Brotherhood and Boundaries
Fraternità e barriere

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Brotherhood and Boundaries

Fraternità e barriere

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Introduzione

Tra le moltissime associazioni spontanee di individui nate per realizzare programmi comuni, la confraternita si distingue fin dal nome per avere come carattere originale l'idea della fraternità tra gli esseri umani come figli dello stesso Dio: un'idea cristiana, che ha trovato imitatori nelle altre due religioni monoteistiche del mondo mediterraneo, l'ebraica e l'islamica. La loro è una lunga storia legata da un lato a quella delle comunità locali dove sono nate, dall'altro a quella sovranazionale dei grandi ordini religiosi che ne hanno assunto la direzione spirituale. Gli studi storici ad esse dedicati sono moltissimi. Ma la mole della documentazione che questi corpi hanno spesso gelosamente conservato e tramandato per secoli ha scoraggiato in genere gli studi d'insieme o li ha orientati verso momenti storici determinati – per esempio, la fase delle origini – o tipologie specifiche. I saggi qui raccolti costituiscono un tentativo di lettura complessiva della vasta documentazione e delle molte conoscenze disponibili attraverso la proposta di una domanda che impone la comparazione: quella del nesso tra l'atto di unirsi e la volontà di separarsi e di opporsi. Vale infatti anche per le confraternite, come per la più vasta storia dei popoli e delle nazioni, la doppia faccia dell'impulso alla separazione originaria dal resto della società attraverso la quale prende forma la confraternita. Da lì si avvia una storia fatta di scambi selettivi, di connessioni e alleanze eventuali con quelle affini anche se remote nello spazio e di conflitti con quelle vicine nella lotta per la supremazia e per la conquista di uno speciale prestigio simbolico nel contesto cittadino. Atto volontario inteso a perseguire modelli di convivenza più impegnativi di quelli della restante società, la costituzione della confraternita resta nella sua essenza il frutto di un impulso a separarsi dal flusso abituale delle pratiche sociali e a unirsi con un gruppo a sé stante. La forma associativa della confraternita ha trovato un terreno favorevole in società caratterizzate dalla debolezza o dall'assenza del potere statale, salvo diventare nel corso della sua storia lo strumento di poteri per controllare la realtà sociale. Di fatto nella tradizione storica dell'Occidente

europeo il fenomeno ha conosciuto un'epoca di grande fioritura nelle città medievali nel contesto di una rivoluzione economica e sociale e di una latitanza del potere imperiale. Com'è noto, lo stimolo primario venne da un'ispirazione religiosa, l'idea del legame fraterno fra chi con il battesimo era diventato figlio di un Dio che la preghiera dei Vangeli invocava con il nome di padre. È questo che permette di distinguere le confraternite laicali dalle associazioni di mestiere. Ma non si trattò di un fenomeno esclusivo del mondo cristiano né di realtà limitate alla società europea. Accanto a quelle cristiane si svilupparono confraternite ebraiche e musulmane, frutto di contatti e influssi tra mondi apparentemente ostili o non comunicanti. L'espansione europea nel mondo all'inizio dell'età moderna permise e stimolò la diffusione di questo modello in altre culture. Si può dire dunque che la comparazione è suggerita e stimolata nel caso delle confraternite dalla vastità e complessità delle loro diramazioni e dagli sviluppi a cui il seme originario dette avvio. Da qui è nata l'idea di proporre agli storici che lavorano in questo campo una occasione di confronto ponendo loro una domanda molto semplice, quella che si legge nel titolo di questa raccolta. L'invito è stato raccolto con grande interesse e i risultati che sono emersi dall'incontro potranno essere utili ai fini di una geografia e storia delle confraternite ancora da scrivere.

Gli atti del convegno sono stati raccolti ordinandoli all'interno di tre sezioni: a) Le frontiere; b) Chierici e laici; c) Fra politica e devozione. È evidente, tuttavia, che questa articolazione, se cerca di far emergere distinzioni tematiche, non è una 'barriera', non deve cioè impedire di cogliere i punti di convergenza e di contatto. Di fatto la lettura dei contributi suggerisce almeno a grandi linee una comune sequenza storica e un'articolazione geografica: si va dal momento delle origini del movimento confraternale, con le sue istanze di pace e di misericordia e con la volontà di attuazione del modello evangelico, a quello della istituzionalizzazione e gerarchizzazione del mondo confraternale sotto la presa di poteri ecclesiastici e laici determinati a sfruttarne le risorse simboliche e materiali e il prestigio sociale oppure a trasformarle in canali di trasmissione per disciplinare e assoggettare la società. Sul piano geografico, gli studi hanno registrato una dominante italiana nella fase delle origini, con diramazioni in altre parti d'Europa e sviluppi negli imperi coloniali iberici dell'età moderna. Ma il modello dell'associazionismo spontaneo per affrontare problemi della vita collettiva si ritrova anche nelle comunità ebraiche all'interno delle società cristiane, un tema che sta suscitando interesse e che pro-

mette sviluppi[1]. Non abbiamo, invece, avuto contributi per il mondo musulmano.

Il tema comune al centro del colloquio, come si è detto, è stato individuato nel rapporto 'fraternità/barriere'. I due aspetti apparentemente conflittuali dell'unione e della separazione sono inscindibili dalla natura e dalla storia delle confraternite. La nascita di ciascuna di esse rappresenta la creazione di un corpo sociale a parte, che ha un suo luogo di riunione, un rituale, una regola da seguire, un direttore spirituale, dei patroni celesti, un compito speciale da svolgere nella città, consistente in genere nel portare aiuto e assistenza a poveri, malati e a particolari categorie di bisognosi. Tutto questo costituisce la nuova realtà come separata dalla totalità del contesto sociale. Nel caso delle confraternite cristiane si apre così una dialettica tra una volontà di apertura e di solidarietà che rispondeva al comandamento evangelico delle opere di misericordia e una scelta di separazione dal resto della società in funzione della ricerca di dare senso alla propria esistenza e di garantirsi meriti agli occhi di Dio ai fini della salvezza della propria anima. Nella scelta di fondazione o di adesione si incontrano due movimenti opposti: da un lato quello verso la realtà esterna degli affamati, degli assetati, dei malati, insomma l'esercizio della carità come vincolo di amore con l'estraneo; dall'altro quello della separazione e distinzione di ruoli e di finalità, all'interno come all'esterno. I capitoli della confraternita, nel fissare le regole di vita individuale e associata per i membri introducono all'interno divisioni di ruoli e articolazione di funzioni tra uomini e donne, chierici e laici, nobili e popolari, arti e mestieri, ecc.; e intanto all'esterno l'ingresso della nuova associazione nel panorama fittamente popolato di aggregazioni analoghe suscita forme di emulazione e gare di prestigio, dà vita a contrasti anche clamorosi che esplodono in occasione di solenni rituali cittadini e di momenti di crisi sociale. In questa doppia faccia dell'associazionismo confraternale riconosciamo la radice della sua vitalità che si manifesta ancora oggi nella sopravvivenza del fenomeno anche laddove le funzioni sociali espletate dalle confraternite sono state assunte in proprio dalle istituzioni statali. Nei saggi qui raccolti si ha una rassegna di fonti diverse, rappresentative dell'imponente documentazione che queste

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[1] Segnaliamo intanto la pubblicazione del volume *Le confraternite ebraiche. Talmud Torah e Ghemilut Chasadim: premesse storiche e attività agli inizi dell'età contemporanea*, a cura dell'Archivio storico della Comunità ebraica di Roma, Roma 2011.

realtà hanno accuratamente prodotto e conservato nel corso dei secoli. Ma vediamo alcuni temi che emergono dagli atti di questo convegno.

Una domanda preliminare è quella del rapporto tra uomini e donne nel movimento confraternale: è il dilemma primario del nesso inclusione/esclusione. Per rispondere alla domanda Giovanna Casagrande ha analizzato attentamente una vastissima documentazione ricavandone indicazioni preziose non solo sulla presenza o sulla esclusione delle donne ma soprattutto sul modo in cui l'ammissione 'senza barriere' di uomini e donne corrispose in genere a una concezione della parità tra i due sessi limitata alla partecipazione alla preghiera e ai benefici spirituali, restando la gestione materiale delle opere esclusivamente in mano maschile. Anna Esposito ha rivelato nel caso di Roma la forte presenza di confraternite di tipo 'nazionale' e a esclusiva ricezione femminile, destinate ad accogliere e controllare pellegrine e donne delle diverse *nationes* presenti in città, considerate l'elemento più fragile nel tessuto sociale cittadino. Se nella Roma papale la presenza femminile è conseguenza diretta della loro marginalizzazione sociale, un ruolo protagonistico delle donne è emerso invece sorprendentemente nelle comunità ebraiche: lo studio di Federica Francesconi sulla So'ed Holim di Modena ha mostrato come la competizione con l'aggressiva proposta delle autorità ecclesiastiche e statali portasse nel secolo XVIII a sviluppare forme autonome di assistenza ai poveri promosse dalla componente femminile della società ebraica.

Il problema dei rapporti tra l'adesione al vincolo di fraternità interno alla confraternita e altre forme di appartenenza ha rivelato molti aspetti: c'è quello del rapporto tra appartenenza alla comunità confraternale e identità individuale (Alexis Fontbonne), quello del legame di famiglia (Kenneth Stow), quello del sovrapporsi di forme di appartenenza corporative (Roisin Cossar), quello della tensione fra gli spazi interni e quelli esterni delle devozioni (Maria Nerbano). C'è il contrasto fra l'originaria volontà di partecipazione comunitaria e la volontà di affermazione della propria confraternita (Marina Gazzini); e c'è quello tra i conflitti feroci delle 'parti' e la volontà di pacificazione portata dalle confraternite (Mariaclara Rossi).

La nozione di barriera rimanda alla questione dell'organizzazione dello spazio, quello materiale e quello simbolico e impone di verificare la costruzione dello spazio confraternale, non solo individuando il posto che ciascuna confraternita si ritagliava nella città ma anche i rituali di appropriazione e di propaganda ed i veicoli simbolici della delimitazione del territorio. Come emerge dal caso delle confraterni-

te dello Spirito Santo di Clermont e Montferrand studiate da Alexis Fontbonne, lo spazio creato dalla confraternita poteva diventare lo strumento a disposizione delle *élites* urbane per definire l'identità collettiva di un comune e l'articolazione interna delle gerarchie sociali. Maria Nerbano dedica la sua attenzione ai grandi riti collettivi delle processioni per i santi patroni e delle feste religiose più importanti mostrando come si accendesse in questi casi la gara per ottenere una maggior visibilità e il riconoscimento di determinati privilegi ma si scatenassero anche conflitti tra confraternite devote e corporazioni di mestiere. Dallo studio di Roisin Cossar su Bergamo scopriamo che nella lotta per l'affermazione di una confraternita sulle altre il corpo dei notai svolse una funzione significativa. Alessandro Serra affronta la questione di come potessero convivere nello spazio romano le molte confraternite che vi erano attive e in che modo entravano in competizione nel segnalare la loro esistenza. Si tratta di un interessante aspetto della questione dell'occupazione simbolica dello spazio urbano che si pone in vario modo anche per altre realtà. La strategia della comunicazione comportò in questo caso il ricorso alle immagini devote preesistenti e l'appropriazione di questi veicoli di identità rifunzionalizzati allo scopo. La lotta tra carmelitani e domenicani per la conquista di nuovi spazi è al centro del contributo di Magda Teter, che segue le vicende di una leggenda anti-ebraica a Poznán, in Polonia, dove cattolici, ebrei e protestanti convivevano negli stretti confini cittadini. Il 'miracolo delle tre ostie' diventò un'arma polemica contro ebrei e protestanti e garantì ai carmelitani della città e alla confraternita da loro fondata, nuovi spazi sacri, reali e simbolici, all'interno della città.

La gestione dello spazio e la lotta per l'affermazione del prestigio simbolico della propria comunità di appartenenza rientrano nel più vasto ambito della lotta politica. Ci si chiede fino a che punto l'obiettivo della fraternità riguardò solo i rapporti interni all'associazione o investì anche ambiti più vasti. Come mostra Mariaclara Rossi soffermandosi sui casi di Bologna, Perugia, Assisi, Padova, Verona, queste associazioni rappresentarono un tentativo di perseguire la pacificazione dei conflitti mettendo in connessione religione e politica: gridare «misericordia», «pax», «concordia» fu caratteristico di movimenti cittadini mossi da una volontà di protagonismo politico non sempre visto di buon occhio da parte delle autorità. E sarà da tenere presente l'osservazione qui proposta sull'affermarsi col tempo di una tendenza all'interiorizzazione e al ritiro dall'ambito pubblico, limitando la volontà di pace alle relazioni familiari e ai rapporti personali. Quello colto nel saggio di Marina Gazzini è il momento di svolta tre-quattrocentesco in area lombarda dalla

comunità spontanea e volontaristica all'istituzione governata dall'alto e regolata secondo la volontà dei poteri laici ed ecclesiastici: la gestione dell'assistenza diventa compito di amministratori nominati dall'alto e di corpi ristretti che dispongono di capitali importanti ma proprio per questo non rispondono più all'instabile comunità confraternale. È il passaggio dallo spirito comunitario alla istituzionalizzazione. Lungo questo percorso si riduce fino a scomparire la libertà dell'adesione personale sostituita per esempio da una rigida selezione sulla base dell'appartenenza a un mestiere; e si riduce anche ad ambiti predeterminati l'esercizio della carità, come effetto tra l'altro dell'ingresso di uomini d'affari nel mondo confraternale. Trasformazioni anche più radicali per effetto dell'intervento del potere sono segnalate da Kenneth Stow nel caso della comunità ebraica romana: la pressione omologatrice del papato e l'imposizione delle norme di diritto comune furono arginate dall'azione delle tre confraternite ebraiche fondamentali, che assunsero funzioni di difesa e di barriera nei confronti di un potere statale affamato di anime ebraiche da battezzare.

Ma intanto è proprio il capitale rappresentato dalle associazioni confraternali e dalle istituzioni ospedaliere a suscitare l'attenzione delle élites locali specialmente dove il potere politico è sfuggito dalle loro mani: Daniel Bornstein analizza attraverso il caso di Cortona il modo in cui si procede alla concentrazione degli ospedali e alla unione dei «luoghi pii» come strumenti di controllo sociale e simboli dell'identità locale.

Uno sguardo d'insieme sulla realtà del Portogallo permette a Isabel dos Guimarães Sá di illustrare la grande diffusione del modello delle Misericordie, ispirate probabilmente da un modello toscano ma, a differenza delle variegate attribuzioni e delle specializzazioni delle confraternite italiane, dotate di grande autonomia locale e dedite all'esercizio di tutte le opere di carità del canone cristiano. La diversa struttura del Portogallo, con un potere politico e religioso fortemente accentrato, sembra aver conferito all'associazionismo confraternale i suoi caratteri originali di capillarità e di omogeneità. Va ricordato a questo proposito che nel caso del Portogallo disponiamo di una esemplare raccolta unitaria, filologicamente accurata, delle fonti disponibili, grazie a un'*équipe* guidata dal professor José Pedro Paiva[2].

Analizzando il rapporto tra laici e chierici emerge il dinamismo cul-

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[2] *Portugalliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, a cura di José Pedro Paiva, Lisboa 2002 sgg.

turale e religioso dei laici, evidente soprattutto nel primo movimento associativo. Lo studio che Sanvito dedica al Cinquecento veneziano è un'occasione importante per avere un quadro della straordinaria ricchezza e varietà della committenza artistica e dei rapporti tra pittori e 'scuole'. All'ambito toscano ci porta Sabrina Corbellini che studia la traduzione e la lettura del *Diatessaron* in ambito confraternale, un aspetto molto interessante della conoscenza e della diffusione della Bibbia nella Toscana medievale. Accanto alla parola letta ci fu nella Firenze degli umanisti quella ascoltata nelle prediche, su cui si sofferma Peter Howard. E tra i devoti membri toscani Olga Zorzi Pugliese ci fa incontrare il Machiavelli della *Esortazione alla penitenza* e dei *Capitoli per una compagnia di piacere*, inversione satirica di rituali religiosi guardati da un testimone del tutto speciale. La libertà della satira doveva però finire presto e le confraternite dovevano conoscere una nuova stagione segnata dalla disciplina tridentina. A questa fase storica sono dedicati saggi che illustrano aspetti molto differenziati della proposta cattolica della prima età moderna. Il modello borromaico della riforma cattolica delle confraternite non poteva mancare, data la sua importanza: se ne occupa qui Marzia Giuliani con un contributo innovativo. Ma sullo sfondo delle direttive tridentine fortemente penalizzanti nei confronti della libertà e della convivialità delle confraternite, spicca il caso della città spagnola di Sabadell studiata da Josep Alavedra Bosch che dimostra la sopravvivenza di una notevole dose di indipendenza delle realtà locali dal controllo ecclesiastico. Alla devozione alla Beata Vergine come bandiera della presenza spagnola nei Paesi Bassi cattolici è dedicato il saggio di Margaret King. Il robusto saggio di Christopher Black affronta il volto repressivo della Controriforma, l'Inquisizione, per seguirne l'opera di sorveglianza poliziesca sulle devozioni sospette e i complicati rapporti coi Crocesignati, in un contesto dominato da continue tensioni tra vescovi, inquisitori e confraternite. Nella proposta devota che il potere coloniale portoghese avanzò per l'integrazione degli schiavi africani con la Confraternita della *Nossa Senhora do Rosario*, qui studiata da Giuseppe Marcocci, è possibile seguire velleità e fallimenti di chi volle riproporre il nesso tra battesimo e libertà in una società dove i padri religiosi erano fedeli alleati dei padroni. È interessante confrontare questo episodio con l'altra proposta della diffusissima devozione del Rosario che si ebbe allora nella colonia spagnola di Quito e che Susan Verdi Webster analizza nel suo saggio: anche in questo caso la primitiva associazione di spagnoli, indigeni e africani durò ben poco e la confraternita si divise secondo le diverse etnie. Un caso speciale fu quello della Misericordia

di Manila studiata da Juan O. Mesquida: una istituzione che assurse a un potere economico tale da attirare l'attenzione dei maggiori poteri ecclesiastici e politici.

Ed è proprio la dimensione del potere politico quella che domina nell'ultima sezione . Qui una nutrita serie di saggi affronta la questione della 'religione civica' nelle forme assunte all'inizio dell'età moderna in realtà diverse come la Lucca studiata da Raffaele Savigni, la Firenze delle confraternite di adolescenti studiate da Ilaria Taddei, la Parma del primo Cinquecento di cui occupa Cristina Cecchinelli, la Genova studiata da Carlo Taviani e infine la Drogheda irlandese tra Cinquecento e Seicento studiata da Colm Lennon. Un caso ancora diverso è quello di Roma, studiato da Anna Esposito, dove le associazioni confraternali furono di stampo prettamente assistenziale, contarono sul deciso appoggio del papato e furono spesso regolate in base alle *nationes* di appartenenza, secondo la dialettica dei rapporti diplomatici tra la Santa Sede e le altre potenze europee. Danilo Zardin analizza invece il problema del controllo e della critica delle istituzioni confraternali all'interno della chiesa cattolica in una prospettiva di lungo raggio, che spazia dal Cinquecento all'età contemporanea e si concentra poi sulla riflessione di Ludovico Antonio Muratori.

All'Italia centro-settentrionale che fa normalmente la parte del leone nella storiografia un utile correttivo viene apportato dalla Puglia ricchissima di confraternite, col saggio di sintesi di Liana Bertoldi Lenoci, appassionata ed esperta studiosa della materia.

STEFANIA PASTORE, ADRIANO PROSPERI, NICHOLAS TERPSTRA

Social and Religious Boundaries in Confraternities, Prisons and Hospitals in Renaissance Portugal

The last years of the fifteenth century and the sixteenth century were crucial in the structuring of assistance to the poor in Portugal during the early modern period. As the result of the solidification of monarchic power, the king became interested in protecting his destitute subjects: poor prisoners, the sick, foundlings and orphans. The concern over eternal life and the salvation of the soul transformed religion into a powerful component of state building. This process was achieved through the king's initiative in matters concerning the organization of the ecclesiastical sphere, such as the administrative supervision of chapels, the nomination of bishops and cardinals, and control over the military religious orders[1]. Legitimating royal power could not be achieved without the Church, and the crown actively sought the ideological support brought by religion. In order to appear as the defender of the poor, the crown had to resort to charity and make an appeal to religion. The reorganization of hospitals and prisons is a good example of how religious values were put to service of the empowerment of the monarchy.

In order to create new hospitals out of small units, which had been created previously by private donations, the king had to negotiate with the Holy See. Concerning prisons, a new balance of power with local municipalities had to be created, as the crown was interested in increasing its influence over different jurisdictions through the protection of the underprivileged and powerless. A particularly good moment in what concerns the economic context enabled the crown to

appear as the generous patron of new hospitals and show its worries over abused prisoners. Charitable reform had been attempted earlier, but only the revenues of overseas expansion, of which the crown was the main beneficiary, allowed for continuous action, either under the form of new foundations, reinforcement of the existing ones, or improvement in their financial administration. However, such institutions divided as much as they reunited the poor under the benevolence of power. A categorization of the needy according to social status, religion, and quality of blood was already taking its first steps, even before the Council of Trent institutionalized such divides. Before the end of the sixteenth century, hospitals and prisons were the only institutions where the destitute were enclosed within walls: shelters for maiden girls or orphans had not yet been created. Two separate processes allowed the crown to promote changes in charity: the reorganization of hospitals and the creation of a new set of confraternities that would radically change the confraternal landscape of their territories.

Hospitals were not managed by the confraternities of the Misericórdia before the 1560's (and even so, not all of them were incorporated, some having kept different administrative arrangements), I have included them in this study because both the foundation of the misericórdias and hospital reform were undertaken by the same social actors, under the protection of the crown, and with the same religious background. Also, there were several, although isolated, attempts to merge medieval hospitals into the local misericórdias, such as what occurred in the city of Oporto. In 1521, the last year of his reign, the king ordered the fusion of several small units into the misericórdia of the city. Instead, important hospitals founded anew by the king himself, were not to be trusted to the local misericórdias until the 1560s, as happened in Beja, Coimbra, and Santarém. Hospitals would not merge with the misericórdias until the 1560s. Following the closing of the Council of Trent, most hospitals (even so, with important exceptions), were incorporated into the administration of the local misericórdias. By that time, however, they were already fully developed institutions, with professional staff, buildings and internal regulations of their own.

The Portuguese Misericórdias: creation and expansion

Until 1498, Portugal would show the same diversity of confraternities as other regions in Europe. During the sixteenth century, a new type of brotherhood would change the confraternal panorama, slow-

ing transforming itself into the most powerful confraternal association at the local level, and also being omnipresent in Portuguese territories both metropolitan and overseas. Such confraternities were the misericórdias, and at the beginning they might have been inspired by the Tuscan examples. But unlike the latter, they were designed to perform the whole charitable programme included in the fourteen works of mercy. This means that they assisted pilgrims, clothed and nourished the poor, prayed for the dead, reconciled people with one another, gave help to poor prisoners, and tended for the sick poor, and more. They created a common language of local power and care for the poor that were to be spread across the Portuguese empire, that is, to such disparate colonies such as Brazil, Goa or Macao. There was a misericórdia in every Portuguese municipality, and dozens of them in the overseas empire. All similar, but independent from one another, which made them autonomous institutions. Even colonial settlements that did not obey to the king of Portugal had misericórdias, such as Manila and Buenos Aires[2].

The key to the diffusion of the misericórdias lies in the fact that they were flexible confraternities, independent from one another, that is, autonomous at the local level. They responded to the king, at whose legal protection they developed, but represented a locus for the elites to exert power and benevolence. And this, in an articulate flexible manner, that did not imply royal control over them; only similar statutes meant they would act similarly, although allowing for local adaptations.

Initially the Misericórdias developed as a confraternity that acted in the interstices of the existing institutions, filling voids that no other entity was responsible for. They would enter the existing hospitals and care for the spiritual wellbeing of the sick, visit the shame faced poor, distribute clothes and food, enter prisons, bury the dead whose families could not afford a funeral, pray for the deceased, etc. Other activities concerned making peace between enemies, ensuring that the contenders celebrated it publicly, often during the Holy Week,

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[2] On the presence of these confraternities in the Portuguese empire, see I. DOS GUIMARÃES SÁ, *Quando o rico se faz pobre: Misericórdias, caridade e poder no Império Português, 1500-1800*, Lisboa 1997 (http://handle.net/1822/4311); EAD., *Charity and Discrimination. The Misericórdia of Goa*, «Itinerario», 31/2, 2007, pp. 51-70; EAD., *Charity, Ritual and Business at the Edge of Empire: the Misericórdia of Macao*, in L.M. BROCKEY (ed.), *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World*, Aldershot 2008, pp. 149-76.

or self-flagellating during Maundy Thursday processions. Redemption of sin, penance and eternal salvation were the concerns that dictated confraternal activity, and charity towards the poor was only a means to achieve such goals. In so doing, the misericórdias as they were initially designed, did not discriminate anyone in the Christian community. Its first statutes were clear on the subject: the confraternity was meant for all those who had received the waters of baptism[3]. In times of persecution to religious minorities, this was not an irrelevant boundary, and we shall go back to it later on the subject of hospitals.

The Portuguese prisons: from castles to municipalities

By the end of the fifteenth century, prisons were slowly leaving castles and moving to municipal premises. This implied a transfer from seigniorial authority to the supervising of local councils, and also that new administrative and financial devices had to be set in order to support a new institutional reality. Council prisons and 'civic' justice meant that most prisoners could be channelled to higher juridical instances, and so that the transportation of prisoners had also to be organized. The shortest and best itineraries had to be settled; councils had to decide who had the obligation to accompany them along their journeys to their court of appeal. Also, a new set of problems was created by the time prisoners waited for trial in gaol: it was a crucial issue, since prisons only provided for buildings, chains for prisoners, and a gaoler to rule over them. In no circumstances were prisoners to eat, drink, receive medical attention, or cover juridical costs at the expense of their incarcerators. All these duties pertained to their families and personal assets, and a long time in prison meant an escalation in impoverishment. Slaves also posed problems, because their stay in prison was to be paid for by their owners, and the authorities wanted to avoid the incarceration of abandoned slaves as much as possible[4].

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[3] I. Carneiro de Sousa, *O Compromisso Primitivo das Misericórdias Portuguesas (1498-1500)*, «Revista da Faculdade de Letras», II s., 13, 1996, pp. 259-306.

[4] As a result of expansion to Africa, slaves were a significant presence in Portugal as early as the fifteenth century. On the subject see A.C. de C.M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555*, Cambridge 1982; J. Fonseca, *Escravos no Sul de Portugal: Séculos XVI-XVII*, Lisboa 2002; Id., *Black Africans in Portugal During Cleynaerts's Visit (1533-1538)*, in T.F. Earle, K.J.P. Lowe

The material conditions of the prison were thus quite simple: poor people would starve to death without the help of others, and receive no care in sickness. The incarcerated were at their gaolers' mercy, as the evidence points to the need to cut down their discretionary powers towards prisoners[5].

The chronology of these changes is still tentative, but some information points to the reign of D. Manuel I (1495-1521) as the crucial moment in which most of these new structures were created. The interesting point is that it coincided with the formation of the first misericórdias, which seems to respond to needs created by these new 'civic' prisons.

In 1498, when the king ordered the meeting of *cortes* (parliament) before his trip to the court of the Catholic kings, where he was to be pronounced heir to the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon[6]. The representatives of the people to such *cortes* complained against prisons in castles (sometimes even improvised prisons in private dwellings of the *alcaides*) because they oppressed prisoners, as well as the wives and daughters who visited them[7].

We can insert concern over the new prisons in the reinforcement of the power of the crown. The main duty of the king was to see that justice was done, and that peace and harmony would reign among his subjects[8]. The king should take decisions concerning at least the

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(edd.), *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 113-21; D. LAHON, *Black African Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal During the Renaissance: Creating a New Pattern of Reality*, *ibid.*, pp. 261-79.

[5] Evidence for sixteenth century Paris confirms the powers of gaolers. See S. BROOMHALL, *Poverty, Gender and Incarceration in Sixteenth-Century Paris*, «French History», 18/1, 2004, pp. 1-24: 13.

[6] D. Manuel was married to the eldest daughter of the Catholic kings, Isabel, and heir to the throne after her brother John's death. Later, her death and that of their son, Miguel da Paz, gave consequently the throne to Juana the Mad and her husband Philip the Fair.

[7] In J.J. ALVES DIAS, *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Manuel I (Cortes de 1498)*, Lisboa 2002, pp. 118, 223, 269.

[8] Justice is held as the main component of royal government in the treaty by D. LOPES REBELO, *Do Governo da República pelo Rei (De Republica gubernanda per regem)*, ed. A. Moreira de Sá, Lisboa 1951, p. 89. The author was one of king Manuel's educators and he wrote the treaty on the occasion of his ascension to the throne in 1495.

cases that involved capital punishment, and his judgement was often dictated, not by considerations of guilt or truthfulness, but by political criteria. That is, the well being of the kingdom should be considered, and capital punishment avoided as much as possible. Men were more useful alive than dead, especially when overseas expansion increased the need for sailors, soldiers, and colonizers. Recognition of the power of crown was enunciated in moral terms, and the king should rather forgive than punish. In the second half of the sixteenth century, an author would state in one of his moral tales that justice without mercy equalled cruelty[9].

The king's need to be merciful followed a tradition well rooted in the Middle Ages: his prerogative of forgiving was not matched by any other seigniorial authority, and gave way to a complex system of pardons that has been studied for the reign of Afonso V (r. 1446-1481)[10].

During the same year of 1498, while king D. Manuel was away in Spain, the regency was awarded to his sister Leonor, who was also the widow queen of his predecessor, king João II (r. 1481-1495). Leonor founded the misericórdia of Lisbon in August 15, and three weeks later she was already providing for prisoners. The members of the new confraternity would visit gaols twice a week, distribute food and drink, and provide for medical care, as well as sweep and clean the premises. Prisons were not designed to punish prisoners, but were places where the incarcerated would wait for the court decisions, or for private agreements that would set them free. Buildings were not important, as long as prisoners were prevented from escaping through the use of metal chains or by attaching them to walls. Prisons were non-monitored spaces, and were left to the care of gaolers, who locked and unlocked doors and chains, and provided for prisoners in case they paid for what they needed. But, if they did not have the money, evidence points to the idea that prisoners were left to themselves, or to the generosity of strangers. A third intervener was necessary to mitigate the power of gaolers, and the answer to this need was to be provided by charitable action. The brothers of the confraternity of the misericórdia would be in charge of providing for prisoners, especially if they could not afford life in prison. The queen set the rules that would subsequently

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[9] G. Fernandes Trancoso, *Contos e Histórias de Proveito & Exemplo (Texto integral conforme a edição de Lisboa, de 1624)*, ed. João Palma-Ferreira, Lisboa 1974, p. 95.

[10] L.M. Duarte, *Justiça e Criminalidade no Portugal Medievo, 1459-1481*, Lisboa 1999.

be employed by other misericórdias concerning prisons. She wrote to the gaolers in order to obtain authorization for the members of the misericórdia to be let in and perform their charitable tasks. In Lisbon, the misericórdia would have the exclusive task of collecting alms for poor prisoners. She also ordered the main two courts of law (*Casa do Cível* – in Lisbon – and *Casa da Suplicação*, which accompanied the king and his court in their dislocations) to speed up the sentencing of poor prisoners so that they would spend less time in gaol[11] (fig. 6).

These new prisons would be important in what concerns the creation of new roots of monarchical power in Portugal and its empire, in times when the king and his court tended to travel less. In spite of this, we must bear in mind that there were competing juridical powers that held their own prisons, such as bishoprics, (their prisons were known as the *Aljube*), the prisons of the Inquisition (established in 1536), and also private gaols kept by institutions such as abbeys and convents, and teaching institutions such as colleges and the University of Coimbra. As far as we know, the rules for the upkeep of prisoners were everywhere the same. For instance, the prisoners in the Inquisition also paid for their support if they had the means to afford it[12]. As we know, the fragmentation of prisons according to different juridical instances ended only during the first half of nineteenth century.

By 1552, João Brandão, an author who wrote a detailed description of Lisbon, listed 11 prisons in the city: the *Tronco*, that is, the municipal prison (with 80 to a 100 prisoners), and the *Limoeiro*, a single building where he included six gaols: one for the *Suplicação*, another for the *Cível* and another for those convicted to exile (each one of these sections was divided by gender). These prisons hosted approximately 500 to 600 hundred prisoners at a time, and communicated directly to the upper floors, where the courtrooms were placed. Also at the top levels, there were some rooms for noble prisoners. The inquisition had two prisons, and there was also the *Aljube* – the ecclesiastical prison –, as well as a gaol for counterfeiters of coins[13].

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[11] Publ. Sousa, *A Rainha da Misericórdia na História da Espiritualidade em Portugal na Época do Renascimento*, II: *Cartas, textos e outros documentos*, diss. de doutoramento, Porto 1992, pp. 109, 110 and 107.

[12] I. da Rosa Pereira, *Livro da Receita e Despesa dos Presos Ricos da Inquisição de Lisboa (1594-1596)*, Lisboa 1994.

[13] J. Brandão, *Grandeza e Abastança de Lisboa em 1552*, ed. J.F. Alves, Lisboa 1990, pp. 162-3.

Misericórdias acquired other roles concerning gaols besides feeding and seeing that doctors visited sick prisoners. The brothers of the confraternity were often called to help in drawing settlements that would avoid trial, and see that the accusers were compensated for damage. One particular section of these 'peace deals' was concerned with unpaid debts, where the misericórdias were particularly active, especially in Lisbon, thus operating as mediators between the parts[14]. A specific attorney was in charge of the prisoners at the care of the Misericórdia in every local or central court. The misericórdia's action was nevertheless careful not to collide with courts by being an obstacle to lawyers and judges. Brothers should be cautious in arranging agreements in cases when decisions should be left to judges. Certain crimes, on account of their seriousness, such as those that involved paying fines to the offended, or that implied damage to the king's interests, were not liable to be solved by private deals such as those that the brothers of the misericórdia tried to achieve.

Another area of intervention of the misericórdias dealt with public executions of those sentenced to death. Confessing and administering the last rites were not specific to these confraternities. Some religious orders might have specialized in it, or prisoners even might have been free to choose a confessor[15]. The brothers of the confraternity, on the other hand, took an active part in executions, assisting the last wishes of the sentenced and accompanying the cortège. Last wishes included the consumption of wine, food, and even the acquisition of new clothes, and were given to the prisoners inside the gaol[16]. On the day of the execution, the brothers of the confraternity would organize the cortège from the prison to the scaffold, and everybody who wanted to join could participate. The mob knelt in each church to ask God's forgiveness, and a mass would be celebrated, so that the convict would «see God before dying». Strangely, the *provedor* was not supposed to participate in the procession, and the 1618 statutes explicitly stated this, although no explanation was given for this exclusion[17].

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[14] M. Tavares Escocard de Oliveira, *Justiça e Caridade: a Produção Social dos Infratores Pobres em Portugal, Séculos XIV ao XVIII*, doctorate dissertation, Niterói 2000, p. 254.

[15] On this subject, see G. Marcocci, *La salvezza dei condannati a morte. Giustizia, conversioni e sacramenti in Portogallo e nel suo impero*, in A. Prosperi (ed.), *Misericordie. Conversioni sotto il patibolo tra Medioevo ed età moderna*, Pisa 2007, pp. 189-255.

[16] Oliveira, *Justiça e Caridade* cit, p. 247.

[17] *Compromisso da Misericórdia de Lisboa*, Lisboa 1618, p. 51.

The misericórdias would also bury the corpses of the executed, or body parts that had been left at the place of execution. Harsh physical punishment consisted of severing parts of the body or execution. Mutilation was still practiced at the beginning of the sixteenth century but afterwards it disappears from the sources. As for death penalties, some convicts were sentenced to natural death, and others to death for all eternity, meaning that their body could not be buried but was left exposed to the gaze of passers by. On the next All Saints Day, the misericórdia staged the so-called procession of the bones ('procissão dos ossos') that was designed to bring the bodily remains of these convicts to the confraternity's church for a mass, and then to the cemetery for burial. This was, of course, something that contradicted the initial rule (damned criminals should not receive Christian burial), but, as such, the ritual reinforced the benevolent character of power.

In a country where the death penalty was only rarely imposed, executions were used as exemplary demonstrations of the power of the Crown. Capital punishment, and the supreme court of appeals were prerogatives of the Portuguese kings. The mild system of punishment does not match the harshness of some laws; commuting penalties and the practice of pardons mitigated the waste of blood or loss of human life. One of João II's chroniclers, Garcia de Resende, states that the king secretly advised his court judges to spare criminals' lives because men were hard to bring up and there were manly islands to people[18]. Criminals were more useful as 'degredados' that is, men who were sent to the overseas territories and left there for a stipulated number of years. The place and duration of their stay varied according to the crime and its circumstances. The worst criminals were sent for life to the areas with a higher possibility of death due to climate or malaria, such as Africa (Angola, São Tomé e Príncipe) and to a lesser extent, Brazil. In Asia, convicts from Goa or Macao would be sent to Timor.

King D. Manuel was already well aware of the advantages of sending prisoners to the colonies. In 1513 he nominated an official who would find out who were the prisoners sentenced to exile, making sure that

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[18] G. DE RESENDE, *Crónica de D. João II e Miscelânea*, ed. J. Veríssimo Serrão, Lisboa 1973, p. XVI («e secretamente tinha dito na Relação, que como não fosse caso feio, ou ladrão, ou tivesse partes, que dessem vida aos homens, que muitas ilhas havia aí para povoar, porque um homem custa muito a criar»).

they did not miss the boats[19]. This law suggests that if such a post did not exist, those prisoners would be ignored and left to rot in prisons.

The context is the same as in every European territorial state: there was a slow penetration of the king's officials in the supervision of local justice, and seigniorial authorities and even local municipalities resisted the king's interference in their justice proceedings. There was a slow eradication of private justice and private incarceration (except of family, and slaves). For a start, the brothers of the misericórdia mitigated the overwhelming powers of gaolers, who often resisted their action by trying to impose their own overseers of the prisoners.

The physical space of some prisons accounted for such lack of awareness. In 1526, after an escape of several prisoners from the Aljube (the Episcopal prison in Lisbon), the king was prompted to repair the premises. Such cooperation between ecclesiastical authorities (in this case the cathedral canons) and the crown can be easily explained: the archbishop of Lisbon was D. Alfonso (1509-1540), the king's brother (D. João III, r. 1521-1557), who had been nominated cardinal at the age of eight. After an inspection by two masons, it was concluded that the prison needed a stone bench where a trapdoor could be placed, and a ladder so that the gaoler could go down whenever he needed to deposit prisoners, let them out or see them[20].

Whilst this type of prison still prevailed, other physical arrangements were being set for prisoners. The buildings of the small municipalities were often occupied with gaols for prisoners at ground level, whilst the municipal council would meet in the first floor. Other *concelhos* kept a separate jailhouse in the vicinity of the main building.

We have also evidence that in more important urban settings towers of the existing castles or city walls were adapted to prisons. Ponte de Lima is an example, with a prison with three floors, and a dungeon (a dark prison at ground level or below). King D. Manuel ordered its construction, which was completed in 1511: the size of the prison is derived from the fact that the court of the *correição da comarca* was to be placed there. It was thus an intermediate prison between the local municipal prisons and the justice of the king. Like the *Limoeiro* prison in Lisbon, the privileged prisoners were placed in the upper floors, where they could enjoy light, fresh air, and sometimes a view (fig. 7).

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[19] Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais / Torre do Tombo (thereby IAN/TT), *Corpo Cronológico*, parte I, maço 13, doc. 71.

[20] IAN/TT, *Corpo Cronológico*, parte I, maço 34, doc. 125 [1526.08.20].

Hospitals: from small private foundations to large units under royal protection

As we all know, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw the creation of large hospitals, which accompanied urban growth, as well as the increasing presence of huge number of uprooted poor in early modern cities. Portugal is no exception, and I will bring in the two most important Portuguese hospitals of the period, one in Caldas da Rainha and the other in Lisbon. None of them was at the charge of the *misericórdia* during the period I am concerned here, although after the council of Trent the misericórdias became the main administrators of local hospitals[21]. However, the formation of large hospital units is contemporary with the formation of the misericórdias and their evolution explains what they would become in the late sixteenth century and later. When the misericórdias assimilated most of them from 1564 onwards, they already were structured organizations, with buildings, staff, landed property and revenues to support them.

The uses of space according to social distinctions were in place from the beginning, as I shall try to demonstrate.

I will bring the case of a hospital whose nature implied its attendance by members of every social stratum: the hospital das Caldas da Rainha. It was also founded by queen Leonor from 1485, at the location of sources of water that were deemed to have curative properties[22]. It would be used to treat a large range of illnesses, from the 'French disease' to gout. As such, people from all social backgrounds travelled from distant areas within the kingdom in order to be treated. Women and men from every social condition: members of the secular clergy, friars, nuns, noble men and women, pilgrims, and also the poor. Separate spaces were devised for all these categories. A first principle was the separation of the sexes: men should not be together with women in any circumstance, immersion in the water included. According to its *compromisso* of 1512, the hospital would have a hundred beds: sixty for the poor, 20 for persons of higher status (including clergy) and 20 for pilgrims, who would share their spaces with the servants and slaves

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[21] SÁ, *As Misericórdias: da fundação à União Dinástica*, in J.P. PAIVA (ed.), *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum*, 1: *Fazer a História das Misericórdias*, Lisboa 2002, pp. 25-7.

[22] The exact date of foundation of the hospital is not known, but historians have agreed to 1485 as an approximate year for its beginning.

of the institution[23]. These divisions would continue throughout the early modern period, but a special ward for nuns was opened, and the hospital was thought by contemporaries to possess safe facilities for the maintenance of women's enclosure. The hospital also had specific facilities for royalty and was remodelled during the eighteenth century in order to suit king D. João V (r. 1707-1750) and his court, while hosting the same variety of social groups as before (fig. 8).

Hospital de Todos-os-Santos was created in 1491, after a papal bull authorized the reunion of 43 small hospitals within the city of Lisbon. It was a king's initiative that passed from João II (1481-1495) to his successor Manuel I (1495-1521). It opened in 1502, date when most of its female and male staff were nominated in the king's chancery[24]. The regulations, however, were promulgated two years later. The incorporation of medieval hospitals meant that the religious duties of each one had to be fulfilled by the new hospital, as well as their commitments to specific works of mercy. Initially, the members of the misericórdia were supposed to place the sick poor in any hospital ward and attend to their spiritual needs; only in 1564 was the hospital incorporated into the institutions the misericórdia of Lisbon administered.

The purposes of this hospital went beyond care of the poor population of Lisbon, by this time an active seaport. The aggregation of the small hospitals into a single unit was a pretext to reform the administration of masses for the dead, on account of the institution of chapels. Of course, the 43 hospitals reunited represented a vast array of bequeathed property whose revenues were dedicated mostly to the saying of masses, but the foundation of the hospital was undertaken jointly with an attempt to bring order into the chapels of the Lisbon area. In its first years, its main official had the title of *provedor das capelas e do hospital*. After some years the post was divided in two, and the hospital affairs separated from those of the chapels. It was recognized that the property bequeathed in order to fund the masses for the

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[23] F. Correia (ed.), *Compromisso do Hospital das Caldas dado pela Rainha D. Leonor sua fundadora em 1512*, Coimbra 1930, p. 15.

[24] Between February 1502 and June 1503 there were at least 15 persons nominated by the king as members of the hospital staff, from administrative posts to nurses, doctors, surgeons, and servant workers (IAN/TT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, Livro 2, fls. 42v, 43, 44v, 46, 53v, 58; livro 35, fls. 3v, 18v, 20, 20v, 22, 22v-23, 28v-29, 33v-34, 34v, 37v).

dead was not properly rented out and its revenues dispersed, and also that the priests and friars of the religious orders might not celebrate as many masses as scriptures obliged them to. This was a bureaucratic task, concerned with collecting documents, issuing certificates, but done jointly by the crown and the religious authorities associated with the initiative. To start with, the provedor was to be a cleric, and most of the persons who held office during the first years of the hospital were recruited among Lisbon's cathedral chapter. Soon conflicts originated between the *provedor das capelas* and the *provedor do hospital*. As both men shared a physical space, and since the revenues of the hospital were those of chaplaincies, the king had to adjudicate, deciding that the latter tended to the hospital from its 'doors within' (*das portas adentro*)[25]. Later, control over religious orders would be eased, and a certificate issued by their superior would suffice, without further enquiry from the crown officials[26]. This boundary between masses for the dead and patients was not, however, the only one to be developed over time. Later separations distinguished the staff involved in work in the hospital, and boundaries according to social rank, salary, gender and occupation would be rigorously regulated in its statutes (fig. 9).

The hospital had the shape of a Greek cross, with three wards opening to the choir of the church, which formed its fourth branch. The king admitted the Italian influence of the hospital in his testament, when he admonished his successor to follow the examples of Siena and Florence. Right from the beginning there were several separate spaces for patients according to illness and gender: two male wards, one for the wounded and the other for fevers and a single ward for women.

There was a facility for pilgrims and beggars at ground level, and a ward for syphilitics above it. None of these two spaces enjoyed the direct visual access to the Eucharist that the three wards for the sick had. This meant that separate masses had to be celebrated inside those spaces through the use of specific altars, some of them portable. The 1504 statutes made clear that beggars should have mass only on

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[25] Order issued in 5 July 1507, publ. *Registos dos Reinados de D. João II e de D. Manuel I (edição fac-similada)*, ed. A. Salgado, A.Mestrinho Salgado, Lisboa 1996, pp. 516-7.

[26] Several convents and religious orders were ingratiated: the Dominicans (1541), the Augustians of Nossa Senhora da Graça (1549), and Franciscans (*Registos dos Reinados* cit., pp. 507 and 522).

Sundays and feast days (and not everyday, as did patients in the in-firmaries), celebrated by other priests rather than the hospital's own chaplains[27] (fig. 10). The hospital thus had different spaces for those who attended it. It was assumed that beggars should spend the night and then go out of the hospital to collect alms. There were also en-dowments dedicated to the care of foundlings, which the hospital had admitted from the very beginning, as the result of the incorporation of medieval hospitals for children. Children, like the hospital slaves, should have a distinctive blue dress, marked with an 'S' (the hospi-tal's emblem). In no occasion should New Christians (former Jews or Moors recently forced to convert to Catholicism) be allowed to retrieve their children[28]. Any old Christian might do so, as long as he or she proved their right to the foundling. This device tells us of the religious character of the hospital, held as a place of irreversible en-trance to Christianity, since children were baptised once abandoned in the hospital.

From the beginning, Lisbon's great hospital was conceived as the repository of the goods of the unfaithful: the assets of the New Chris-tians who fled the country were confiscated and their major part in-corporated in the hospital's property[29]. The history of Portuguese Jews cannot be told here. Yet after cohabitation in the Middle Ages, with most urban settings possessing their own 'judiaria' (Jewish quarter), they were forced, mostly under pressure by the Catholic kings (to whom most marriage deals under the crown were signed) to convert to Christianity and be baptized. Officially, the designation of Jew ended, to be replaced by that of New Christian. Tensions between the two communities, Old and New Christians, had one of their peaks in the famous massacre of Lisbon of 1506, precisely during the years under focus in this study[30].

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[27] Statutes of the hospital (1504), publ. *Registos dos Reinados* cit., p. 457.

[28] Statutes of the hospital (1504), publ. *Registos dos Reinados* cit., p. 469. The most recent work of crucial importance, on the forced convercion the Jews is F. Soyer, *The persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal. King Manuel I and the end of Religious Tolerance (1496-97)*, Leiden 2007. See also M.J. Tavares, *Os Judeus em Portugal no Seculo XV*, 2 vols., Lisboa 1982, and F. Bethencourt, *Rejeições e polemi-ca*, in *História Religiosa de Portugal*, ed. C. Moreira Azevedo, Lisboa 2000, pp. 49-94.

[29] Laws of 6 April 1499, 29 March 1500 and 22 June 1501, in *Registos dos Reinados* cit., pp. 383-6.

[30] The best contemporary narrative of the massacre is by G. Correia, *Crónicas*

Also, the property of the *tangomanos* was also allocated to the Hospital of Todos os Santos. These were Christians who had fled Christianity to live among the 'gentiles' in Africa, and were suspected of having abandoned their religion. Laws were issued repeatedly in 1510, 1512, 1521 and 1539, ordering their property to be confiscated on behalf of the hospital[31].

Few records of the hospital have remained, but some of confirmations of lease contracts confirm the presence of old communal Jewish and Moorish property being actually among the assets of Todos os Santos. These contracts, celebrated by the head of the hospital (provedor) and lessees, were confirmed within a year by the king, thus explaining their presence in the royal chancery. Most property consisted of urban dwellings, but some rural property can be also found, since most houses and lands had formerly been owned by the communities' collective structures, as for example the mosque or one of the three synagogues existing in Lisbon before the forced conversion[32]. The proportion of such assets within the hospital's landed property, however, cannot be estimated at the moment. On the other hand, it is not likely that property left by dead *tangomanos* – formed a significant proportion of the hospital's revenues. Todos os Santos seems to have been a symbolic location for the unification of faith. One of the first boundaries created by the hospital derived by its enunciation as a Christian institution.

The hospital also served another civic use, this time in favour of the Crown's justice. Many infractions levied fines and penalties that would be collected in favour of the hospital. As early as 1514, the king ordered a «Regimento das penas do espritall» in order to compile penalties dispersed in prolific and confusing legislation[33].

The most difficult parts of the hospital to reconstruct are its less public spaces, allocated to residential areas, food provisioning and

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de D. Manuel e de D. João III (até 1533), ed. J. Pereira da Costa, Lisboa 1992, pp. 29-32. See also D. DE GÓIS, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 4 vols., Coimbra 1949-55, I, pp. 253-8.

[31] Publ. *Registos dos Reinados* cit., pp. 420, 424-5, 514-5.

[32] IAN/TT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, Livro 6, fls. 103v-104v, 105v-106, Livro 4, fls. 35-36v, Livro 21, fl. 17v, Livro 22, fls. 4v-6; Livro 25, fl. 158v (Jewish property). On assets formerly owned by the Moors, see *Ibid.*, livro 17, fls. 15-15v, 45v-46, 63-63v, livro 6, fls. 64-65, livro 22, fls. 121-122, livro 8, fls. 84-84v.

[33] Publ. *Registos dos Reinados* cit., pp. 442-6.

confection. In other words, private rooms, to cellars, kitchens and refectories: although we do not know exactly where they were situated, there were four cloisters to install them. Residential areas gave to the square in front of the arcades of the hospital, and we have information that the hospital also rented shops at ground level, and private rooms on the first floor.

The reason why it would be important to reconstruct other parts of the hospital besides the infirmaries and the church is that we can imagine that installations for staff occupied considerable space. The regulations mention a total of 56 persons, of whom 49 lived in the hospital, and 42 also ate in the hospital. There was a refectory for the male staff. Only the highest officials (with annual wages equal or above 12 thousand *reais*) would buy their own food, and male servants such as the barber and the bleeder did not eat in. The nine women who composed the hospital's female staff (including two slaves) were fed by the hospital but could not eat in the refectory because of concerns of honour. The rules also stated that meals would be similar to those in monasteries; reading during them was advised and chaplains would bless the food. This refectory seems to have been designed for the personnel, as patients' food was brought to the wards. The hospital was thus organized as a male religious community: women were used only in the performance of tasks judged unsuitable for men, such as washing clothes, baking, sewing, or in nursing other women. Having said this, hosting fifty people and feeding them must have occupied significant space in the hospital's wards. This was the structure of the hospital as it was designed when it received its statutes in 1504. By the end of the sixteenth century syphilitics had their own kitchen, there was a ward for the insane, and the number of infirmaries had also increased, with one for convalescents, another for Capuchin Friars, and another for incurable patients[34].

Unfortunately, the hospital suffered a big fire in 1750 before it was partially destroyed by Lisbon's earthquake in 1755. A new hospital was built uptown, and a short archaeological campaign (one month) uncovered a small part of its primitive area in 1960, while Lisbon's underground was under construction[35].

Hospital das Caldas was very differently organized. In a rural setting,

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[34] *Hospital Real de Todos os Santos. Catálogo*, Lisboa 1993, p. 76.

[35] Although damaged, the hospital survived in its original location place until 1775, when a new hospital was built uptown. A.F. Bento Pacheco, *De Todos-os-*

it revolved around a new parish it actually created (the location of the hospital had to be near the water springs, which were in the open field before its construction). The hospital and the formation of a pool of peasants whose lands provided for its food provisioning served as a counter power to the neighbouring territory of the monastery of *Alcobaça*, a powerful seigniorial domain of the Cistercian monks, which in fact the Queen never protected, preferring newly created observant Franciscan convents[36]. There were only 28 persons in the staff, including a vicar and several chaplains. This sum also included nine slaves, male and female, dispensed from the queen's household.

The two hospitals were different in the social groups they targeted: whilst Caldas was open to all social groups (the elites often stayed in the hospital), Todos os Santos remained a hospital for the poor throughout its existence. Also, the latter was inserted in an urban setting, whilst Hospital das Caldas retained its rural character. In spite of these deep dissimilarities, several features were common to both. They were under the protection of members of the royal family, who were considered their main patrons from the beginning. They were residential units, where staff would live permanently. Both relied on the work of slaves, sometimes dispensed from the pool of servants of their patrons (as was the case of queen Leonor at Caldas). Both drew most of their supplies from their own landed property. Pilgrims and beggars were strictly segregated from the sick, and both hospitals rejected the so-called incurable patients. Of course, sources of income would be soon complemented by money allocations from royal or seigniorial taxes, special financial privileges awarded by the crown, and fines collected from a vast number of infractions. Especially with regard to the production of medicines in specific chemist facilities within the premises, a special relationship was indispensable, particularly for access to sugar and exotic spices, both of which the crown had privileged access to[37]. The hospital of Todos os Santos was even pivotal in the

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Santos a São José. Textos e contextos do esprital grande de Lixboa, master's dissertation, Lisboa 2008, pp. 83-111.

[36] N. Borges, *O Hospital das Caldas. Arte e Património*, diss. mestrado, Lisboa 1998, p. 16; S. Gil, *Memórias de D. Leonor nas Caldas da Rainha*, doctorate dissertation, Lisboa 2008, p. 136.

[37] The crown held the monopoly over the spice trade, and was also the owner of the island of Madeira, the main producer of sugar before Brazil took over its production in the seventeenth century.

distribution of sugar and spices to other hospitals and misericórdias in the kingdom, including hospital das Caldas[38].

Conclusions

Whether we take into consideration prisons or hospitals, we find that spaces were not used on an equalitarian basis, but material and immaterial boundaries were drawn, dividing their staff as well as inmates according to religious, social, and economic distinctions. The two institutions had in common the fact that the most destitute layers of society attended them. Religious ideology transformed them into sanctified spaces, designed for the performance of the works of mercy. Also, the hospital was the symbol of a society unified under the same creed and the same civil authority: it incorporated the property of those who had been abandoned to live with Africans, the Jews and New Christians who fled the country without authorization from the king. As we have seen, on the juridical level, numerous court fines reverted to the revenues of the hospital. The king was not to appropriate any assets on behalf of his own wellbeing, but only for that of the poor. Or at most, for the sake of his eternal life.

The emergence of the early modern hospital in Portugal is marked by the segregation between spaces for patients and for pilgrims. Medieval hospitals hosted them indiscriminately; during the early sixteenth century the tendency was to separate them, and allow pilgrims to stay only for a maximum of three days in the premises. Infirmaries would then be separated from the rooms allocated to pilgrims. Nevertheless, other distinctions took expression in their functioning and their organization of space. In the case of the hospital of Todos os Santos, there were separate eating spaces for female staff, residential areas for the main officials and also private tenants. On the section for the sick, special wards separated men from women, syphilitics from other patients, foundlings from the adults. Abandoned Jewish children, as we have seen, could be deposited but not withdrawn by their parents. However small the number of such cases might have been, the hospital considered itself as a symbolic place for their irreversible

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[38]   A.Mestrinho Salgado, A. Salgado, *O Hospital de Todos-os-Santos e algumas das terras descobertas até 1488*, in *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e a Sua Época*, Actas, IV, Porto 1989, pp. 449-50.

incorporation into the Christian church. At the *Hospital das Caldas*, status took over as the main discriminative device: there were special wards for persons of noble or high clerical status and rooms for nuns where enclosure would be respected. Yet in spite of this the hospital never failed the poor, who had been the main ideological motive for the foundation of the hospital.
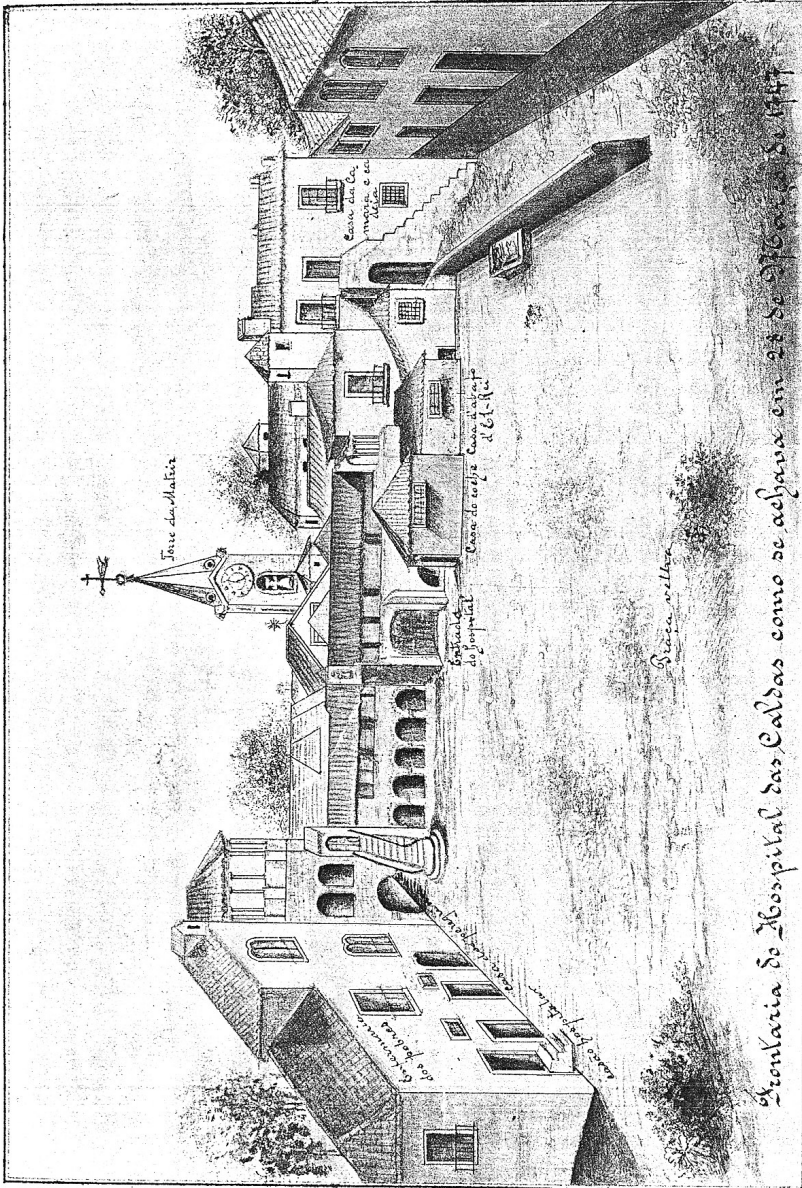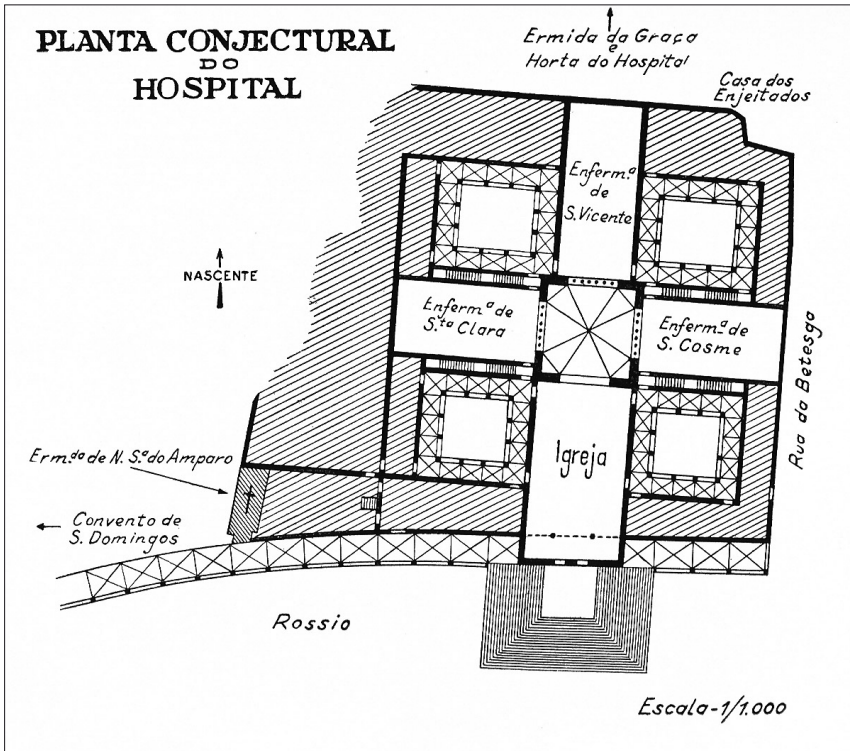
Isabel dos Guimarães Sá

ILLUSTRAZIONI

6. Image of justice in the façade of the old church of the Misericórdia of Lisbon.
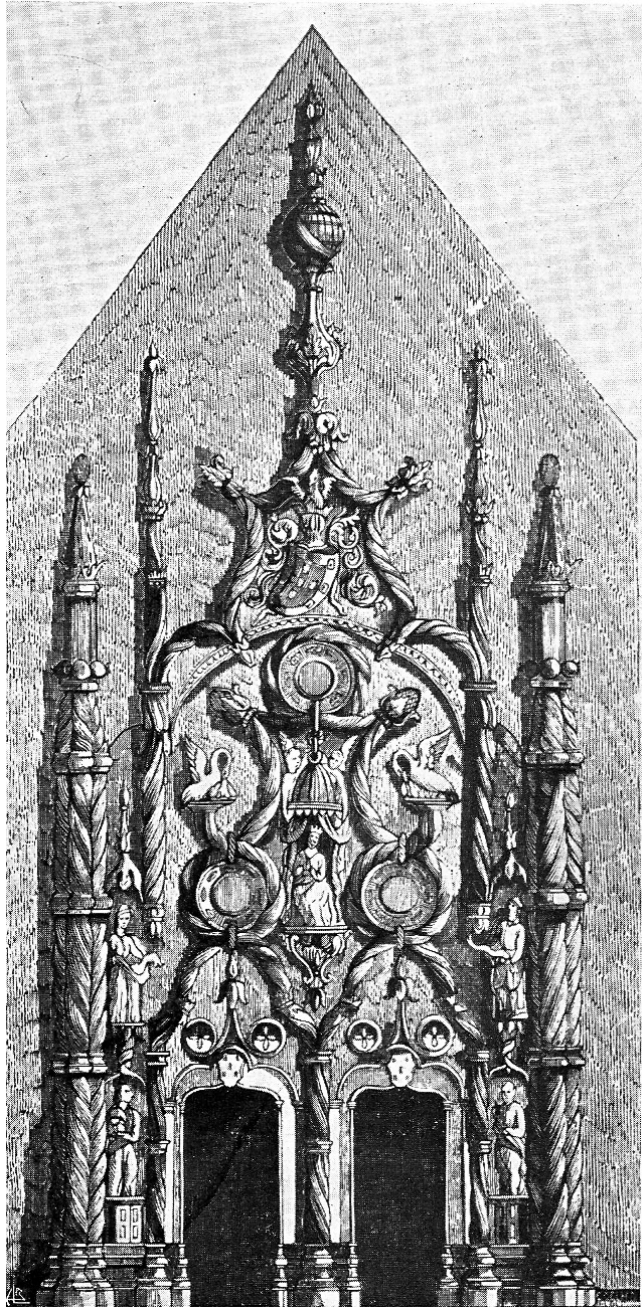7. Prison of Ponte de Lima, built by D. Manuel I.

8.   Drawing of the Hospital das Caldas in 1747.

PLANTA CONJECTURAL
DO
HOSPITAL

Ermida da Graça e
Horta do Hospital

Casa dos
Enjeitados

NASCENTE

Enferm.º de S. Vicente

Enferm.º de S.ta Clara

Enferm.º de S. Cosme

Rua da Betesga

Ermd.ª de N. S.º do Amparo

Convento de S. Domingos

Igreja

Rossio

Escala-1/1.000

9. Hospital Real de Todos os Santos, reconstitution of plan (in M. Carmona, *O Hospital Real de Todos-os-Santos da Cidade de Lisboa*, Lisboa 1956, pl. XXVI).

A destra:

10. Hospital Real de Todos os Santo, façade of church (in Carmona, *O Hospital Real* cit., est. XII, originally published in «Archivo Pittoresco», IV, 1861, p. 213).