

AFONSINA

III

2022



**CRAFTS AND
CRAFTSMEN
IN THE MIDDLE
AGES**

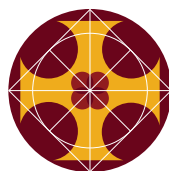


MUNICÍPIO DE
GUIMARÃES

AFONSINA

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CONTENT

Editorial

PAULO LOPES SILVA

1

A traditional craft: leatherworking (15th–16th centuries)

RICARDO CÓRDOBA DE LA LLAVE

3

Leather as a craft: harnessmakers, shoemakers, saddlers and other leatherworkers in Medieval Guimarães

AIRES GOMES FERNANDES

19

The textile and garment crafts in Guimarães in the Middle Ages

JOANA SEQUEIRA

37

Meat supply and consumption in Entre-Douro-e-Minho in the late Middle Ages – the contribution of the Guimarães butchers

MARIANA CABRAL

51

Crafts and craftsmen in the Middle Ages in Portugal

ARNALDO SOUSA MELO

61

From leather to craftsmanship: harnessmakers, shoemakers, saddlers and other leatherworkers in medieval Guimarães

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Abstract

This study focuses on the importance of the leather sector in Guimarães' economic and social activity in the 14th and 15th centuries. It highlights the role of the Couros stream and the surrounding area, namely the Couros Street, as the hub of the entire tanning "industry". It is important to understand from the outset who owned the tanning tanks (*pelames*), the pits (*covas*), stone vats (*aloques*) and basins (*lagares*) where the hides and leather were prepared, and to analyze the role of the craftsmen in obtaining and managing these means of processing. We will try to establish a correlation between this space, where tanning would continue for centuries, and the weight and scope of this activity in medieval Guimarães, to which multiple crafts/trades and craftsmen/tradespeople were associated, both those who were directly involved in the treatment and processing of hides and those who depended on leather as their basic raw material for their work. Butchers are excluded from this study because they were part of a previous phase of the process and were still dealing with untreated skin, but we will address other craftsmen whose work was directly related to leather, from the preparation and treatment of hides to its final use in the different workshops. We will therefore focus on the furriers, harnessmakers, shoemakers and saddlers, as well as other craftsmen who used leather, even if only occasionally, because the constant and relevant presence of leather in multiple everyday objects cannot be neglected, from footwear to weapons, from harnesses to paraphernalia. We will try to identify some of these craftsmen and the places where they worked. Based on a survey of the number of craftsmen engaged in some of these crafts, we will try to assess the impact of these activities on the community and the local economy at specific times. There were, of course, other important players associated with this "industry", namely the merchants, who played an important role in the sale of hides, and will therefore also be mentioned.

Keywords: Leather, Guimarães, Middle Ages, Crafts.

Leatherwork in Guimarães: implantation and structures

Guimarães' connection to the tanning industry is well known, as it is a centuries-old activity that dates back to the medieval period and is duly documented. In the Middle Ages, this activity was already one of the major drivers of the economy of the town of Guimarães, and it not only fed various sectors and related activities, but also exported both the hides and the processed or finished products to other places. The toponymy itself reveals the importance and projection of the leather industry — for example, at the end of the 13th century, more specifically in 1297, there is a reference to Rua Peliteira (Furriers Street)¹, although the most relevant and most mentioned toponym is Rua de Couros (Leather Street), an artery that still exists today. This toponymic connection extends to the Couros river itself, in the extension of that same street, where an interesting set of tanning tanks is still preserved today, giving us a very close idea of what was experienced in the Middle Ages.

This Couros area is thus closely linked to tanning, in a place where the existence of a small watercourse — an essential element in the whole tanning process — was combined with a suitable location on the outskirts of the town (MELO, 2021: 84). The tanning industry was concentrated in the periphery of the town, as was the case in most places where this type of industry thrived. The fact that this activity was located on the outskirts of the populated centers is justified by the fact that it was extremely polluting, because the skins and excess removed from the hides not only polluted and contaminated the water, but also produced nauseating smells (FERREIRA, 2010: 295). Another source of pollution from the tanning process was the substances and waste used in the preparation of hides: oak bark, sumac and pigeon and dog droppings (CARVALHO, 1942; PINTO, 2012: 263). Alum stone (potassium alum) was also used, a mineral whose extraction was regulated by King Dinis in 1301 by granting the exploitation of alum in Portugal to a number of individuals, including an Englishman². This was where the infrastructures needed for the entire tanning process were located, namely the tanks, which in the Middle Ages are referred to under different terminology, essentially *pelames*, but also "tanning stones", which are mentioned in 1412-1413 (FERREIRA, 2010: 296).

Like many other medieval terms, the word *pelame* is not univocal and can refer "by generalization to all tanning facilities" (MELO, 2021: 90) or, more specifically, to tanning tanks. There are many documents that refer to *pelames*, but let us take as an example an instrument dated January 21, 1321, the day on which the Shoemakers' Guild of Guimarães leased to saddler and harness maker Afonso Eanes and his wife Domingas Domingues some houses with two *pelames* in Rua de Couros³. In an instrument dated 1405, there is a rather unique terminology referring to pits of *pelames* and *lagares* [basins], although these same

1 ANTT-CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 16, Nº 16.

2 ANTT- Chancelaria de D. Dinis, Livro 3, fl.13.

3 AMAP – Irmandade de São Crispim e São Crispiniano, Pergaminhos, 8-5-4-45.

4 ANTT-CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 41, Nº 1.

terms are used to refer to the same structure⁴. The designation of *pelame* pits is relatively uncommon, at least in the documentation already consulted, and emerges again in later documents, but always to identify these same *pelames* in the transactions they were the subject of. The reference to *lagares* appears in the 14th century (FERREIRA, 2010: 296), referring to November 4, 1381, when the shoemaker Afonso Anes, in his capacity as heir and executor of his mother-in-law Constança Martins, authorizes, before Gonçalo Romeu, judge of the town of Guimarães, the transfer of a clause from Constança Martins' will (requested by the canon Gonçalo Vieira, as procurator of the Chapter) concerning a maravedi from the house she had in the Couros river, where the *lagares* were located⁵.

This element reveals additional information by implying that these structures were dismantled and moved to another location, which raises the question of whether these *lagares* were made of stone. At the end of the 15th century, there is mention of *aloques*, (stone vats), namely an *aloque* belonging to João Álvares de Penselo, held by Brás Jorge, and with *pelames* belonging to the Shoemakers' Guild (MARQUES, 2013: 42), and another belonging to Pedro Vaz (OLIVEIRA, 1998: 237). On June 20, 1503, we find another reference to this first *aloque*, when Beatriz Afonso, widow of João Álvares de Penselo, acknowledged that the Guimarães Collegiate Church should receive two hundred white *reales* a year for an *aloque* it had in the Couros stream, which the shoemaker Brás Jorge held then in lease, but the shoemaker refused to pay this amount of money⁶. This refusal would even lead to the termination of the contract, and Beatriz Afonso undertook to find by the following September a new tenant for the *aloque* who would fulfill this obligation, under penalty of having this amount taken from the goods she had given as collateral⁷.

It is very likely that the terms *aloque* and *pelame* are synonyms for the same type of structure (MELO, 2021: 87), usually stone tanks, fixed systems that existed along the river, but also located on the first floor of houses, as is attested by the numerous leases of houses with *pelames* — as is still visible today in some of the houses that have survived to the present day and which functioned both as a dwelling and a space for tanning hides (FERNANDES and OLIVEIRA, 2004: 153–154). However, we should not rule out the possibility that the *aloque* differed from the *pelame*, whether in terms of size, purpose or for some other reason that we do not know.

5 ANTT-CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 37, Nº 13.

6 ANTT-CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 72, Nº 38 (Doc. 4 do Apêndice Documental).

7 ANTT-CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 72, Nº 38.

8 ANTT- CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 37, Nº 14.

9 AMAP – Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Guimarães, Livros de Notas, C-926 (Livro de Nota Antiga - I, fl. XL,VIvº). Este documento encontra-se transcrito no Apêndice Documental (Doc. 1).



Fig. 1. Street sign for the Leather Street (AGF 2022).



Fig. 2. Tanning tanks along the Couros stream (AGF 2022).

Regarding *lagares*, *covas*, *pelames* and *aloques* (all of them terms relating to tanning tanks), these were immovable structures, in this case confined to the Couros area, and the documentation also mentions the existence of small structures that were removable and therefore could be used in any house, as was the case of *tinalhas*, a kind of small vat. One of them is mentioned in an execution sentence dated August 23rd, 1383 as a result of a debt owed by Domingos Geraldês Chapel to the Guimarães Chapter, and among the assets of the defendant was "huua tynhalha pequena de tanir peles"⁸ [a small vat for tanning hides], which would certainly have been used for tanning the hides of small animals, or possibly for specific stages of the tanning process. In any case, their limitations were dictated by its size and volume capacity, which necessarily meant that they had to be used differently from what was common practice in fixed structures. It is true that the term *tinalha* can have a broad meaning, referring to "both general tanning equipment and specific types of containers for soaking the hides in the early stages of the tanning process (such as preliminary washing, lime baths or subsequent baths to remove the lime with "água humada"). On the other hand, "tinalhas de curtir coiros" [vats for tanning hides] and *cordovães*, and *dornas* seem to be exclusive words referring to the tanks used for the tanning process itself" (MELO, 2021: 89).

The tanning tanks owners

As one might expect, the main holders of the *pelames* in Guimarães throughout the 14th and 15th centuries were the ecclesiastical institutions and the Guilds, especially the Church of Santa Maria da Oliveira and the Shoemakers' Guild of Guimarães. On October 7, 1358, the Chancellor and the Chapter of the Church of Santa Maria de Guimarães leased the house of *pelames* near the Couros stream to the saddler and harness maker Lourenço Domingues, his wife Domingas Martins and a third person to be named by the *postumeiro*, for a rent of six pounds a year, to be paid half by Christmas and the other half by Easter⁹. The contract for the duration of three lives would end up not being fulfilled, as on January 26, 1370 these *pelames* would be leased to *esqueireiro* [unspecified tanner] Bento Gonçalves, his wife Maria Martins, and a third person to be named subsequently, for a rent of five and a half pounds a year, payable on the day of St. Michael in September¹⁰.

About half a year later, more specifically on June 22, 1370, these *pelames* left the possession of the Chapter in accordance to an exchange with the Monastery of São Francisco, giving it the *pelames* previously leased to *esqueireiro* Bento Afonso in the

10 AMAP – Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Guimarães, Livros de Notas, C-926 (Livro de Nota Antiga - II, fl. Vv^o).

11 AMAP – Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Guimarães, Livros de Notas, C-926 (Livro de Nota Antiga - II, fl. VIII).

Couros stream, in exchange for some *almuinhas* [small rural properties] that the Franciscans had in the Caldeiroa Street¹¹. In any case, the Collegiate Church held more *pelames* and houses with *pelames* in that location, as evidenced by instruments from 1384¹² and 1424 (CARVALHO, 1942: 54), a practice that seems to have been consolidated throughout the 15th century, with the Collegiate Church holding 3 *pelames* in 1442 (MARQUES, 1981), 6 in 1462–1463, 7 in 1482–1483, and 9 in 1499 (MELO, 2021: 86). Another large holder of *pelames* in the Couros area was the Shoemakers' Guild, which in 1321 leased a couple of houses with two *pelames* to a saddler and harness maker,¹³ and on May 6, 1351 leased a couple of *pelames* and a house in the Couros Street to the shoemaker João Lourenço, his wife Maria Martins, and all their successors¹⁴. The record of these *pelames* is attested to throughout the 15th century via the respective leasing contracts¹⁵, and at the end of that century it had the same number of *pelames* as the Collegiate Church – i.e., nine *pelames* in the Couros Street, as evidenced in the 1499 Inventory of the Guild and Hospital of the Shoemakers' Guild of Guimarães (MARQUES, 2013: 20–21, 42–43). Also in this period, the Guild of the Service of Santa Maria had a *pelame* in the Couros Street, with *pelames* of Brás Jorge and the sheathmaker Pedro Anes, next to the walls, under the *aloque* (stone vat) of Pedro Vaz (OLIVEIRA, 1998: 327). Likewise, the Church of Santa Margarida had at least one *pelame* there (MARQUES, 2013: 43).

Despite the predominance of ecclesiastical institutions as the owners of these tanning structures, some of them were in the hands of private individuals, although this did not prevent them from becoming part of the estate of these institutions, especially through donations. Among these private owners was the merchant Vasco Domingues de Pentieiros and his wife Constança Gil, who on September 21, 1405, sold Afonso Gonçalves and his wife Leonor Mateus some houses with two *pelame* pits in the Couros Street, which they had bought from João de Freitas and which on one side adjoined other *pelame* houses also belonging to João de Freitas¹⁶.

On May 5, 1412, this same Constança Gil (after the death of her husband) sold to the same buyers (the document reveals that Afonso Gonçalves was a merchant) another *pelame* in the Couros Street that existed inside the house they had bought from João de Freitas¹⁷. Curiously enough, these *pelames* were to remain in private hands, since on July 10, 1438, Afonso Gonçalves and Beatriz Afonso, residents at Rua das Flores in Guimarães, sold the shoemaker João Esteves and his wife Catarina Afonso the house and three *pelames* located in the Couros Street¹⁸. These transactions allow us to trace these *pelames* for almost half a century.

The craftsmen who process hides into leather and those who use it in their crafts

It is often difficult to make a clear distinction between those who only tanned hides and those who tanned them and used them as a raw material in their work, as seems to be the case with some saddler and harness makers and shoemakers who controlled the entire tanning process, which allowed for a reduction in costs and adequate control of the quality of the final product (MELO, 2021). It is also possible to establish a correlation between the lease holders, as well as between the owners of some hides and the trades directly associated with leather. The documentation allows us to see a

12 ANTT- CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 38, Nº 7.

13 AMAP – Irmandade de São Crispim e São Crispiniano, Pergaminhos, 8-5-4-45.

14 AMAP – Irmandade de São Crispim e São Crispiniano, Pergaminhos, 8-5-4-58.

15 AMAP – Irmandade de São Crispim e São Crispiniano, Pergaminhos, 8-5-4-43.

16 ANTT- CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 41, Nº 1.

17 ANTT- CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 40, Nº 9.

18 ANTT- CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 48, Nº 31.

very close link between the trades associated with the leather sector and the exploitation of *pelames*, as can be seen from the holders of these leases. The most represented are undeniably the shoemakers, although other trades with a strong presence are also mentioned, namely harness makers and saddlers. The end of the 15th century provides us with a very clear picture of this reality, as most of those who were associated with the *pelames* were somehow associated with the leather sector, with renters who worked as shoemakers, sheathmakers, saddlers, harness makers, leather string makers and clog makers (SÁ, 2001: 116, 143–144; MARQUES, 2013: 20–21, 42–43). However, there were other craftsmen, such as a barber and a winegrower (SÁ, 2001: 116), although it is also possible to establish some connection between these trades and the world of leather, especially in the case of barbers, whose functions at the end of the Middle Ages — as we will see below — were much broader and different from those assigned to them today.

There were many trades associated with the multiple uses of hides that are duly identified,¹⁹ although there are also some absences: for example, the leather bottle makers stand out among the trades absent from the Guimarães documentation relating to this period — if we consider the importance that leather bottles had as containers at this time. Let us now take a more detailed look at those craftsmen who were directly involved in the preparation of leather and its different uses.

In addition to the unavoidable and always up-to-date work by A. L. de Carvalho, see in this regard the excellent contribution by Isabel Fernandes and António de Oliveira on "Ofícios e Mesteres Vimaranense nos séculos XV e XVI", which also deals with leather-related trades. The authors even make use of the 1552 price regiment, or rates (previously published by Eduardo de Almeida, "Regimento de salários e preços de 1522 para Guimarães", Revista de Guimarães, 40 (3-4) Jul.-Dec. 1930, pp. 149-170), which informs us about the activities related to each of these trades; although they cannot be replicated for the Middle Ages, they still provide some useful insights about the possible functions of each of these professionals.

Fellmongers and furriers

The *peliteiros/piliteiros* or fellmongers were those who worked with the hides and mastered the entire tanning process up to the sale of the leather pieces, thus also acting as merchants (furriers). The hides could be from wild or domestic animals, and the stages and preparation process varied according to the type of hide and its purpose. Some individuals had specific functions and a certain degree of specialization regarding certain types of hides, although this practice was passed on without major changes over the centuries (CARVALHO, 1942). In this particular case, it is interesting to see that some of the working methods and utensils used remained unchanged for around five hundred years, as illustrated by the images and attested to by the knife with a curved blade and double handle.

¹⁹ In addition to the unavoidable and always up-to-date work by A. L. de Carvalho, see in this regard the excellent contribution by Isabel Fernandes and António de Oliveira on "Ofícios e Mesteres Vimaranense nos séculos XV e XVI", which also deals with leather-related trades. The authors even make use of the 1552 price regiment, or rates (previously published by Eduardo de Almeida, "Regimento de salários e preços de 1522 para Guimarães", Revista de Guimarães, 40 (3-4) Jul.-Dec. 1930, pp. 149-170), which informs us about the activities related to each of these trades; although they cannot be replicated for the Middle Ages, they still provide some useful insights about the possible functions of each of these professionals.



Fig. 3. Fellmonger / *Peliteiro* (Germany, 15th century).
Source: Dier Hausbücher der Nürnberger Zwölfbrüderbücher (Mendel I, 92r.).



Fig. 4. Fellmongers (Guimarães(?)) – 20th century (1908).
Source: Carlos Gomes – Blogue do Minho (<https://bloguedominho.blogs.sapo.pt/>).

Curiously enough, there are few references to fellmongers in 15th century documentation, while in the 16th century they were already referred to as tanners, who would probably be their natural replacements and direct heirs to their trade, given that these professions were still around in the 20th century. Considering the fellmongers' knowledge of the whole tanning process and the probable involvement of many of them in the hides trade, it is not surprising that some of them exploited *pelames*, as was the case with fellmonger Geraldo Martins²⁰. So far it has been possible to identify 36 fellmongers for Guimarães — thirty from the 14th century, and only six from the 15th century. Although most of the places where they lived are not mentioned, the available data shows a strong presence of fellmongers in the village of Castelo and Rua de Gatos, in an even distribution, with four individuals identified in each of these areas.

Hide-cleaners and leather dressers

In addition to the *peliteiros* or fellmongers there were two other trades that were as curious as they were unusual, apparently related to the tanning of hides, namely the hide-cleaners and the *esquireiros/esquireiros* or tanners. We have only one reference to hide-cleaners — João Castelão, a hide-cleaner who on September 17, 1384 held a lease of a house with *pelames* in the Couros Street²¹. While in this case there seems to be no doubt as to their functions, the question of the *esquireiros/esquireiros* raises some questions, since we do not know specifically what tasks these craftsmen performed, although we are convinced of their unequivocal connection to the leather sector, probably performing functions that did not differ much from those of the fellmongers, possibly taking on some specific role in the tanning process. There seems to have been a decline or reconversion of their work activity, as evidenced by their loss of prominence at the beginning of the 15th century. Here, too, there are some similarities with the *peliteiros*/fellmongers, since both disappear from the documentation in the 15th century; moreover, of the 12 *esquireiros* we have been able to identify, 11 refer to the 14th century; and even the one referring to the 15th century is mentioned in 1405, at the beginning of the century — Vasco Afonso who, curiously enough, on September 21, 1405, witnessed the sale of a house with *pelames* in the Couros Street²². Another

²⁰ AMAP – Irmandade de São Crispim e São Crispiniano, Pergaminhos, 8-5-4-57.

²¹ ANTT – CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 38, N° 7. Este documento encontra-se transcrito no Apêndice Documental (Doc. 3).

²² ANTT- CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 41, N° 1.

isqueireiro/tanner, Bento Gonçalves, held the lease of *pelames* of the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria da Oliveira, in the Couros stream, at the back of the Monastery of São Francisco, in a three-life contract signed on January 26, 1370, which also included his wife Maria Martins and a third person to be named by their survivor, paying five and a half pounds a year in rent²³ by the day of St. Michael in September.

Harnessmakers

Harnessmakers were certainly some of the craftsmen who received the most work orders. They made belts, bags, and quivers for arrows, upholstered chests, benches and chairs. They also produced all kinds of harnesses and horse tack (FERNANDES and OLIVEIRA, 2004; FERREIRA, 2007). It should be noted that, in the 16th century, a substantial part of the harnesses and stirrups sold in Lisbon came from Guimarães (BRANDÃO, 1990: 54). As mentioned above, it is possible that some harnessmakers, like the fellmongers and some shoemakers, also knew, mastered and carried out the entire tanning process, given the number of *pelames* held by harnessmakers — for example, the abovementioned cases of Afonso Eanes in 1321²⁴, Lourenço Domingues in 1358²⁵, but also of the harnessmaker João Gonçalves, who on January 20, 1499 held the lease of a *pelame* (MARQUES, 2013: 43). Similarly, one of the three *pelames* that the Collegiate Church of Oliveira had in 1442 was leased to a harnessmaker (MARQUES, 1981). We were able to identify 34 harnessmakers in Guimarães for the centuries under study here. They were scattered around the town, most likely in the Couros Street, but also in Rua das Ferrarias, Rua de Santiago, Rua Sapateira, Rua Nova de Domingos Longo, Arrochela, Rua de Gatos, Vale de Donas, and Rua de Santa Maria.

Leather strap makers

Ataqueiros or leather strap makers can be considered a sub-category of harnessmakers, and were initially restricted to the very specific activity of making simple straps, which were basically used to tie or join other pieces together. They could also make straps for belts. In the 16th century, the Guimarães leather strap makers also made and sold bags and gloves (FERNANDES and OLIVEIRA, 2004: 76), although the production of gloves was exclusive to glovers in many places. Gloves could be used for military purposes, as protective accessories in some professions — as in the case of falconers (PEREIRA, 2009: 117) —, or as simple items of clothing. In Guimarães, the glovers trade is only mentioned at the beginning of the last quarter of the 15th century, and it is possible to identify six individuals, two of whom worked with *pelames*. They were Pedro Gonçalves, who in 1499 held the lease of a *pelame* belonging to the Shoemakers' Guild, together with an *aloque* (stone vat) held by João Álvares de Penselo but belonging to Brás Jorge, and another *pelame* held by Pedro Martins, also a leather strap maker (MARQUES, 2013: 42).

23 AMAP – Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Guimarães, Livros de Notas, C-926 (Livro de Nota Antiga - II, fl. Vvº). Este documento encontra-se transcrito no Apêndice Documental (Doc. 2).

24 AMAP – Irmandade de São Crispim e São Crispiniano, Pergaminhos, 8-5-4-45.

25 AMAP – Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Guimarães, Livros de Notas, C-926 (Livro de Nota Antiga - I, fl. XLIVº).



Fig. 5. Leather strap maker / *ataqueiro*. (Germany, 15th century). Source: Dier Hausbücher der Nürnberger Zwölfbrüderbücher (Mendel I, 44v^o).

28

Leather strap maker name ²⁶	Ref. Date	Source
João Anes	20-11-1478	ANTT- CSMO, DP, M. 66, N ^o 18
João de ----	?-12(?) -1474(?)	AMAP – CSMO, Perg., 8-3-4-9
Lopo Dias	03-08-1473	ANTT – LN, L. 4 de Além Douro, fl. 2v ^o -3
Lopo Dias	25-02-1486	ANTT – LN, L. 3 de Além Douro, fl.118v ^o - 120
Pedro Dias	27-01-1498	MARQUES, 1984: 87
Pedro Gonçalves	1498	FERNANDES e OLIVEIRA, 2004: 76
Pedro Gonçalves	20-01-1499	MARQUES, 2013: 42
Pedro Martins	18-05-1498	ANTT- CSMO, DP, M. 70, N ^o 12
Pedro Martins	20-01-1499	MARQUES, 2013: 42

²⁶ Given the limitations of space, it is not possible to present all the craftsmen we have identified. That is why we have chosen to list only the least represented crafts.

²⁷ ANTT- CSMO, Docs.

Saddlers

The saddlers produced various types of saddles, although these craftsmen were usually only responsible for the leather coverings, with the seat or horn (structure and filling) being the responsibility of the *fusteiros* or horn makers (PEREIRA, 2009: 63-74). One of these saddlers was Gonçalo Gonçalves, who in 1499 held the lease of a *pelame* from the Shoemakers' Guild, which on one side adjoined the houses of shoemaker Luís Anes, and on the other side another *pelame* from the same Guild, which was leased to the wife of Jorge Eanes (a shoemaker who had died by then), and for which the saddler paid an annual rent of 20 *reales* (MARQUES, 2013: 43). Regarding the 14th and 15th centuries, it was possible to identify 22 saddlers in Guimarães, mainly distributed around the village of Castelo and Rua Nova do Muro.

Packsaddle-makers

Still in the equine field, we also have the *albardeiros* or packsaddle-makers who, as the name suggests, made *albardas* or packsaddles. There are few references to pack-saddle-makers in Guimarães, and four craftsmen were found in this list regarding the chronological period under analysis: we know that Pedro Lourenço lived in the village of Castelo and that Pedro Afonso lived in a house in the stables.

Packsaddle-maker name	Ref. Date	Source
Gonçalo Afonso	22-07-1411	AMAP - CSMO, LNA-X, fl. 21vº
João Álvares	31-10-1477	AMAP- CSMO, LNA-XII, fl. 20vº
Pedro Afonso	13-07-1362	ANIT- CSMO, DP, M. 34, Nº 10
Pedro Lourenço	13-10-1402	ANIT- CSMO, DP, M. 40, Nº 15

Particulares, M. 23, Nº 24. Gervás Gonçalves, abbot of the Church of São Bartolomeu de São Gens, would also receive as advance payment, via a lease made on November 21, 1428, “three tanned sheepskins for boots” (ANIT- CSMO, DP, M. 45, Nº 15).

Barbers

Surprisingly enough, other craftsmen associated with leather were the barbers. They were truly jacks-of-all-trades: they cut beards and hair; they performed the common bloodletting; they sharpened all kinds of cutting instruments (scythes, knives, cleavers, and tailor’s scissors). They also cleaned and sharpened various types of weapons; but, most importantly, they were also often asked to coat the hilt of swords with leather, as well as making scabbards and belts, tasks that could also be carried out by sheathmakers. So far, it has been possible to identify two dozen barbers for Guimarães at the end of the Middle Ages, more specifically for the 15th century, since these professionals are not mentioned in Guimarães during the 14th century.

Shoemakers

Shoemakers made different types of footwear, and in the medieval period from the 14th to the 15th centuries there are references to cowhide shoes, pointed shoes, round-headed shoes, long shoes, *gramaias* (a type of clogs), boots, high chamois boots, women's boots, buskins, *servilhas*, *pantufos* and *chapins* (all three are types of slippers) and clogs (MARQUES, 1981; FEIO, 2017: 115–117). As far as Guimarães is concerned, the sources are not very informative in this regard; curiously enough, on April 8, 1336, the harnessmaker Domingos Peres and his wife Maria Vicente received two pairs of shoes from the shoemaker Fernão Lourenço and his wife Esteva Martins as a down payment for the sublease they made of some houses in Rua Nova do Muro²⁷.

The most commonly used raw material to make shoes was cordovan, although various types of leather were used, depending on the different purposes for which they were intended, which naturally impacted the price of the final product. In this respect, the cheapest footwear was made of cowhide, which was the most accessible to the general population. It is known that there were also shoemakers who repaired and sold only used shoes. As was the case elsewhere in the country, it is likely that shoemakers who worked with cowhide were not allowed to work with other types of leather in Guimarães either. On the other hand, there was also a distinction between those who worked with goatskin and those who worked with sheepskin. We know that the Lisbon and Évora ordinances of the 15th century forbade the mixing and use of different animal skins in the same article (RODRIGUES, 1974: 69; FEIO, 2017).

Clog makers

Among shoemakers, there were also craftsmen with certain specializations, namely the *borzegueiros* or buskin makers, and *soqueiros* or clog makers. The buskin makers made a specific type of footwear, the buskin, although in the case of Guimarães, and so far, we have not found any reference to these professionals in the final two centuries of

the Middle Ages, although their presence in the town of Guimarães is confirmed for the 16th century (FERNANDES and OLIVEIRA, 2004: 84–85). As for clog makers, they made clogs, later also known as sabots, which are still used and sold today. Among the various types of footwear, clogs apparently required less technical complexity, consisting of a wooden sole to which leather was attached with studs. We have found eight clogs for Guimarães from this period.

28 AMAP – CSMO, Pergaminhos, 8-2-5-23.

29 AMAP – Irmandade de São Crispim e São Crispiniano, Pergaminhos, 8-5-4-58.

30 ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 48, Nº 31.

31 AMAP – Irmandade de São Crispim e São Crispiniano, Pergaminhos, 8-5-4-43.

32 ANTT - CSMO, Docs. Particulares, M. 72, Nº 38.

Clog maker name	Ref. Date	Source
Afonso Esteves	16-12-1355	AMAP - CSMO, LNA - I, fl. XLII
Estêvão Martins	25-02-1348	AMAP - Perg. Câm. (8-1-1-12)
Estêvão Martins	11-07-1359	ANTT - CSMO, DP, M. 30, Nº 26
Gonçalo Domingues	20-05-1356	AMAP - CSMO, LNA - I, fl. XLVIII
Gonçalo Pires	26-02-1348	AMAP - Perg. Câm. (8-1-1-12)
João Afonso	19-12-1414	AMAP - CSMO, LNA - X, fl. XXXIX
Nicolau Álvares	1498	FERNANDES e OLIVEIRA, 2004: 158
Pedro Álvares	08-09-1468	AMAP – ISCSC (11-24-7-8-9)
Vicente Rodrigues	02-05-1334	AMAP - CSMO, Perg., (8-2-2-30)
Vicente Rodrigues	27-10-1348	ANTT - CSMO, DP, M. 30, Nº 15
Vicente Rodrigues †	06-11-1353	ANTT - CSMO, DP, M. 31, Nº 38

30

In addition to these specializations, there were people with other functions that help us understand the organization of work in the workshop, such as Gonçalo Afonso, mentioned in 1445 as a servant of the shoemaker Lourenço Anes and also his tailor²⁸.

Some shoemakers certainly also tanned their leather, since they owned — or at least exploited — *pelames*, as were the cases of shoemakers João Lourenço²⁹, João Esteves³⁰, João de Basto³¹, João Império, Jorge Eanes, Afonso Esteves (MARQUES, 2013: 43) and Brás Jorge³². The shoemaker craft was one of the most representative of Guimarães in medieval times, with around two hundred shoemakers recorded in the 14th and 15th centuries, a number only comparable to that of tailors and merchants. This high expressiveness was associated with a strong economic and social influence, which allowed them to create the Shoemakers' Guild. Regarding its geographical distribution, there was a greater concentration on Rua Sapateira, with around a dozen professionals; however, they were spread across various locations, from the castle, to Rua de Gatos, the Couros Street, Rua de Santiago, Rua Nova do Muro, Rua Caldeiroa, and Rua de Santa Maria.

Conclusion

This journey through the world of leather in Guimarães throughout the last two centuries of the Middle Ages allows us to see the enormous impact that this “industry” had on the Guimarães society, both through the multiple crafts that were associated with it and through the entire economic chain that it generated and fuelled. And if the Couros area is the epicenter of this activity and many craftsmen that depended on it were settled there, this sector went beyond this geographical space and extended

throughout the intramural area. As it was not possible to identify either the location of the address or the place of work of a significant number of the artisans identified, it is difficult to establish a correlation between certain professions and certain spaces or arteries of the town, although the available data do not point to an expressive concentration of craftsmen in a given location. This dispersion is also revealing, not only of the interaction between the different professionals who depended on each other, but also of the economic dynamism of medieval Guimarães, whose leather industry brought together a significant group of crafts and craftsmen.

Documentary

Appendix

Doc.1

1358 OCTOBER, 07, Guimarães – The precentor and the Chapter of the Church of Santa Maria de Guimarães lease to Lourenço Domingues, harnessmaker, his wife Domingas Martins, and a third person to be named by the *postumeiro*, the house of *pelames* next to the Couros stream, for a rent of six pounds a year, half to be paid by Christmas and the other half by Easter.

AMAP – Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Guimarães, Livros de Notas, C-926 (Livro de Nota Antiga - I, fl. XLVIvº).

Sabham todos que nos chantre e cabidoo da Igreja de Sancta Maria de Guimaraens en-
prazamos a vos Lourenço Dominguez correero presente da dicta villa e a vossa mo-
lher Domin-
gas Martinz e a huua pessoa depos vos qual o prestumeiro de vos nomear a nossa casa dos
pelames que esta a par de Ryo de Coyros e parte da huua parte com o ryo e da outra com a
almuinha dos frades de Sam Francisco com sas entradas e saidas per tal condiçom que façades
hi benffectoria e melhoramento e adubedes de todo aquilo que aver mester salvo de fogo
ou d'arrounhamento e que nos dedes em cada huum anos seis libras de dinheiros portugueses
a mayatade per Natal e a meyatade por Pascoa e come- çar este Natal que vem e que ajades as
rendas que ora dela som por pagar des Sanhoane aca e quem contra esto for peite de pea
quinhentos soldos e o prazo valer e pediom assy huum prazo e o dicto Lourenço Domin-
guiz outro. Fecto foy Guimaraens na Igreja de Sancta Maria de Guimaraens a par da
oussia de Sanhoane no lugar hu de custume soeem seer aa pregaçom sete dias d'Outubro
Era de mil trezentos noventa e seis annos. Testemunhas Gil Lourenço Gil Perez coonigos e
Joham Azedo mercador e Affonso Fernandiz de Crasto e Martim Anes clerigo e Domingos
Stevez de Monte Cordova e outros. E eu Vaasco Lourenço tabelliom de Guimaraens que
este prazo pera o dicto cabidoo e outro semelhavil a el per mandado e outorgamento dos
sobredictos screvy e aqui meu signal fiz que tal (sinal) he. [Pagou] IIII soldos.

Doc.2

1370 JANUARY, 26, Guimarães – The precentor and the Chapter of the Church of Santa Maria de Guimarães lease to Bento Gonçalves, a *esqueireiro* (unspecified tanner), his wife Maria Martins, and a third person to be named by the *postumeiro*, the *pellames* next to the Couros stream, for a rent of five and a half pounds per year, to be paid by the day of St. Michael in September.

AMAP – Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Guimarães, Livros de Notas, C-926 (Livro de Nota Antiga - II, fl. Vvº).

Sabham todos que nos chantre e cabydoo da Egreja de Sancta Maria de Guimaraens seendo em cabydoo chamados pera esto que se sege enprazamos a vos Beito Affonso esqueireiro morador em a dicta villa pressente e a vossa molher Maria Martinz nom presente e a huua <peessoa> qual o prestrumeiro de vos nomear a seu saymento os pellames que o dicto cabydoo ajam em Ryo de Coiros a fundo do moesteiro de Sam Francisco assy como os tragia Lourenço correiro com esta condiçom que os adubedes de todallas coussas que ouverem mester salvo de cobertura se lha nom quisserdes poer e dedes de renda vos e as dictas pessoas em cada huum anno ao dicto cabydoo por todallas coussas cinco libras e meya de dinheiros portugueses por dia de Sam Myguel de Setembro e começardes a primeira paga este Sam Myguel primeiro seguinte e vos nom os poderdes leyxar nem o dicto cabydoo a vos tolher so pea de quinhentos soldos e este prazo valler e as partes pedirom senhos prazos. Fecto foy na cassa hu fazem cabydoo vinte e seys dias de Janeiro Era de mil quatrocentos e oyto annos. Testemunhas Pero Affonso clerigo de Cerzedo Pero Dominguz de Sylvares Gomez Coelho e Gonçallo Romeu e outros. E eu Vaasco Martinz tabeliom de Guimaraens que este prazo e outro semelhavyl a ele escrevy e aqui meu synal fiz que tal he (sinal). [Pagou] IIII soldos.

32

Doc.3

1384 SEPTEMBER, 17, Guimarães – Gonçalo Vieira and João Anes, canons of the Church of Santa Maria de Guimarães, as proxies of the Chapter, take possession of a house located on the Couros Street leased to João Castelão, hide-cleaner.

ANTT – Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Guimarães, Documentos Particulares, M. 38, Nº 07.

Sabham todos que presente mim Alvare Anes tabeliom del Rey na villa de Guimaraaens e as testemunhas adeante scriptas dez e sete dias do mes de Setembro da Era de mil e quatrocentos e vynte e dous annos Gonçallo Vieira e Johane Anes coonegos da Egreja de Sancta Maria da dicta villa chegarom a Rua de Coiros arravalde da dicta villa e come coonigos da dicta Egreja e come procuradores do cabydoo dessa Egreja tomarom posse de huua cassa que esta na dicta rua que ora trage Joham Castellao lavador dos coiros que partem da huua parte com cassa de pellames e da outra com huum pardieiro que som do dicto cabydoo e com rua publica com seus pellames per chave e per portas abertas da dicta cassa e per terra e pedra e telha da dicta cassa e disserom que per aly tomavam posse da dicta cassa com seus pellames e com suas perteenças que a ella perteence pera os coonigos e cabiidoo da dicta Egreja de Santa Maria averem per ella em cada huum anno huum maravedi velho de dinheiros portugueses que lhes per ella mandou Costança Martinz morador que foy na dicta villa em seu testamento

por noversaria segundo se contem em huua sentença de Gonçalo Romeu juiz que foy da dicta villa fecta e assignaada per Vasco Martinz tabeliom da dicta villa. E os dictos coonigos asy ouverom e receberam a posse da dicta cassa e derom e entregaron logo a chave da dicta cassa ao dicto Joham Castellaaoo de sa maaoo que a guardasse e que daqui en deante desse e pagasse per a dicta cassa em cada huum anno aos dictos coonigos e cabydoo huum maravedi enquanto em ella vivese e o dicto Joham Castellaaoo asy rece- beu a dicta chave e ficou que desse ao dicto cabydoo o dicto maravedi em cada huum anno per a dicta cassa e perteenças della enquanto em ella vivesse. E os dictos coonigos asy pedirom huum ou dous stormentos pera o dicto. Fecto foy no dicto logo dias Erames sobredictos. Testemunhas que a esto foram presentes Gonçalo Anes e Pere Anes çapateiros e o dicto Joham Castellaaoo e outros e eu tabeliom sobredicto que este screpvi e aqui meu signal pugy (sinal). [Pagou] seys soldos.

Doc.4

1503 JUNE, 20, Guimarães – Beatriz Afonso, widow of João Álvares de Pensello, gives as a guarantee of payment of 200 *reales* per year, to the Guimarães Collegiate Church, a farmhouse in the parish of Gémeos, in Riba de Vizela, and some houses on Rua do Gado, a value relating to the *aloque* (stone vat) she had in the Couros stream, and which was leased to the shoemaker Brás Jorge, who refused to pay for them.

ANTT – Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Guimarães, Documentos Particulares, M. 72, N° 38.

Saibham os que este estormento d'obrigaçam virem que no anno do nascimento de Noso Senhor Jhesus Chrispto de mill e quinhentos e trres annos vinte dias do mes de Junho do dicto anno na muito devota e homrada e Igreja Colegiada de Santa Maria de Oliveira da villa de Guimarraes na capeella mayor da dicta Igreja estando hy o bacharel Fernamd'Alvarez chantre e Luis Vaaz e Gill Vasquiz e Vasquo Martynz e Gonçallo Fernandez Joham Dominguiz abbade de Taagillde e Gonçallo Martynz e Estevam Affomso todos conigos prebemdados na dicta Igreja e outrosy estando hy Briatyz Affomso dona viuva molher que foy de Joham Alvarez de Pensello em presença de mym publico notairo e testemunhas adiante escriptas a dicta Briatyz Afomso disse que elles dictos conigos e cabydoo da dicta Igreja haviam daver em cada huum anno per huum seu aloque que ella tem em Ryo de Coyros que ora traz Bras Gorge çapateiro duzentos reais brancos de dez pretos o real e que porquanto o dicto Bras Gorge nom quer pagar aos dictos conigos e cabydoo os duzentos reais que ella Briatiz Affomso se hobriga per sy e per seus beens moveeis e de raiz de dar o dicto alloque a tall pesoa que pague os dictos duzentos reais aos dictos conigos e cabydoo e obrigue seus bees a lhos pagar e esto ataa este Sa'Miguell de Setembro primeiro que vem no dicto anno de quinhentos e trres annos e nom damdo ella Briatyz Affomso caseiro ao dicto aloque que pague os dictos dinheirros ao dicto cabydo que ella de ao dicto cabydoo huum seu casall d'erdade que ella tem em Riba de Vizella na freguesia dos Gemeos e huuas casas na Rua do Gaado em que mora Bastiam Dominguiz cereligo e que elles dictos conigos e cabydoo ajam os dictos duzentos reais quer pollo dicto casall quer pollas dictas casas assy e polla guisa que o aviam daver pollo dicto aloque segundo a forma da escriptura que he pasada antre o dicto Joham Alvarez e ella dicta sua molher Briatyz Affomso com o dicto cabydoo e as dictas partes asy o outorgaron e pediram senhos estormentos. Testemunhas que a esto foram presentes Ruy Periz mercador criado do

contador Ruy Mendez e Gonçalle Anes abbade de Santa Maria dos Gemeeos e outros. E eu Nuno de Vargas(?) puplico notairo na dicta villa de Guimarraes e seus termos pollo senhor ducque de Bragamça e da dicta villa nosso senhor que este estormento d'obrigaçam escrepvy e aqui meu synall fiz que tall he (sinal). Pagou com nota XXb reais.

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