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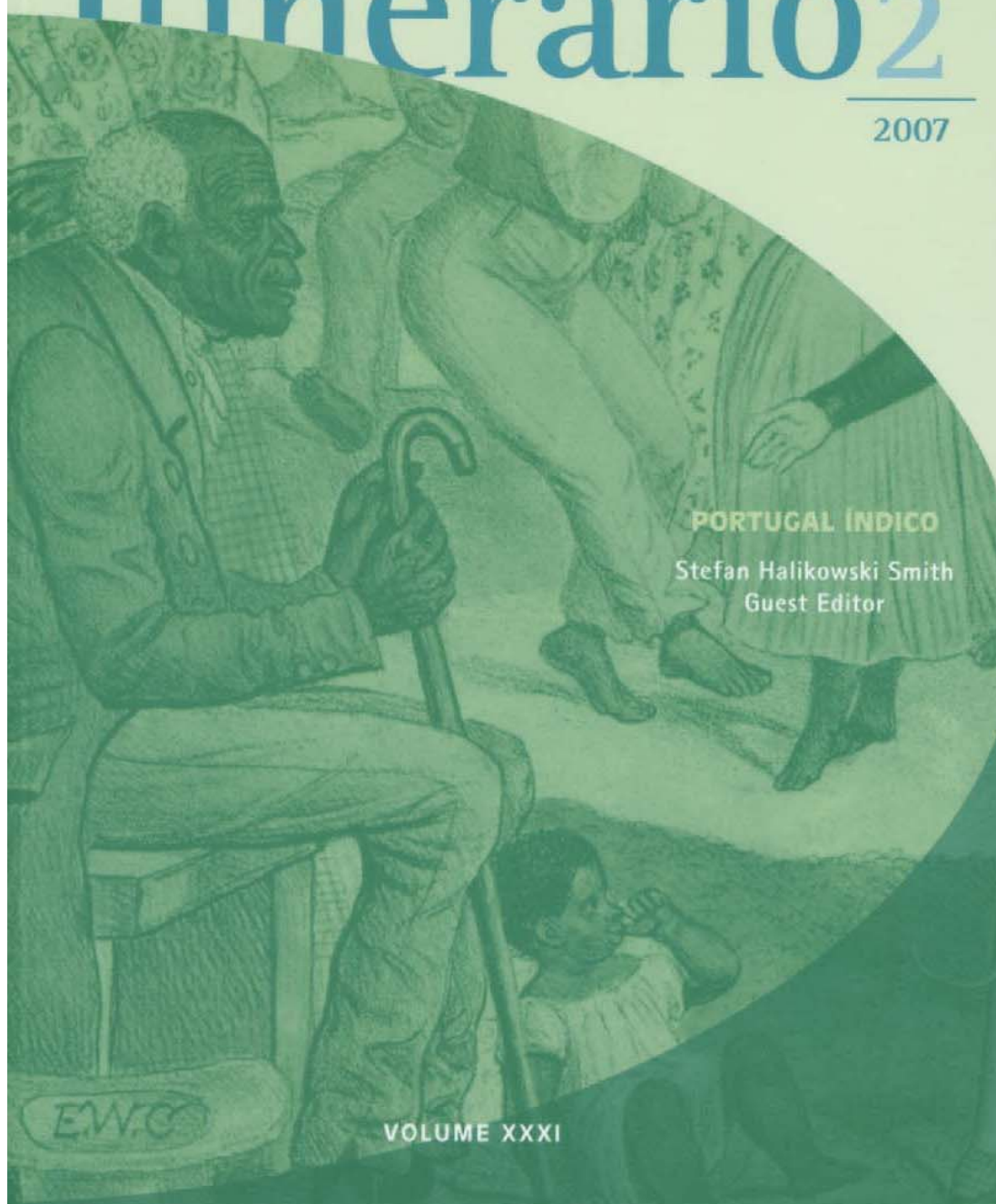
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## Charity and Discrimination

### The *Misericórdia* of Goa

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#### Introduction

Domination is not hegemony, and no stable colonial system can survive on the basis of permanent physical violence over the local populations; a fiction of generosity has to be installed in order to create a bond between the rulers and the ruled. In order to establish a rhetoric based on disinterested giving, colonial powers had to make available to the colonised populations some "benefits" that could be claimed as being advantageous for the recipients and testify to the generosity of the givers. The "gift" on the part of the Portuguese in the Asian colonial context was their effort to convert the local populations to Christianity, a major enterprise that was undertaken with the help of the religious orders, and most especially the Jesuits. As a result of efforts to convert the masses, newly baptised populations could be granted some degree of integration in colonial society. One of such instances of integration was charity, although, as we shall see, converts were taken care of in a luminal social space that was well below that awarded to the colonists. The example of the *Misericórdia* of Goa can illustrate the point I am trying to make. The charity provided to the converted populations by this confraternity was directed mainly to the Portuguese-born elites, or their descendants, but did nevertheless include those willing to be integrated in the Catholic Church through conversion.

The selection of sources presented here aims to look at the criteria of discrimination in the selection of recipients of poor relief in the *Misericórdia* of Goa. Operating in a colonial setting, the Goan *misericórdia* adopted all the selective devices that were implemented in Portugal in the Post-Tridentine era, but had a few of its own derived from its location. As we shall see, belonging to the Catholic Church was one of them, to which the need to distinguish between the Portuguese and the non-Portuguese was added.

#### Charity in Catholic Europe: The Portuguese Case

Since the 1970s, historiography on charity in the pre-industrial world has emphasised the discriminative character of the choice of the candidates who applied for the help of charitable institutions. This selectivity went hand in hand with the specialisation of institutions, the creation of mediators between donors and recipients,

an increasing bureaucratisation of charity, and the distinction between deserving and non-deserving individuals.<sup>1</sup>

These changes, especially in Catholic areas, transformed charity into a powerful means to control collective behaviour and to deepen and complicate social stratification. An elaborate system of selective devices was at work in order to establish differences of status between those who applied for institutional resources. The criteria for the selection of recipients varied accordingly to the resources at stake: this could amount to the giving of money and other resources, but also implied the availability of time on the part of members of the charitable institutions. Generosity from the elites could be constituted both in specie (the giving of alms) and also in kind, through the non-remunerated variety of tasks they performed, such as taking part in governing boards, visiting prisons, organising burials, running hospitals, visiting the shame-faced poor in their homes, supervising the record-keeping or the financial management of the institutions. All these tasks could mean, for the most dedicated, a considerable amount of time that could only be granted by the leisured classes, that is to say, those who did not have to engage in physical work. On the other hand, requirements to qualify for charity might be quite elementary for those needing institutionalisation in a hospital, but augmented when the requested service or resource implied the maintenance of social status through prolonged assistance or high-priced donations.

In Early Modern Portugal, institutional charity was mainly in the hands of the *Misericórdias*.<sup>2</sup> The strength of such confraternities derived from the fact that they were protected by the monarchy right from their beginning in 1498. By the seventeenth century, they were omnipresent in Portugal and its empire, and became synonymous with helping the poor, being known as *santas casas* (holy houses of mercy, or *misericórdias*). Membership was exclusive to the local elites, divided into two sections: the first-class brothers, that is to say, noble members, and the master craftsmen or non-nobles, who constituted the "second-class" brothers. Selection devices practiced by the *misericórdias* were thus twofold: they included a careful selection of members and, as we shall see in this chapter, an elaborate choice of recipients for its resources.

We shall proceed by trying to provide a general overview of the criteria for the selection of recipients in the *Misericórdias* on the whole, although we know that these changed over time and from place to place, depending on offer and demand, different configurations of power relationships, and on local rules and customary procedures.

In order to understand the complex game of selective devices used in the choice of recipients, we have to proceed to an overview of the typology of the "poor," since they were hierarchised according to social status. At the bottom of the scale, there were foundlings and the sick poor. Foundlings were especially numerous, and their probability of surviving the early years of childhood scarce; this meant that the price of help *per capita* was especially low. On the other hand, the fact that their parents were not known, and could not be unveiled without the risk of forcing parents to take their children back, transformed the help that was given to them into a charitable service that people could hardly complain about. To be sure, help to foundlings was expensive and constituted a financial pressure on council budgets, but was not costly at the individual level. It was its massive scale that made it weigh

heavily on charitable resources. The same can be said about hospitals for the poor: the numbers of admissions could be very high, but few cases, except in chronic diseases or physical and mental disability, implied a prolonged institutionalisation. Also, because general hospitals were designed for temporary stays, networks of hospitals were organised in order to create smaller units for long-term inpatients, or indeed special infirmaries were created to host them. Both foundlings and the sick patients were the poorest among the poor. The requirements needed to receive institutional help in such cases were almost nonexistent for foundlings and limited to confession and the reception of communion in the case of hospital patients. These recipients were also those in which the amount and scale of the tasks performed by the brothers of the confraternity were less demanding. They could supervise the services provided, but menial tasks were at the care of paid servants, nurses and servants in the hospitals, and wet-nurses in the case of foundlings.

■ Visiting prisoners was a charitable service that can be placed mid-level in the hierarchy of charitable services. That could mean feeding and medical care for months on end, and the brothers actually had to enter gaols in order to cater for the prisoners. Nevertheless, the social status of prisoners was low, because in order to qualify for help, they had to provide proof of being poor and not being able to provide for their survival by other means, which generally meant that they could not rely on personal or family assets that might support them. Often, the prisoners were displaced from their original setting, being moved from lower to higher courts, according to the hierarchy between instances of justice.

■ Next in line was the ransom of religious war captives. It could also be expensive, depending on the social status of the captive, and its price depended on negotiations with the captors. Nevertheless, the needed sum was generally gathered from various sources, and it was institutions, mainly, that helped to raise money.

■ In contrast, help to individuals who belonged to the respectable layers of society was more expensive, because considerations of status were at stake. In this heterogeneous group, women were the majority, although men could also be helped, especially in the domestic relief sector. Most of these poor fell under the designation of shame-faced poor, that is to say, people who concealed their hardship from public view, and their existence is documented since the Middle Ages all over Europe. Artisans in hard times, widows and orphaned girls, single or isolated men in old age—all could be eligible for help, but in all likelihood many of them failed to apply for such support. One of the traditional forms of helping such poor was through domestic relief: the institutions evaluated need, the “right” to be taken care of and receive help in their homes, away from public view. This service was expensive, first because it was a regular one, and second because it could last for many years. Nevertheless domestic relief to shame-faced poor came second in relation to the most expensive charitable service of all: marriage dowries. The need to save the sexual virtue of orphaned girls increased after the Council of Trent: bequests to marriage dowries of poor orphaned girls became the most popular of pious donations, and retirement houses were created all over Catholic Europe in order to preserve their honour until marriage, especially during the seventeenth century. In these institutions, the selective criteria increased with the cost of the resource needed, and they all had in common the fact that they could be used in order to preserve the status of former members of the elites fallen or about to fall on hard times. In order

to apply for a dowry, a girl should be born locally, of known married parents and grandparents (thus excluding illegitimacy), be a resident in the city or in its hinterland, and be of good fame and virtue. Criteria for preference included having a father who had served the local institutions, or a girl having her honour "endangered" by physical beauty. Girls applying for dowries came from the same social strata as the shame-faced poor and could board in retirement houses before marrying. Respectable poor did not beg in the streets, and protecting the sexual honour of orphaned girls was a task that started in the early years of their adolescence. It is thus acceptable that, for reasons of clarity, domestic relief, retirement houses for orphaned girls, and marriage dowries be kept together, as the objects of charity were drawn from the same common pool of middle strata individuals.

This is, in very general terms, a picture of the hierarchy of the recipients of charity and the resources they applied for in the Portuguese *misericórdias*. As we shall see, the *Misericórdia* of Goa was well integrated into the European and Catholic model.

### The *Misericórdia* of Goa

It is generally admitted that colonial institutions copied, often deliberately and consciously, the existing ones in the mother country. Goa was no exception, and texts often document the intention to transform the city into a copy of Lisbon. The *Misericórdia* of Goa was right from the beginning modeled on that of Lisbon, and textual rhetoric often emphasised its role as "mother of mercy" or "head" of the *misericórdias* in the *Estado da Índia*, of which Goa was the capital city.<sup>3</sup> In fact, Goa could dispose of the usual *spectrum* of charitable institutions and services to be found in Catholic Europe and Portugal in the early modern period.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the city possessed a large hospital for whites, the Royal Hospital, and a smaller one for the converted locals. The former was more highly recommended for European immigrants and the *Misericórdia* took it under its administration, but only for a brief period of circa fifty years, from 1542 to 1591, when it was handed over to the Jesuits.<sup>4</sup> The smaller unit was always in the hands of the *Misericórdia*, but occupied a lesser place in the hierarchy of charitable institutions, as it was designed for incurable patients and converted Indians. It was commonly known as the Hospital for the Poor, but its official name was All Saints Hospital (note the fact that it was named after the main hospital in the city of Lisbon, the *Hospital de Todos os Santos*).<sup>5</sup>

There were also two retirement houses, one for "clean" girls, the *Recolhimento de Nossa Senhora da Serra* and another for the young with "stained" pasts, the *Recolhimento de Santa Maria Madalena*. They were both founded by the archbishop of the city, the Augustinian D. Frei Aleixo de Menezes, between 1598 and 1610, together with the only female convent in the city, the *Convento de Santa Mónica*.<sup>6</sup> Instead of keeping the two retirement houses under the supervision of the bishopric, like in so many Catholic cities in Europe, D. Frei Aleixo handed their administration to the Goan *Misericórdia*.

Other charitable services were performed without the need to enclose the recipients in an institution, such as visiting prisoners, burying the dead, taking care of foundlings, domestic relief, providing ransom to war captives, granting marriage

dowries, and the saying of masses for the dead. In conclusion, none of the traditional practices of charity covered by the metropolitan *misericórdias* was missing in Goa. As the sources well document, in a colonial context besides birth, residence, or good social behaviour, religion and Portuguese birth or ascendancy added new selective criteria to an otherwise complex system of selective devices that were traditionally used in Europe.

### The Sources

The selected texts fall into two categories, and are thus divided into two sections. The first one concerns both normative texts that were issued to the confraternity by central authorities, or that were part of internal regulations created by the *Misericórdia* itself (such as the excerpts from its statute book, *Compromisso*, of 1633), or statutes of some of the institutions it administered. The second section deals with comments on the institutions of assistance and the charitable habits of the Portuguese authorities, as written by famous travellers in Portuguese India such as Linschoten, Pyrard de Laval and Pietro della Valle.

The texts are presented in chronological order in each section, because I wanted to compensate for any discursive fixity that a general overview might imply. The *Misericórdia* of Goa reflected all the social, political and economic changes of the city during the early modern period, and can well be considered a barometer to an example of urban life that evolved from prosperity to thoroughgoing decline (actually involving the abandonment of Goa itself) in a relatively short span of time. Also, as we shall see, the selected documents mirror the increasingly selective choice of recipients that was promoted by the Counter Reformation, and the repressive devices that were set in motion.

It would be misleading, nevertheless, to think that the sources translated in this chapter reflect social reality in its everyday practice. Most of the texts are normative, and thus mirror desires of order, and utopian concerns that social habits constantly contradicted. But, in their will to reflect the intentions of the rulers, be it the king, the royal representatives such as the viceroy, or the local authorities such as the *câmara* or the *Misericórdia* itself, they testify to a discourse that corresponded to the political and social wishful thinking of the elites. Much more than social reality, the texts reflect the wish to rule and create an ideal colonial society by implementing a model of social order and/or create a fiction of good government.

Document 1 reveals the concern with the *cristãos da terra*, that is, the local Christians (in opposition to the Portuguese, who were alien to the region), right from the beginning of the *Misericórdia*, which is believed to have been founded shortly after Albuquerque's conquest of the city in 1510. The king placed such converted individuals under his protection, by ordering the financial authorities who represented him in the territory to hand over to the *Misericórdia* the annual alms he had previously granted local Christians. Two issues are relevant in this act: the need to reward and protect those who abided to Catholicism, and the will to entrust the *Misericórdia* with the administration of the alms. They confirm what we have said about hegemony in the beginning of this chapter and the relationship of mutual trust between the king and the *misericórdias*.

By the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century, the *Misericórdia* was

an ally of the Viceroy in the disciplinary concerns of the state (see documents 2 and 3). It was in charge of repressing vagrancy by expelling the vicious poor who spent money on gambling and other pleasures. Once again, the semi-public character of the *Misericórdia* is well illustrated: the Viceroy charged it with granting the poor permits to beg in the city. A similar role was given to the confraternity by the Viceroy fourteen years later, when the latter was given the order to prevent prostitutes from operating in the vicinity of the Royal Hospital. We can understand this *alvará* better if we keep in mind that it was issued before the administration of the largest health facility in the city was passed on to the Jesuits.

Not all the disciplinary measures grew out of the will to discriminate among the poor according to social status. Historiography often forgets that some of the measures implemented were created under practical considerations. This was the case illustrated by document 4. This *alvará*, issued by the Viceroy, was concerned with the fact that incurable patients (this was the designation for those suffering from contagious diseases, in which syphilis was one of the most common ones) were treated in the Royal Hospital, where their clothes were mixed with those belonging to the other patients, thus causing the spread of disease. In order to avoid it, such contagious patients would be channeled to the Hospital for the Poor (which, as we have seen, was owned by the *Misericórdia*). This is an example that not all the discriminative devices grew out of social values and attitudes, but could respond to the wish to preserve the community's well-being.

Document 5 is an excerpt from the regulations of the *Recolhimento de Santa Maria Madalena*. Its prologue states explicitly the intention to create an institution, which conformed to European standards in the city of Goa. Its creation can be integrated into an episcopal wave of creating retirement houses for women whose public reputation had been ruined by public knowledge of their sexual activity outside marriage. These girls could be enclosed for life in the *recolhimento*, but the possibility of marriage was not excluded, although to spouses of lesser social status. Although the regulations are not signed, the archbishop himself is said to have elaborated them. The excerpt is very clear about the women who were *not* be admitted: maidens (*donzelas* in Portuguese), since they could be institutionalised in the other *Recolhimento da Serra*, and women who were not white. The institution was designated exclusively for girls whose sexual experience was public: women of stained reputation, either prostitutes (*mulheres de partido*) or concubines. Nevertheless, the regulation is very emphatic on the need to admit only white women.

The regulations of the *Recolhimento de Nossa Senhora da Serra* have disappeared, but the *Compromisso da Misericórdia*, which was approved in 1633 after several attempts to stabilise the internal general statutes of the *Misericórdia*,<sup>7</sup> gives a good image of the selective devices that were set in motion every time a "pure" girl required help. Here, we have to group together the families applying for domestic relief, which often included widows and their female offspring. The girls were kept at home during early childhood, but their virtue was soon felt to need the protection of closed walls.

As the excerpt taken from the *compromisso* demonstrates (document 8), charity to shame-faced poor and orphaned girls, often overlapping in the same households, was time-consuming and required dedication from the members of the confraternity. The selection of recipients implied the careful evaluation of written peti-

tions. The bureaucratic character of charity in the seventeenth century is thus confirmed: girls had to apply to dowries by writing formal letters, whose content the *compromisso* specified, and the information they forwarded was carefully verified in a formalised procedure that included taking the testimonies of respectable neighbours before the *provedor*<sup>8</sup> or the *escrivão*. An enquiry, ran in secrecy by the members of the brotherhood, certified their identity and good mores.

These procedures were common to those requesting both dowries and domestic relief. Concerning the latter, domestic help required the regular visits of the brothers (always in groups of two in order to avoid suspicion of sexual transgression), on foot (a sign of humility in a place where to be transported by animal or human force was a must in order to grant status). These visits, for their secretive nature, could not and were not assigned, as other tasks were, to servants: they required a personal relationship between the helpers and the helped, although some devices were set in order to preserve the decency of such communication. The visiting brothers had to be over forty years old, and always work in pairs.

The task of verifying personal data contained in applications, as well as the deservedness of the girls, was very time consuming, and it required a high sense of responsibility, since the future of these young women was at stake, as well as the prestige of the institution, which could not afford to give dowries to the wrong persons. Reputation was a major asset to the *Misericórdias*, who relied on the trust of the local society in order to maintain or increase their economic well-being, but, most of all, as they represented the local elites; a public image of correctness had to be maintained at all costs.

Document 6 documents the fact that the *Hospital of Todos os Santos* was used only by local Christians, as regulations explicitly forbade the Portuguese from being admitted into it. Confession and communion, which were compulsory in metropolitan Portugal before entering any hospital, took on a special meaning in a colonial setting. If the prospective patient refused them, it was immediately acknowledged that he or she was not a Christian.

After the second July, when elections changed the ruling board of the confraternity, the *Misericórdia* of Goa, following the example of Lisbon, posted a piece of paper in the pulpit of its church where the public could read about the activities and the money spent the previous year (document 7). It was not a modern day financial report, and many of the items included did not provide figures. It stated that over 1,200 women, including widows, orphans and wives of absentee husbands, received help; thirteen marriage dowries were awarded; visits to the poor and disabled were made in their homes; the *Misericórdia* ran the hospital for the poor, provided free burials to the poor, among them many Portuguese, fed white as well as native prisoners, and was responsible for the saying of nearly 7,000 masses. The paper was also clear in stating that the alms given to the poor on Fridays were made out of the *Misericórdia's* budget, as was the upbringing of foundlings and the care of lepers that the confraternity took care of under a subvention from the local council.<sup>9</sup>

It is interesting to note that most of the comments made by foreign travellers on the charitable institutions of Goa confirm the normative sources that we have commented on so far. They attest to the elitist nature of the Royal Hospital, the fact that it catered for Portuguese soldiers (and thus only men), the local Christians being



received by the hospitals for the poor (document 9). Pyrard de Laval also reported on the same selection procedures we have already highlighted from internal regulations, adding that both the Viceroy or the Archbishop could give alms to the patients if they visited (document 10B). The Portuguese also had the privilege of being treated in their homes, whilst converted locals went to the hospitals for the poor (document 10C).<sup>10</sup> Discriminative treatment of whites and local Christians went as far as the prisons, where the former received better welfare than the latter. Here, Pyrard alluded to another charitable service available to local Christians at the hands of a Jesuit priest in charge of them, the *Pai dos cristãos*. Other substantial almsgiving to the poor was given by both the Viceroy and the Archbishop, but the same preference for Portuguese recipients was at work (documents 10F and 10G). Finally, document 11 shows that the *misericórdias* were perceived as a specifically Portuguese confraternity by an Italian traveller, Pietro della Valle, no doubt acknowledging the differences between Portuguese organisation of charity and those of his mother country.

### Epilogue

It would be easy to state that the Portuguese and their descendants were the main beneficiaries of the charitable devices implemented in early modern colonial Goa. Yet, a closer analysis of the social composition of the population of the city suggests a different reality. Female Portuguese immigration to the *Estado da Índia*, although possible, was meaningless in statistical terms and never accounted for the formation of a Portuguese colonial elite. If we focus on document 10E, we can see that the author started by emphasising the differences of status among the so-called Portuguese. The most esteemed were undoubtedly those who were born in Portugal, but the second generation of the inhabitants of the city was formed out of the reproduction of Portuguese men with local women, and it is significant that Pyrard alludes to caste, the Brahmins being the most prized *mestiços*. In such a context, what did it mean to the governing boards of the *Misericórdia* to be “white”? Did it refer to the fact that there was an immediate Portuguese father, or that the individual was well related to the individuals who controlled the colonial institutions at a given moment? Should we understand categories of whiteness as actually referring to physical appearance or in metaphorical terms, meaning the degree of proximity to Portuguese ancestry? Or did it mean the social acceptance of a given individual by the colonial authorities in a precise configuration? As such, it is not clear what the sources mean by “whiteness” or “Portugueseness”: certainly not skin colour alone.

### Bureaucratic Sources

#### Document 1. One of the first documents concerning the *Misericórdia* of Goa (1519)

D. Manuel I, King of Portugal, issues a charter ordering that the alms to be distributed among the newly converted local Christians be given to the *Misericórdia*, 29 February 1519.

Source: *Livro de Registos Antigos no Cartório da Fazenda de Goa*, fol. 24v, in Rivara, J.H. da Cunha, *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. 5, part I, p. 41.

"We the King inform you, Rui de Mello, our captain in the city of Goa, and our factor (*feitor*) in the city, and any given captain and *feitor* to come, that we are pleased that the alms ordered to be distributed in that city each year to the poor new Christians of the land (*Cristãos da terra*), and to their wives and children, shall be administered by the *Misericórdia* according to what is seen fit, because we trust that it will be done well, and as the service to God and to us requires.

"We nevertheless notify, and order you that the alms that we give and spend, shall be delivered to the above-mentioned, and that you are to require a written certificate from the scribe of the *Misericórdia* in which it is declared that the act is registered in the book of the *Misericórdia*, and by this charter we determine that you shall be accountable for the sum that you deliver [the *Misericórdia*] each year.

"Done in Évora, 19 November. Jorge Rodrigues did this in 1519."

## Document 2. Repression of vagrancy and beggary

Copy of General Jorge Cabral's decree forbidding the poor to beg without a permit issued by the Provedor and brothers of the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, 17 August 1550.

Source: HAM, Santa Casa da Misericórdia, cod. 300, *Livro de Registo de Alvarás, cartas e provisões régias - Lisboa, Goa, Malaca, Macau*, fol. 37v.

"The Captain General and General of India, etc. make it known to whoever sees this charter, that the *Provedor*, and brothers of the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* of this city of Goa, have told me that for many years, on this island, city of Goa, there have been a lot of vagrants, not willing to work, and begging at doors, and spending the money collected in games and taverns; the officials of the council have appointed a man that should care for those people and compel them to acquire a means of subsistence, and that the generals and I at the city's requirement should issue a decree so that the *tanadores dos passos*<sup>11</sup> should not let any crippled or sick person onto the island, because such people are cause of hunger and oppression to the people that live in the city and its island, and there serve Our Lord, and that should the *provedor* and brothers succour the little orphans by feeding them and finding people to rear them, and then occupations that allow them to earn their living, and for the old find people whom they could serve, and food for the crippled, and to the sick remedy for their lives, and health, they [the crippled or sick] being so required were not willing to accept, because they went begging at doors; and in order to evacuate foreign, and poor people out of the above mentioned island, that were coming in to beg, and so that the local Christians should be comforted, they asked me that no one should be allowed to beg from door to door for love of God, without their permits, as issued by the *Provedor*, // 37v // and brothers, and he who should do the opposite, would be arrested, and made a prisoner, and if he was Portuguese he should be exiled to Melaka for two years, and this, appreciated by me, and considering what has been explained above, and because I feel this is to the service of God and the mentioned lord [the king], I see fit, and command, that from now on no person of any quality and condition, man or woman, shall beg in person in this city, and island of Goa, without a permit issued by the *provedor* and brothers of the *Misericórdia*, and that he who does the opposite shall be arrested and made prisoner of His Highness for the time judged fit, and if he is Portuguese he shall be also arrested, and sent to exile for two years in Melaka. I thus notify the *ouvidor*

geral, and all the *ouvidores*,<sup>12</sup> judges and justices, to whom this charter applies, and I order them to abide in everything, and see that [this provision] is carried out according to what it contains, with no doubt whatsoever, and in order for it to be known by everyone, and so that nobody can claim ignorance, I order it to be proclaimed throughout the usual places in this city. Francisco de Lisboa did this in Goa on 17 August 1550. The secretary Francisco Álvares had it written on behalf of Jorge Cabral."

**Document 3. On the presence of women in the vicinity of the Royal Hospital**  
Copy of Governor João de Mendonça's decree forbidding single women to live in front of the King's hospital, 28 April 1564.

Source: HAM, Santa Casa da Misericórdia, *Livro de Registo de Alvarás, cartas e provisões régias - Lisboa, Goa, Malaca, Macau*, cod. 300, fol. 46.

"The Governor of India etc. by this [order] sees fit, and commands, that no single woman shall live in front of Our Lord the King's hospital, in this city, because of some inconveniences that follow from this, and I order all bailiffs (*meirinho*), if the *provedor* and officials of the *Misericórdia* so require, that they shall not allow any single woman to live in that street, and if she persists they are to expel her, under the penalty of being suspended from office. I thus notify this, and command that it shall be enforced without any doubt or restraint. Paulo Fernandes did this on 28 April 1564. The secretary had it written, and I signed it, João de Mendonça."

**Document 4. Incurable diseases**

29 March 1585 // 49v // Copy of Viceroy D. Duarte de Menezes's decree on the care for the incurables staying at the *Misericórdia*'s hospital.

Source: HAM, Santa Casa da Misericórdia, cod. 300, *Livro de Registo de Alvarás, cartas e provisões régias - Lisboa, Goa, Malaca, Macau*, fols. 49v-50.

"D. Duarte de Menezes of the State Council of His Majesty, Viceroy of India, etc. I make it known to those who see this charter, that I have been informed by the *provedor*, and brothers of the Holy House of Mercy, that many sick persons with incurable diseases went to His Majesty's Hospital, and thus caused damage to other patients, because their clothes were mixed up, and thus all of them became incurable, and wanting to provide for this, in order that this damaging misrule shall cease, I hereby command, and order by this [decree], that from now on every patient who goes to the hospital, shall be certified by his or her physician and surgeon that he or she is incurable, and will then be taken to the hospital of the Holy House of Mercy, where he or she shall be cared for, and given everything he or she needs on account of the money that the king has given to the hospital. I thus notify the *Provedor*, and brothers, and *mordomos*<sup>13</sup> of the hospitals, physicians and surgeons, and also their officials and other people concerned, and command them to obey, and make a thorough application [of this decree] as its contents prescribe, without any doubt or restraint; and this [decree] shall be registered in the book of the hospital and in the archive of the said *Casa da Misericórdia*, and they shall certify this in the back of this one, and it shall be valid as a charter issued by His Majesty, and sealed with its hanging seal, without // 50 // any interference from the Book of Ordination, vol. 2, title 20 that displays the opposite. António da Cunha did

this in Goa on 29 March 1585. João de Faria had this written - D. Duarte de Menezes."

**Document 5. How to choose between "lost" women (1611)**

Source: *Estatutos da Casa das Penitentes e Convertidas desta cidade de Goa, feytos pello Ill.mo e R.mo Senhor dom frei Aleixo de Menezes* (excerpts from chapter 1), HAG, cod. 10421, fols. 1-54.

"As this house has not been founded for any other purpose than to shelter women of bad living, who persisted in their vices in their lives outside, and sinners, delivered to the devil, or [disgraced] by disasters that have impinged upon their honor, and credit, and delivered to great dangers in their [eternal] salvation, so that they should be returned to the grace of God by their reclusion, do penance for their guilt, and order their lives according to God's rule, and to the good that they lay claim to for their salvation: we hereby command that this house shall receive only persons of such quality that they would be in the state of damnation, or exposed to probable danger of failing to attain salvation, because for spiritual and secluded people, and for the education of maidens, there are other houses instituted by Our Lord's goodness, and thus only women who lived in public dishonesty shall be received, to whom they refer to as *de partido*<sup>14</sup> or that live publicly or secretly in concubinage, or to whom such disasters have happened in their lives, and honour, that it can be understood that probably they would be lost if they were not sheltered, and would persist in the same mode of living, and who shall be received by their own will, none constrained, except girls of such young age, that it is clear they cannot master themselves, or if their fathers and mothers ask for their admission on the basis of their being *filhas famílias*, or people whose responsibility they are under, or have abandoned, or given, because in this case they have lost authority over them, and they can, and should be withdrawn from them, and sheltered in this House.

"...this house shall not receive any local woman, however public a figure she is, except white women, and if too many apply to enter, the first to be helped shall be the most respectable (*honradas*), the youngest, and the best looking, in which the dangers are more probable and the House's succour easiest."

**Document 6. Selection of inmates in the Hospital of the Poor (1612)**

Source: *Regimento do ospital da Casa da Santa Misericórdia para a gente da terra e outros que pela Mesa se recebem*, HAG, cod. 10425, fols. 1-11.

And because it is the duty of the above mentioned *mordomo* to receive the patients that shall be treated in the hospital, he shall inform the physician and the surgeon that they suffer from illnesses that require treatment and that are such as can be cured, because those who are incurable shall not be received by the *mordomo* without a dispatch issued by the *provedor* and brothers of the *Mesa*, and thus he shall not admit Portuguese men, nor their wives, nor children of the same kind without orders from the *Mesa*: because the Portuguese are to be treated in the Hospital of the King, our Lord, and should be sent there except if the *Mesa* orders the opposite because it has reasons to do so and every person that shall be admitted, whether a peasant or any other quality, before his/her body is attended shall be given spiritual medicine, that is, confession and sacrament if he is in a state to do so, and if they are not willing to confess they shall not be given entry.

**Document 7. The Misericórdia of Goa reports its activities to the population of the city in 1624**

Source: HAG, Alvarás 1580-1681, cod. 10398, fol. 20; adapted from a leaflet hung in the pulpit of the church of the Misericórdia on 2 July 1624.

- A total of 24,573 *xerafins* of alms is mentioned, to be distributed as follows:
- home visits that have been made during the year to more than 1,200 widows, orphaned girls and boys, with special mention to the inclusion in this number of many married women whose husbands “had embarked, earning their living and others in His Majesty’s service”;
  - maintenance of the Hospital of the Poor;
  - visits to the poor and crippled every Wednesday;
  - food to white and local prisoners and [provision] for their trials and deliverances;
  - burial of wretched persons, in which many Portuguese were included;
  - financial help to marry 13 orphaned girls;
  - small, but needed expenses;
  - 4,109 *xerafins* that the House paid for debts contracted on the money deposited that was claimed by owners, and whose assets had been spent “in good faith”;
  - this amount did not include 11 *xerafins* that the king ordered to be given to the poor every Friday on behalf of the souls of the kings of Portugal, totalling 572 *xerafins* in that year;
  - neither did it include more than 900 *xerafins* that the city gave to the lepers and foundlings;
  - 6,684 low masses, excluding many offices and high masses.

**Document 8. Selections from the Statute Book (*Compromisso*) of the *Misericórdia* of Goa (1633)**

Source: Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora, *Compromisso da Misericórdia de Goa, 1634*, Cod. CXVI/2-3, fols. 1-48.

*Cap. 26. How orphaned girls shall be dowered*

In the dowries of the orphans under the administration of this House // 34v // shall be observed all the conditions, and circumstances, that the testators have stipulated in their wills and, in matters that the latter have not dealt with, the dispositions of the *compromisso* shall apply because it thus seems of more service to God, to the authority of the House, and to the well-being of the said orphans.

The orphans that have requested a dowry shall come in person to the *Mesa* if they live in the city, so that better knowledge of their persons can be formed, and in order to assert their poverty they shall accompany their petitions with a certificate from the judge of the orphans declaring what they have received as inheritance [*legítima*], or what they own from any other source.

And in the petitions they bring, four things shall be declared: the first shall be the name of their parents, the place where they were born and the street where they live; the second, the quality and merits of their parents, if they were such persons as to deserve respect in their dowries; the third shall be their age, and the destitution in which they live, in order to assert the danger of not coming to their aid; the fourth shall be their consent, in order that the information needed shall be gathered, and so that they are willing to receive the dowry according to the conditions stipulated in this *compromisso*.

As soon as the petition is brought to the meeting of the *Mesa* by the orphan that delivers it, the clerk will record it in a book that shall exist to this effect: her name, her parents', and the age that the *Mesa* shall judge her to be and also the place she comes from, and the street where she lives.

After this procedure, the *provedor* shall collect her petition, and according to the rules stipulated in the chapter concerning the information to be gathered by the Visitors [*visitadores*],<sup>15</sup> he shall hand the said petition to the brothers of the

brotherhood // 35 // that are not members of the *Mesa*, and whom he judges the most adequate to gather information about her concerning age, talent, and reputation, so that he can rely on them in a matter of such importance, and the said brothers entrusted with the enquiries will make them in writing, and proceed with particular care in order to investigate the truth without discrediting the orphans, because this is such an important issue, on which the reputation of the *Misericórdia* is put at great risk, and they shall declare in their reports the age, quality, personal characteristics, poverty, state of destitution, and merits that they have inferred in their enquiry.

— The first task that the brothers designated by the *Provedor* will carry out will be a personal visit to the home of the orphan at stake in order to inspect the manner in which she lives, and enquire about the issues that they judge necessary to clarify.

— And if it is necessary to obtain more reliable information [on the petitioners] the scribe of the House shall take statements from witnesses, he shall do so in the presence of the *Provedor* and if doubts shall increase, they will use every means they see fit in order to obtain the truth, but this will require care in the order and manner undertaken, so that no orphan shall be denied a dowry and her reputation lost on account of the lack of decorum with which the information is gathered.

— And so that the distribution of dowries is done better, and with less work, the scribe shall prepare a sheet of paper before [the *Mesa*] votes, indicating the suitability of each dowry claim, and the conditions according to which it shall be awarded, so that the *Provedor* and brothers are informed about what they can and should do.

— And when this information is ready it shall be given to the *Provedor* together with the orphans' petitions, and their recommendation in writing and signed by both // 35v // and he shall keep them in secret under locked key, so that some time remains in order to clear any doubt arising regarding the information gathered immediately prior to the scrutiny...in which the *Provedor* shall order the scribe to read out all information he has on the orphans during the meeting [of the *Mesa*], where they shall be divided into the most deserving, and the least deserving ones, and also the notes that the scribe will have written in his book when the orphans came to the House to petition for their dowries, so that the brothers of the *Mesa* can evaluate the merit and claim of each orphan in full knowledge.

— The *Provedor* shall designate three orphans from the more deserving group petitioning a dowry of a fixed amount by the time and day on which the scrutiny will take place, so that the *Mesa* will vote on the most suitable one. And for those [dowries] of variable amount, he shall designate only two orphans.

— The *Provedor* and other brothers of the *Mesa* cannot vote for any orphan aged less than fourteen and more than thirty, except if the testator has ordered the opposite, and less will [vote] for a girl who has a father, or for a person whose virtue is not credited for, or for a person that has a formal fiancé, or for a widow, or any person who could marry by alternative means, or who does service to a person who can care for her, or for a person who has been awarded another dowry by the *Misericórdia*, even if of lesser value, because she cannot either be given two or renounce the former in order to receive another [dowry] of better quality and condition.

— And among the orphans that shall pass the requirements and merits to be given dowries, those who live in the retirement house shall be given precedence, // 36 // both because they are the true daughters of the House of Mercy, and because they shall leave room for other orphans, and the benefit will be more universal. Neither shall the existence of other more deserving orphans be taken into account, because they can take the place they [the orphans of the retirement house] vacate in the

retirement house. In the second rank of precedence [priority] shall be the most virtuous and forsaken orphans or those who are better looking because they are in a greater danger, in the third the daughters of brothers, in the fourth the children of the home-assisted poor, in the fifth those from the city and in the last place those of the hinterland [*termo*],<sup>16</sup> and being in similar situations in what concerns virtue, destitution and looks, those of better quality shall be preferred, and those whose parents have done more service [to the king, the city, the confraternity].

After the elections, according to the number of dowries, the scribe will issue a promise to those who have been chosen, declaring the conditions under which they have been accepted, and he shall register them in the book noting the age at which the dowry was awarded, and this register shall be signed by all the members of the *Mesa* but none of these things shall be done without declaring to the orphans the amount of their dowries and the conditions under which they have been conceded, and they shall declare their acceptance and, at the moment the chosen orphans receive their promises of dowry, they shall be instructed to marry within the time limit stipulated in them, under the penalty of losing the dowry.

The orphans that will be given dowries that do not allow for change will not be dowered a second time with the same dowries they were given in the first place, and receiving another dowry on a second occasion, they will not be awarded a third dowry if they do not marry within the time limit.

... // 36v // ... Besides losing their dowries in the above mentioned circumstances, they will also lose them every time they shall be absent from this island without a written permit issued by the *Mesa*, every time a substantial error in their initial information is found, and the same shall occur if there is a change in their poverty, or reputation, because if they are to inherit significant property, there is no reason they should defraud others, and even less to wed with a dowry given by the House to those who do not maintain themselves in the honesty and virtue that the institution [written rules specified by the donator] of their dowry requires.

When the orphans are appointed to marry, they shall acknowledge the *Provedor* and other brothers so that they can define a date in which they shall be wed in the *Misericórdia*'s church, and the *Provedor* and all the members of the *Mesa* that can come shall be present, and give them their dowries, and if the wedding does not take place in this manner the *Mesa* will not be obliged to fulfil its promise, neither will any orphan ask the *Mesa* to wed outside the *Misericórdia*, except with the inmates of the retirement home [*Recolhimento*], and with the requirement that the wedding will take place in the chapel of the said *Recolhimento* and by the registers written in the books of the dowries shall be made mention of the date in which the orphans wed, with the names of their husbands, his father and mother, and this chapter shall apply only to the orphans living in this city, because with those living outside shall be done what the *Misericórdia* orders when it awards them the dowries.

If dowered orphans want to become nuns, the // 37 // *Provedor* and members of the *Mesa* will give them the same dowry that has been promised to them, but the money shall not be delivered without a certificate that the orphan has put her name to.

The orphans that by the time of this *compromisso* have been awarded a dowry and whose reform shall take place shall be given written notice of the new conditions that have been stipulated in this *compromisso*. Gonçalo Pinto da Fonseca. Dom Lourenço da Cunha, Francisco de Vergaça, Pedro Álvares Pereira.

*Cap. 27. How to admit the poor to domestic help*<sup>17</sup>

All the information on persons that require home visits shall be acquired according to the order and manner stipulated for the girls who petition for dowries.

The persons to be helped at home shall be required to pass three conditions, and the information that the brothers designated by the *Provedor* shall obtain must be clarified. The first is that they are persons of seclusion, virtue, and good reputation. The second is that they are poor and needy persons of such quality that they do not beg in the streets, or from door-to-door. The third is that they are persons, that by reason of their illnesses or their children's, or because of their quality, cannot serve another nor have they a means to support themselves, but it shall be noted that it is not against the poverty of such people to own the houses where they live or rent property whose cost does not surpass six thousand réis,<sup>18</sup> and all those enquiries shall be pursued with particular care. If the person who asks to be assisted at home is a woman living alone, and does not have company, the brothers to whom the enquiry is committed shall // 37v // take testimonies from the priors and priests of the parishes where they live, and have lived, and from the brothers of the house that live in the same neighbourhood and from the neighbours on the same street, and stairs, and from other persons that have sufficient knowledge of them, and are worthy of trust. And when the enquiring brothers shall have that information they shall note the names of the persons who informed them, and what each one of them said, so that they can give a clearer and more concise account to the *Mesa*.

As soon as some persons are admitted to the home visits at the House's expense, they will be registered by the scribe in a book that shall exist to this effect, and in this register will be noted what shall be given to them during visits, the year in which they were admitted, the brothers who gathered information on them, and the reasons that the *Mesa* judged to care for them, and the *Provedor* shall sign at the bottom of each page of this book.

*Cap. 28. Of the manner in which the petitions from prisoners shall be received and dispatched*

The prisoners who petition for contributions to their ransoms will declare the quality of their person, age, place and time when they were made prisoners, and where they live at present, and will also declare if they are using any other money or expected donations for their redemption, and the amount that is lacking in order to be freed.

After the presentation of the petition, the *Provedor* and *Mesa* will preside over the necessary procedures vouching for the content of the petition, and particularly // 38 // on the destitution, work, service and merits if [the candidate] alleges them, asking also for a statement from any captain of the factory situated close to the place of imprisonment, if he is a prisoner in such a place where such information can be obtained, and for the rest insisting on at least two accountable witnesses.

Having carried out these procedures, and having certified the information noted above, the *Provedor* and members of the *Mesa* can give the said prisoner the usual sum awarded to the *Misericórdia* of Cananor to ransom captives, but the *Mesa* shall never vote on a prisoner who asks for a ransom without the sanction of the *Misericórdia* of Cananor, or if he has enough money to be freed without the help of the *Misericórdia*, or if he is a captive that has ransomed himself and has been freed under bail, on the basis that he is no longer in captivity, and other [issues] here will be of greater concern to those born in our kingdoms, to women and children, whose bodily captivity is a greater danger to their salvation.

After the dispatch of such petitions, the scribe will issue a certificate of the prom-



ise of alms to the prisoner's proxy, and will register it in the book signed by all the members of the *Mesa*, declaring the name and quality of the prisoner, the place where he is, and the motives for helping him in gathering the sum needed for his redemption, the amount of the donation given, and the day of its promised delivery, and if the prisoner is not immediately freed, the proxy will be obliged to renew the promise every six months, and if he does not comply, the House will not be liable to fulfill its previous promise....

### Travel Accounts

#### Document 9. Linschoten's description of the inmates of the Royal Hospital of Goa (1598)

Source: Brunell, ed., *Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten*, 237-38.

"as the Kinges Hospitall can bear witnes, wherein they [the Portuguese soldiers] lodge, whensoever they are sicke, where every yeare [at the least] there entered 500 live men, and never come forth till they are dead, (and they are) only Portingals, for no other sick person may lodge therein, I mean such as are called white men, for the other Indians have an hospitall by themselves. In this Hospitall they are verie well looked unto by Jesuites, and Gentlemen: whereof every month one of the best is chosen and appointed, who personaly is there by them, and giveth the sicke persons whatsoever they will desire, and sometimes spend more by foure or five hundred Duckats of their [owne] purses, then the Kings allowance [reached unto], which they doe more of [pride and] vaine glorie, then for compassion, onely to have the praise and commendation of liberalitie. It is no shame there to lie in the Hospitall, for many men go thether willingly, although they have wherewith to keepe themselves in their houses, and have both wife and children. These Hospitals in India are very necessarie for the Portingals, otherwise they shold consume away like miserable men, but by ye meanes they are relieved, whatsoever they have, eyther sicknesse, wounds, secrete diseases, pockes, piles, or [any] such like, there they are healed, and sometimes visited by the Viceroy [himselfe], when he thinketh upon them and that his commodities come in. He that will not lie there, and hath any woundes or privie diseases, may come [thether] twice everyday and be drest, and goe his way againe, without any question or deniall. When they die [therein], they are by two slaves carried into the Church yarde, without eyther singing or ringing, onely one man follweth after [them], and throuwet some holy water upon the grave: but if the sicke man chanceth to leave any goods [behind him] and speaketh unto the Priestes to bring him to his grave, and to say Masses for his soule, then they runne [thither] by heapes, and burie him like a man of countenance eyther in the Church or chauncell, according to his will, and then hath hee singing and ringing enough".

### Pyrard de Laval on charity (1601-11)

#### Document 10A. Pyrard de Laval on the support to the prisoners in the *Tronco (gaol) of Cochin*

Source: Gray, ed., *Voyage of Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, 1:432.

It was a great consolation that every day there was given out of pity a demy tengue, equal to five sols here [in France], to every Portuguese or Metis; and to the rest, once a day, some cooked rice and badly prepared fish, about as much as would serve one

for a single meal, with some water to drink: this was given every morning, to last till the next day at the same hour.

#### **Document 10B. Pyrard's description of the inmates of the Royal Hospital of Goa**

Source: Gray, ed., *Voyage of Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, vol. 2, pt. 1:11-12.

In every year more than 1,500 corpses are removed from this hospital, while the number of sick admitted is infinite.<sup>19</sup> Inasmuch as the arrival of the fleet from Portugal sometimes brings more than 300, the least number of inmates is from 300 to 400. Only Portuguese and old Christians are admitted for treatment then. Yet true it is that some Jews among the companies arriving from Portugal pass for Portuguese, though they be only new Christians. All men that come with the Portuguese from these parts, all such being called *Homo Branco* i.e. white men, or old Christians, are welcomed there. No women are allowed to enter, sick or sound. Nor are any householders received, neither men, women, nor children, nor any Portuguese servants: there are others established for them, if they be poor. This hospital is only for the *Soldados*, that is, for such as are not married or domiciled, but are soldiers of fortune. In short, only those that are not married, nor belong to a household, nor are servants, are taken in; and among those that go there are often gentlemen of good family, there being no dishonour in the matter—for indeed, it is for these gentlemen and soldiers of fortune that these hospitals have been established in the cities of the Indies. Sometimes they are visited by the archbishop, the viceroy and many lords, who make gifts to them of large sums of money.

#### **Document 10C. On domestic relief and hospitals for the poor**

Source: Gray, ed., *Voyage of Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, vol. 2, pt. 1:15.

The Portuguese and the Metis householders who are sick and in need are treated at their houses by the *Misericórdia* and by the wealthy, who let them want for nothing. There are other hospitals for the natives of the country that are in the town: these are for Christian Indians only. The town possesses two hospitals, one for women, the other for men; but these are in fact one only, being merely separated for the sexes.

#### **Document 10D. The *Misericórdia*'s help to poor prisoners in Goa**

Source: Gray, ed., *Voyage of Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, vol. 2, pt. 1:20.

The prisoners are assisted with alms from the well-to-do, and the officers or *Confrères* of the *Misericórdia*, called *Immanos*, come to visit all the prisoners once a month, as well as all the poor of the town that are on their list. In the same way the poor widows and orphan girls are fed at the expense of this fraternity. Much is given to the old Christians, and a little to the new Indian Christians. The Father for the Christians, who is a Jesuit, comes also and gives to the prisoners; but that does not happen every day.

#### **Document 10E. Pyrard describes social stratification among the Portuguese**

Source: Gray, ed., *Voyage of Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, vol. 2, pt. 1:38-39.

Among the Portuguese there are great differences in regard to their estimation: for the most esteemed are those who have come from Portugal, and are called "Portuguese of Portugal"; next are those born in India of Portuguese father and

mother, and called *Castiços*, that is, of their caste and blood; the least esteemed are the offspring of a Portuguese and an Indian parent, called *Metices*, that is, Metis, or mixed. Those born of a Portuguese father and a Caffre, or African negro mother, are called *Mulastres*, and are held in like consideration with the Metis. The Metis plume themselves much when their father or mother is of Brameny race.

**Document 10F. On private charity: the vice-roy and almsgiving**

Source: Gray, ed., *Voyage of Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, 2:84-85.

With regard to the ordinary alms-giving of the vice-roy, it is twice a week, and on the feast days and Sundays when he goes forth. This alms is only given to the Poor Christian Indians: his almoner gives them some money in the great square in front of the palace. Should there be some woman who is a widow of a Portuguese, she is put aside, and she receives more than the Indian women. The poor soldiers, mariners, and other Portuguese, come into the great painted hall of which I have spoken. The women and children are in another, and the viceroy sends the master of his household with his almoner to give them money. On such a day he will give two to three thousand *perdos* [*sic*]. All the Portuguese women and girls come in covered Palanquins and present their applications which they call *Peticions*, wherein is contained their request, and the ground of it; the next day they come to see if there be any answer to it. Those who are sick may send to their answers. This alms is given conformably to the quality of the individual. The viceroy receives all these *Peticions* himself and replies the following day. Out of all these he makes for himself a double profit. Besides that, he often sends alms to the prisons, churches, hospitals, and other sacred places, and procures marriages for many girls and widows.

**Document 10G. Private almsgiving: the archbishop D. Frei Aleixo de Menezes**

Source: Gray, ed., *Voyage of Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, 2:89.

They have a custom to cause a dozen poor folk to eat at their table of the same viands, but seated lower than themselves; but this archbishop causes them to sit at another table opposite his own. This is at dinner and supper. He is served with a dish of silver gilt, and the poor with porcelain. These poor are not Indians, but Portuguese soldiers and mariners, that are reduced to need, whether by play or by not receiving their pay. When he is at table the door of his dining room is opened, and his attendants choose and pass in such twelve as they think fit. It is amusing to see them striving for the first place, and he that once gets a seat does not give it up. I have often eaten there when I had no money. When there are more than twelve, the remainder wait in the great hall until the archbishop has eaten and then something is sent to some of them of what is over from his table.

**Document 11. A definition of the confraternity of *Misericórdia* according to Pietro della Valle (Cananor, 1623)**

Source: Havers, trans. and ed., *Travels of Pietro della Valle*, 2:382.

Pietro della Valle would write about the city of Cananor in 1623:

It hath four Churches, to wit La Sede, or the Cathedral; the *Misericórdia*, which is a confraternity and pious institution. There are some of them in all the settlements of the Portugals. They correspond with one another, and do many good works, much like our Monte di Pietà, Santo Spirito, and other such; for almost all the pious works, which among us are done by divers Houses and Societies, this Institution of

*La Misericórdia* does amongst the Portugals...A pious thing, indeed, and of infinite benefit to the Publick; the rather because they are in all the Territories of the Portugals, and hold correspondence together, even those of India with those of Portugal; so that they all seem but one body, extending itself to several Countries and becoming incredibly useful to all.

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## Notes

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- 1 The historiography of Catholic charity is of course vast; to cite only a few major works, see Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*; Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*; and Flynn, *Sacred Charity*.
  - 2 It is questionable whether other local institutions could rival the *misericórdias* at certain given times. In some cases, bishops are known to have handed out sums to the poor, which were equal or superior to the budgets of the local *misericórdias*. Nevertheless, the scope of charitable institutions run by the bishoprics was limited, and the scale of the alms provided depended heavily on the personality of specific bishops.
  - 3 HAG, *Assentos e Acórdãos, 1641-1686*, cod.10418: 114 [1659.06.06].
  - 4 Cf. Martins, *História da Misericórdia*, 2: 294 and 1: 355.
  - 5 In 1680, it incorporated the *Hospital da Piedade*, property of the municipality, but the actual merging of the two institutions in a single building occurred only in 1706.
  - 6 The fact they had the same founder justifies the joint treatment of the three institutions, as assumed by Coates (2002). For obvious reasons, the *Mónicas* are outside the scope of this chapter.
  - 7 The confraternity is said to have had four *compromissos* before 1595, when the new *compromisso* of the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon motivated a reformation that would elaborate a single document. Nevertheless, the last major *compromisso* of Lisbon, approved in 1618, would result in the Goan one of 1633 (Sá, *Quando o rico se faz pobre*, 179).
  - 8 The *provedor* was the head post in each *Misericórdia*, commanding a body of twelve councillors, who gathered in the *Mesa*.
  - 9 Under Portuguese law, both lepers and foundlings were to be supported financially by the municipal councils, although private agreements with the *misericórdias* could assign the logistics of their welfare to the latter, given that the former subsidised it.
  - 10 At the time Pyrad was writing there were two such hospitals (one for men and the other for women) but, as we have seen, they were merged at the end of the century (see note 5).
  - 11 The *tanadores dos passos* were municipal officers charged with the surveillance of the entrance points to the city of Goa.
  - 12 The *ouvidores* were local judges.
  - 13 The *mordomo* was a member of the *Mesa* who assumed the responsibility for a given task of the confraternity.
  - 14 Ambiguous meaning, probably referring to prostitutes.
  - 15 These were the members of the *Misericórdia* charged with enquiries in the field, and also those who went to homes of the poor on charitable visits.
  - 16 *Terço* designated the territory surrounding the city that was under its administrative circumscription.
  - 17 The *Misericórdia* designated the group of people that received charity in their homes on a *rol das visitadas*. This was a very selective service, mainly designed for poor women, as it included the shame-faced poor, that is, people whose financial difficulties should not be common knowledge and who preserved their dignity through secret help.
  - 18 Portuguese currency during the seventeenth century.
  - 19 There may be some confusion here as elsewhere in his text Laval suggests that 1,500 was the number of actual inmates. In a despatch of 17 February 1607 the king reported that between 300 and 400 men between the ages of 18 and 30 died in the hospital each year, and in some years, many more.