoulés depuis la nouvelle lune» (CÁRCEL ORTÍ, *dir.*, 1994: n.º 640).

⁹⁴ The Roman or pontifical indiction starts on December 25th and coincides with the *stilus Nativitatis* that starts the year on Christmas Day (CÁRCEL ORTÍ, *dir.*, 1994: n.º 582 and n.º 596).

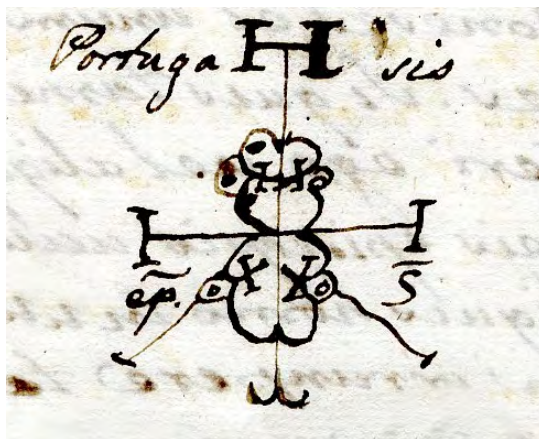


Fig. 1. Figured copy of João Pedro Ribeiro from the autographic signature of D. Hugo

Source: Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra, ms. 703, p. 2

3.3. THE NOTARIES AND THE HANDWRITING OF THE CHANCERY OF BISHOP D. HUGO

In order to this and other documents of the chancery to be produced, it was necessary to create a set of scribes. Of many of these men we know only the name and the ecclesiastical title. We would like to know their handwriting, but the oldest original that is preserved dates from March 1143⁹⁵. Therefore, it is impossible to analyse the evolution of the handwriting in the Episcopal chancery over a period of about thirty years. In a purely theoretical exercise, we may suspect that D. Hugo, who came from the diocese of Santiago de Compostela, where he was archdeacon⁹⁶, had «brought» the handwriting that was used there⁹⁷. In fact, since the last quarter of the 11th century, Compostela represented «a bastion and an outpost of French trends, encouraged by Cluny»⁹⁸. This situation was the result of the influence of masters, monks and artists from France, from where D. Hugo himself came as we have previously observed⁹⁹. Therefore, and unlike other Galician institutions, in the *scriptorium* of Compostela the transition from the Visigothic handwriting to the Caroline style was fast and was already complete in the early twelfth century¹⁰⁰,

⁹⁵ ADP. *Cartório do Cabido, Livros dos Originais*, 1688, fl. 22.

⁹⁶ We recall that D. Hugo was the editor of the *pío latrocinio* narrated in the *Historia Compostelana*, starred by the archbishop of Compostela Diego Gelmírez in November 1102. About this text see AMARAL, *coord.*, 2014.

⁹⁷ Some formulas of the *dictamen* of documents produced during his episcopate, such as the preamble and the dating, reveal not only the cultural formation of this bishop as well as some pontifical influences also reflected in the *scriptorium* of Compostela in the time of Diego Gelmírez (SILVA, 2008: 115-116 and 129).

⁹⁸ DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, 1983: 466, n.º 360.

⁹⁹ See note n.º 2 in this work.

¹⁰⁰ LUCAS ÁLVAREZ, 1991: 441-445.

a period that coincides with the coming of D. Hugo to Porto, most likely accompanied by clergymen who formed his episcopal house, among them scribes.

Thus, we do not find it difficult to accept that in Porto those scribes used, from the very beginning, the Caroline handwriting, although it cannot be ruled out that the Visigothic type was still present, among others, in some monasteries of the diocese of Porto¹⁰¹. Regardless the type of handwriting they used, we know that during the episcopate of D. Hugo a group of at least eight scribes worked in the chancery, and that most of whom added an ecclesiastical title to their name, among them two presbyters and two deacons. From their work, as we have said, no original survived, but only a total of 19 copies, out of which 11 gifts. The predominance of this type of document, during this episcopate, is not strange, since D. Hugo had just restored the See, and it was natural that it received possessions and privileges from both the monarchs and individuals, and it was up to the *scriptorium* of the Cathedral to write them.

3.4. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the Porto chancery during the episcopate of D. Hugo shows that the documents produced may not have emerged directly from the bishop's hand, and we know for sure that he could write, but they are the result of his culture and intellectual formation. In fact, as we had the opportunity to study the episcopal *scriptorium*, from this episcopate until the beginning of the 15th century, we have seen that the documents of this period are very different from those that followed, since many of them include erudite formulas which then were rarely, if ever used. In particular, the Trinitarian invocation, the greeting, the preamble and the dating, in this case through elements used in the pontifical chancery, such as the epact and the indiction. Therefore, the formularies of the documents of D. Hugo are unique and the «image» of the bishop who gave birth to the episcopal chancery of Porto.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, we think we decently showed how the figure of Bishop D. Hugo and the restoration of the See of Porto are very important «keys» to better understand the evolution and the transformation of the Iberian world in central centuries of

¹⁰¹ In the monasteries of Pendorada, Vairão, Rio Tinto, Moreira and Pendorada, in the decades of 1110-1119 and 1120-1129, the handwriting used was, mostly, the Visigothic of transition, still existing, however, examples of semi-cursive Visigothic (in Pendorada and Vairão) and round Visigothic (in Pendorada, Rio Tinto and Moreira); in Pedroso the Visigothic of transition was only used between 1110-1119, and this situation changes in the following decade with the entrance of the Caroline and the Gothic (SANTOS, 1994: Quadro VII – 1, 4, 10, 11 and 13).

the Middle Ages. In particular, D. Hugo's trajectory demonstrated how it is crucial to contextualise apparently local phenomena in a wider and international perspective, always questioning which were the implications and the impact of the political and ecclesiastical decisions made by kings or popes for the ecclesiastical organisation of a specific territory, as we have seen in the first and second part of our work. In the case of D. Hugo, and more in general of the north-western Iberian episcopal Sees, it is very interesting to observe his relation with the Roman Papacy, one of the «emerging powers» of the 11th and 12th centuries¹⁰².

This tight relation characterised D. Hugo's episcopate, but we have to pay attention not to analyse these contacts in only one way. If the bishops of the current territories of Galicia and northern Portugal were particularly interested in getting in touch with Rome to obtain legitimation, at the same time the popes saw an opportunity to reinforce their Primacy. As Richard Alexander Fletcher already wrote in 1978, «papal privileges [...] were also a means by which the apparatus of papal authority was extended over areas of the Catholic Church which had not known it before»¹⁰³. At the same time, the dynamics and close ties between Porto and Compostela at the beginning of the 12th century demonstrate all the precariousness of the local balances.

This last factor is very important, because it is necessary to contextualise the sources every time in their precise chronology, as we tried to do in these pages. D. Hugo's episcopate in our opinion opens a very interesting perspective on the formation of the kingdom of Portugal and of its Church, which were ongoing realities in the 12th century, often seen through an anachronistic perspective of the geography and the politics of the 19th and 20th centuries. The reorganisation of the Chancery in Porto operated by D. Hugo, studied in the third part of this work, is another proof of his strategy of consolidation of the diocese, its projection on the territory and reflection of his roman connections, as demonstrated by the presence of typical roman elements such as the indiction, in the Porto documentary production in the first half of the 12th century. We hope that this work can be helpful to scholars who will approach these themes in the future.

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¹⁰² CANTARELLA, 2014: 377.

¹⁰³ FLETCHER, 1978: 188; MARIANI, RENZI, 2018: 185-186. On the relationships between the Papacy and the European medieval «Peripheries», see JOHRENDT, MÜLLER, 2012.

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