

*Medieval Portuguese and Galician Confraternities:
Vernacular Texts Entered in the
Bibliografia de Textos Antigos Portugueses*

The *Bibliografia de Textos Antigos Portugueses* (BITAP), a computer based union catalogue, contains among its many fields of interest notice of confraternity texts composed or translated into the vernacular languages of Portugal and Galicia to 1500.¹ We know of only one comprehensive study of medieval Portuguese confraternities—Maria Ângela Godinho Vieira da Rocha

¹A preliminary version of BITAP was issued recently on CD-ROM, which also contains the companion bibliographies for Spanish and Catalan (BETA and BITECA). For pre-1501 prose texts, BITAP treats all manuscript attestations and all printings through the 17th century. These prose pieces include all "imaginative" or "literary" works as well as chronicles, legal, religious, scientific, and medical texts, etc. For pre-1520 poetry it includes all manuscript attestations and all printings through the mid-18th century. Here the compilers of BITAP have opted for a later date of composition, in concert with uses in BETA, BITECA, and Brian Dutton's *Catálogo-Índice de la poesía cancioneril del siglo XV* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1982), thus allowing for the inclusion of Garcia de Resende's *Cancioneiro Geral* (Lisbon: Hermann von Kempen, 1516), which records many 15th-century Portuguese poems. In general, later commercial printings of primary sources as well as modern critical studies and editions are identified in the reference bibliography. Recently added confraternity information (particularly for Portugal) will form part of a greatly expanded version of the database, to be published in book form by the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (Madison, Wisconsin). Plans also include future up-dates on CD-ROM and frequently issued versions on floppy disks for installation on PCs. The current version of BITAP contains 7,776 titles (including 4,235 individualized poems), preserved in 1,929 manuscripts and 56 early printed editions (of which 407 additional copies are identified), held in 169 libraries and private collections in Europe, the United States, and Brazil; the reference bibliography contains 2,809 items.

Beirante's privately published *Confrarias Medievais Portuguesas* (Lisbon, 1990)—based largely on research carried out by a group of students at the Universidade Nova of Lisbon in 1982-83 concerning 36 confraternity texts in Portuguese and in Latin (Beirante, 2-3).² No similar study has come to our attention for confraternities in Galicia.³ In both Portugal and Galicia the early confraternities are mainly lay institutions, often closely affiliated with churches and monasteries, and a few have only clergy as members. Others are of the guild type (particularly among the extant Galician texts), organized by groups of artisans or professions. Most all of the Portuguese and Galician confraternities have pious and charitable objectives (Beirante provides a useful analysis of the objectives for the texts she discusses, in "Quadros" II and III, pp. 50-51). The texts recorded in BITAP consist primarily of *compromissos* ("agreements"), *estatutos* ("statutes") or, in Galician, *ordenanzas* ("rules"), usually containing information on the founding of the confraternities followed by the statutes or by-laws. It should be noted that the most commonly accepted Portuguese word for confraternity is *confraria*, and in modern Galician *confradía* (cf. Spanish *cofradía*). The form *irmandade* in Portuguese is synonymous with *confraria*, i.e., a benevolent association, but is sometimes applied specifically to the members taking a meal together (Beirante, 8). In Galicia the form *irmandade* came to mean an association or brotherhood involved in dealing with the abuses of magnates and repressive lords, be they lay or religious, similar to the independent *hermandades* that formed in Castile and León in the Middle Ages (see Barros).

²The *compromisso* of the Confraria do Santo Espírito of Benavente, dated 1234, is in Latin, with a 16th-century translation into Portuguese (Azevedo). For short discussions of the rise and development of confraternities, guilds, and related associations in Portugal, see Cruz; Langhans. "Ofícios"; and Mattoso, 284-85, 409-10. On references and allusions to medieval Portuguese confraternities for which we have no extant texts, see Beirante, 6, n. 26; 8-9, notes 37, 38, 40.

³For a brief outline of the history of Galician confraternities, see Rodríguez González. Additional information may be found in García Oro.

The data presented below includes three texts not discussed in Beirante (under Portugal, items 3, 8, and 13) plus eight texts from Galicia (two of these, cited in n. 5, are decrees not recorded in BITAP). The information has been compiled from secondary sources, with the exception of a badly deteriorated manuscript fragment of statutes of an unidentified Portuguese confraternity (item 3), discovered by Arthur L-F. Askins, Martha E. Schaffer, and Harvey L. Sharrer during the course of a visit to the Arquivo da Câmara Municipal of Vila do Conde, in July of 1992.⁴ The information was entered into the various related fields of BITAP using PhiloBiblon, a data entry and retrieval system developed by Charles B. Faulhaber and John May at the University of California, Berkeley, for the software program Advanced Revelation. For purposes of this note, we list the different confraternities in alphabetical order by geographical location and where appropriate give in brackets the English equivalent of the name or specific group involved. We also indicate the existence of modern editions.

*Galicia*⁵

1. Betanzos. Confradía dos Alfaiates (or Xastres) [tailors]. *Estatutos* originally composed in 1162; translated into Galician in June of 1337, at request of Gonzalo Janeiro.

⁴We are grateful to António Monteiro dos Santos, Director of Vila do Conde's Arquivo da Câmara Municipal, for his generous assistance in our search for previously uncited fragments.

⁵We do not include in BITAP two 15th-century decrees, issued by the Bishop of Orense, establishing the order for different confraternities in the city's annual Corpus Christi procession:

1. Ourense (Orense). Confradias dos Carniceiros [butchers], San Miguel [blacksmiths], Santa Oufêmea [shoemakers], San Sebastián, Santa María a Madre [merchants and tailors], and Cofradía do Corpo Santo. *Ordenanza* dated 17 May 1437.

Ourense. Arquivo Municipal de Ourense (in the Arquivo Histórico Provincial), Seición Histórica, *Libros de Notas do Concello*, Libro 1, fols. 138^r-139^r. Edition: Ferro Couselo, 2: 117-18 (doc. 104).

MS location unknown. Parchment. Incipit (rubric): "In Dei nomine. amen." Text incipit: "Feita he a confraria entre los al-fayates." Edition: Vaamonde Lores. References: Carré Aldao, 345; López, 34.

2. A Coruña (La Coruña). Congregación do Clero [clerical congregation]. *Estatutos* written 23 November 1294.

MS location unknown. Incipit (preface): "En nome de Deus Padre fillo Spiritu Santo." Text incipit: "por ende tratando serviço de Deus." Explicit: "Era de mil e tres centos e trinta de dous anos." Edition: Tettamancy Gastón, 581-83 (item 17). References: Carré Aldao, 315; López, 34.

3. Noya. Confradía. *Ordenanzas*; revision dated between 31 September 1467 and 24 July 1471.

MS location unknown. Text incipit: "Ordenamos e estabescemos que todas las perdas." Scribe: Fernán Afonso de Betanços (notary). Previous owner: Don Segundo Hombre. Edition: López Ferreiro, 525-27.

4. Santiago de Compostela. Confradía de Santa Maria dos Aci-becheiros [jet workers/polishers]. *Ordenanzas* written at Santiago, 27 June 1443, and confirmed by Don Lope de Mendoza, Archbishop of Santiago (1399-1445).

MS location unknown. Text incipit: "I. yten ordenamos e por ben teemos que ningua persoa de qualquer estado." Partial edition: López Ferreiro, 116-17, 491-96.

5. Santiago de Compostela. Confradía dos Cambeadores [moneychangers]. *Ordenanzas* composed in 1490.

2. Ourense (Orense). Confradías de Santa María a Madre, Santa Oufémea, San Sebastián, San Miguel, and Santa Maria Madanela [butchers]. *Ordenanza* dated 20 June 1451.

Ourense. Arquivo Municipal de Ourense (in the Arquivo Histórico Provincial, Sección Histórica, *Libros de Notas do Concello*, Libro 4, fols. 67'-68'. Edition: Ferro Couselo, 2: 144-46 (doc. 138).

In the second document, the Confradía de Santa Oufémea's "jogo da coca" (i.e., the figure of a monstrous legendary serpent) is placed last in the procession, with the Confradía de Santa Madanela, "por que a dita coqa he escandallosa" ("because the aforementioned *coca* is scandalous").

MS location unknown. Parchment. Fols. 1^r-4^v. Incipit (1^r): "Enna cibdad de Santiago a vijnte e vn dias de mayo." 270 x 200 mm. Previously owner: José Villa-Amil y Castro (ca. 1892). Edition: Villa-Amil y Castro, 73-84. References: Villa-Amil y Castro, 28 (item 76); Carré Aldao, 351; López Ferreiro, 109-16, 498.

6. Santiago de Compostela. Confradía dos Cambeadores and Confradía dos Ourives [goldsmiths]. *Avinza* or *concordia* [agreement] dated 4 February 1289.

MS location unknown. Parchment. Text incipit: "Esta he a auinca [sic] ontre os vigarios e cabido dos canbeadores e os ouriuez." Explicit: "et este escripto deue durar et valer ontre elles para senpre." Scribe: Joam Bernáldez. Previous owner: Luis Rodríguez Seoane. Edition: López Ferreiro, 113-15.

Portugal

1. Batalha. Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória da Batalha [Dominican monastery and church built to commemorate victory of Aljubarrota (1385)]. Confraria de Santa Maria da Vitória. *Compromisso* compiled in 1427.

Batalha. Arquivo da Misericórdia. Livro Primeiro ou Antigo, fols. 110^v-113^r. Reference: Beirante.

2. Beja. Confraria dos Homens-bons. *Compromisso*. Written at Trancoso, ca. 28 July 1297. Scribe: Fernão Peres (notary). Authorized by Dom Dinis and presented in "pública forma" by João Anes (notary).

Lisbon. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Chancelarias Régias, 6 [Casa Forte] [Doações de D. Dinis, livro 3], fols. 4^v-5^r. "Carta per que elRey outorga aos homens boons de Beja hũa confrraria que antre ssi fezerom." 15th-cent. copy. Parchment. 510 x 380 mm. 2 cols. Incipit (4^v): "Vi vossa carta em que mim enviastes dizeer que ordinarades antre vos." Explicit (5^r): "que vos nom façam nengũu sobresto mal nem força." Edition: Tavares, 68-69. Reference: Beirante.

3. Braga? Unidentified confraternity. Statutes written ca. 1351-1450.

Vila do Conde. Arquivo da Câmara Municipal. MS. 1877 [capa]. Badly damaged parchment fragment serving as cover to *Livro da*

Receita das deçimas de Villa de Conde do Anno de 1643. Fol. 1^r-2^v. 318 x 285 mm. 2 cols. Reference: Sousa, 74 (item 1877).

4. Coimbra. Confraria de Nossa Senhora da Graça, Santa Cruz de Coimbra [Monastery of Santa Cruz]. *Compromisso* compiled in 1457.

Lisbon. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Corporações Religiosas, 1.^a incorporação, Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Pasta 3, Doc. do Alm. 11, Maço 9, no. 20. Reference: Beirante.

5. Coimbra. Confraria dos Bacharéis [clergy holding the baccalaureate degree, University of Coimbra]. *Compromisso* compiled in 1324.

Lisbon. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Corporações Religiosas, 2.^a incorporação, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, Maço 93, doc. 4484. Reference: Beirante.

6. Évora. Confraria de São João de Jerusalém [St. John of Jerusalem]. *Compromisso* originally composed in the 12th century and attributed to Afonso Henriques (Afonso I) of Portugal; a 13th-century Portuguese translation, extant in two MSS:

Évora. Arquivo Municipal. Cód. 67 [Livro 1 de Pergaminho], fol. 140^v. Incipit (140^r): "Applougue aos homeens boons moradores da çidade deuora"; explicit (140^v): "que nom veer ao cabijdoo peito hum soldo." Editions: Pereira, *Documentos*, 1: 38-40; Gusmão, 1: 166-70 (item I). References: "Os originais," 222 (item 2); Beirante.

Évora. Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital. Arquivo da Misericórdia, no. 62. Parchment. Reference: Pereira, *Estudos*, 1:351-55.

7. Guimarães. Confraria de Santa Margarida. *Compromisso* compiled before 1300?

Lisbon. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Núcleo Antigo, 272 [*Tombo das Capelas e Hospitais da Vila de Guimarães*], fols. 298^v-300^v. Reference: Beirante.

8. Lisbon. Borzequieiros, Sapateiros, Chapineiros e anexos do Hospital de S. Vicente de Lisboa [shoemakers, including specialists in making boots and chopines, and those affiliated with the Hospital of St. Vincent of Lisbon]. Statutes written 13 September 1489 and authorized by João I, 22 September 1489; con-

firmed by João I at Évora, 22 March 1490; reconfirmed by Manuel I at Évora, 6 June 1497; and by João III at Lisbon, 27 July 1532.

Lisbon. Câmara Municipal. Chancelaria da Cidade, Cód. 390 [*Livro das Posturas Antigas*], fols. 121^r-123^v. Parchment. 320 x 240 mm. Incipit (introduction; 121^r): "Senhores os borzeguyeyros çapateiros çoqueiros e chapineyros." Text incipit (121^r): "Item prymeyramente que nhum meste nem outra nhũa pessoa." Explicit (122^v): "segundo per eles pareçya." Editions: Langhans and Caetano, 1: 373-77; Rodrigues, 324-31.

9. Lisbon. Confraria dos Mercadores Borgonheses (or Borguinhões) [Flemish merchants]. Founded 12 April 1414 and affiliated with the chapel of Santa Cruz in the Convent of São Domingos. *Compromisso* compiled in 1472.

Lisbon. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Chancelarias Régias, 50 [Afonso V, livro 24], fols. 119^v-120^v. References: Beirante; Almeida, 1: 478a.

10. Lisbon (Algés). Confraria de Santa Catarina de Ribamar. *Compromisso* compiled ca. 1461.

Lisbon. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Chancelarias Régias, 61 [Afonso V, livro 35] (*olim* Casa dos Contos), fol. 55^{r-v}. Reference: Beirante.

11. Montemor-o-Novo. Confraria de Santo André. *Constituição*, in two parts: a *carta* with *preceito e penas* ("letter" with "rule and penalties") and *privilégio* or constitution proper. Originally compiled 16 June 1316; copied 1501?-1531 and forming part of the following MS:

Montemor-o-Novo. Arquivo da Misericórdia. Tombo de 1531, fols. 2^v-5^v. Document title: *Compromysso do espytal de Santo Amdre que esta junto como ho do Santo Sprito que fizeram os comfrades*. Incipit of prologue of first part (2^v): "Plouge aos homens boons moradores em Momte Moor o Novo." Text incipit (2^v): "Estabeleceram antre sy que se ajudem em conselho." Editions: transcription in modernized orthography (with errors), in Correia, 1: 62-66; partial transcription in Andrade, 140-41. References: Andrade, 139-42; Beirante.

12. Montemor-o-Velho. Confraria dos Clérigos [clergymen]. *Compromisso* compiled in 1495.

Lisbon. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Leitura Nova, 17 [Casa Forte] [Estremadura, 1], fols. 61^v-67^r. Beginning production date of MS: 11 Sept. 1504. Parchment. 550 x 390. 2 cols. Reference: Beirante.

13. Pendurada. Mosteiro de São João (Baptista) de Pendurada [Benedictine monastery, founded ca. 1059]. Irmandade or Confraria de São João de Pendurada. *Compromisso* dated 24 August 1387.

Lisbon. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Corporações Religiosas, 1.^a incorporação, Caixa 100, Maço 24 (olim Suplemento da Coleção Especial Sala 16, Caixa 68; olim Cartório do Mosteiro de São João de Pendurada, Maço de pergaminhos avulsos, no. 14). Incipit (prologue): "In Nomine Domini. Sabham todos os presentes e os que am vyr, que todos os fiees Christaaõs devem seer lenbrados da saude de suas almas." Text incipit: "Conssyrando en como Deus e dereito Juiz." Explicit: "nos sobre ditos Prelados dos nosos seelos seelamos este Compromisso en testemunho de verdade." Edition: Ribeiro, 2: 247-50. Reference: Almeida, 1: 478a.

14. Sabugal. Confraria dos Cavaleiros do Sabugal. *Compromisso* compiled ca. 1308 and authorized by Dom Dinis.

Lisbon. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Chancelarias Régias, 6 [Casa Forte] [Doações de D. Dinis, livro 3]. 15th-cent. copy. Parchment. 510 x 380 mm. 2 cols. Reference: Beirante.

15. Santarém. Confraria de Santo Ildefonso [membership consisting of carpenters and stonemasons]. *Compromisso* compiled in 1370.

Lisbon. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Núcleo Antigo 274 [Tombo das Capelas de Santarém], fols. 58^r-59^r. Reference: Beirante.

16. Santarém. Confraria de São Silvestre. *Compromisso* compiled ca. 1482.

Lisbon. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Núcleo Antigo 274 [Tombo das Capelas de Santarém], fol. 112. Reference: Beirante.

17. Sintra. Confraria dos Fiéis de Deus or Confraria da Conceição. *Compromisso* compiled Feb. 1346.

Sintra. Cartório de Santa Maria. Parchment. Incipit: "Primeyramte todos os cõfrades como amigos e hirmaãos." Edition: Freire, 351-55. Reference: Beirante.

18-37. Torres Novas and surrounding region. *Compromissos* for twenty individual confraternities are extant in one MS: Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Núcleo Antigo 275 [*Tombo das Capelas de Torres Novas*]. The list below with dates of original composition is taken from Beirante (see especially "Quadro II", 50). She cites brief passages from 15 of the texts (leaving out those of Ribeira, Lapas, Alqueidão, Bulgalhos, and Monsanto). Beirante does not give the date of the manuscript copy, but all the texts cited are in archaic Portuguese.⁶ Some of the documents show close affinity with others in the group, revealing what Beirante calls "famílias" of confraternity texts (p. 3). We have not yet seen an edition of the confraternity statutes of Bugalhos, Alcanena, and Monsanto, published in 1989 by Iria Gonçalves and Maria de Fátima Botão (Beirante, 54).

- Fungalvás (1176)
- Bexiga (12th cent.?)
- Paialvo (12th cent.)
- Santa Maria de Olaia (12th cent.)
- Lavradores (1212)
- Marnas (1212)
- Ribeira (1212)
- Lapas (1212)
- Alcorochel (1212)
- Alqueidão da Serra (1212)
- Bulgalhos (1219)
- Alcanena (1353)
- Zibreira (1353)
- Monsanto (1353)
- Santa Maria do Vale (ca. 1429)

⁶Concerning the *compromisso* of Fungalvás, the oldest of the Torres Novas group, Beirante indicates that the extant text, written in Portuguese, may have been revised in the 15th century (n. 13, at p. 55).

Santa Maria dos Anjos (1429)

São Bras (1442)

São Bento (ca. 1473)

São Salvador (ca. 1495)

São Pedro (ca. 1499)

38. Viana do Alentejo. Confraria dos Ovelheiros [sheepherders]; also known as the Confraria dos Homens Bons. *Compromisso* written 8 June 1319.

Lisbon. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Núcleo Antigo 273 [*Tombo dos Bens do Hospital de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Viana*], fols. 1^r-3^r. Scribe: Domingos Peres (priest). Incipit (introduction) (1^r): "Prouve aos homens boons moradores em Viana." Text incipit (1^r): "Estabelleceram entre ssy em qual maneyra se devem acoonter." Explicit (2^v): "E aquel que tolher penhor peyte tres soldos." Edition: Tavares, 69-72. Reference: Beirante.

The compilers of BITAP plan to examine as many of the manuscripts cited above as possible during archival work in Portugal (and perhaps Galicia) in June and July of 1994. They also invite readers of *Confraternitas* to send corrections or new bibliographical information about Portuguese and Galician confraternity manuscripts to Arthur L-F. Askins, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720.

Harvey L. Sharrer

University of California, Santa Barbara

In collaboration with

Arthur L-F. Askins

University of California, Berkeley

Works Cited

- Almeida, Fortunato de. *História da Igreja em Portugal*. Edited by Damião Peres. 4 vols. Porto: Portucalense Editora, 1967-71.
- Andrade, Alberto Banha de. *Roteiro do Arquivo Histórico da Misericórdia de Montemor-o-Novo (AHMMN), com a história da fundação e primeiros anos da santa casa*. Cadernos de História de Montemor-o-Novo, 7. Coimbra: Edição do Grupo de Amigos de Montemor-o-Novo e da *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 1979.
- Askins, Arthur L-F., Harvey L. Sharrer, Martha E. Schaffer, and Aida F. Dias, comps. *Bibliografia de Textos Antigos Portugueses*. In ADMYTE [*Archivo digital de manuscritos y textos españoles*], Disco 0, coordinated by Francisco Marcos Marín and Charles B. Faulhaber. Madrid: Micronet, 1993.
- Azevedo, Rui Pinto de. "O compromisso da confraria do Espírito Santo de Benavente." *Lusitania Sacra* 6 (1963): 3-19.
- Barros, Carlos. *Mentalidad justiciera de los irmandiños, siglo XV*. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1990.
- Beirante, Maria Ângela Godinho Vieira da Rocha. *Confrarias Medievais Portuguesas*. Lisboa: [privately published], 1990.
- Correia, Brito. *Estudos Historicos, Juridicos e Economicos sobre o Municipio de Montemor-o-Novo*. Vol. 1. Coimbra, 1873.
- Carré Aldao, Eugenio. *Influencias de la literatura gallega en la castellana*. Madrid: Francisco Beltrán, 1915.
- Cruz, António. "Confraria." In Serrão, 1: 667b-668a.
- . "Corporação." In Serrão, 1: 702b-703a.
- Ferro Couselo, Xesús. *A vida e a fala dos devanceiros: Escolma de documentos en galego dos séculos XIII ao XVI, I: Terras de Ourense*. 2 vols. Vigo: Galaxia, 1967.
- Freire, Anselmo Braamcamp. "Compromisso de confraria em 1346." *Archivo Historico Portuquez* 1 (1903): 349-55.
- García Oro, José. *Galicia en los siglos XIV y XV, II: Galicia urbana*. La Coruña: Fundación "Pedro Barrié de la Maza, Conde de Feno-sa," 1987.
- Gonçalves, Iria, and Maria de Fátima Botão. "As confrarias medievais da região de Alcanena." *Boletim do Centro de Estudos Históricos e Etnológicos* 4 (1989).
- Gusmão, Armando. *Subsídios para a História da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Évora*. 2 vols. Évora: Gráfica Eborense, 1958-69.
- Langhans, Franz Paul Almeida. "Ofícios." In Serrão, 3: 196b-197b.

- , and Marcello Caetano. *As Corporações dos Ofícios Mecânicos: Subsídios para a sua história*. 2 vols. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1943-46.
- López, Atanasio. *Estudios crítico-históricos de Galicia*. Santiago de Compostela: Tip. de El Eco Franciscano, 1916.
- López Ferreiro, Antonio. *Fueros municipales de Santiago y de su tierra*. 1895. Reprint. Madrid: Ediciones Castilla, 1975.
- Mattoso, José. *Identificação de um País: Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal 1096-1325*. Vol. 1. Imprensa Universitária, 45. 2nd ed. Lisbon: Estampa, 1985.
- "Os originais do Cartório da Câmara Municipal de Évora." *A Cidade de Évora* 43-44 (1960-61): 221-300.
- Pereira, Gabriel. *Documentos Históricos da Cidade de Évora*. 3 vols. Évora: Typ. da Casa Pia, 1885-91.
- . *Estudos Eborenses: História e Arqueologia*. 3 vols. Évora: Edições Nazareth, 1947-50.
- Ribeiro, João Pedro. *Dissertações Chronologicas e Criticas sobre a Historia e Jurisprudencia Ecclesiastica e Civil de Portugal*. 5 vols. 2nd ed. Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciências de Lisboa, 1857-96.
- Rodrigues, Maria Teresa Campos, ed. *Livro das Posturas Antigas*. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1974.
- Rodríguez González, Eladio. "Confradía." *Diccionario enciclopédico gallego-castellano*, I.606. Vigo: Galaxia, 1958.
- Serrão, Joel, ed. *Dicionário de História de Portugal*. 3 vols. Rev. ed. Lisbon: Iniciativas Editoriais, [1979].
- Sousa, Fernando de, and Jorge Alves. *O Arquivo Municipal de Vila do Conde*. Vila do Conde: Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde, 1991.
- Tavares, Maria José Pimenta Ferro. "Para o estudo das confrarias medievais portuguesas: os compromissos de três confrarias de homens bons alentejanos." *Estudos Medievais* 8 (1987): 55-72.
- Tettamancy Gastón, Francisco. *Apuntes para la historia comercial de La Coruña*. La Coruña: Tip. El Noroeste, 1900.
- Vaamonde Lores, César. "La Cofradía de los sastres de Betanzos (Año 1162)." *Boletín de la Real Academia Gallega* 46 (1911): 244-51.
- Villa-Amil y Castro, José. *Catálogo de los objetos de Galicia en la Exposición Histórico-Europa de Madrid*. Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1892.