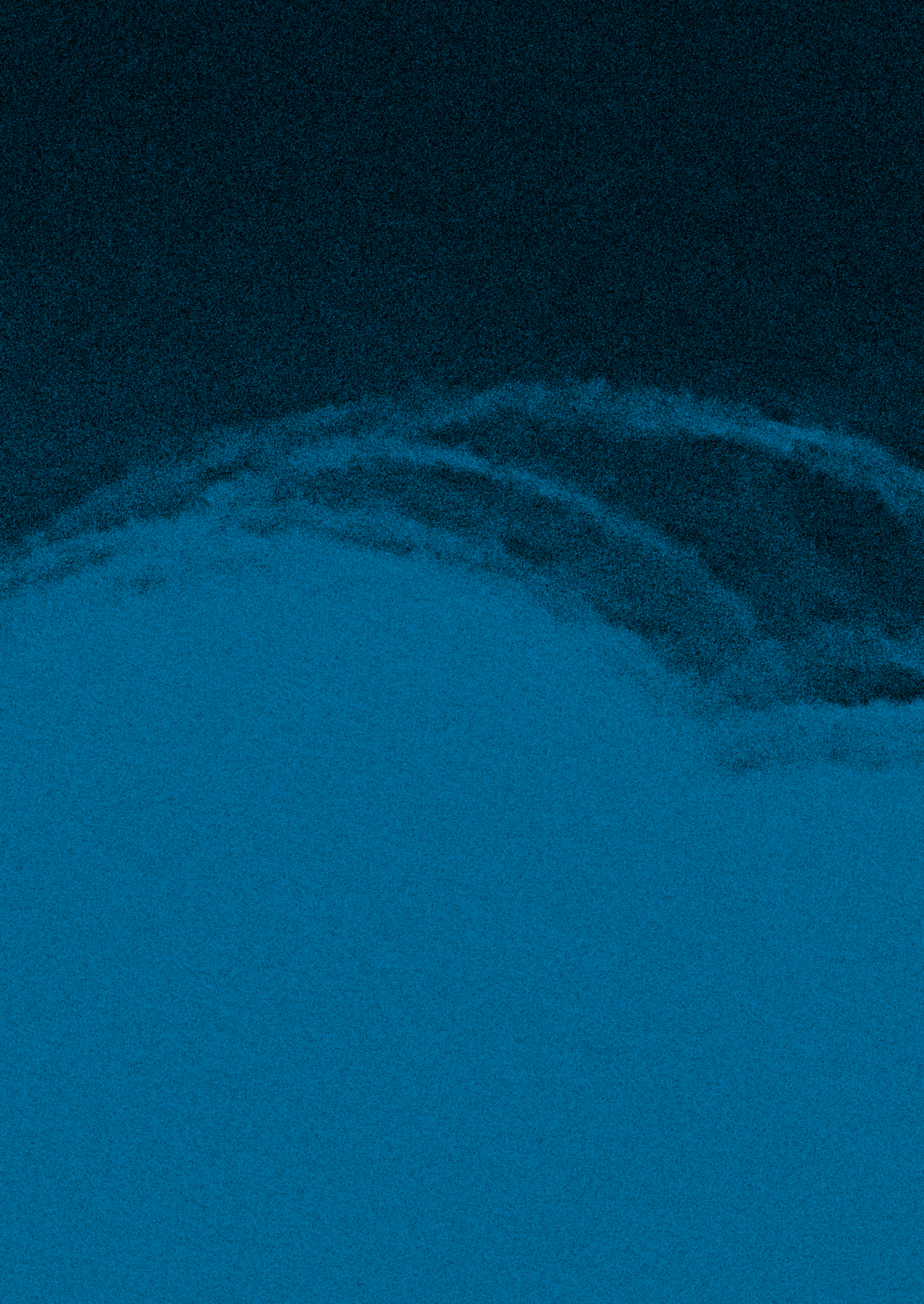


Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo (coord.)

# The City: Multifaceted Views

Landscapes      Coleção  
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Territory      Património &  
Collection      Território





# THE CITY: MULTIFACETED VIEWS

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# Introduction

*The City: Multifaceted Views* presents texts of different researchers, providing a very colourful palette with different views about the cities, focusing from the Middle Ages to the present time. The different views go through varied analysis perspectives regarding institutions, people, services and technology, reflecting continuity and change about the city as stage. The city is, besides a physical construction, a mental construction and it has been so throughout History. Besides the erected that characterizes it, it is also made up by people and institutions, that dwell and provide services in it, but also by a population who searches or ends up in the city for a number of reasons. Modern technology and ideas came easier to it, transforming the city and giving it a fresh look. Nowadays, technology and social media enable easy connections between countryside and city, but we not it was not always this way. The evolution it was subject to, but mainly the connections that its residents or those who search it establish make up our point of analysis, consubstantiating on a set of different perspectives.

The city is also a meeting point, very often, due to the events which happen on it. It measures the religious, becomes entertaining, makes the cultural blossom, in other words, it creates different narratives that boost confluence and generate sociability, while originating or nurturing transformation and innovation movements.

The book opens with a paper dedicated to the ways of dressing the city of the poor, with Luís Ferreira choosing Braga for his analysis. The text focuses on the distribution of clothing to the poor by Santa Casa of Braga, showing the role of clothing on people's lives, and the way charity expedited it. The text focus on the performance of the city on the game of appearances and specifies the group of poor people that, drawing on the Misericórdia, obtained the clothing it did not have.

Expensive and rarely acquired throughout life for the majority of the population of the Middle Ages, clothing assumed a particular meaning fulfilling two main functions: shielding the body from the elements and conferring it dignity. This last aspect assumed different nuances within the group of the poor. It was mainly a matter of dignity to the ashamed. Clothing exteriorized their social status and not having it fitting their social position was exteriorizing the fall, something publicly undesirable. Consequently, these poor people turned to charity in the attempt of obtaining clothing, hiding their needs. To the remaining ones, it was a matter of survival. On the two perspectives, the body assumes a particular role, being for it and around it that was requested, although not all solicitors were contemplated, not fitting in the criteria under which the Misericórdia operated.

The text of Marta Lobo analyses two urban centres of the Middle Ages, located on two different continents: Ponto de Lima, in Europe, and Bahia, in América. On the 18th century

they were connected by an intense flux of Portuguese migrants, the protagonists of this text, that leaving the North of Portugal found in Brazil, on the capital of the South American colony, the ideal context to progress on social and economic terms. The text analyses the places of departure and arrival, and mentions the social ascension of the metropolitan emigrants, emphasising the wealth obtained in the city of Bahia and what they did with it. The emigrants from Ponte de Lima in Brazil became rich and some tried to live like nobility, becoming members of the Holy Office, while others chose to invest more on salvation, establishing several legacies at their time of death. It is with the Atlantic Ocean in between that these two urban centres are connected with people, ideas and assets in circulation, with their condition as rich people coming true.

*From city to city* is the telling title chosen by Fátima Reis to analyse the journey of a Sephardic family in mobility, on the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Rodrigues da Costa family, like many others of the same religion, on the modern era, was subjected to a mobility process, running from the webs of the Inquisition. The work particularizes what happened to the mentioned family unit, showing its effects on several cities, but, mainly, the persecution of people of the flagged creed. In this particular case, it is evident the way the different marked cities served as stage to the disgrace of the Rodrigues da Costa family, also clarifying the operation of the Holy Office.

The importance of Misericórdia of Braga is analysed by two researchers on different grounds. Liliana Neves approaches it on a welfare perspective, while Cláudia Novais studies it through a religious approach. Santa Casa of Braga acted on the only city of Minho at the Modern Age and, as all its counterparts, it was a charity institution. It acted on a city governed on time and spirit by an archbishop and performed and performs a relevant role in fighting poverty. The analysis by Liliana Neves is restrained to the help to poor families passing through, showing not only the existence of many families in transit through the city for many reasons, bringing with them all or some of their elements, but also the help provided by this institution. The study draws closer to the families, trying to get to know them better, identifying for some the origin and destiny, the elements that integrated them and the goal of the trip. The other approach of the analysis focuses on the alms received, that is, on the way the institution of the city answered to the requests made.

Cláudia Novais focuses on the influence of weather on the cities, specifying the case of Misericórdia of Braga on the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The organization of processions throughout time, adding around its preoccupations all who partook of the same need, was one of the concerns of this brotherhood, above all being a secular institution. It was begged for the weather to get better when it



## INTRODUCTION

rained at an inconvenient time or it was asked for rain when there was need of it.

These prayers were not exclusive of the city, but they got in it a bigger dimension, by adding other brotherhoods, or other existing powers, on a joint event of identity, of popular belief and of will to fight a common problem.

The processions organized by Misericórdia of Braga throughout time confirmed, firstly, the organizational capacity of the institution, but, also, its capacity of rallying worshippers. The procession went through a previously studied and defined itinerary, with the main streets of the city serving as stage to a powerful manifestation of popular belief.

Analysing the urban spaces of the north of Portugal as places of sociability is the focus of the analysis of Alexandra Esteves. Marked by considerable rurality on the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this region of the country also created moments of relaxation enhancing sociability, accompanying the changes and progress that made themselves felt. Moments of enjoyment and relaxation served the interests of a bourgeois elite affirming itself through theatre, dances, musical soirees, circus, gathering people and families, and giving rise to conversation and exchange of ideas, whilst boosting moments of informality and leisure.

The urban environments where the stage of new sociabilities arising and, near the sea, the municipalities received bathers, forcing the assembly of new equipment to ensure new means of relaxation and rest. The movement of bathers was the origin of the emergence of cafes and casinos on these locations, but the baths also generated new sociabilities, crossing people from across the border.

More pronounced on urban centres, this movement that also originated associations, materialized the appearance of sociabilities adapted to the changes occurring everywhere.

The position of two jurists of the 16<sup>th</sup> century about marriage between the two genders is analysed by Maria Antónia Lopes, on the text presented here. João de Barros and Rui Gonçalves are the studied authors, on an analytic perspective that recovers innovative positions of the intellectuals regarding marriage and the position of the woman. In contrast to what was perceived as the position of the woman and its physical and personal characteristics, which subordinate the woman before the man, these two writers stress a distinct position. The stance of the classics remained throughout the Middle and Modern Ages, reaching, in many places, the 20<sup>th</sup> century, bundling with the stance of the Church, in a joint position of the defence of the diminishing of the woman and of the superiority of the man. Still about the woman and its place on family and society, a retrospective analysis about wedding is made and proven the pioneer spirit of these authors about the relations between the two genders. Advocates of equality between men and women on intellectual and moral circumstances, the

studied authors present a view contrary to the one in effect throughout many centuries.

Flávia Oliveira continues the analysis of the feminine position and of marriage, but now also under a dowry perspective. The author elaborates on the wedding dowries at the end of the Modern Age in the city of Braga, pointing out women as preferential target, although men are always present, by also receiving dowries, but mainly because, through marriage, they are one of the main pretexts of the dowry.

The analysis falls on the dowries families gave to their children, particularly those of the female gender, and its relevance for the constitution of a new family unit.

The investigation favours the system of marriage and the context of the dowries in Portugal, emphasizing the conditions established by the law regarding the availability of the patrimony to be given as dowry.

The endowment of the children was usually made before the marriage and after being established the terms between who gave and who received the dowry. On the Minho region, those who gave the dowry used this moment not only to provide conditions to the family being formed, but also to ensure certain conditions for themselves, particularly for when old age and death came, rendering, consequently, the distribution of power between the families.

The work of Joana Paulino addresses the vulnerable on the large city of Lisbon on the 19<sup>th</sup> century, highlighting the abandonment cases and the assistance provided to these children. Firstly, the author contextualizes the abandonment in Portugal and in Lisbon, stressing out the changes on legislative terms during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and, in a second part, analyses the action of Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Lisbon aiding these children in the parish of Encarnação.

Outlining the evolution of the aid to the rejected since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Joana Paulino also studies the difficulties of the Misericórdia on providing for these poor people and the functioning of the Casa that sheltered them. It also dwells on the emergence of hospices and its implication on the fostering of children in Lisbon.

The study of the author regarding the abandoned of Encarnação exhibits children of different ages, but also the provision of several services, whilst supplying information about their families of origin, the weapons and the life path of the abandoned. Capitalizing on Joaquina to present a case study, the author emphasizes her life path, pointing out the hardship she was subject to, but also her connection to the world of work.

The text of Carina Ferreira also focuses on poor children on urban context, through the analysis of the profile of wet nurses of the vulnerable of Roda of Santo Tirso, village of the north of Portugal. Institutions created on the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Rodas were only located in cities and villages, and functioned until



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the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although there still were vulnerable children. The study focuses on this institution and its connection between two worlds: the countryside and the city. It allows to know connections of flows of people and services on a period of great population growth and of shortcoming of resources in many families.

Although the children were abandoned in the centre of the village of Santo Tirso, they were predominantly handed over to women from the countryside, who picked them up and raised them, in exchange for payment. The analysis of this phenomenon is still relevant because it allows to analyse the engagement of women in several tasks, using, in this particular case, their milk to increase the family income.

It is also on aid to the poor that the work of Ricardo Cordeiro focuses, through an approach to the performance of nutrition on the life of the populations. The author analyses the issue between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Lisbon, showing the mechanisms created to aid those who did not have the financial conditions to eat, as happened with the working classes. This food shortage conjugated with, in many cases, other types of deprivations, as was the lack of sanitary conditions. The characterization of the groups points to the mobility from the countryside to the city, its uprooting and the lack of conditions to ensure sustenance.

On the difficult undertaking of giving food to the hungry, Santa Casa of Lisbon assumed a secular experience on a field of great significance, but other institutions emerged attempting to broaden the field of action. The affordable kitchens and soup kitchens aided on that dietary effort that the city developed around its most vulnerable.

Ambra Benvenuto analyses the journey of cities since the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the Smart City, showing a route marked by change and new challenges, in which the nerve centre is creating conditions of sustainability, enhancing the conditions of the populations inhabiting in them and enhancing the development of a “creative economy”. The author discusses the alterations provoked by the second industrial revolution in the cities following the thinking of Marx and Hegel, intersecting it with the concept of work. Travelling on the concept of city since ancient times, Ambra Benvenuto arrives to the Smart City, stressing out the technological side that characterizes it, but also the different relations it establishes between the citizens and itself. The author intersects simultaneously this information with the ideas of the mentioned authors. The changes on the current city are backed up by technological innovations and by the repercussions provoked by it in terms of experiences, services and also by the attitude of the citizens.

LUÍS GONÇALVES FERREIRA\*

# Game of appearances: City, urban poverty and clothing in Braga (1650–1750)

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## Introduction

The poor relief institutions played a key role on the construction of the figure of the poor, through their alms or through the choices of clothing of their salaried employees. Seen contradictorily by society of the Early Modern Age, poverty was deepened by diverse social agents that competed for it, specifically, the rich, that, through the management of the surplus of their superfluous goods, played a key role on the options of appearance and morality of the behaviour of the poor. On a perspective that facts the city as a paradigmatic space for the “game of appearances”, Santa Casa da Misericórdia as an axis of the local power in its interactions with the Crown, assistance as cement of the social order and of the alms as affirmation of hierarchy, we question the transferences of clothing to the poor, to understand the reach of this practice. We will inquire about consumption-related options, what they meant and which agents that, in the cities, contributed materially and symbolically on the construction of the socially dressed body of those exposed to impoverishment.

The answer to these questions problematizes the city and its role on the performance of appearances, the questions of poverty and assistance, and the specific role of the Portuguese Misericórdias on that field. It inquires, on the case of Braga, about some of the aspects of the actions of Santa Casa on the distribution of clothing to the poor and salaried employees.

## City on the game of appearances

“The order of appearances is lived more intensely on cities than on villages”.<sup>1</sup>

The rules of civility intensified the way that human beings, in society, through observation, comment or interaction, modelled themselves through the principles of good or bad conduct.<sup>2</sup> According to Erasmus of Rotterdam, clothes were the body of the body itself.<sup>3</sup> The body indicated, on the Early Modern Age, messages about the soul,<sup>4</sup> and interpreting them was the responsibility of rhetoric, civility or medicine.<sup>5</sup>

On this system of messages attributed by the body, the upper body is different from the lower body. The eyes were the windows to the soul, the head was associated to the divine, to thought and to reason, and the hands made the intellectual come true; the lower body pertained to sex, sin and useless areas.<sup>6</sup> The interior was also different from the exterior, such as the body is different from the soul: undergarment indicated status and hygiene through its whiteness<sup>7</sup> and black symbolized, on the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a tamed body, subjugated by intellectuality and estranged from earthly pleasures.<sup>8</sup>



The wider the audience it is directed at, the more significant the codified system. The cities arose as a demanding platform about the identification of the other and of its multiple interaction contexts.<sup>9</sup> The phenomenon of fashion connected to clothing has its historic root on the context of medieval economic, social and political growth from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, marked by the increasing urbanization and specialization of work. As entity related to present time, fashion is connected to fugacity, the desire to manifest difference in relation to the other and competition through different forms of seeming on the sense of social distinction. Secular charity and fashion find historical roots on Christian thought based on the “God-human” dogma.<sup>10</sup> This thought, combined with the economic and material availabilities of the cities as strong centres of commerce and exchange, allowed human beings to find distinct ways of completing the social message that its body generates in society. The streets of the cities asserted themselves as the perfect space to exercise the cult of ornamentation and show of the bodies.<sup>11</sup>

## Misericórdias, poverty and assistance

Santas Casas da Misericórdia, founded from 1498 on, assumed, gradually and under royal incentive,<sup>12</sup> the social control of public assistance and charity over the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Articulated with the cities or villages and founded from the will of the members of the local power, the Misericórdias became a success project, as they encompassed the power dynamics of the location where they installed themselves and imposed a system of privileges and advantages to those who wanted to be part of it.<sup>13</sup> This intimacy of Santas Casas with the local power allowed to build more or less stable power balances between individuals that, through Misericórdias, wanted to extend their networks of clients and become apt to municipal election.<sup>14</sup>

Inheriting the medieval assistance principles,<sup>15</sup> Misericórdias assume their differentiating role through their modern characteristics, marked by the alignment with contemporary historical processes of Western Europe. On the Portuguese case, Misericórdias received a series of municipal competences on assistance maintaining the medieval tradition of secular charity, but with new shapes, relevant to the construction of the modern state.<sup>16</sup> The integration of Misericórdias on the social and urban Portuguese fabric cannot be decoupled from royal centralization,<sup>17</sup> laicization and of the organization of networks of assistance from the centre.<sup>18</sup> The foundation of Misericórdias was included in a broader project organized by the Crown, from which they affirmed themselves with accountability of the municipalities by the creation of the foundling and hospital standardization/

incorporation. The way this plan was organized and explained makes the Misericórdias unique on the European context.<sup>19</sup> The power of the Misericórdia came from its economic base grounded on the administration of the assets of the soul, its majority bounded and unalienable.

The concept of poverty is, although confusing and often imprecise, identifiable on a determined time and space. Being poor comes from the social acknowledgement of others, necessarily richer, that, identifying the moral or economic disadvantage of someone, affects he/she through an unequal relation, based on power and submission. Poverty prescribes, apart from an economic dimension which stands by a person having financial capacity to acquire the necessary assets to its survival and maintenance of its status, it obeys, in the societies of the Early Modern Age, to formulations of ethics and morality. The rich is anyone who, after having suppressed all his/her basic necessities (eat, inhabit and dress) and those of his/her status, presents a surplus that should be redirected to practices of charity. The set of his/her superfluous assets was considered patrimony of the poor.<sup>20</sup> Poor and rich are considered necessary and interdependent in a society based on hierarchy and inequality between the bodies that comprise it.

The networks of solidarity or relations of power did not only structured themselves around legal and institutional principles. In the societies of the Early Modern Age, parallel relations are established around informal powers, based on friendship, blood relationship, fidelity, honour and service.<sup>21</sup> On what Marcel Mauss called of “gift economy”, old societies settled their relations of power through contracts not necessarily monetised or established on the trade of real rights, but based on the acts of giving, receiving and returning of things with economic value according to criteria of moral nature; alms appear as moral notion of the gift, of the fortune and of the sacrifice, without ceasing to be a trade with economic dimension covered with moral and legal criteria.<sup>22</sup>

The relations of friendship are based on inequality principles between a dominant pole (lender) and the dominated pole (debtor), as the counterparts are not always instantaneous. That differential between the act of giving, receiving and reciprocating, gives space for default. The intermediary, aware of the space between the two poles, knowing the interests and contacts between multiple agents, adds to his/her personal power through counterparts won by knowledge of the “empty duty”. On this system of customers based on friendships, liberality, charity, magnificence, gratitude and service, founded on a threefold relation in which all patrons are intermediaries, the superior poles add symbolic assets to the inferior layers in exchange for its economic assets. This offer imposes mobility logics to the societies. “The act of giving could correspond to an important investment of power, of consolidation of certain social positions or a social differentiation strategy”.<sup>23</sup>

Poverty, in the Early Modern Age, is related to the deprivation of access to one of the three elements considered basic to the existence: food, clothing or housing. Having or not a property, being or not remunerated according to the necessities of the condition or the capacity or incapacity to work are fundamental factors to the notion of poverty. Given the unequal distribution of property, concentrated in big secular and ecclesiastical possessors, and the vulnerability of the productive sector to the scenarios, a big part of the population that depended of the strength of its labour to survive easily slipped to privation, as we argued before. Given the absence of social protection mechanisms, the public charity and assistance institutions remained, secular and ecclesiastical, to assist the poor.<sup>24</sup>

## Dressing the naked on Misericórdia de Braga

The 3<sup>rd</sup> work of corporal mercy (to clothe the naked) implied that Misericórdias disseminated clothing among the poor,<sup>25</sup> but was not exclusive of it. Giving clothing to the poor was part of testamentary habits of the richest, secular or ecclesiastic. Dressing the naked, as a work developed by Misericórdias contemplated three modalities: the pieces of clothing could be given to charity already made, used or new; the cloth could be offered; or money was given to the making of clothing or help buying it.<sup>26</sup>

We can identify different levels of institutional control on the three ways of giving clothing to the poor, in relation to the quality of the social representation of the dressed body. Used clothing or new already manufactured, where the options of fabrics, ornaments and materials were already decided, allowed less choices by the worthy poor. The alms of fabric to create the piece allowed the choice of typologies and to adapt the fabric to his/her body, being institutionally decided the social representation value of the clothing of the poor, as the fabric was a fundamental element about the quality of the person wearing it. The aid in cash for the acquisition of clothing transfers to the receiver a broader set of options. The choices of the poor were always conditioned by the political mediation that defined their quality, as usual in the alms of the Portuguese Misericórdias.<sup>27</sup>

The objects of clothing had an objective patrimonial value and clothing was often the only property available to the poor. The rags of Inês Gonçalves, who died on January of 1644 at Hospital de Santiago, paid the follow-up and other expenses with the funeral and were sold in front of the priest of Cividade.<sup>28</sup> The set of possibilities offered by urban markets, through which was possible to access a range of markets, fabric merchants or second-hand



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clothing merchants, allowed the gathering of money through the sale of used assets. They could be destined to the consumption of other poor or reconfigured in other assets, such as paper.<sup>29</sup>

The access to clothing assets was, consequently, through the purchase of used or new assets at local markets. These assets came from the liquidation of wills, in which clothing was a patrimonial asset as any other, but also through illegal mechanism, as thefts. The charity phenomena of clothing assets transfer to the worthy poor are also relevant. The gift of clothing to servants, dependent of someone else for food, clothing and salary, was also of construction of the figures of the poor.<sup>30</sup> Misericórdia de Braga acted, mainly, on these two domains: the one of the alms, be it of used or newly manufactured articles of clothing, transferring the fabrics or the money to buy these assets; the one of the salary, as all akin institutions,<sup>31</sup> Santa Casa paid part of the compensation for the provision of services through the offer of clothing.

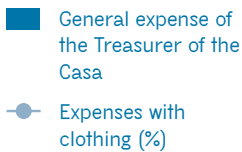
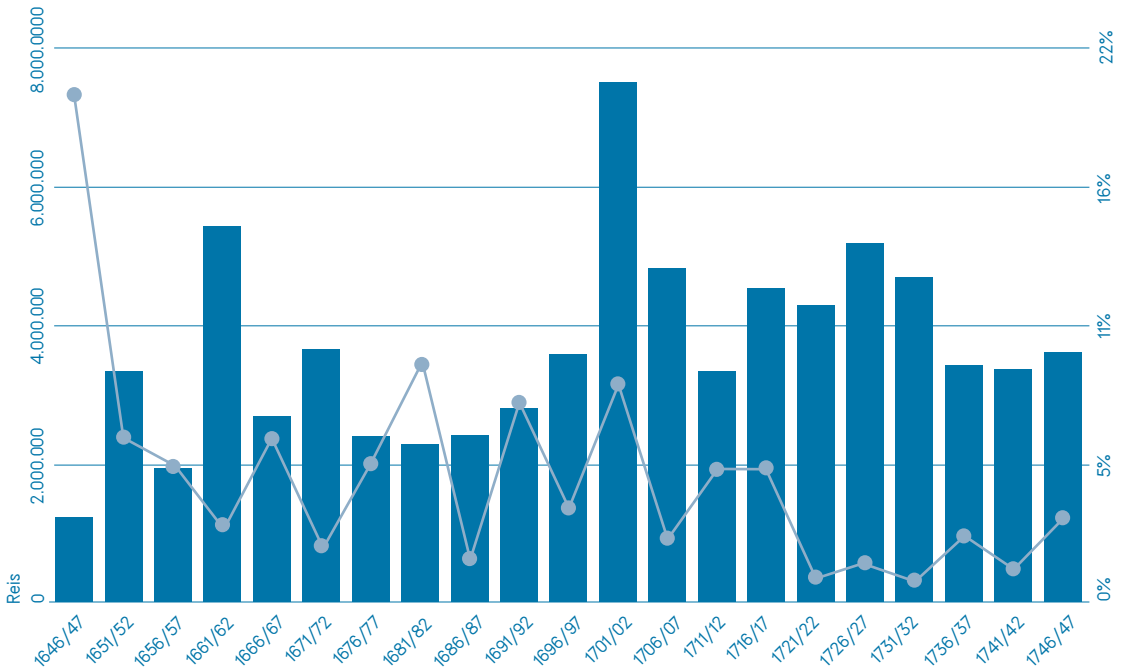
The poor found ways to take advantage of the system, as the case of the recommendation made to the provider of the hospital, marked on the by-laws of Misericórdia de Braga. On that document, it was recommended to the provider of syphilis that it was made mandatory to burn or cut, in front of him, the old footwear of the sick, to avoid that the diseased, as soon as healed, sold the new footwear and continued to use the old one, compromising the cure and risking getting sick again.<sup>32</sup> This fact allows to wonder that the poor exercised alternative ways of survival using the resources available to them; Santa Casa, through the action of the hospital, recognized those mechanisms and considered the existence of markets to buy and sell clothing objects. Clothing and footwear have an endemic relation with the treatment and prevention of sickness.

On Santa Casa de Braga, could be catalogued as poor<sup>33</sup> all those who met certain preconditions, namely: had good reputation, virtue and acknowledgement; were underprivileged, but did not beg; those that, for sickness (his/her or of the children) or handicap, could not support themselves through their work.<sup>34</sup> The moral and ethical definition about the quality of poor was fixated, the negative view of begging and the identification of poverty with its structural character, that is, based on the incapacity, physical or of the status, to access the income necessary to survival. The commitment identified that it was not a deterrent the possession of a house to inhabit or the income of up to 6000 réis. The inquiry about the poor should be made through the priests of the parishes and the friars close to the resident of the visited poor. Resorting to neighbourhood and vicinity, on a context of urban poverty, was fundamental for the institutions and its inspectors comprehension of the reality of the assisted. After the honesty of the poor was evaluated to deserve the alms of the Santa Casa, his/her name would be placed on a book.<sup>35</sup>

Besides the possibility of being admitted on the books of the visited poor, people could seek help from Santa Casa presenting petitions to its administrative body – the Board.<sup>36</sup> Made up by thirteen friars, this collegial body, assembled on “Casa do Despacho”, adjacent to the main temple of the institution. That Board assembled on the mystical presence of Jesus crucified, represented by an imaged place in an oratory. To those friars, it was present the idea that they were reuniting on the presidency of Christ, to whom they had the obligation of reverence and courtship.<sup>37</sup> The figure of the provider, 13<sup>th</sup> element of the college, as Jesus had been to the apostles, presided those meetings. The friars, after being elected on each day of Visitation (July 2<sup>nd</sup>) swore on the Gospels and promised to serve God and Mary.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, it was this group of men that approved when and how would the alms be given, where objects of clothing were included.

Between 1646 and 1747, according to a non-probabilistic sample collection, corresponding to the collection of all spending with clothing on the Expenditure Books of the Treasurer and of the Butler each five years,<sup>39</sup> variable amounts were spent on clothing, between 21% (1646/47) and minimal amounts of 1% (1721/22), with an average value of 5% of the total spending of the Treasurer of the “Casa” – see Between 1646 and 1747, according to a non-probabilistic sample collection, corresponding to the collection of all spending with clothing on the Expenditure Books of the Treasurer and of the Butler each five years, variable amounts were spent on clothing, between 21% (1646/47) and minimal amounts of 1% (1721/22), with an average value of 5% of the total spending of the Treasurer of the “Casa” – see Chart 1. These numbers are higher than the average of 1% indicated of another Misericórdia in the North of Portugal. It is important to mention two essential points: first, that these values pertain to transferences of clothing regarding alms (individual alms, winding sheets and “vestiaria”) and to the part in clothing of the salaried employees; second, these numbers are not unresponsive to the passage of time, and, from the beginning of the 18th century we observe a double trend – the aggregated alms of “vestiaria” disappear almost completely from the day-to-day of the institution, continuing, nonetheless, individual alms with petitions; the spending with alms starts to lose significance before the fixed costs with the salaries of the employees. We should remember that, from the general point of view, in relation to the panorama of the institutions, the 18th century corresponds to a period of decadence, in absolute terms. It is also important to note the hypothesis of Santa Casa choosing to substitute the modalities of alms in kinds to more rational practises of management of its resources, with the repeated increase of alms in currency. [Chart 1]. These numbers are higher than the average of 1% indicated of another Misericórdia in the North of Portugal.<sup>40</sup> It is important to mention two essential points: first, that these

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**Chart 1**  
**Variation of the general expense of the Treasurer of the Casa and of the spending with clothing in percentage of the general spending (1646-1747)**

Source: ADB Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livros da Despesa do Tesoureiro e do Mordomo*, nº s 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 674, 679, 680, 681, 682, 686 e 687

values pertain to transferences of clothing regarding alms (individual alms, winding sheets and “vestiaria”) and to the part in clothing of the salaried employees; second, these numbers are not unresponsive to the passage of time, and, from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century we observe a double trend – the aggregated alms of “vestiaria” disappear almost completely from the day-to-day of the institution, continuing, nonetheless, individual alms with petitions; the spending with alms starts to loose significance before the fixed costs with the salaries of the employees. We should remember that, from the general point of view, in relation to the panorama of the institutions, the 18<sup>th</sup> century corresponds to a period of decadence, in absolute terms.<sup>41</sup> It is also important to note the hypothesis of Santa Casa choosing to substitute the modalities of alms in kinds to more rational practises of management of its resources, with the repeated increase of alms in currency. [\[Chart 1\]](#)

Another important aspect that may explain the oscillations with clothing is the spending with salaried employees not having an annual basis, but being dependent of the date of start of the service and duties performed. The asker and servant of the house should receive, each year and a half, one cassock and, each two years, a cape of good quality blue cloth, and, annually, one pair of boots, one shoes accessory and one hat. The bell boy should receive the necessary footwear and full dress, being mandatory that the textile was blue and of good quality. The two female servants, each two years, should receive one skirt, jerkin and corpinho. Annually, they should receive one pair of shoes and shoes accessories. There is a



division of goods that were subject to quick wear, such as footwear and hats, and those that resisted longer, such as capes and body clothes.<sup>42</sup> A detailed analysis with the “blue servants” revealed us that their number did not always conform to the defined on the by-laws.

Regarding the clothing of the salaried employees, Santa Casa paid for all expenses with manufacturing, deciding the fabrics and paying tailors, including spending on threads, twisted silk yarns, opening buttonholes and buttons. It is curious that making buttonholes costs practically the same as buttons. The making of buttonholes was paid by unit and the buttons were bought by dozens; in the studied period and on the ranges problematized, Santa Casa bought 816 buttons. By the cost of the buttonholes and the added value they meant in relation to the accuracy to the body, the presence of buttons and their materials, besides the type of thread that sewed its buttonholes affirmed itself as added value element for the quality of the social representation of the body it dresses and adorns. Apart from their utilitarian function, the buttons allow to dress and strip tight garments that, otherwise, would become impossible to wear. The institution bought new collars for upper body garments and revered the elements of wear on the neck; it also bought new accessories to hold the capes.

The value of the fabrics spent on the clothing of the “blue men” is of higher value than those Santa Casa channelled to alms. If for alms it preferred thick fabrics and of natural colours, composed by denser threads and less comfortable for the body, it channelled to its servants fabrics of “good quality blue fabric”. In practical terms, that translates on the use of wool products composed of thinner threads and more densely woven; these wooden fabrics were destined, mainly, to the most exterior layers of the garment. The linen textiles were destined to the linings. The common presence of payments for new linings for old garments or of composition of padded garments shows two concerns: on the one hand, counteract the wear of the garment, maintaining it with good aspect, as the image of the servants was the image of the masters or institutions that payed their salary; and, on the other hand, reveal the quality of the garment, as padded garments imply a bigger spending of time on manufacture by the tailor, as well as nominal costs with fabric. The spending with alms indicates, on the sewing of garments and buttons, the use of threads, that is, twisted linen yarn, while the garments of the salaried employees commonly included twisted silk yarn.

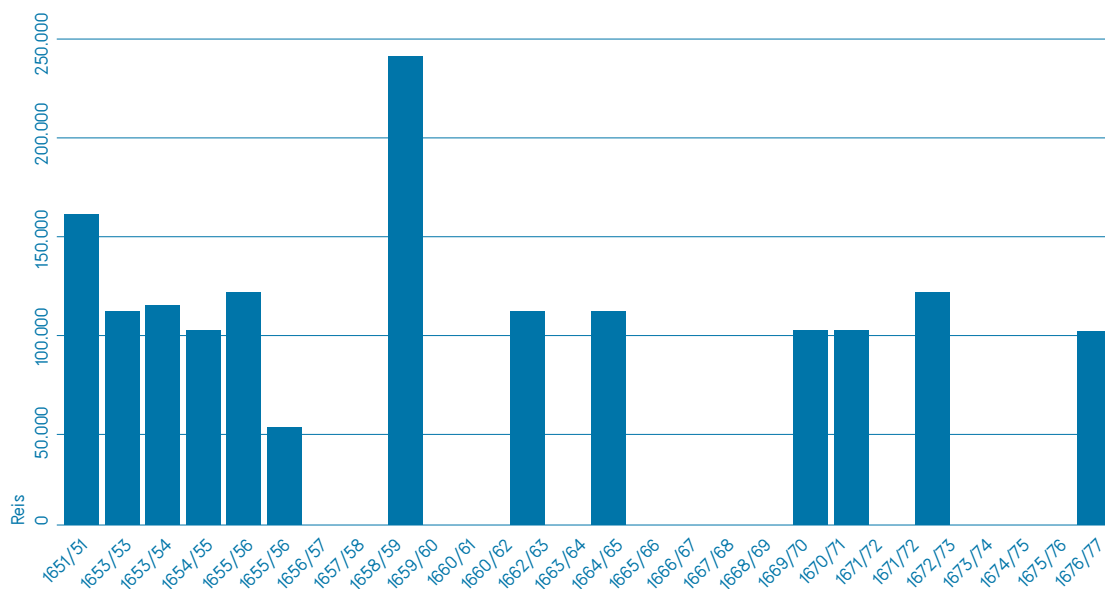
The wool products were bought, for the most part, in “côvados”,<sup>43</sup> denoting that they were dyed, subject to a broad set of procedures, on the production and transformation, which increases the price of the fabrics. The “Regimento dos Panos”<sup>44</sup> of Peter II of Portugal, of 1vz0, established a positive correlation between the quality of the cloth, the thinness of the thread, the attention to the processes of selection, carding and cleaning of the wools, and its

kindness. The cloths with more wool on their weft and warp are also good. These dimensions inferred, also, on the capacity for the fabric to be dyed with certain pigments. A “good” and “fine” cloth is one whose process from the sheep to the sale obeys a strict set of procedures, that the multiple actors involved in the process have to comply rigidly. The inspector of the cloths (“vedor dos Panos”) has to inspect them in name of the king by means of Corregidor or equivalent. The “Regimento” set that the poor quality thicker wool cloths, being for self-consumption, do not suffer the same vigilance, allowing them to be controlled of equally close manner by the authorities of the cities and villages.<sup>45</sup>

The memory of the blue related to Santa Casa da Misericórdia echoes on *Vocabulário*, published by Rafael Bluteau, on the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Jesuit, on the entry about that colour, associated it to the servants of the Misericórdias, mentioning Misericórdia of Lisbon.<sup>46</sup> On the city of Braga, between the existent brotherhoods and sisterhoods, Santa Casa disputed the blue of the servants’ clothing with the Brotherhood of Santo Homem Bom, the Sisterhood of Bom Jesus dos Santos Passos and the Sisterhood of Nossa Senhora a Branca.<sup>47</sup> Besides the associations with the colour of the garment of Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia, recurrently called “Senhora do Manto Largo”, the blue is connected to an imaginary of luxurious colour, fostered from the end of Middle Age, when the processes of dyeing and fixation of that colour were improved.<sup>48</sup> For the period under analysis, blue is the base colour of all other colours. The fabrics had to have a blue basis, from which the amounts of other colorants were calculated to achieve other colours, namely black, red and green.<sup>49</sup> The woad, plant used to dye blue, is described by Bluteau as being the herb used by dyers to prepare the cloths to receive all the colours, because it conserves the shine of the colour. Woad is the “foundation of all dyes”.<sup>50</sup>

About the costs with garment for Carvalho, a servant that stepped in for António Fernandes, in 1652, it was spent on buttonholes, style, lining, hat, shoes and socks, 3234 réis. The cloth, bought in “côvados”, therefore, dyed, cost 8950 réis. On the whole with clothing, the fabric represents 72% of the spending with garment.<sup>51</sup> Similar values were spent for the doublet of Ana, servant of the Casa, made in cloth of Estremoz with 18 buttons: the piece cost 994 réis, with 750 réis being for fabric, translating into 75% of the global amount of the expenditure. In addition, Ana’s doublet was lined with “holandilha”<sup>52</sup> and 1 “côvado” and ¼ of cloth was spent in its confection.<sup>53</sup>

The institution had great care with the shoes, socks and hats of its servants. Misericórdia worried about maintaining them in good conditions, renovating its soles, buying heels, insoles, substituting the quarters and buckles. The hats had their ribbons changed and a new crown was bought for a hat in use.<sup>54</sup> These data demonstrate



**Chart 2**  
 Spending with “*vestiaria*”  
 of the poor (1651-1677)

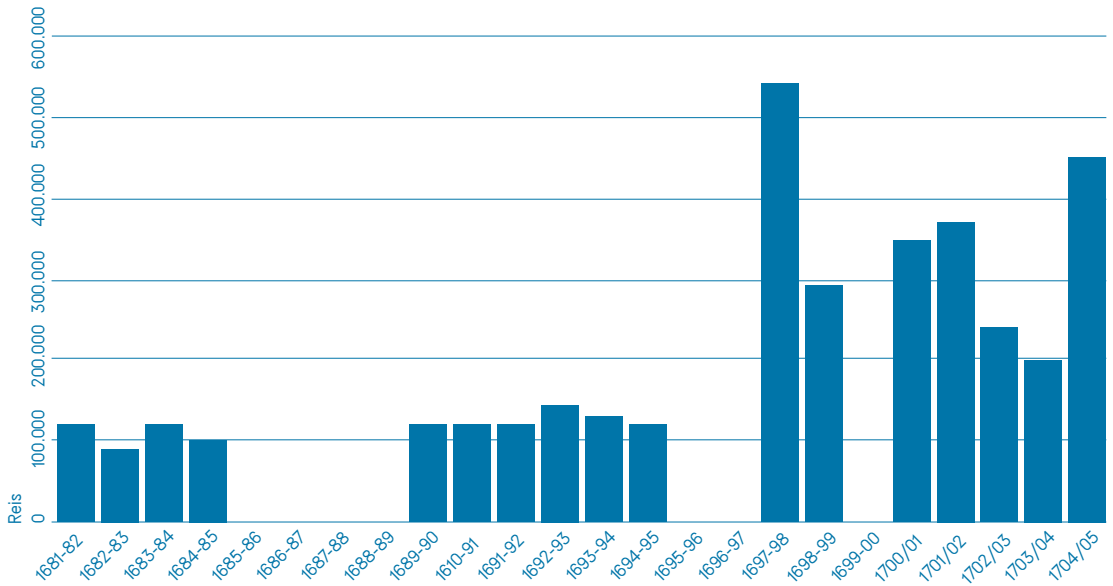
Source: ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livro de Termos*, 1645-1653, nº 6, fls. 131, 132, 161v; *Livro de Termos*, 1653-1661, nº 7 fls. 1v, 5, 29, 51, 76, 167, 136v; *Livro de Termos*, 1662-1678, nº 8 fls. 25v, 37, 118, 207, 220v, 255v, 313.

the diligence with the public aspect of salaried employees and affirm the concern of Santa Casa with the maintenance of the quality of representation of its agents.

By “*vestiaria*” we understand the amounts approved by the Board for alms of blankets to married people and objects of clothing, to meet the demand of a usual act of Santa Casa to provide this type of assistance before the large number of petitions and/or the severe winters felt. Its documental record is on the minutes books and expenditure books of the treasurer or of the butler, as the purchase of “*burel*”<sup>55</sup> and cloth in “*varas*”.<sup>56</sup> The data of Between 1646 and 1747, according to a non-probabilistic sample collection, corresponding to the collection of all spending with clothing on the Expenditure Books of the Treasurer and of the Butler each five years, variable amounts were spent on clothing, between 21% (1646/47) and minimal amounts of 1% (1721/22), with an average value of 5% of the total spending of the Treasurer of the “*Casa*” – see Between 1646 and 1747, according to a non-probabilistic sample collection, corresponding to the collection of all spending with clothing on the Expenditure Books of the Treasurer and of the Butler each five years, variable amounts were spent on clothing, between 21% (1646/47) and minimal amounts of 1% (1721/22), with an average value of 5% of the total spending of the Treasurer of the “*Casa*” – see Chart 1. These numbers are higher than the average of 1% indicated of another Misericórdia in the North of Portugal. It is important to mention two essential points: first, that these values pertain to transferences of clothing regarding alms (individual alms, winding sheets and “*vestiaria*”) and to the part in clothing of the salaried employees; second, these numbers are not unresponsive to the passage of time, and, from the beginning of the 18th century we observe a double trend – the aggregated alms of



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**Chart 3**  
 Spending with “vestiaria”  
 of the poor (1681–1705)

Source: ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livro de Termos*, 1678–1694, n.º 9 fls. 54v, 63v, 76, 111, 148v, 183v, 193v, 214, 236v, 258v; *Livro de Termos*, 1694–1709, n.º 10 fls. 7v, 55, 82, 104v, 126v, 128v, 151v, 175v, 177v, 190v, 209v, 220, 222.

“vestiaria” disappear almost completely from the day-to-day of the institution, continuing, nonetheless, individual alms with petitions; the spending with alms starts to lose significance before the fixed costs with the salaries of the employees. We should remember that, from the general point of view, in relation to the panorama of the institutions, the 18th century corresponds to a period of decadence, in absolute terms. It is also important to note the hypothesis of Santa Casa choosing to substitute the modalities of alms in kinds to more rational practises of management of its resources, with the repeated increase of alms in currency. [Chart 1]. These numbers are higher than the average of 1% indicated of another Misericórdia in the North of Portugal. It is important to mention two essential points: first, that these values pertain to transferences of clothing regarding alms (individual alms, winding sheets and “vestiaria”) and to the part in clothing of the salaried employees; second, these numbers are not unresponsive to the passage of time, and, from the beginning of the 18th century we observe a double trend – the aggregated alms of “vestiaria” disappear almost completely from the day-to-day of the institution, continuing, nonetheless, individual alms with petitions; the spending with alms starts to lose significance before the fixed costs with the salaries of the employees. We should remember that, from the general point of view, in relation to the panorama of the institutions, the 18th century corresponds to a period of decadence, in absolute terms. It is also important to note the hypothesis of Santa Casa choosing to substitute the modalities of alms in kinds to more rational practises of management of its resources, with the repeated increase of alms in currency. [Chart 1] may or may not reflect the values of By “vestiaria” we understand the amounts approved by the Board for alms of blankets to married people and objects of clothing, to meet

the demand of a usual act of Santa Casa to provide this type of assistance before the large number of petitions and/or the severe winters felt. Its documental record is on the minutes books and expenditure books of the treasurer or of the butler, as the purchase of “burel” and cloth in “varas”. The data of Chart 1 may or may not reflect the values of Chart 2 and 3, because these depend if the date of termination of the Board coincides with the period of the selected non-probabilistic sample. [Chart 2] and 3, because these depend if the date of termination of the Board coincides with the period of the selected non-probabilistic sample. [Chart 2]

Cross-checking the minutes books with the expenditure books allows us to understand that, after approved by the Board, Santa Casa bought cloth and “burel” through the action of an assigned friar. On January of 1677, for example, the Board approved the spending of 100 thousand réis to dress the poor.<sup>57</sup> On February of that year, on the spending of the butler, it was registered 2550 réis of spending with tailor, to make 51 “garments” for the poor, with style and threads included. On the following month, the clerk registered the 100 thousand réis spent with the poor and, in April, more 2350 réis for the tailor that “made the dress of the poor”.<sup>58</sup> We do not know how many people received aid, but we can try to approximate the number through the average of the individual alms for the year 1676/77. On that year, of the set of individual alms we gathered, the average was around 980 réis. The 100 thousand réis could have paid 100 alms in a year and in a short amount of time. [Chart 3]

We do not know the typologies of alms and/or people targeted with them, although we do know they followed up on accumulated petitions. We believe it may have existed a book of “vestiaria” with more detail about this practise. An expense of January 1652 notes it, with the book being mentioned by the clerk.<sup>59</sup> The responsibility of the payment of “vestiaria” was, at times, shared between the Casa and the alms of the provider. The news about “vestiarias” disappear on the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, after some decisions of the Board that evidenced former abuses on the distribution of clothing to the poor. An example of that is the decision of the Board in July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1706, in which that body decided that, due to the former incorrect practises and the necessity of investment on construction works of the hospital, the alms of clothing and the alms of Wednesdays would be suspended.<sup>60</sup>

The “vestiarias” varied between 50 thousand réis (1656–57) and 542 thousand réis (1697–98). Besides the political character of this type of alms, these values answered to crisis scenarios, consisting of expenses of extraordinary type. Of the 54 years<sup>61</sup> interval for which the practise is registered (1656/57–1705/06), 23 of them do not present a decision of the Board authorising a combined spending for alms in clothing – see Charts 2 and 3. We shall be looking at a sample of the most critical periods of crisis, hike in prices and periods of greater vulnerability to poverty?

The accusations of abuses by the Board of the year of 1705/06 to their previous equals seems to indicated that these values did not correspond exactly to cyclical answers. However, the formal argumentation of the Board indicates us that the blankets and dress of the aided poor would serve to meet its most basic function, that is, protecting the body of the poor from the cold. These alms are decided, in its majority, between the months of November and February, with a substantial peak on January. These are the winter months, but also the time of year with the celebrations of All Saints' Day and Christmas, periods of ritualization of the gift of alms.

Could the Board of 1705/06 be lamenting the careless action of the previous governing bodies, that made the annual average of these aids rise from 117 703 réis, between 1651/52 and 1694/95, to 348 650 réis, between 1696/97 and 1703/04? To us, that seems the most plausible answer. It is certain that the structure of the spending of the assistance institutions answers to crisis scenarios, trying to manage the capacity of raising revenue with the rigidity of ordinary spending and the social necessities presented. The political priority of the Board, from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was infrastructural growth of Hospital de São Marcos. That decision generated direct impact on the ordinary and clothing alms.

The responsibility of providers by the practice, preoccupied in distributing those alms with own capital of the Casa, indicates that the attribution of clothing was an important moment for the demonstration of the prestige of the institution and its members, that, through public events, wanted to broaden their social projection through the number of poor aided. On hierarchic societies, in which the alms are recurrent on all social levels, as all depend of someone else above them on the social chain, the gift of alms capitalized social and moral gains.<sup>62</sup> Distributing alms was an opportunity to broaden social networks and increase social capital, of who offered and of who received.<sup>63</sup> The alms of the providers also wanted to produce an image of imitable charitable work through their peers and by the urban society who witnessed those practices. It could also be relevant the competitive factor between the several providers, as Marta Lobo de Araújo emphasized for similar practices of other Misericórdias.<sup>64</sup>

We do not know exactly the destiny of these figures, but we are sure when we say that Santa Casa da Misericórdia, "to clothe the naked", knew two types of political distribution: one characterized by the approval of a large figure to distribute in clothing, which could be increased throughout the year, if the scenario compelled it, for which applied, at some moments, individual alms of the provider and the funds of the Casa; the individual alms, through petition, existed, in parallel and in alternative to that practice. The two practices depended on petition but were distinctly dispatched and registered. The term of January 25, 1705, reveals that: the Board determined, after a vote, that the clothing was, from that



moment on, to be given “on piles and not on one pile”.<sup>65</sup> The term that suspended excessive spending with clothing was approved on the following year.

The textiles bought by friars of the Board respected various styles, with “burel” being the most expressive one and very associated to blankets. The purchase of “cloth” was also very relevant, being generically a woollen fabric, with weft and warp of the same fiber, of several classes, that can be felted and covered in hair being shorter the thinner the fabric is. The thinness of the wool thread establishes precisely the quality of the cloth.<sup>66</sup> Rafael Bluteau says that the “cloth” is differentiated by the quantity of wool, its thinness, its widths, but also has, regularly, the name of the location where it is produced.<sup>67</sup> This trend was already a reality on the medieval period in Portugal.<sup>68</sup> In Braga, 60 varas of cloth of the locality, at 215 réis, served to dress ashamed people, on January of 1647.<sup>69</sup> “Saragoça”, also a wool cloth, was made from dark wool from the back of black sheep,<sup>70</sup> without being mixed with white wool.<sup>71</sup> The wool from the back of the animal was the second best of the ones detached from the fleece.<sup>72</sup> “Saragoça” would be equivalent to a cloth of intermediate level on the hierarchy of cloths established by “Regimento dos Panos”. “Serguilhas”<sup>73</sup> and “branquetas”<sup>74</sup> completed the range of wool fabrics identified on the purchases of the officials of Santa Casa.

The provenience of textiles could be varied, being referred, in our study, the purchases to merchants of the city or on its outskirts, acquired by the appointed friars of the Board. Geraldo Fernandes, from Palmeira, received, on 1701, several payments for the cloth, the transportation, the commission and the size.<sup>75</sup> There was also the news, on November of 1696, of a travel expense of the servants of the house who went to Ponte de Lima to buy “burel”.<sup>76</sup> At the time, it would exist, in the city of Braga, a street market, on Campo da Vinha, and a fair on the third Sunday of each month.<sup>77</sup> On 1758, the existence of fulling mills on the neighbouring areas of the limit of Braga, especially in Vila Nova de Famalicão, Guimarães, Fafe, Vila Verde and Barcelos.<sup>78</sup> Fulling mills indicate a local production of wool cloth, as these were the mechanisms that allowed the felting of these textiles.

## Conclusion

Santa Casa de Braga, as an agent of public assistance which tried to fulfil the 14 works of mercy and assist the necessities of the poor, allowing the maintenance of social balance of an orderly society, actively contributed to the construction of the image of the social body of the poor on the prevailing system of appearances. The cloths of alms were thick, in natural colours, thermally stable

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and robust on their structure. The “vestiarias” were mechanisms of affirmation of power of the friars of the Misericórdia and of its provider. Giving clothing to the poor was recognized, until the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as an important act of charity for the institution. Since then, it is exhibited, gradually, a decline of alms in clothing and the suspension of the great values of alms in clothing, choosing to continue with that activity, mainly through occasional and individual contributions. Dressing the naked would compete with other charitable works, as curing the sick or praying for all, activities of ordinary character and to which the Casa had the obligation of responding.

The salaried employees were important agents on the distinction of the institution that, on the streets of the cities and on the services carried out outside, embodied the public image of the brotherhood. Consequently, the Misericórdia attributed more expensive and colourful garment and worried about properly covering the feet, legs and heads of its servants. It invested uppers in repairing the pieces, changing their linings, patching their sleeves, buying new elements for old shoes and hats.

The textiles expended a big part of the budget of the institution and of the nominal value of clothing, being, for this reason, a determinant aspect on the construction of the appearance of the poor, being him/her aided or servant of another person. In a society in which the pieces of clothing had a patrimonial value different from the current ones, there were multiple economic agents that reconfigured the clothing in a continuous process of social valuation. Misericórdia effectively used those resources on the performance of its assistance activity. Clothing synthesized the relations of power, hierarchy, inequality and interdependence exercised by the rich, that, through their aid, made determinant options regarding the socially dressed body of the poor.

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43. 1 “côvado” equals to 0,66 meters.

44. Regiment for the regulation of the production of woolen cloths.

45. *Regimento da fabrica dos panos de Portugal, ordenado no anno de 1690*, Lisbon, Oficina de Miguel Deslandes, 1690, <http://purl.pt/14991>.

46. Bluteau, Rafael, *Vocabulario portuguez & latino: aulico, anatomico, architectonico...*, vol. 1, Coimbra, Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesus, 1712, p. 698.

47. Ferraz, Norberto Tiago Gonçalves, *A Morte e a Salvação da Alma na Braga Setecentista...*, pp. 400–406.

48. Pastoureau, Michel, *Azul: história de uma cor*, Lisbon, Orfeu Negro, 2016, pp. 76–80.

49. *Regimento da fabrica dos panos de Portugal, ordenado no anno de 1690...*, p. 27 e ss.

50. Bluteau, Rafael, *Vocabulario portuguez...*, vol. 6, p. 311.

51. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livro da Despesa do Tesoureiro, 1646–1654*, nº 664, fl. 204.

52. Coarse cloth of linen.

53. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Recibo e Despeza dos Morđomos, 1651–1660*, nº 686, fl. 22v.

54. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Recibo e Despeza do Morđomo, 1660–1672*, nº 687, fl. 3.

55. Coarse wollen cloth.

56. 1 “vara” equals to 1.1 meters.

57. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livro de Termos, 1662–1678*, nº 8, fl. 314.

58. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livro da Despeza do Thezoureiro da Santa Caça da Misericórdia, 1668–1678*, fls. 213v. e 215v.

59. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livro da Despeza, 1646–1654*, nº 664, fl. 201.

60. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livro de Termos, 1694–1709*, nº 10, fls. 247–247v.

61. See note 39.

62. Sá, Isabel dos Guimarães, “Pobreza”, in Azevedo, Carlos Moreira (dir.), *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores e Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa da UCP, 2001, p. 457.

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64. Araújo, Maria Marta Lobo de, *A Misericórdia de Monção: fronteiras, guerras e caridade (1561–1810)*, Monção, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Monção, 2008, p. 146.

65. We understand that, contrary to the previous practice, it was determined that the clothing was to be given several times a year, throughout the year. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livro de Termos, 1694–1709*, nº 10, fl. 218.

66. Dávila Corona, Rosa; Durán Pujol, Montserrat; García Fernández, Máximo, *Diccionario histórico de telas y tejidos: castellano-catalán*, Salamanca, Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2004, p. 145.

67. Bluteau, Rafael, *Vocabulario portuguez...*, vol. 6, p. 224.

68. Sequeira, Joana, *O pano da terra: produção têxtil em Portugal nos finais da Idade Média*, Porto, Universidade do Porto, 2014, cnap. Glossário.

69. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livro da Despeza, 1646–1654*, nº 664, fl. 14v.

Notes

70. The use of the term “black” could be a type of dark as shade of dark brown.
71. Regimento da fabrica dos panos de Portugal, ordenado no anno de 1690..., p. 33.
72. Sheep’s wool after sheared.
73. Coarse woollen cloth.
74. Special coarse woollen cloth.
75. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, Livro de Despeza do Tizoureiro, 1688-1702, nº 668, fls. 220v.-221v.
76. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, Livro de Despeza do Tizoureiro, 1688-1702, nº 668, fl. 151.
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# Emigration et promotion sociale: Les émigrants minhotes du Brésil et les utilisations de la richesse (XVIIème siècle)

## Introduction

La sortie des Minholes pour la colonie sud-américaine est une réalité qui s'est intensifiée surtout au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, atteignant des chiffres encore jamais vus.

Certains ont choisi d'autres endroits de l'Empire, notamment l'Inde, mais c'est le Brésil qui émerge comme point de convergence des volontés de ceux qui y recherchent de meilleures conditions de vie.<sup>1</sup> C'est plus précisément l'avancée de la colonisation portugaise dans la colonie sud-américaine qui est responsable de l'afflux des gens du Royaume sur ce territoire, et qui va dominer le commerce extérieur et intérieur et les activités industrielles. Les flottes de sucre et de tabac ont pris de l'importance dans l'économie du Royaume, articulant les ports brésiliens avec ceux de la Métropole<sup>2</sup> et développant tout particulièrement les zones portuaires du Nord-ouest. Les mouvements migratoires portugais de l'Époque Moderne sont peu étudiés. Contrairement à l'Espagne où les études de l'émigration de cette période font l'objet de travaux d'investigation depuis quelques décennies,<sup>3</sup> ceux du Portugal sont rares. Toutefois, il convient de souligner ceux de Antonio de Oliveira<sup>4</sup> et d'autres auteurs qui ont démontré la mobilité des populations entre les différentes régions, tout comme les déplacements des Galiciens dans notre pays.<sup>5</sup> Chacun sait que ceci s'est effectué dans plusieurs directions et pour des durées très variées. Nous parlons de mouvements internes, surtout du nord au sud, pour des durées courtes ou moyennes, mais aussi de ceux qui se sont dirigés vers diverses régions d'Espagne la voisine Galice et la plus éloignée Séville en sont, pour des raisons distinctes, de bons exemples.<sup>6</sup> Mais les routes ont suivi d'autres parcours. Cependant, les études sur ces mouvements migratoires, notamment pour la région de Castille sont encore plus rares. Par contre le mouvement de la population espagnole vers le Portugal a été davantage étudié, surtout en ce qui concerne les Galiciens.<sup>7</sup>

L'émigration vers le Brésil requiert des analyses plus élargies et plus approfondies, bien qu'il existe certaines études connues sur ce sujet.<sup>8</sup> En ce qui concerne l'époque contemporaine, les études de Jorge Fernandes Alves sont incontournables pour qui analyse ce phénomène.

Du début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, jusqu'au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, le Brésil constituait un territoire d'une importance particulière pour la Couronne portugaise, en raison du dynamisme de la production sucrière et de la production agricole et d'élevage qui se mettait en place, mais aussi des possibilités d'exploitation de ses richesses et du commerce qui en découle. A partir de là, ce territoire retenait toute l'attention de ceux qui portaient en quête de meilleures conditions économiques promises par la canne à sucre, les mines d'or et les rendements du commerce du tabac et autres produits.



Ces conditions ont conféré chaque fois plus d'importance à cette colonie car elles permettaient l'équilibre de l'économie nationale, plus particulièrement au temps de l'or et des pierres précieuses du règne de Don Juan V. Toutefois l'attraction des gens de la Métropole pour la colonie sud-américaine s'est accrue dès le XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle en raison de la production et du commerce du sucre.

Cette émigration présentait des contours particuliers dès le début car elle était majoritairement masculine et se prolongeait dans le temps. Qui traversait l'Atlantique et se dirigeait vers la colonie sud-américaine le faisait en vue d'y rester longtemps, presque toujours plusieurs décennies ou même toute la vie.

Dans cette étude, nous abordons l'émigration des Minhotos pour la ville et la région de Bahia, en donnant un relief particulier aux habitants du district de Ponte de Lima qui sont partis pour ladite région. Nous étudierons deux cas relevant de l'émigration du XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Domingos Fernandes Lima qui était à Bahia à l'heure de la mort et a fait son testament en 1702, et José Calheiros Rego qui est revenu à Ponte de Lima où il est mort en 1679.

Nous allons essayer de cerner les stratégies familiales, dans le contexte particulier d'une région surpeuplée et de petites exploitations, mais aussi les parcours personnels de réussite et l'emploi de la richesse obtenue, en puisant pour cette étude dans des sources variées: testaments, comptes-rendus et registres de legs des Miséricordes de Ponte de Lima et de Bahia, et un dossier de candidature à familial du Saint Office. Cette documentation ne permet pas de reconstituer toute la vie de ces émigrants, mais permet d'étudier certaines étapes importantes de leur parcours, nous donnant à connaître les hommes ayant réussi, préoccupés de leur ascension sociale et du salut de leur âme. Si, pour le premier cas, nous avons privilégié les sources du Saint Office, pour le second, nous avons relevé les sources de la Miséricorde de Lima, principale héritière de l'ex-émigrant.

Notre objectif est de contribuer à une meilleure connaissance de ces hommes et de leurs parcours de vie, soit au Brésil soit au Portugal lorsqu'ils y sont retournés, et rendre bien visibles les stratégies qu'ils ont suivies pour atteindre pouvoir et reconnaissance sociale, en faisant usage de la richesse amassée.

## Le Minho

Avec des caractéristiques propres, cette région portugaise a connu depuis les temps les plus reculés, des taux élevés de population, qui contrastent avec les autres régions du Royaume qui ne les ont pas présentés au cours des siècles.<sup>9</sup>

Dans un Royaume faiblement peuplé, le Minho présentait des taux de croissance notoires, démontrant au long du XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle une croissance lente en terme de population.<sup>10</sup> Le rythme

de croissance de cette population n'est pas entièrement connu, bien que les travaux existants permettent de constater une courbe ascensionnelle pour certaines paroisses.<sup>11</sup> On sait aussi que le même schéma a été enregistré de l'autre côté de la frontière.<sup>12</sup> La Galice a connu une évolution dans ses effectifs populationnels dans la même période, ce qui a configuré un nord-ouest péninsulaire très riche et dynamique en termes d'habitants.

La région du Minho est connue pour ses petites propriétés et sa campagne verdoyante. Son paysage en terrasses constitue une autre de ses richesses naturelles. Ses terres lourdes, pleines d'eau et sujettes à un climat de grande pluviosité constituent parfois de très petits lopins de terre (appelés leiras ou leirinhas), dans la transmission successive d'une propriété qui ne réussit pas à maintenir une population en croissance. Le maïs, principale céréale cultivée dans cette région, s'est parfaitement adapté à ces terres, tout comme le haricot, cultivé de forme isolée ou articulée avec le maïs.

Bien que petite, cette propriété a été successivement employée dans un régime de polyculture et d'agriculture intensive.

Les familles nombreuses devaient subvenir aux besoins de leurs enfants, et beaucoup s'assujétissaient à s'arroger d'autres propriétés pour augmenter la surface de culture, afin d'alimenter les membres de la maison. Toutefois, cette stratégie ne se limitait pas au groupe de paysans les plus pauvres. Les fermiers et la petite noblesse aussi l'ont adoptée pour élever les possibilités de survie grâce à une meilleure surface de production.

Le départ visait un changement substantiel de vie, pour pallier un manque de ressources ou même la pauvreté ressentie par une part importante de ses habitants. Les effectifs en croissance faisaient prévoir de plus grandes difficultés économiques à une population déjà pauvre.

A ces facteurs, s'en greffaient d'autres, de nature différente instabilité climatique, et années de mauvaises récoltes entraînant manques de céréales, hausse des prix et faim. Tout ceci lié également aux épidémies et aux foyers de peste qui sévissaient tant à la campagne qu'à la ville.<sup>13</sup> Ce panorama peu réjouissant donnait lieu à des flux migratoires plus ou moins importants.

Comme il n'y avait pas de liquidité financière, et qu'au contraire il y avait manque d'argent disponible, cette société recourait beaucoup au crédit, ce qui arrivait dans toutes les couches sociales. A souligner toutefois la présence d'agriculteurs et de journaliers, mais aussi de gens de métier dans le monde du prêt d'argent à intérêt.<sup>14</sup> Avec l'inflation progressive, beaucoup n'arrivaient plus à payer leurs contrats de location, et recouraient au crédit pour le faire, mais également pour acheter du troupeau ou pour effectuer un achat pour leur maison ou pour le travail du sol.<sup>15</sup> La paysannerie occupait la majorité de la population et éprouvait de grandes difficultés.

D'un autre côté, le régime d'héritage stimulait encore plus les inégalités en permettant, dans certains cas, des partages plus favorables au fils aîné, et en ouvrant la possibilité que le tiers disponible puisse retomber sur un seul descendant. Ce fonctionnement mettait les enfants en situations très différentes ceux qui n'avaient pas accès à l'héritage ou le voyaient diminué à cause des options de leurs parents étaient pressonnés vers une sortie.<sup>16</sup>

A souligner aussi la fuite au service militaire. Le Portugal a connu au cours des XVII<sup>ème</sup> et XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècles quelques conflits qui ont obligé les hommes à rester longtemps à l'armée, laissant ainsi leurs familles et leurs occupations. Les différents conflits existants montrent également les lancements d'impôts et l'aggravation des conditions de vie de la plupart des gens. Outre le paiement des impôts directs, la guerre retirait les hommes du travail des champs et laissait les familles avec moins de conditions dans la lutte pour la survie.

Les facilités de l'embarquement constituent également une thématique à analyser. Bien que les mauvaises voies de communication et l'isolement caractérisent la vie de la majorité de la population du Minho, les ports de Viana da Foz do Lima et de Porto facilitaient le départ; celui-ci se préparait à partir de nouvelles qui arrivaient relatant le succès des parents, voisins ou connaissances. Les nouvelles venaient du Brésil par le biais de lettres,<sup>17</sup> mais aussi de témoignages directs car on pouvait constater le niveau de vie et le changement chez ceux qui revenaient sur leur terre d'origine. L'idée que le Brésil était une terre d'opportunités se répandait et gagnait en force dans le mouvement croissant de ceux qui partaient. Les legs laissés pour payer le voyage encourageaient tous ceux qui, déjà très jeunes rêvaient de richesse venant de l'autre rive de l'Atlantique. L'aller vers la colonie sud-américaine était en quelque sorte facilité par la proximité géographique, par rapport à l'Orient, région où à l'époque, les portugais connaissaient beaucoup de difficultés de commerce.

S'ajoutent également l'affinité historique et la langue, facteurs de grande importance pour ce courant migratoire de gens humbles et pauvres.

Réaliser ce rêve, mais surtout échapper à la faim et à la misère, ont empêché les Minhotes de choisir la région la plus dynamique et développée de la colonie sud-américaine.

Avec la fin de la présence espagnole, la Restauration stimulait la fuite, si bien que le Nord-est était la principale région de réception. Bahia est devenu le meilleur pôle d'attraction, connaissant un énorme développement au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle, grâce à la forte présence de marchands d'origine portugaise. Ceux qui avaient réussi leur vie dans les plus diverses activités investissaient leur promotion sociale en intégrant les plus prestigieuses institutions sociales, soit au Brésil, soit au Portugal, une fois

retournés au pays. Ce faisant, certains sont devenus familiers du Saint-Office, membres des Miséricordes, des Tiers Ordres, de diverses confréries, et ont occupé les conseils municipaux et intégré d'autres cercles de pouvoir et groupes de sociabilité. La reconnaissance sociale passant aussi par l'achat de titres, ils devenaient ainsi capitaines et colonels.

La fortune réalisée dans les corps de métier les plus variés, beaucoup d'entre eux dans le commerce, l'agriculture ou l'esclavage les a rendus puissants et leur a ouvert les portes des plus importantes institutions, des deux côtés de l'Atlantique, comme signal de leur prestige et de leur pouvoir dans les localités où ils s'inséraient.

## Bahia au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle

Analyser Bahia de San Salvador et son arrière-pays, (*interland*) c'est parler d'une cité en pleine croissance, marquée déjà par le nombre de ses habitants qui a beaucoup augmenté à cette période, mais aussi par un important métissage et une forte immigration. Ceux qui arrivaient à Bahia étaient surtout des hommes. La ville et ses environs étaient marqués par la plantation de canne à sucre et par un commerce local, régional et international dynamique et fort. Au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle, Bahia est riche et en plein essor, affichant ostensiblement une prédominance économique notable. Elle a également pris de l'importance grâce au trafic de son port et s'est équipée dans les domaines religieux, administratifs et économiques.

Avec sa partie haute, plus liée au pouvoir civil et religieux, et sa partie basse liée au monde des affaires, avec son port et beaucoup de magasins ouverts,<sup>18</sup> la ville était aussi une escale significative pour les bateaux de la route des Indes et la grande force motrice de tout le nord-est brésilien. Beaucoup de bateaux arrivaient à son port pour être chargés de produits, mais également pour être réparés. Ainsi s'ajoute aussi sa transformation en centre de construction de grandes embarcations destinées aux voyages transocéaniques.<sup>19</sup>

Sur le plan social il faut souligner l'importance des propriétaires de moulin à canne à sucre et les autres producteurs de canne à sucre, mais aussi beaucoup d'artisans et de commerçants, personnes qui s'enrichissaient en gravitant autour des activités professionnelles qui prévalaient à l'époque.

Etant la capitale et le siège de l'économie la plus dynamique de la colonie, la ville de Bahia a atteint au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle un énorme volume d'affaires attirant beaucoup de monde et formant un système complexe de communautés qui, à leur tour, ont généré de nouvelles opportunités pour augmenter le volume de l'émigration et souligner la nécessité d'augmenter la population d'esclaves, résultant en nouvelles activités professionnelles et sociales diversifiées.<sup>20</sup>

C'est dans la région appelée "Recôncavo baiano" que poussent les plantations de canne à sucre, de tabac et de manioc. Mais l'élevage de troupeaux était une activité importante de la Capitainerie de Bahia. Le bois aussi s'est transformé en intéressant produit commercial.

L'investigation développée sur cette question met en évidence les commerçants et le commerce. Bien que le commerce à longue distance ait gagné en importance dans la production historiographique la plus récente, c'est un fait qu'il existait aussi une économie locale importante marquée par la production alimentaire et les échanges commerciaux.<sup>21</sup>

En termes économiques, le sucre et toutes les activités qui en découlaient occupaient la place la plus importante de la colonie. La canne à sucre et sa culture occupaient ceux qui venaient du Royaume, mais aussi ceux venant du continent africain. Le commerce des esclaves était une autre affaire à laquelle beaucoup de Portugais étaient liés et qui leur ont permis d'amasser de grandes fortunes.

Majoritairement des particuliers et de race blanche, les propriétaires de moulin à canne à sucre ont atteint une importante position sociale due aux bénéfices de leurs affaires mais aussi aux réseaux qu'ils alimentaient et développaient, constituant une aristocratie locale qui dominait le pouvoir.<sup>22</sup>

Produire du sucre impliquait la possession de terres, mais également la disponibilité d'une main d'œuvre et l'acquisition d'outillage pour la manutention du moulin à canne à sucre. Tous ceux qui produisaient de la canne à sucre ne possédaient pas pour autant des moulins; à peine une élite plus puissante avait les capacités de supporter les dépenses inhérentes à la possession de ce complexe de production. Ainsi, il y en avait qui possédaient un sol à travailler et produisaient de la canne à sucre mais sans moulin, vendant leur production à ces messieurs puissants qui maintenaient cette industrie. Cette union d'intérêts les rendait dépendants et associés au commerce international.

C'est au cours de ce XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle que le Brésil est devenu le principal centre producteur atlantique de sucre comme le réfère Stuart Schwartz, cette culture étant très associée aux capitaineries de Bahia et de Pernambuco, malgré l'implication d'autres lieux pour cette même activité.<sup>23</sup>

Mais si le dynamisme commercial était dépendant de la production de canne à sucre, celle-ci à son tour était associée aux oscillations des prix et également à la recherche de marchés européens, qui à son tour était étroitement liée à des processus politiques, à de mauvaises années agricoles, et même à des épidémies. La ville de Bahia a été prise par les Hollandais en 1624-1625, ce qui a causé une instabilité tant dans la production que dans le commerce. Les temps qui ont suivi étaient tributaires de la concurrence des Antilles et du prix des esclaves, ce qui a provoqué un recul du sucre brésilien sur les marchés internationaux.



Etre possesseur de moulin signifiait appartenir à l'élite locale, disposer de terres, de troupeaux, d'hommes et d'autres moyens de production, et donc avoir accès aux affaires, à l'argent et au pouvoir. Pour maintenir ce système productif en fonctionnement, il n'était pas rare que ces messieurs aient recours au crédit, aux communautés religieuses, à la Miséricorde, ou autres confréries, mais aussi aux particuliers. D'autres se rendaient à cette activité, en augmentant leurs capitaux au détriment du marché à crédit.

Intégrer la mairie locale par le biais des conseils, appartenir à la Miséricorde, à d'autres confréries et au Tiers Ordre, étaient des chemins suivis par plusieurs d'entre eux.<sup>24</sup> Ils y bénéficiaient encore de plusieurs privilèges.<sup>25</sup>

La richesse amassée leur offrait une vie de confort et de luxe, l'acquisition de biens et la constitution d'un patrimoine significatif.

## Les parcours individuels

Beaucoup ont traversé l'Atlantique, mais peu ont concrétisé le rêve de s'enrichir. A la fin du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle, Jorge Fernandes Alves réfère que seulement 40 à 50% de ceux qui se sont aventurés sont revenus à leur terre natale.<sup>26</sup> Et parmi ceux-ci, près de 20% sont arrivés pauvres, et 15% en possession d'un petit capital leur permettant néanmoins de subvenir aux besoins de la famille.

A peine 5% sont revenus riches ou même très riches,<sup>27</sup> soit un très faible pourcentage par rapport au nombre de ceux qui ont émigré. Le retour n'était pas toujours assuré et était fréquemment dépendant du succès obtenu, l'absence assumant dans ces cas, un caractère nettement temporaire.<sup>28</sup>

Pour l'époque moderne, les pourcentages n'existent pas, ce qui ne nous facilite pas l'analyse, mais somme toute, là aussi peu sont revenus riches ou très riches. Malgré tout, ceux qui rapportaient un abondant capital se faisaient remarquer, car une auréole de succès les enveloppait, ils devenaient le point de mire de tous les regards, pas seulement pour leur succès mais aussi pour le dynamisme dont ils faisaient preuve dès leur arrivée.

Souignons en particulier le cas de Domingos Fernandes Lima, résident des environs de Ponte de Lima. Domingos Fernandes Lima, marié à Ana Pereira do Lago, a posé sa candidature en 1896 à familier du Saint Office, alors qu'il était à ce moment-là homme d'affaires. A cette époque, ladite institution était très recherchée par ceux qui visaient obtenir le poste de familier, et de cette façon s'assurer une certaine tranquillité et beaucoup de reconnaissance sociale.

Les informations que nous possédons sur la vie de l'émigrant minhote sont véhiculées par les témoins entendus dans le cadre d'investigations faites par le Saint Office. Fils de parents aubergistes, petit-fils du côté paternel d'un menuisier qui vivait de cet Office

“et de ses biens”, et de fermiers du côté maternel, il était à Bahia depuis déjà plusieurs années. Les témoignages recueillis ne coïncident pas quant à sa date d'embarquement pour le Brésil. Certains défendaient qu'il y était parti il y avait 15ans,<sup>29</sup> alors que d'autres disaient avoir parlé avec lui pour la dernière fois, et cette fois le temps oscillait entre 20 et 30 ans. Donc, en raison d'une si grande variation signalée dans les années, le temps de permanence au Brésil est difficile à estimer. Domingos appartenait à une famille possédant quelques biens et ses parents étaient négociants en nourriture et boissons puisqu'ils tenaient une auberge, où passaient les randonneurs. Située sur le chemin de Santiago de Compostela, l'auberge servait à se reposer et à passer la nuit à ceux qui avaient de l'argent pour payer l'alimentation et le logement. Quant aux pauvres, ils trouvaient à l'hôpital des Pèlerins que la Miséricorde de la ville gérait, un appui gratuit de 3 jours maximum, avant de poursuivre leur voyage. Domingos possédait une certaine expérience du monde des affaires quand il est parti puisque ses parents tenaient une auberge, mais il s'est aventuré dans un secteur très différent: celui du commerce à l'échelle internationale.

Les témoins entendus à Ponte de Lima avaient connu Domingos petit, mais avaient peu d'informations sur sa vie dans la capitale de la colonie portugaise d'Amérique du Sud. Parfois ils mentionnaient avoir entendu dire qu'il s'occupait d'affaires avec le Royaume, ou affirmaient avec certitude qu'il vivait du commerce en tant que marchand, mais ce sont des informations très éparées et répétitives. Les connaissances qu'ils possédaient remontaient à quelques années, quand ils avaient des relations proches, se souvenant avoir parlé avec lui de nombreuses fois.

Mais l'audition des témoins de Bahia fournit davantage d'éléments capables de mieux connaître l'émigrant minhoto ainsi que quelques-uns de ses contemporains présents également à Bahia, vivant des affaires. Certains témoins étaient des marchands natifs du Haut Minho et même du conseil de Ponte de Lima, comme Domingos. Autrement dit, ils étaient voisins des deux rives de l'Atlantique. Du fait qu'ils connaissaient bien le candidat, ils affirmaient que celui-ci avait les compétences pour traiter des sujets importants et secrets et qu'il savait très bien lire et écrire.

S'engager dans le monde des affaires sur une terre inconnue était déjà une aventure qui n'avait d'ailleurs pas toujours été favorable à tous, mais se jeter dans le commerce entre le Brésil et le Portugal était encore bien plus difficile, car ceci exigeait au départ des connaissances et un capital bien plus importants, ainsi qu'un monde de relations plus complexe que celui requis pour le commerce local. Toutefois, Domingos savait lire et écrire et avait été jugé apte à exercer les fonctions de familier.

Sa femme était née dans la campagne de Cachoeira, dans la paroisse de Nossa Senhora do Rosario, terme de Bahia. Elle était la fille de João Salomão, natif de Aveiro, évêché de Coimbra. Avant de

partir pour le Brésil, João Salomão semble avoir travaillé dans les embarcations du Tage à Lisbonne, activité d'où il tirait son gain-pain.<sup>50</sup> Malgré l'affirmation d'un témoin comme quoi il travaillait à Lisbonne, tous les autres font état de son départ pour le Brésil quand il était jeune garçon, certains même affirmant qu'il avait près de douze ans quand il est parti, ce qui nous fait douter de son activité à Lisbonne. João Salomão intégrait une famille d'émigrants. Il est parti pour le Brésil, et ses six frères, cinq étant déjà morts en 1696. L'âge indiqué pour partir était commun aux autres qui ont laissé la Métropole très jeunes, allant là-bas recommandés à des familiers qui s'y trouvaient, ou à des connaissances ou à des amis.

Le manque de mémoire exacte imprègne tous les témoignages et met en évidence la façon dont on s'y prenait avec l'âge et la perception qu'on en avait.

Quant à la mère d'Ana Maria, elle était native de la région de Pernambuco. Le ménage vivait de "ses terres" probablement de plantation de canne à sucre ou de manioc, ou du café, ou même d'autres produits, depuis qu'une agriculture subsidiaire s'était développée pour les besoins des habitants. Les grands-parents maternels d'Ana Maria ont vécu également de "leurs terres", ce qui démontre une participation égale dans les plantations.

Ces hommes qui portaient, très souvent encore adolescents, avant d'être appelés au service militaire, se mariaient avec des femmes filles d'hommes du Royaume, eux aussi émigrants. Toutefois, le taux de célibat de ces émigrants était élevé, ce qui n'exclut pas l'existence de descendants, fréquemment illégitimes et enfants de nègres et de mulâtres.<sup>51</sup>

Le dossier de Domingos s'achève en janvier 1700, quand il déclare être habilité, capable de remplir la charge de familier et d'intégrer le Saint Office.

Malgré l'importance des processus de candidature pour intégrer ladite institution, la vérité est qu'ils prétendent surtout connaître la probité morale et la pureté du sang des candidats, donnant peu d'information sur d'autres aspects plus pertinents pour nous les conditions de départ du Minho, notamment l'âge et la scolarité, l'accompagnement, les liens familiaux ou autres avec la colonie sud-américaine, les particularités des activités développées là-bas, l'entrée dans d'autres institutions religieuses ou civiles, etc. Malgré le manque de ces informations, le dossier en contient une autre pertinente pour l'analyse fonctionnelle de l'Inquisition.

Dans le dossier de Domingos, nous rencontrons plusieurs témoignages d'hommes de la région de Ponte de Lima. La présence des minhotes était importante et les conseils de Viana da Foz de Lima, Braga, Ponte de Lima, Monção, Valença, Ponte da Barca, Arcos de Valdevez, Guimarães et Barcelos ont leur nom inscrit sur la route de l'émigration minhote vers le Brésil. Que ce soit à Viana ou à Porto, le commerce du sucre a créé une richesse et une bourgeoisie à elle associée, dynamisant leurs ports mais aussi leur économie.<sup>52</sup>

Bien que les émigrants soient nombreux, nous disposons de peu d'informations concernant peu d'entre eux. Pour connaître leurs parcours de vie, une analyse de la documentation sur chaque marge de l'Atlantique s'impose.

Domingos n'a laissé aucune trace à la Miséricorde de Bahia, l'institution la plus puissante de la ville en terme d'assistance, ce qui nous surprend en quelque sorte. Contrairement à beaucoup de ses contemporains, il n'a pas recherché cette institution pour exercer le pouvoir à ce niveau et accéder à un cercle de sociabilité supplémentaire. Toutefois, Domingos a accédé au poste de capitaine en 1698.<sup>33</sup>

A leur retour, les émigrants portugais au Brésil se distinguaient par la fortune rapportée, ce qui leur permettait de "s'affirmer, se souligner et se distinguer"<sup>34</sup> parmi leurs contemporains. Les maisons qu'ils possédaient, leur niveau de vie et leur ascension rapide dans la hiérarchie sociale leur conféraient respectabilité, en les démarquant du reste des habitants sur le plan local.<sup>35</sup>

José Calheiros Rego est un autre homme que nous avons étudié. Il est mort en 1679, après être revenu du Brésil. A Ponte de Lima, il a maintenu une forte relation avec la Miséricorde locale. Outre sa position comme frère de première condition, il y a exercé les fonctions de membre du bureau de vote et d'électeur dans les années 70. Mais il n'a pas été accepté immédiatement après son retour, il fallait quelques années d'attente pour accéder à ces niveaux de pouvoir et, dans ce cas précis, il lui a été permis uniquement d'être électeur et membre du bureau de vote, mais sans occuper les positions les plus prestigieuses du Bureau de vote (fournisseur, greffier et procureur). La richesse qu'il avait acquise lui a permis ce passage par les pôles de pouvoir de la Miséricorde, légitimant son ascension sociale, mais toutefois n'aura pas été suffisante pour atteindre le sommet du pouvoir.

Il était célibataire, possédait une richesse considérable et vivait dans son domaine d'Olho Marinho, dans les environs de Ponte de Lima. Tout comme de nombreux émigrés du Brésil qui, à leur retour achetaient des domaines pour y résider confortablement, il a acheté terres et maison pour vivre.

Il avait émigré très jeune pour Bahia et s'était dédié au commerce des armes, tabac, sucre et tissus, activité qu'il avait développée. Normalement, c'était le profil des hommes d'affaires. Ils diversifiaient les produits, se servant d'un réseau de connaissances qu'ils maintenaient actif durant le temps de leur permanence sur la place publique.

Même après son retour, il a maintenu des relations avec le Brésil à partir de Ponte de Lima. Il y envoyait tissus et armes et en recevait paiements et rendements en sucre. C'était une activité qui s'inscrivait dans un réseau de commerce où circulaient divers produits. José Calheiros Rego n'était pas l'unique ex-émigrant du Brésil qui, à Ponte de Lima, restait lié au commerce de tissus et d'armes avec la

colonie. A la même époque, Bento da Costa Tição suivait la même stratégie. L'envoi de sucre pouvait être payé en argent ou en tissus qui allaient généralement du Royaume vers la colonie.<sup>36</sup>

Il était non seulement commerçant, mais aussi propriétaire, activités qui marquaient ses lignes préférentielles d'action économique, à savoir le commerce et l'agriculture. Il possédait des biens immobiliers dans le conseil de Ponte de Lima et maintenait une exploitation agricole au Brésil. Ces activités allaient de pair avec le prêt d'argent, secteur dans lequel il s'est investi des deux côtés de l'Atlantique.

Beaucoup de ces hommes ne revenaient pas, comme c'est le cas de Domingos, d'autres sont revenus en âge avancé, presque tous célibataires comme c'était le cas pour José Calheiros Rego, et affirmant ne pas avoir de descendance légitime, ou la légitimant à l'heure de la mort. La diversité des situations existe, bien qu'il soit possible de parler de quelques caractéristiques communes à ces émigrants ou ex-émigrés.

## Les usages de la richesse

Tous ceux qui ont réussi dans leur vie n'ont pas atteint les mêmes niveaux de richesse. Donc, nous sommes en présence d'individus présentant de grandes variations et avec des vies distinctes. Cependant, tous avaient de l'argent en abondance et cherchaient à vivre bien, se servant de leurs biens matériels pour leur affirmation personnelle et familiale et pour sauver leur âme. Pour cela, tout en résidant à Bahia, ils maintenaient des liens avec les commerçants du Royaume, tout particulièrement ceux de Porto, mais pouvaient aussi atteindre ceux de la capitale, auxquels ils commandaient ce qu'ils avaient de mieux, soit en tissus, soit en mobilier ou autres. Ces liens étaient fréquents et attestaient d'un côté les nécessités de la société coloniale, et de l'autre, la capacité dont ces hommes faisaient preuve pour acquérir en Europe, les biens qui leur faisaient défaut pour augmenter leur prestige et leur pouvoir.

Avec la richesse qu'il avait acquise, Domingos Fernandes Lima a sollicité son entrée comme familier dans l'une des institutions les plus puissantes de l'Époque Moderne : le Saint Office où il occupa la fonction de capitaine. Ce procédé était identique pour beaucoup d'émigrants également riches et puissants, que les études les plus récentes nous donnent à connaître.<sup>37</sup>

Être familier du Saint Office signifiait en premier lieu avoir la pureté de sang certifiée, mais aussi la mobilité sociale. Devenir familier était presque toujours désiré par les individus en voie d'ascension sociale. La plupart de ceux qui composaient le réseau de familiers du Saint Office du Brésil, spécialement de Bahia, provenaient du Nord du Portugal. Normalement, ils étaient fils de fermiers, qui étaient partis en quête d'une vie leur garantissant une liberté économique.



Dans le cas des groupes sociaux en ascension, tel que celui des marchands, posséder des titres et les faire valoir constituait une stratégie d'affirmation, générant de nouveaux réseaux sociaux. Le nombre de familiers du Saint Office a augmenté surtout entre 1670 et 1770,<sup>38</sup> toutefois plus accentué au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'accord d'ailleurs avec ce qui semble être arrivé avec les commissaires.<sup>39</sup>

Comme il n'y avait pas de vraie noblesse dans la colonie, les élites sociales cherchaient à "vivre selon la loi de la noblesse"<sup>40</sup> en se servant de la position de familier du Saint Office. Cette distinction se concrétisait par des traitements différenciés conformément à la "couche sociale, obtention de postes, dignités et grâces, privilèges en vêtements et en port d'armes, préoccupation du maintien de la lignée, (...) renforcement de la parenté et cristallisation du patriarcat".<sup>40</sup>

Ne se conformant pas à sa position sociale, Domingos se renia comme fils d'aubergistes pour s'affirmer en tant que membre d'une des institutions les plus craintes et les plus puissantes, gagnant ainsi le pouvoir sur les autres et se donnant la possibilité à lui-même mais aussi à sa famille, d'accéder plus directement à davantage de pouvoir.

Toutefois l'exemple qui attire le plus l'attention pour la fortune amassée et pour l'investissement dans sa propre carrière et dans le salut de son âme, est celui du capitaine João de Matos Aguiar, natif de la paroisse de Moreira, conseil de Ponte de Lima, et possesseur de moulin à canne à sucre à Bahia. Il a aussi pratiqué le prêt d'argent à intérêt. Il était familier du Saint Office, chevalier de Santiago et de l'Ordre du Christ et est entré à la Miséricorde de Bahia le 11 juillet 1668, comme frère de première condition et où il est arrivé en charge de la Médiation.<sup>41</sup> Toutefois dans son "cursus honorum" on compte beaucoup d'autres confréries où il occupait également une place plus importante: il a été juge des confréries du Saint Sacrement, de Notre Dame de la Foi, de Notre Dame du Rosaire, de la Sainte Croix, des Vierges, de Notre Dame de l'Aide, de Notre Dame de la Conception de la plage et de Notre Dame de Montserrat. Il était également membre des fraternités de Notre Dame de l'Exil, de St Jacques, de Notre Dame de Grâce et de Notre Dame de la Victoire, de St Bento, de Ste Catherine, de St Antoine de la Barre et d'autres, plus celle de la Cathédrale, dont il n'a pas gardé la mémoire au moment de l'élaboration de son testament. Il faisait également partie du Tiers Ordre de Saint Francisco de la ville de Bahia.<sup>42</sup>

Quand il a fait son testament, il a affirmé ne pas avoir de descendance, ce qui l'a conduit à désigner son âme comme héritière universelle et le fournisseur et les membres du bureau de la Miséricorde de Bahia ses exécuteurs testamentaires.<sup>43</sup> Il est mort en 1700. Il a laissé tout son héritage pour le salut de son âme, en se servant de la Miséricorde de Bahia où il a institué plusieurs legs, comme par exemple, un refuge pour orphelins.<sup>44</sup>

Antonio Matos de Aguiar était un homme de grand prestige qui jouissait d'un statut élevé dans la société de Bahia, ce qui lui permettait d'occuper les plus hautes fonctions dans les institutions religieuses. Cet homme montre la prééminence atteinte par certains grands minhotos. C'est le commerce du sucre qui l'a rendu riche, activité très lucrative à laquelle s'associait l'élevage et le commerce de troupeaux et de divers produits. Ce commerce a alimenté les flottes de l'Atlantique avec le Royaume et d'autres marchés européens, pour où s'expédiaient et d'où se recevaient les produits. Avec lui, c'est une élite qui s'affirme et devient plus puissante quant à la croissance et au rendement provenant des moulins à canne à sucre. Cette forte économie fait la grandeur de la ville de Bahia et attire beaucoup de monde dans la région.<sup>45</sup>

Lié à Antonio Matos de Aguiar, il y avait un autre habitant de Lima, Gaspar Fernandes Barreiro, également émigré à Bahia, de qui le premier a été l'exécuteur testamentaire. Tailleur de pierre de profession mais aussi "spéculateur financier" Gaspar Matos Fernandes a pratiqué tout comme d'autres, le prêt d'argent à intérêt, amassant une fortune intéressante qu'il a distribuée, à sa mort, entre la famille et les Miséricordes de Bahia et de Lima. Il est mort au milieu du XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle.<sup>46</sup>

Riches et puissants, ces hommes sont devenus avides de titres, d'honneurs et de foras de noblesse, enjolivant ainsi leurs origines modestes. Mais ce n'était pas seulement cela qui était utilisé pour atteindre la reconnaissance sociale. C'est la préoccupation au sujet du salut de l'âme qui a poussé José Calheiros Rego à élaborer son testament quand il s'est trouvé malade. Tous ses biens ont été laissés en contrepartie de son salut. Son testament met en évidence une grande préoccupation avec le salut en question. Sollicitant la Sainte Trinité, la Vierge Marie, l'Ange Gardien, et St Joseph pour intercéder en sa faveur.<sup>47</sup> Il a ordonné que son corps soit enveloppé avec l'habit de St François et enseveli dans l'église de la Miséricorde, "comme les hommes de sa qualité" et a préparé tous les moments du post mortem, désignant même le lieu de la sépulture. Les détails sur l'enterrement et la sépulture ont été transmis par la confrérie à l'un de ses frères qui se trouvait encore au Brésil.

La carte envoyée faisait état des "obsèques qui se sont déroulées avec toute la majesté et avec tant d'amour de cette fraternité, et pour l'union de tous, a été enterré dans notre plus grande chapelle, singularité "que thé hoie senão vio".<sup>48</sup> Sa volonté avait été accomplie et les frères lui avaient rendu l'honneur qui lui était dû. Les mots des confrères étaient intentionnels et prétendaient impressionner le frère, espérant de sa part, la même attitude pour la Sainte Maison. La Miséricorde de Ponte de Lima séduisait ainsi de potentiels bienfaiteurs.<sup>49</sup> Comme elle savait l'importance de la mort et de la préoccupation que tous avaient de ce moment, elle démontrait sa capacité d'assurer ces cérémonies. La confrérie avait fait un énorme investissement dans le secteur religieux ce

Nombre de débiteurs	Montant prêté (en réis)
60	5.325.000

**Tableau 1**  
Argent à intérêt prêté par  
José Calheiros Rego

Source: ASCMPL, *Livro da receita e despeza da herança de José Calheiros Rego*, n° 70, fl. 16.

qui lui permettait de faire connaître ses services: elle disposait de chapelains, d'une sacristie et d'une église équipées pour garantir des cérémonies religieuses pompeuses et dignes de personnes riches.

José Calheiros Rego a fait célébrer trois offices généraux le jour de sa mort et sa volonté a été que, son corps étant encore sur terre, soient célébrées 50 messes aussitôt que possible. Il a aussi institué une chapelle de messes journalières dans l'église de la Sainte Maison, stipulant que la moitié de son héritage devait être appliquée pour son paiement et l'autre moitié pour les dépenses de l'institution<sup>50</sup> Ce calendrier de célébrations avait pour objectif l'intercession de davantage de personnes pour son âme. En présence du corps, il y aurait probablement plus de croyants à payer pour son âme et à demander son bonheur éternel.<sup>51</sup>

Comme on peut le vérifier, c'était surtout en messes que ces bienfaiteurs investissaient. Pour Michel Vovelle c'était par le biais de ces demandes que les testeurs révélaient leur inquiétude en relation au moment du passage qu'ils effectueraient.<sup>52</sup>

Avec l'argent disponible, certains de ces hommes se sont lancés dans le crédit. C'est ce qu'a fait José Calheiros Rego. [Tableau 1]

Au moment de l'élaboration de son testament on comptait 60 débiteurs ayant emprunté plusieurs millions de réis. Comme les montants prêtés étaient élevés, le légataire a laissé une information sur les dettes : il a identifié les débiteurs, donné les quantités et a expliqué la situation dans laquelle l'argent avait été prêté, mentionnant parfois la finalité du prêt et la situation de la dette. La préoccupation d'enregistrer tous ces éléments prouve l'attention qu'il conférait au prêt d'argent et reflète son propre degré de scolarisation. Il dominait l'écriture et était habitué à effectuer les registres de ses affaires, bien que nous ne connaissions pas son degré d'instruction. Comme ces connaissances n'étaient accessibles qu'à une minorité, à cause du coût qu'elles impliquaient, probablement, José Calheiros Rego bien que de condition modeste, venait d'une famille qui disposait de moyens permettant de supporter les coûts des rudiments de l'écriture et de la lecture, peut-être améliorés à Bahia.<sup>53</sup>

Les descriptions détaillées des dettes et des débiteurs étaient importantes pour la Sainte Maison, car elles aidaient à faire rentrer l'argent plus facilement. Tous les débiteurs étaient des particuliers, certains étaient des parents, d'autres des frères de la Miséricorde de Ponte de Lima et d'autres encore des personnes de sa connaissance. Les débiteurs étaient majoritairement de la région, bien qu'il y en eût de Viana da Foz do Lima, Arcos de Valdevez, Aboim da Nobrega, Porto et Lisbonne. L'argent prêté à Porto et à Lisbonne était associé au commerce de la vente du sucre et autres biens.

Conformément à ce qui se passait dans la Miséricorde locale, où les débiteurs étaient majoritairement des personnes sans grandes ressources,<sup>54</sup> José Calheiros Rego avait une clientèle également modeste, des gens qui demandaient de petites sommes. Comme il prêtait beaucoup d'argent, il agissait avec professionnalisme, obligeant les avocats à passer une écriture et à la remise de gages par précaution. Les précautions dont il s'entourait démontrent bien son expérience dans ce domaine, et une meilleure attention aux affaires, que beaucoup de ses confrères qui n'exigeaient pas toujours l'élaboration d'une écriture, et qui ne connaissaient pas bien leurs débiteurs. Obligé à tenir une comptabilité rigoureuse, il savait qui lui devait et combien il lui devait, bien que tous les débiteurs n'aient pas été listés comme on a pu le vérifier. Malgré cela, le prêt d'argent à intérêt était une activité employée par cet homme comme un investissement pour ses capitaux, qui servait à augmenter sa fortune personnelle et sa puissance économique.<sup>55</sup>

La présence de ces hommes dans ce secteur démontre l'impossibilité d'analyser le poids du crédit privé au niveau local, en recourant uniquement à l'étude des institutions. Outre les institutions locales (confréries, couvents et autres), il existait à l'Epoque Moderne, beaucoup de particuliers à occuper une fonction de choix dans le crédit particulier. Ce sont des secteurs sociaux bien délimités qu'intègrent le clergé, les hommes d'affaire, les émigrants et les gens de l'administration locale, entre autres.

Immédiatement après avoir recueilli l'héritage, les confrères de la Sainte Maison ont commencé à accomplir les volontés du défunt. En premier lieu s'occuper de son âme, ordonnant la célébration des messes, et ensuite distribuer les offrandes par confréries. Et pour accomplir ce qui est stipulé se référant au Brésil, la Sainte Maison a écrit à son frère qui se trouvait encore dans cette colonie, à la recherche d'indications sur les propriétés qu'il maintenait sur ce territoire, et s'est efforcée à ce que même les débiteurs les plus éloignés paient leurs dettes.<sup>56</sup>

Les listes de dettes que le bienfaiteur présentait ne provenaient pas toutes de prêts. Comme il avait des propriétés, certaines découlaient d'un manque de paiement de loyer et d'autres de commerces qu'il maintenait au Brésil et qui faisaient état de retard de paiement. Manuel Dias Seixas, natif de Viana do Castelo, habitant de Bahia, lui devait 360.000 reis et Manuel Garcia, habitant au Pernambuco, "hum fecho de espingardas de doze ou quinze"<sup>57</sup> (lot de fusils de 12 à 15), la présence du frère dans la colonie a été d'une importance majeure pour la récupération de cet argent. La confrérie tenait à rappeler qu'elle réservait ses décisions en relation aux propriétés que le bienfaiteur possédait sur ce territoire. A sa mort, elles consistaient en "terres, troupeau et nègres" à Bahia, dans les champs de la Cachoeira,<sup>58</sup> dont l'estimation était de 4.000 cruzados. Ce passage de son testament

atteste sa participation non seulement au travail de la terre, mais aussi au bétail et à l'esclavage et renseigne sur l'origine de sa richesse.

Quand apparaissaient des sujets de cette envergure à résoudre, les Miséricordes coopéraient entre elles et s'aidaient pour la résolution des problèmes.<sup>59</sup> La correspondance échangée faisait état des diligences effectuées, de l'état où se trouvait la rentrée d'argent, et de l'envoi de l'argent au Royaume. Au Brésil, il avait une dette avec son frère João Calheiros Rego résultant des frais du domaine de la Cachoeira et du tabac que celui-ci lui envoyait pour la Métropole. Rappelons que la production de tabac est en pleine croissance à Bahia, atteignant un niveau élevé à la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cette culture impliquait moins d'investissements que celle du sucre, ce qui la rendait plus accessible à beaucoup de fermiers.

Après la vente du domaine de Cachoeira et tous les comptes faits, en 1681, il a été conclu que la Sainte Maison n'avait pas droit à l'héritage, parce que son frère João avait exigé que l'argent lui soit versé pour solder les dettes de José. La vente du domaine, des animaux et des nègres a donné à peu près 3.000 reis, montant égal à celui qu'il devait à João.<sup>60</sup> Toutefois, celui-ci a alerté la Miséricorde sur l'existence d'autres débiteurs brésiliens qui n'étaient pas mentionnés dans le testament de son frère.<sup>61</sup>

Un autre secteur bénéficié fut celui des confréries. Dans cette présente étude, le fait d'être déjà rentré au Portugal était déterminant pour bénéficier seulement les confréries de Ponte de Lima et non répartir l'héritage avec les confréries brésiliennes, comme cela arrivait pour ceux qui mouraient dans la colonie quand ils étaient de l'autre côté de l'Atlantique.<sup>62</sup> [Tableau 2]

Le tableau 2 montre une répartition des aumônes pour les confréries de la ville, toutes sises dans l'église Matriz. Or, nous savons que José Calheiros Rego était aussi frère de la confrérie de Notre Dame da Guia, institution qui avait une chapelle propre à Ponte de Lima et pour laquelle il n'est mentionné aucune aumône. A l'exception de la confrérie do Senhor, la plus bénéficiée, toutes les autres ont reçu le même montant.

L'intégration dans ces institutions prouve d'abord une forte volonté de construire des cercles de sociabilité dans la ville, lieu très proche de sa résidence, trouver des endroits d'exercice de pouvoir et aussi ajouter des efforts pour le salut.<sup>63</sup> Le bienfaiteur intégrait les confréries les plus puissantes de sa terre, où s'inscrivaient la Miséricorde, mais aussi les confréries de Notre-Dame de l'Assomption, la grande, très Saint Sacrement et Notre Dame da Guia. Cette dernière était puissante et l'on y rencontrait l'inscription de nombreux commerçants et officiels locaux.

Appartenir à ces associations, signifiait avoir la possibilité d'exercer le pouvoir, de gérer les biens matériels et spirituels, mais également d'être vu et remarqué en public à l'occasion des fêtes, et des nombreuses processions que toutes réalisaient.<sup>64</sup> Ces rituels



Confréries	Localité	Montant en réis
Senhor	Igreja Matriz de Ponte de Lima	1000
Espírito Santo	Igreja Matriz de Ponte de Lima	500
S. Pedro	Igreja Matriz de Ponte de Lima	500
N <sup>a</sup> S <sup>a</sup> da Assunção a grande	Igreja Matriz de Ponte de Lima	500
Fiéis de Deus	Igreja Matriz de Ponte de Lima	500
Nossa Senhora da Piedade	Igreja Matriz de Ponte de Lima	500
Santíssimo Sacramento	Igreja Matriz de Ponte de Lima	500
S. Sebastião	Igreja Matriz de Ponte de Lima	500
S. Roque	Igreja Matriz de Ponte de Lima	500
Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Igreja Matriz de Ponte de Lima	500
Nossa Senhora da Anunciação	Igreja Matriz de Ponte de Lima	500
Total		6.000

**Tableau 2**  
Aumônes laissées aux  
confréries

Source: ASCMPL, *Livro da receita e despesa da herança de José Calheiros Rego*, n° 70, fl. 16.

conféraient visibilité au processus de légitimation de nouvelle place occupée en termes sociaux.<sup>65</sup>

Tout de suite après la mort du bienfaiteur, la Miséricorde a recueilli 1.832.533 réis de l'argent placé à intérêt. Le manque de registre de la vente de ses biens ne permet malheureusement pas de connaître mieux José Calheiros Rego, bien que son héritage soit très représentatif dans le compte général des legs reçus au cours de cette période.

Le bienfaiteur n'a pas pris position quant à ses biens, laissant l'héritage dépendant des options de la Miséricorde. C'est pourquoi, en 1679, la confrérie a décidé de vendre le patrimoine du légataire situé à Refoios, car il était redevancier du monastère et ne pouvait donc pas être loué.<sup>66</sup> La solution pour le délai de la paroisse de Vitorino das Donas a été plus problématique. Le bienfaiteur l'avait inclus dans son héritage, mais quand la Sainte Maison a résolu de s'en emparer, Antonio José Bezerra a prouvé qu'il lui appartenait, a porté le cas en justice et a gagné la cause.<sup>67</sup> Cette situation rend bien évidente le manque de connaissance de la situation de la part du bienfaiteur, ce qui était déjà arrivé pour ses débiteurs du Brésil. Probablement, son âge ne lui permettait pas de se souvenir de tout ce qu'il possédait et des conditions dans lesquelles ses propriétés et ses autres biens se trouvaient.

José Calheiros Rego n'a pas stipulé la manière de rentabiliser l'argent de sa chapelle, mais la Sainte Maison a adopté la stratégie de le placer à intérêt, comme c'était d'ailleurs l'habitude pour des cas semblables. Une partie de l'argent provenant de la vente

de biens immobiliers de ce bienfaiteur est rentré, mais est une nouvelle fois sorti. L'argent servait à augmenter la richesse mais il n'était pas nécessaire de s'en servir avec pour caution. La Miséricorde de Ponte de Lima avait déjà au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'expérience dans ce secteur. Elle exigeait aussi des gages de certains débiteurs. La comptabilité de la chapelle de José Calheiros Rego a démontré l'application de ces principes dans ses rendements.<sup>68</sup> Après les dépenses effectuées avec l'argent placé à intérêt, et avec les dépenses nécessaires pour donner suite aux legs, le solde était positif.

L'analyse des comptes de la chapelle rend évident l'existence de soldes positifs jusqu'à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, moment où ceux-ci ont cessé de l'être car l'argent placé à intérêt ne revenait pas à l'institution, ou venait par parcelles et très en retard. Les confrères laissaient toujours un fonds de roulement dans le coffre de la chapelle, plaçait presque tout l'argent à intérêt, ce qui constituait le principal rendement des recettes des chapelles. Toutefois, comme il s'agissait d'un secteur problématique, à une époque où l'endettement des populations était important, le risque augmentait considérablement.

## Notes finales

L'analyse effectuée aux deux cas étudiés démontre premièrement la promotion sociale de ces émigrants et les différents usages de la richesse amassée. Sortis jeunes, et issus de familles modestes, ils ont grandi au Brésil et là, ils se sont affirmés en qualité de commerçants, et l'un d'eux également comme propriétaire de ferme.

Le lieu de départ était Ponte de Lima et celui d'arrivée Bahia, où tous les deux sont devenus riches et sont montés dans l'échelle sociale. Bien que les sources disponibles ne permettent que l'analyse de certaines étapes de leur parcours de vie, nous savons que la richesse accumulée a été utilisée pour atteindre le pouvoir, les deux étant entrés dans les plus prestigieuses institutions du Royaume et de la colonie, se hissant dans les sphères particulières et publiques. Toutefois, nous ne connaissons pas la fin de la vie de Domingos Fernandes Lima ni la façon dont il a exprimé ses dernières volontés. Le fait d'être marié attire l'attention pour une fin différente de celle de José Calheiros Rego, homme sans descendance directe.

Le trajet de ces hommes dynamiques démontre aussi l'inconformisme et la volonté de monter dans l'échelle sociale et de vivre selon la loi de la noblesse.

Dans le premier cas analysé son nom n'apparaît pas dans les livres de registres des frères de la Miséricorde de Bahia et si on ignore d'autres cercles de sociabilité et de pouvoir autres que ceux référenciés, pour le second, nous connaissons ces marques de

sa vie quand il est revenu à Ponte de Lima et s'est affilié dans des institutions variées, exerçant des fonctions, au moins dans la Sainte Maison locale. C'est à elle qu'il a laissé tout ce qu'il possédait en Métropole et à Bahia.

Substantiellement représentatif, l'héritage de ces émigrants a eu des effets significatifs dans les Miséricordes en général et particulièrement dans celles du Minho. Cette situation ne provient pas seulement de la fortune héritée après leur mort, mais aussi de l'institution de chapelles. Inscrit au moment de l'affirmation et de la consolidation de la Sainte Maison de Lima, l'héritage de José Calheiros Rego s'insère dans le cadre particulier des bienfaiteurs qui pariaient tout pour le salut de leur âme. Se dépouillant de tous ses biens pour la charité, le bienfaiteur renforçait son prestige dans l'institution, perpétuait son pouvoir en termes locaux, en même temps qu'il contribuait à l'enrichissement de la Miséricorde. La fortune laissée à la Sainte Maison de Ponte de Lima par ce bienfaiteur attire l'attention pour l'impact de ces héritages au niveau local et régional et remet la nécessité de son étude pour le XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle, et non seulement pour les siècles suivants, comme c'est fréquemment le cas.

Bien que distincts, les parcours des deux minhotos en analyse convergent sur une ligne commune : la mobilité sociale et les différents emplois de la richesse construite, leur permettant d'accéder à l'ascension sociale et de s'attacher au salut de leur âme.

Notes

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42. A propos de l’intégration de ces hommes dans les institutions religieuses, lire Santos, Eugénio dos, “Os Brasileiros de Torna-Viagem”, dans *Os Brasileiros de Torna-Viagem*, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2000, p. 16.

43. AMB, cet ouvrage est celui du testament et codicille du défunt John de Matos Aguiar qui consiste en dix-neuf feuilles numérotées et paraphées avec ma rubrique qui dit “Vieux” pour n’avoir pas été fait par les registraires, mes prédécesseurs, je l’ai fait en la présente année 1731 pour l’année 1732 comme registraire et membre du bureau de la Sainte Maison de la Miséricorde, fl.2.

44. Gandelman, Luciana, *Mulheres para um império: órfãs e caridade nos recolhimentos femininos da Santa Casa da Misericórdia (Salvador, Rio de Janeiro e Porto – século*

*XVIII)*..., pp. 140, 150–153.

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53. Au sujet de la scolarité des “Brésiliens”, voir Pedreira, Jorge M., “Brasil, Fronteira de Portugal. Negócio, Emigração e Mobilidade Social (séculos XVII e XVIII)”..., p. 64.

54. Sur les débiteurs de la Sainte Maison de la Miséricorde de Ponte de Lima, lire Araujo, Maria Marta Lobo de, *Dar aos pobres e emprestar a Deus*..., pp. 483–486.

55. Amorim, Inês; Costa, Patrícia, “Património e Economia da Salvação”, dans Amorim, Inês (coord.), *Sob o manto da Misericórdia. Contributos para a História da Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto (1668–1820)*, vol. II, Coimbra, Almedina, 2018, p. 164.

56. Encore en 1680, il a couvert une lettre de change à Porto, d’une



dette contractée à Lisbonne, et a reçu: “dous fechos de assuquar que vierão de Pernanbuquo procedidos de hum fecho de doze espingardas e os enviou Manuel Garcia Soares (...) à conta da dita conta das espingardas”. ASCMPL, *Livro da receita e despeza da herança de José Calheiros Rego*, nº 70, fl. 30.

57. ASCMPL, *Documento nº 56*, fl. 4.

58. José Calheiros Rego possédait 150 têtes de bétail, 10 juments et 10 esclaves venant de la Guinée. ASCMPL, *Livro de cabidos gerais que comessa este anno de 1641-1764*, nº 2, fl. 94v.

59. Au sujet de l'entraide mutuelle entre les Miséricordes et les prestations de service qu'elles effectuaient entre elles, consulter Araújo, Maria Marta Lobo de, *Dar aos pobres e emprestar a Deus...*, pp. 459-460

60. Dans le paiement de la dette était incluse la dette légitime que João Calheiros Rego avait de ses propriétés de Refoios et que son frère ne lui a jamais payée.

61. ASCMPL, *Livro dos cabidos geraes...*, nº 2, fls. 94v.-95.

62. Au sujet de la répartition de l'héritage de ceux qui restaient, consulter Sá, Isabel dos Guimarães, “Misericórdias, Portugueses no Brasil e Brasileiros”..., p. 127.

63. Penteado, Pedro, “Confrarias portuguesas da época moderna: problemas, resultados e tendências da investigação”, dans *Lusitânia Sacra*, 2<sup>a</sup> série, VII, 1995, p. 28.

64. Pour ce sujet, consulter le travail de Barbosa, António Bantas, *Tempos de festa em Ponte de Lima (séculos XVII-XIX)*, I, II, vols., Ponte de Lima, Câmara Municipal de Ponte de Lima, 2017.

65. Monteiro, Nuno, *Elites e Poder entre o Antigo Regime e o Liberalismo*, 3<sup>a</sup> edição, Lisboa, ICS, 2012, p. 50.

66. En 1690, la Sainte Maison a vendu certains biens qui restaient à Refoios des fûts, des tonneaux et une caisse pour le stockage des céréales.

67. ASCMPL, *Neste livro seão de escrever todos os asentos que ha meza...*, nº 11, fls. 36v., 37v.-38.

68. En 1681, il a été enregistré que Manuel Dinis Codesso avait remis “dous brinquos d'ouro, hum anel de pedras au menos duas de ouro, hum anel maciço de ouro, hum relicário d'ouro, hum anel de comenda maciço d'ouro, duas lembranças d'ouro, duas tamboladeiras de prata, quatro colheres, dous garfos, tudo de prata, os quais penhores estão empenhados por sincoenta mil réis”. ASCMPL, *Livro da receita e despeza da herança de José Calheiros Rego*, nº 70, fl.21.

MARIA DE FÁTIMA REIS\*

From city to city.  
Religion, persecution  
and business.  
Traces of mobility  
of a Sephardic family  
in the eighteenth century:  
The Rodrigues da Costa

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As the case studies of the Sephardic diaspora show, when it comes to tracing the profiles of those groups whose reasons refer to involuntary fugues and escapes, one cannot deny the relevance of such approaches.<sup>1</sup> Taking this into account, I will focus on the life path of a family of Portuguese New Christians – the Rodrigues da Costa [Chart 1] – who, targeted by the Inquisition, was broken down by imprisonments and flights. Two years after the 1755 earthquake, when damage was still being appraised and the causes for such serious event were being investigated, the persecution of the Jews continued. “The ruin of Lisbon”, in the words of the Protestant Francisco Xavier (Cavaleiro) de Oliveira,<sup>2</sup> was often attributed to the activity of the Holy Office, and the earthquake was also perceived as “a punishment of God for the Portuguese were so often tolerant and generous to the heretics”.<sup>3</sup>

1757 changed the lives of the Rodrigues da Costa. On March 17, 1757, Beatriz Josefa, 25-years-old, married to Manuel Henriques de Leão, a businessman from the parish of Santa Justa, in Lisbon, and living in that city, close to Convento dos Cardais, presented herself before the Court of the Holy Office to confess sins of Judaism. According to her confession, she had left for London after the earthquake. There she joined the Jewish community, a faith she had started to follow seven or eight years before, through Duarte Nunes, an elderly man who lived on alms. At that time she persuaded her husband to return and reconcile.<sup>4</sup> However, her genuine statement was not acknowledged, since, according to her husband’s testimony, the real reason for the return to Portugal “was the fear of being arrested for the debts he had incurred” in London “giving a false bill of exchange to Amsterdam”.<sup>5</sup> Hence, her confessions were not considered “apt to be accepted”, and her sister Angélica Rosa’s testimony also contributed to her subsequent imprisonment.<sup>6</sup>

She had been imprisoned at 15-years-old, on November 18, 1757,<sup>7</sup> although a proven dementia led her to being delivered to the care of her sister, Maria Teresa, in February 1759;<sup>6</sup> in November of that same year she had been hospitalized in the ward of Santa Catarina, for “lunatics”, of the *Hospital de Todos-os-Santos*, “possessed by a melancholic delusion without fever, with fear and sadness and a great disposition for mania, yet without pronouncing a word, and because it was no longer the moment for the usual treatment that was usually performed upon her, she was to remain imprisoned, in anticipation of a more fitting moment; yet, before the remedies for madness were administered, an ailment came upon her”.<sup>7</sup> She died in 1761, thus completing her trial, with a sentence read in the auto-da-fé of 20 September, declaring “may her bones rest in ecclesiastical burial” and that “prayers should be bestowed upon her soul”.<sup>8</sup>

On the same day, November 18, 1757, her aforesaid sister Maria Teresa was also arrested, at the age of 30;<sup>9</sup> the widow of André de Sequeira, a businessman, was brought to the auto-da-fé on

August 27, 1758.<sup>10</sup> Her sister Teresa Joaquina was also arrested on November 18, 1757, at the age of 23,<sup>11</sup> holding in her possession 195 *réis* and a pair of earrings “with topaz buttons carved in silver”;<sup>12</sup> and brought to the auto-da-fé on August 27, 1758.<sup>13</sup> On November 20, 1757, her brother, Gaspar Rodrigues da Costa, 26-years-old, was arrested in Leiria, holding in his possession silver buckles “with iron hinges;”<sup>14</sup> having briefly stayed in London and Amsterdam, where he had mingled with the local Jewish communities,<sup>15</sup> he was brought to the same auto-da-fé of Maria Teresa and Teresa Joaquina after several sessions of confession and agony.<sup>16</sup> Also on November 20, 1757, their brother Francisco Rodrigues da Costa, 34-years-old, contract administrator, widower of Ricarda Maria Pestana,<sup>17</sup> was arrested in Leiria, holding in his possession buckles of silver shoes, “with iron hinges”, and a silver-collar buckle;<sup>18</sup> he was brought to the same auto-da-fé, thus having been submitted to its customary punishments and spiritual penances.

On February 25, 1758, their cousin Alexandre da Costa was arrested, 16-years-old, single, an apprentice hairdresser from Santarém, residing in Lisbon, son of António Ferreira Dourado, a businessman, and Filipa Joaquina. He was brought to the auto-da-fé of August 27, sentenced to imprisonment and perpetual penance dress, instruction in the Catholic faith and the customary spiritual penances.<sup>19</sup> Before these arrests, on June 23, 1755, another one of their cousins had been imprisoned: Carlos José Pestana, who had studied law, from Castelo de Vide and living in Fronteira, son of Manuel Lopes Belo and Eufrosina Maria Pestana, brought to the auto-da-fé celebrated on June 20 of the following year.<sup>20</sup>

The truth is that decades before, on November 24, 1734, the public presentation of Manuel Henriques de Leão, at the age of 17,<sup>21</sup> may have reinforced the suspicion of Judaism among the Rodrigues da Costa. Nevertheless, in the previous decades, the connection of the brothers Rodrigues da Costa’s father and some of their uncles with the Inquisition had also contributed to the family being brought before the Holy Office.

Their uncle Carlos Ferreira da Costa, born and living in Leiria, a merchant, single, decided to present himself as guilty of Judaism at the age of 33, on July 15, 1725,<sup>22</sup> and was authorized, upon Order issued on 10 September, to return to his birthplace, where he was supposed not leave without authorization from the Holy Office. As a result of his brother António da Costa Matos fleeing, suspicions of escape led to his arrest warrant.<sup>23</sup> António da Costa, also born and living in Leiria, was detained on November 5, 1707, when he was 19-years-old, and was brought to the auto-da-fé of July 30, 1709.<sup>24</sup>

It is true that the father of the brothers in question, also called João Rodrigues da Costa, born in Lisbon and living in Leiria, had been imprisoned at the age of 19, still single, on November 7, 1707, accused of Judaism, having also been brought to the auto-da-fé

of 30 June 1709.<sup>25</sup> Such was the reason for his sister, Rosa Maria, also 19-years-old, born in Lisbon and living in Leiria, single, to present herself voluntarily on November 24, 1707. She was brought to a private auto-da-fé, celebrated on December 7 of that year, therefore facing a sentence of instruction in the Catholic faith and spiritual penances.<sup>26</sup> Her brother, Luís Ferreira da Costa, born in Leiria and living in Torres Vedras, was committed to the same sentence, and on July 15, 1725, at the age of 25, he presented himself voluntarily. By then he was a tobacco administrator, married to Mariana de Matos, and, even though he was to be arrested on October 31 of that year, was brought to the auto-da-fé celebrated on October 13, 1726.<sup>27</sup>

It should also be noted that João Rodrigues da Costa's sons so far mentioned had been the result of his second marriage to Isabel da Costa. He had a son from his first marriage to Cecília da Costa, also named João Rodrigues da Costa, born in Leiria, a merchant, arrested at the age of 23, on November 22, 1728, single, living in the village of São José, district of Minas do Rio das Mortes, bishopric of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, brought to the auto-da-fé of 16 of October of 1729;<sup>28</sup> he was most likely connected to the "gold business", making "high-value loans".<sup>29</sup>

Years before, the father of Carlos, António, João, Rosa Maria and Luís, João Rodrigues Ferreira, born in Estremoz, a merchant living in Leiria, married to Filipa da Costa Pestana, had been arrested at the age of 39 on October 14, 1704, accused of Judaism, brought to the auto-da-fé a few days later, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of that month;<sup>30</sup> he was to be arrested again on October 17, 1707, with a sentence of imprisonment at the decision of the inquisitors, instruction in the Catholic faith, spiritual penances and payment of expenses, and was brought to the auto-da-fé celebrated on 6 November of that year.<sup>31</sup>

The father of João Rodrigues Ferreira, António Ferreira, who worked as a shearer, born in Estremoz, then married seven months before to Maria Rosada, on July 8, 1652, presented himself to the Court for a crime of Judaism, and was released two days later.<sup>32</sup> Son of Manuel Ribeiro and Mor Rodrigues, António Ferreira chose to present himself voluntarily because his mother had been arrested the year before, on March 4, accused of Judaism; a native and a resident of Estremoz, daughter of Nuno Vaz, a shearer, and of Inês Gonçalves, was brought to the auto-da-fé celebrated on June 8, 1653. Her penitence dress and imprisonment sentence were lifted on December 11 of that year.<sup>33</sup> The brother of António Ferreira, Manuel Ribeiro, a barber, also born in Estremoz and living in Veiros, had similarly decided to present himself voluntarily, on July 11, 1652, for a crime of Judaism, although he was acquitted of excommunication and seizure of property.<sup>34</sup>

With a family's past of fear, imprisonment and repression, there were, however, those who did not present themselves to the Holy

Office nor were imprisoned, notwithstanding the issuance of arrest warrants, and who were thus able to make a living in other places – such is the case of João Rodrigues da Costa, son of João Rodrigues da Costa, grandson of João Rodrigues Ferreira and great-grandson of António Ferreira.<sup>35</sup> It was precisely the lawsuit brought against this businessman<sup>36</sup> that led me to the drama of this family. Aware of the secular family connection to the Holy Office and witnessing his sisters and brothers being arrested, João Rodrigues da Costa did what generations of Jews had been doing – he fled from Portugal. After a period in Cork, Ireland, he found freedom to profess the Law of Moses in London. There, where the Portuguese Jewish community was noteworthy,<sup>37</sup> he was circumcised.

Not having escaped to one of the Portuguese destinations of choice overseas – Brazil – João Rodrigues da Costa moved to northern Europe, another site of the diaspora of New Christians, after the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal. With an empire covering all continents, João Rodrigues da Costa chose to take refuge outside the Portuguese territories, thus safely prolonging his commercial activity in a kingdom where many Jews from Portugal resided. In this place of tolerance in the face of the Jewish question, he established and integrated himself in the community. It was in the Old World, without fearing retaliations, that he prospered, and the process instituted by the Holy Office against him, with successive arrest warrants and orders issued for seizure of property,<sup>38</sup> did continue in Portugal.

28 witnesses were heard and, by order of May 11, 1758, a “summary of the fugue” was prepared based upon guiltiness of Judaism,<sup>39</sup> evoking the arrest warrant of November 19, 1757, and in view of the necessary notifications, an edict was issued on November 28, 1761, so he was required to appear “personally within four months” in the “Inquisition in order to answer *de fide*, and confess his guilt, or defend himself and prove that he was innocent, otherwise the prosecution against him would proceed *in absentia*”.<sup>40</sup> According to a statement made by the parish of Santa Isabel’s priest, the edict was read on January 10, 1762, “in a loud and intelligible voice” in Rato, next to the site “where a tent was, from where he (João Rodrigues da Costa) watched and fled”, having been summoned some neighbours for that purpose.<sup>41</sup>

Given that no response was given, the defiance was proclaimed on 1 October 1762, having been set ten days for him to appear in the Inquisition,<sup>42</sup> which were then extended for another ten days, until October 26,<sup>43</sup> and again extended for another ten days, until November 11.<sup>44</sup> On the 27<sup>th</sup> of that month, without having appeared in the Inquisition and after his name was proclaimed, the libel against the defendant João Rodrigues da Costa was read,<sup>45</sup> including all the questions from the accusation, and he was given a new opportunity to present and defend himself, within five days.<sup>46</sup> By the end of December 16, 1762, it is known that, for he had not presented

himself, five more days were conceded on February 1, 1763, and that on February 7, the defendant not having appeared until the fifth day, it was decided that witnesses should be questioned again,<sup>47</sup> thus extending the diligences that lasted until May of 1763.<sup>48</sup> On August 20, 1764, after the records were analysed and having been decided that “there was not anything else to wait for”, João Rodrigues da Costa should be judged as an “heretic and apostate of the Holy Catholic Faith, convicted, undesirable and rebel”, and that his statue should be taken to a public auto-da-fé and his sentence read,<sup>49</sup> the record having been confirmed on September 4.<sup>50</sup>

Rodrigues da Costa knew that it might not be in Portuguese America that he would find the desired tranquillity, since many suspects of heresy were sent to the metropolis to be judged by the Holy Office, as had happened to his half-brother. London was a more appealing solution, because it offered freedom of religious expression, along with Amsterdam, already called the “intellectual capital of the Jews of the Diaspora”.<sup>51</sup> It is not known exactly what the products traded by João Rodrigues da Costa were, both in the diaspora and in Portugal, since he always figures in the records only as “businessman”, with an “*assentista*” (contractor) father. The family’s mobility should have contributed to the practice of commerce, notwithstanding other life options since it is known that he studied in Coimbra, according to the testimony of the physician Gaspar Soares, a native of Trancoso living in Sintra, who was arrested on June 24, 1758.<sup>52</sup>

With his business compromised, Rodrigues da Costa focused on retrieving contacts and goods through an unusual route – the request for acquittal. He found a way to formalize this request in a missionary. In 1764, Gerardo Shaw, a secular priest, doctor in Sacred Theology, an apostolic missionary in England, addressed a letter to the Inquisition of Lisbon written in Spanish, requesting the acquittal of João Rodrigues da Costa, asserting that he now “abhors and detests” the “Jewish perfidy” which he had joined in London, and begging for a safe conduct to be sent and to recognize him as “a faithful, obedient and penitent son of the Holy Catholic Church”; waiting for a “safe and secret” reply to the Ambassador Extraordinary in London, he indicate that his name can be referred to in the Spanish Court and in the Holy Office of Llerena, in Extremadura, or in the English College in Lisbon, or even with the Fathers of the Holy Body in that city.<sup>53</sup>

The letter was accompanied by an explanation declaring that João Rodrigues da Costa had lived catholically until the age of 15 and thereafter in the Law of Moses, under the influence of uncle José Cristóvão da Costa; a list of practitioners, family and friends, was also offered and it was assumed that, for fear of being arrested, he had gone to London, where he was circumcised and practiced said Law, until “enlightened by the Divine Holy Spirit, knowing the blindness in which he was living”, he sought Father Gerard Shaw,



“to whom he exposed his sins, under confession, in order to be acquitted”.<sup>54</sup> Having been told that his sins were assigned to the Court of the Holy Office, he “humbly” appealed to it, asking to be admitted “to the Guild of the Church”, because “his soul eagerly sighed for the Holy Sacraments”, and also asking for an attestation to be made in his name, so as “to be known everywhere as a Catholic and thereby to be acquitted of all his sins of Judaism”.<sup>55</sup>

On March 10, 1765, João Rodrigues da Costa himself writes a “memory” to his “friend” José de Magalhães, stating that two or three months ago he had sent a request to the Holy Inquisition of Lisbon made in his name, in which he exposes “points of conscience”, demanding his intervention in order “to request by his own person the answer of said Holy Office and for it to be sent to London;” he is even more specific in saying that “the person with whom Your Mercy can refer to for this matter is Mr. Inquisitor Jansen who anyone will be able to say where he lives”.<sup>56</sup>

Perfectly aware of what was happening in Portugal and having local connections, this “memory” was delivered to José dos Santos Pereira by João Amado da Costa, conscious that “we cannot have immediate response”, while wishing that within three days he had “something to inform London about”.<sup>57</sup> This circuit of influence was of little use, for on May 6, 1765, the Tribunal of the Holy Office decided that the confession had to be made in person; the contumacy continued to flee, and the defendant only intended “to avoid” the publication of his sentence, the confiscation of his property, and the burning down of his statue.<sup>58</sup> As it turns out, it were his brothers who, after being questioned again and having also fled to London the year before, to be “close to him”, would have informed him of the state of his case; the decision continued to be the obligation to present to the Inquisition within six months, in order to “be heard and treated with much pity”, otherwise the process would continue.<sup>59</sup> This was the reply sent to the Missionary on August 16, 1765.<sup>60</sup>

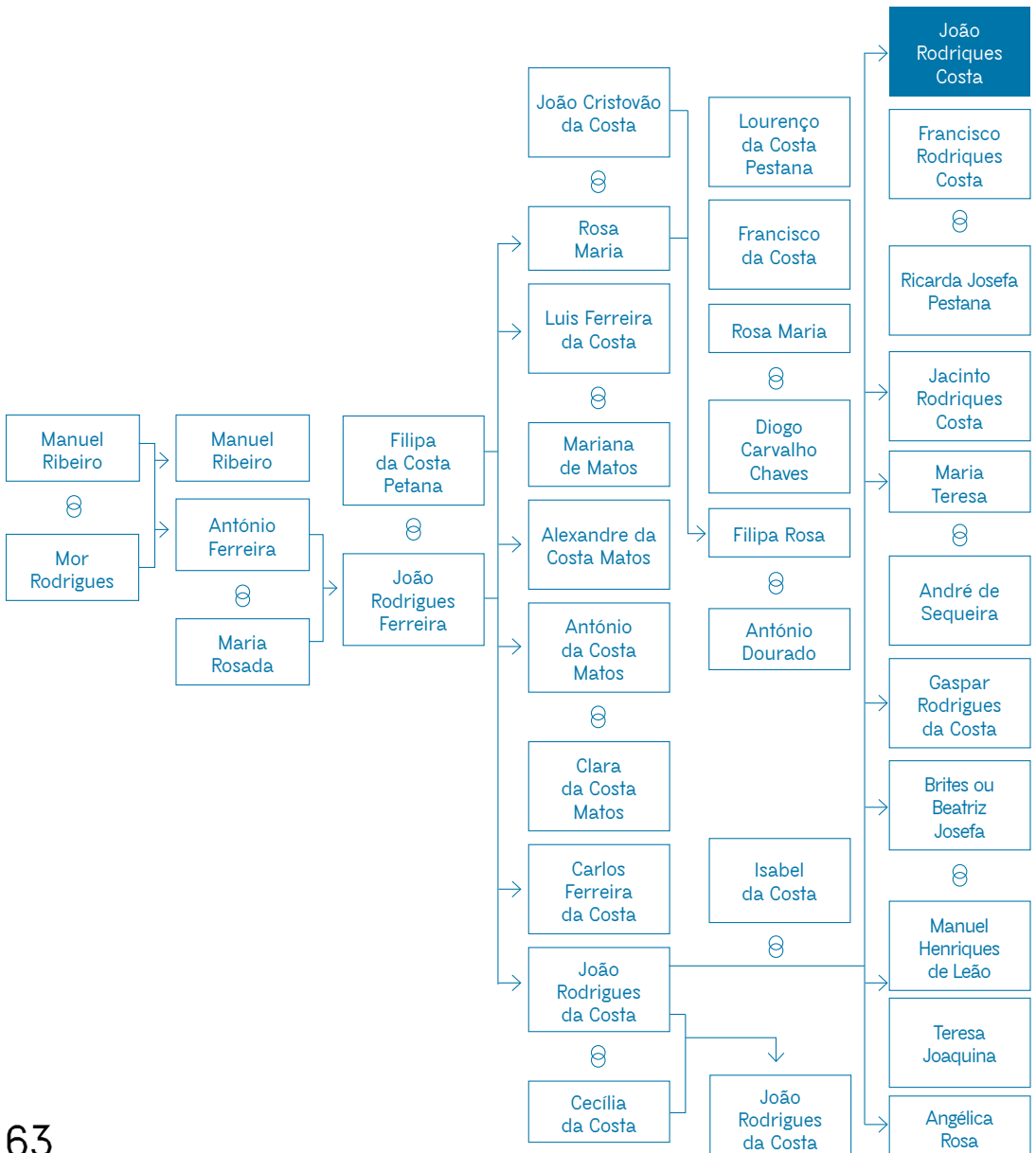
The response given by Father Shaw on January 21, 1766, lamenting the absence of João Rodrigues da Costa in Germany, where he continued his business, attested the difficulty of contacting him in order to give an account of said certificate issued by the Holy Office; although he would wait for a favourable dispatch and maybe for a return of the defendant to his country.<sup>61</sup> The truth is that on April 8, 1766, Martinho de Melo e Castro, Ambassador in London, wrote to Paulo de Carvalho e Ataíde, referring to João Rodrigues da Costa and stating “that I still tried to stop him (João Rodrigues da Costa) and grabbed him by the hair, and letting him go, I set myself at your fee”.<sup>62</sup>

Some of his brothers went to London, thus creating a family unit as well as new foundations, although João Rodrigues da Costa did not want to lose the connection to his roots. Nevertheless, the period in Portugal was still one of persecution of the New

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Christians, particularly affecting the “business men”, and the escape, “facilitated by the existence of vast family networks”, was the way to avoid prison; such as was the case of João Rodrigues da Costa.<sup>63</sup> The situation was aggravated by the economic constraints resulting from the earthquake’s effects.<sup>64</sup> Yet, the conditions of poverty that affected many of the Jewish refugees in London should not be neglected.<sup>65</sup>

Chart 1  
Genealogy of  
Rodrigues da Costa



Notes

1. See, Carla da Costa Vieira, “Família, Perseguição e Mobilidade. O Caso da Família Medina”, in *Erasmus. Revista de Historia Bajomedieval y Moderna*, no., Valladolid, 2014, pp. 43–57, available at <https://revistas.uva.es/index.php/erasmo/article/view/922/836>.
2. See João Francisco Marques, “A Acção da Igreja no Terramoto de Lisboa de 1755: Ministério Espiritual e Pregação”, in *Lusitania Sacra. Revista do Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, vol. 18, Lisboa, 2006, pp. 219–329, in particular, p. 276, footnote 193, available at <http://portal.cehr.ft.lisboa.ucp.pt/LusitaniaSacra/index.php/journal/article/view/383/369>.
3. See Maria Luísa Pedroso de Lima, “Tragédia, risco e controlo: uma releitura psico-social dos testemunhos do terramoto de 1755”, in *Análise Social*, vol. XLIII, n<sup>o</sup> 186, Lisboa, 2008, pp. 7–28, in particular, p. 14, available at [http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/?page\\_id=16](http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/?page_id=16).
4. A.N.T.T. [Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo], I.L. [Inquisição de Lisboa], process 7255, fls. 23r–24v.
  5. *Ibidem*, fl. 35r.
  6. *Ibidem*, fls. 98r–115r.
  7. *Ibidem*, fl. 130v.
  8. *Ibidem*, fls. 138r–139v.
  9. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 1531
  10. *Ibidem*, fl. 126v.
  11. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 5170.
  12. *Ibidem*, fl. 6r.
  13. *Ibidem*, fl. 128r.
  14. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 11731, fl. 6r.
  15. *Ibidem*, fls. 45v–46r.
  16. *Ibidem*, fls. 105r–110r.
  17. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 11727.
  18. *Ibidem*, fl. 6r.
  19. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 1895.
  20. A.N.T.T., I. Évora, process 7192.
  21. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 1136.
  22. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 6950.
  23. *Ibidem*, fl. 3r.
  24. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 6103.
  25. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 5092.
  26. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 8274.
  27. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 6892.
  28. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 6846.
  29. See Marques de Almeida de A. A. (Direção Científica), *Dicionário Histórico dos Sefarditas Portugueses. Mercadores e Gente de Trato*, Lisboa, Campo da Comunicação, 2009, pp. 207–209.
    30. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 8266.
    31. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 8266-1.
    32. A.N.T.T., I. Évora, process 3261.
    33. A.N.T.T., I. Évora, process 6285.
    34. A.N.T.T., I. Évora, process 4422.
  35. See Family Genealogy below.
    36. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 9689.
    37. Regarding the Jewish congregation in London, where other Portuguese businessmen who had families persecuted by the Inquisition went to, namely Abraham Mendes Seixas, who became “a recognized member” of the local community, see Carla da Costa da Vieira, “Gershom Mendes Seixas (1745–1816), o “rabi” patriota”, in *Misericórdia de Braga. Revista da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga*, n<sup>o</sup> 13, Braga, December 2017, pp. 359–380, in particular, pp. 362–363.
      38. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 9689, fls. 48r–55r.
      39. *Ibidem*, fl. 61r.
      40. *Ibidem*, fl. 61v.
      41. *Ibidem*, fls. 65r–66v.
      42. *Ibidem*, fl. 67r–v.
      43. *Ibidem*, fl. 68r–v.
      44. *Ibidem*, fl. 69r–v.
      45. *Ibidem*, fl. 70r–v.
      46. *Ibidem*, fls. 72r–74v.
      47. *Ibidem*, fls. 75r–77r.
      48. *Ibidem*, fls. 78r–153v.
      49. *Ibidem*, fl. 170r–v.
      50. *Ibidem*, fl. 173r.
    51. See Levi, Joseph Abraham, “A Diáspora Sefardita nas Américas durante os séculos XVII e XVIII”, in *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*, n<sup>o</sup> 1, Lisbon, 2001, pp. 27–63, in particular, p. 36.
      52. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 9689, fl. 41r. Regarding Gaspar Pereira Soares’ process, see A.N.T.T., I.L., process 11732.
      53. A.N.T.T., I.L., process 9689, fls. 176r–177r.
        54. *Ibidem*, fl. 178r.
        55. *Ibidem*, fl. 178v.
        56. *Ibidem*, fl. 181r.
        57. *Ibidem*, fl. 183r–v.
        58. *Ibidem*, fl. 185r–v.
        59. *Ibidem*, fl. 185v.
        60. *Ibidem*, fls. 186r–189r.
        61. *Ibidem*, fl. 155r–v.
        62. *Ibidem*, fl. 154r.
      63. See Jorge Miguel Pedreira, “Os negociantes de Lisboa na segunda metade do século XVIII: padrões de recrutamento e percursos sociais”, in *Análise Social*, vol. XXVII, n<sup>o</sup> 116–117, Lisbon, 1992, pp. 407–440, particularly, pp. 432–433, available at [http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/?page\\_id=14](http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/?page_id=14). See also *idem*, “Tratos e contratos: actividades, interesses e orientações dos investimentos dos negociantes da praça de Lisboa (1755–1822)”, in *Análise Social*, vol. XXXI, n<sup>o</sup> 136–137, Lisbon, 1996, pp. 355–379, available at [http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/?page\\_id=14](http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/?page_id=14).

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64. See Leonor Freire Costa, Maria Manuela Rocha and Paulo Brasil de Brito, “Os impactos do terramoto de 1755 no mercado de crédito de Lisboa”, *Ler História*, nº 72, Lisbon, 2018, pp. 77-102, DOI: 10.4000/lerhistoria.3388, available at <http://journals.openedition.org/lerhistoria/3388>.

65. See Julia R. Lieberman, “Few Wealthy and Many Poor: The London Sephardi Community in the Eighteenth-Century”, in *Ler História*, nº 74, Lisboa, 2019, pp. 41-61, DOI: 10.4000/lerhistoria.4614, available at <http://journals.openedition.org/lerhistoria/4614>. Regarding the assistance and educative action of the Sephardic Congregation of London, in mid-eighteenth century, time of the migratory wave of Jews from the Iberian Peninsula boost, see Carla Vieira, “Escola de Inocentes Raparigas. Isaac da Costa Vila Real e o seu Projecto para o Ensino das Órfãs da Nação (Londres, 1730)”, in *Misericórdia de Braga. Revista da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga*, nº 14, Braga, December 2018, pp. 269-294.

# Familles en circulation à travers le monde urbain: L'assistance de la Misericórdia de Braga (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)

Fondée par la reine Leonor à la fin du XVe siècle, la première *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* du royaume a été témoin de la prolifération de ses congénères dans tout le Portugal et à l'étranger.

En charge de l'exécution des œuvres de miséricorde, tant corporelles que spirituelles, les *Santas Casas* sont devenues des centres d'attraction pour les populations les plus défavorisées, tant nationales qu'étrangères. Ils étaient également accompagnés par ceux qui devaient voyager avec des membres de leur famille et qui ne pouvaient pas se permettre le voyage. Des études menées à Oviedo ont conclu que 59% des pèlerins voyageaient en famille ou avec des personnes connues.<sup>1</sup> C'était le moyen d'éviter la solitude sur la route et de se sentir plus en sécurité pendant les trajets.<sup>2</sup>

À travers le travail que nous présentons, nous proposons de discuter et de problématiser les voyages de familles aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles et le soutien que leur a apporté la *Santa Casa* de Braga. Nous avons également l'intention de connaître les noyaux familiaux et d'identifier leur origine, ainsi qu'analyser avec eux la procédure suivie par les *Santas Casas*.<sup>3</sup>

La méthodologie que nous avons utilisée pour développer nos travaux a consisté à collecter des données dans les livres de dépenses de la *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* de Braga, entre 1600 et 1800, en effectuant l'enquête d'une année sur dix, ayant permis de vérifier que 112 familles au total sont passées par Braga entre les dates indiquées.

Bien que nous ayons analysé les dépenses entre 1600 et 1800, nous n'avons trouvé des familles en circulation qu'entre 1609 et 1739, après en avoir passé 85 à Braga au cours de l'année administrative 1719-20.

L'apparition de ces noyaux familiaux, seulement à cette époque, peut être liée à un plus grand détail des archives des trésoriers, indiquant en plus du nom les destinations et les origines des individus, (critères utilisés pour déterminer qui voyageait réellement), ce qui n'était pas le cas dans d'autres années. Cependant, le dix-huitième siècle a été marqué par la croissance démographique et, en particulier, par les habitants des villes,<sup>4</sup> ce qui aurait pu entraîner un plus grand mouvement des populations.

Toutefois, nous n'avons pas constaté que ces années coïncidaient avec de mauvaises années agricoles. La période entre 1690 et 1711 fut de mauvaises récoltes, néanmoins à partir de 1712, la réalité changea et il y eut une expansion agricole, l'année de 1720 étant assez abondante en récoltes.<sup>5</sup> Malgré les mauvaises années agricoles qui ont provoqué de faibles récoltes entre 1690 et 1711, nous ne disposons pas de facteurs nous permettant de considérer que les crises alimentaires ont influencé le mouvement des populations, puisque nous avons trouvé un grand nombre de voyageurs en 1719-20, période de bonnes productions agricoles.

Au début de cette recherche, il était impératif de réfléchir à la signification de certains des concepts clés que nous allons utiliser, tels que "voyageur", "pèlerin", "passager" ou "famille".

Composition de la famille	N° de familles
Couple	49
Couples avec fils	40
Un des parents et des fils	15
Des frères	4
Couple et une sœur	1
Oncle et nièce	1
Grand-mère et petit fils	1
Couple et neveu	1

**Tableau 1**  
**Constitution des familles de passages à travers Braga, assistées par la Misericórdia (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)**

Source: Arquivo Distrital de Braga (*désormais* ADB), Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livros de Despezas do Thesourreiro*, n° 658, 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 674.

Dans le *Diccionário da Língua Portuguesa*, publié par Rafael Bluteau, au début du XVIIIe siècle, le voyage était défini comme une “voie maritime”. Peut-être à cause de cette signification, un tel mot ne figure jamais dans la documentation analysée, ne trouvant pas non plus un voyageur. Au contraire, l’expression “pèlerin” est assez courante dans les archives, ce qui signifie, dans le même ouvrage, un “étranger, pas un national”. Il convient de noter qu’au cours de cette période, le terme “étranger” peut désigner soit des personnes appartenant à d’autres royaumes, soit des étrangers provenant d’autres localités du Portugal. Le terme “passager” est également très fréquent et concerne “l’acte d’embarquement ou par voie terrestre vers un autre lieu”.<sup>6</sup> Ils consistent donc en différentes manières de nommer ce que nous appelons aujourd’hui un voyageur.

D’autre part, le mot famille consistait en un groupe de personnes qui composaient une maison et dépendaient du pouvoir du patron, les familles *pater*. Il comprenait également des parents et même des alliés.<sup>7</sup> Le terme famille, dans les temps modernes, pourrait désigner des personnes ayant le même degré de parenté ou des personnes partageant le même logement. Scarlett Beauvale attribue exactement le même sens au mot.<sup>8</sup>

Peter Laslett a également défini le concept de famille à l’époque moderne. Dans son analyse, il a souligné que l’Europe était caractérisée par l’existence de différents types de noyaux familiaux: les plus simples, composés de célibataires ou de veuves vivant seules ou en couples et leurs enfants; ceux qui intègrent les couples, les enfants et l’un ou l’autre parent, comme les grands-parents, les neveux, les oncles, entre autres; et les multiples dans lesquels, dans le même logement, vivaient plus d’un couple, par exemple les époux et beaux-parents, ou deux couples de frères.<sup>9</sup> Bien que Frédéric Le Play estime que la famille nucléaire ne s’est affirmée en Europe que dans la révolution postindustrielle, Peter



## FAMILLES EN CIRCULATION À TRAVERS LE MONDE URBAIN

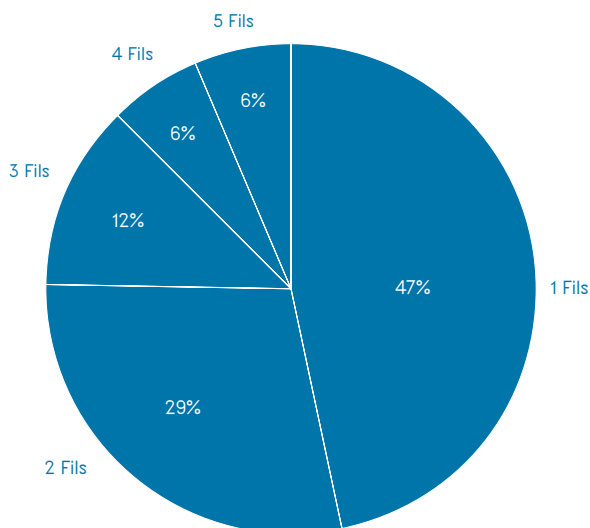
1 Fils  
47% (23 Familles)

2 Fils  
29% (14 Familles)

3 Fils  
12% (6 Familles)

4 Fils  
6% (3 Familles)

5 Fils  
6% (3 Familles)



**Graphique 1**  
Pourcentage du nombre d'enfants que les familles ont emmenés lors de leurs voyages (Braga, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)

Source: ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, Livros de Despezas do Thesoureiro, n° 658, 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 674.

Laslett affirme qu'elle était déjà l'un des modèles les plus répandus de la période moderne. Ce genre de noyau familial prédominerait en Angleterre, en France et en Espagne, bien qu'il existe des clivages régionaux et des changements dans la présence de crises démographiques et de ravageurs.<sup>10</sup>

Les données dont nous disposons sont contraires à l'opinion de Laslett. Sur les 112 familles qui ont traversé Braga entre 1609 et 1739, nous avons constaté que 78% étaient nucléaires, composées d'un couple ou de celles-ci et de leurs enfants. Seuls 25% ont ajouté d'autres membres de la famille ayant des liens plus larges, comme le montre le tableau 1. **[Tableau 1]**

Il est également important d'expliquer que les familles que nous présentons ici sont celles que les sources nous ont indiquées, à savoir qu'il existe un certain degré de parenté entre individus, à l'exclusion des autres groupes de personnes voyageant ensemble. Le type de famille le plus courant, parmi ceux qui passaient par Braga, était constitué de couples ou de ceux-ci et de leurs enfants, ce qui correspond à 80%. Ce sont ceux composés de pères ou de mères partis seuls avec leur progéniture et qui correspondent à 13%. Seulement 7% des familles itinérantes sont composées d'autres degrés de parenté, parmi lesquels on trouve des oncles, des grands-parents et des frères.

Nous ne pouvons pas exclure la possibilité que beaucoup de ces personnes soient des migrants cherchant à améliorer leurs conditions de vie en emmenant leur famille avec eux. **[Graphique 1]**

Sur les 112 familles analysées, 55 étaient des enfants. Les trois quarts des personnes étaient accompagnées d'un ou deux enfants et une seule partie en occupait trois à cinq. Comment comprendre cette différence? Il est nécessaire de prendre en considération que voyager avec de nombreux enfants est devenu un conditionnement et coûteux, en raison de leur fragilité pour supporter les longues

jours de marche, le froid ou la chaleur et les maladies, ou les dépenses accrues qu'ils représentent, en particulier au niveau de la nourriture. Une étude menée à Oviedo pour l'année 1788 a également révélé que les familles qui passaient dans la localité étaient composées principalement par le couple. Peu de gens ont choisi d'emporter leur progéniture et quand ils l'ont fait, le maximum était d'un ou deux enfants, n'ayant jamais dépassé ce chiffre, pas même ceux d'origine espagnole.<sup>11</sup>

Pendant cette période, il était courant que les jeunes quittent la maison de leurs parents pour servir ailleurs ou même accompagnent leurs parents lors de leurs migrations saisonnières. À partir du moment où les enfants ont eu un peu de compréhension et de force physique, vers six ou sept ans, ils se sont considérés capables de faire un travail qui contribuerait à la subsistance de la famille.

À l'hôpital du *Espírito Santo* d'Évora, à l'époque moderne, des enfants du Minho et de Beiras qui travaillaient dans les cultures saisonnières.<sup>12</sup>

Il convient de noter que les familles composées d'un seul parent et que les enfants étaient au nombre de quinze, de celle-ci, dix suivaient avec leurs mères et cinq avec le père. Regardons les femmes. La circulation féminine à cette époque n'était pas bien vue. Les routes leur présentaient de nombreux dangers, à la fois physiquement et moralement.<sup>13</sup> Donc, il ne serait pas sage pour une femme seule de voyager. Cependant, dans la période moderne, il semble y avoir une tendance croissante des femmes voyageant seules. L'émigration de leurs maris les a peut-être forcés à voyager, mais le manque de soutien de la famille pourrait également amener certaines personnes à être en transit, à la recherche d'un travail.<sup>14</sup> En Espagne, par exemple, il était commun de trouver des femmes dans les mouvements de migrants, certaines accompagnées de membres de leur famille. Mais leurs voyages pourraient aussi signifier une tentative de rejoindre des proches qui vivaient ailleurs.<sup>15</sup> Cela s'est produit, spatialement, quand ils avaient besoin de travailler et ne pouvaient pas le faire sur leur territoire d'origine. Dans ces cas, ils ont déménagé dans d'autres régions où ils savaient que cela pourrait les aider à trouver un moyen de soutien. Lorsque cela n'était pas possible, les femmes migrantes ont opté par des itinéraires déjà tracés, en suivant les tendances migratoires masculines.<sup>16</sup>

À cette époque, la femme, tout comme l'enfant, constituait une force de travail importante pour la survie de la famille, en particulier en cas de veuvage, lorsqu'elle restait avec ses enfants. De cette manière, en plus de travailler dans l'agriculture, ils ont également été élevés pour servir ou travailler dans des productions textiles.<sup>17</sup> À Biscaye, par exemple, certaines femmes excellaient dans l'extraction de fer, dans la négociation avec des acheteurs étrangers et dans l'exportation de leurs matériaux dans diverses régions d'Europe.<sup>18</sup>

En ce qui concerne nos données, sur les dix cas analysés de mères voyageant avec leurs enfants, nous n'avons connaissance que du veuvage de deux seulement. Un voyage de Monção à Lisbonne. L'autre était une femme allemande avec un enfant. Nous ne savons pas quel était sa destination. Trois de ces mères ont voyagé avec leurs enfants à Saint-Jacques de Compostelle.

Une autre femme qui venait d'avoir un enfant, originaire d'Arrifana de Souza, avait quatre enfants et était mère depuis peu de temps. Il ne semble pas inhabituel d'avoir des femmes enceintes en transit, qui ont éventuellement eu des enfants pendant leur voyage, certaines d'entre elles au domicile des pèlerins de l'hôpital.<sup>19</sup>

Parmi toutes les familles qui ont traversé la ville de Braga, nous savons d'où proviennent 39% des habitants. De ce nombre, nous trouvons que 65% étaient portugais et seulement 35% des autres royaumes. Ces chiffres pourraient facilement s'expliquer par la plus grande facilité avec laquelle les nationaux se déplacent d'une région à l'autre avec leurs enfants et leurs proches, une réalité plus difficile pour les habitants de territoires lointains.

Les familles portugaises provenaient des régions les plus variées du royaume. Cependant, le plus grand nombre venait de Lisbonne. Huit d'entre eux sont nés, dont deux couples qui sont passés par Braga en juillet 1720 et ont parcouru le royaume en quémendant d'avoir perdu tout dans les incendies.<sup>20</sup> Ce genre de situation n'était pas rare. Déjà en 1709, un autre couple et leurs enfants demandèrent la miséricorde du royaume pour avoir subi le même mal.

À Lisbonne, en nombre de familles, l'Algarve est suivie de cinq. Nous savons que trois d'entre eux se sont rendus à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, d'autres que nous ne connaissons pas la destination. De Coimbra et de Valença, quatre familles sont respectivement arrivées à Braga et trois seulement à Porto. Ce dernier s'est rendu à Santiago, tout comme deux de Coimbra et un troisième à Barcelos. Cette localité consistait en un lieu de passage important pour les pèlerins, nous ne pouvons donc pas exclure la possibilité de les laisser y aller, puis de se rendre en Galice.

Il convient de noter qu'à l'époque moderne, les pèlerinages à Saint-Jacques de Compostelle avaient déjà diminué. Néanmoins, il y avait toujours un flux important de pèlerins qui passaient par le Portugal et la France pour aller rendre visite à l'apôtre. Néanmoins, dans les rapports de certains visiteurs de la ville, il est courant de faire des commentaires négatifs sur les pèlerinages à Santiago.<sup>21</sup>

Les causes qui ont poussé ces hommes et ces femmes hors du pays et à s'aventurer de manière étrange étaient variées. Échapper aux crises ou à la justice, au travail, à des motifs religieux, au traitement de maladies, à des problèmes commerciaux, entre autres. Beaucoup étaient aussi ceux qui étaient venus dans les *Santas Casas* pour chercher de l'aide pour guérir des maladies dans des hôpitaux plus équipés, tels que San Marcos à Braga ou ceux de

Porto. Ainsi, beaucoup ont recherché la guérison dans les sources chaudes du Gerês.<sup>22</sup>

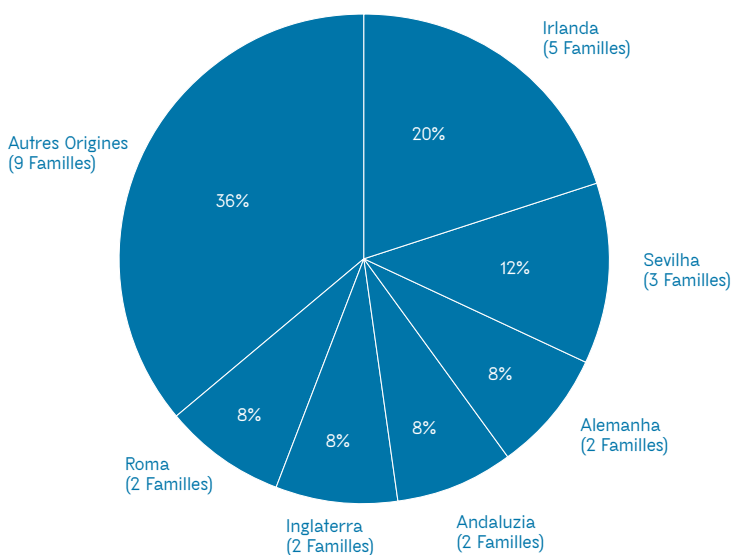
Il convient de noter que la région de Entre Douro et Minho était surpeuplée, poussant de nombreux hommes à migrer vers les régions du Sud, de la Galice et d'outre-mer, à la recherche de meilleures conditions de vie. Il convient toutefois de noter que c'était également un lieu d'attraction pour de nombreux galiciens, bien que nous n'ayons trouvé qu'une seule famille prétendant être de Galice et se rendant à Séville. Il était composé d'un père et de son fils. Il convient également de noter que, dans le sud de la Galice, l'émigration a fortement augmenté entre 1691 et 1780, entraînant la mort de 40% des hommes de la région du Baixo Minho d'origine espagnole dans des endroits autres que leurs villages. Sur les 2 381 cas, 173 sont décédés au Portugal.<sup>23</sup>

Nos sources nous ont également présenté des cas qui nous ont posé des problèmes. En juillet de 1719, António Pereira et son épouse, originaires de Coimbra, ont reçu une aumône de 100 réaux par la *Santa Casa* de Braga. Ils sont allés à Santiago. Le même mois, un autre couple de même nom, de naturel et de destin a été enregistré, ayant reçu une aumône de valeur égale. Ces données nous ont conduit à formuler trois scénarios différents. La première est qu'il s'agissait en réalité de deux couples homonymes et, par coïncidence, de même origine et de même destination, comme beaucoup d'autres qui sont passés la même année à Santiago. Il n'est pas rare de trouver dans la documentation des couples avec des noms identiques. Deuxièmement, nous ne pouvons pas nier que le couple a reçu l'aumône de la *Misericórdia* et est revenu quelques jours plus tard pour faire une nouvelle demande, après avoir été visité sans être reconnu. Bien que les *Misericórdias* aient essayé d'éviter ces situations, nous savons qu'ils se plaignent souvent de ces coups.<sup>24</sup> Enfin, et peut-être très probablement, nous pouvons considérer qu'il y a eu une erreur du greffier. Celui-ci peut avoir copié deux fois le même billet. Peut-être qu'il n'a pas été volé la première fois qu'il a été enregistré, donnant lieu à cette déception. Déjà en 1649, une situation analogue s'était produite avec Antonio Rodrigues, épouse et enfants qui se sont rendus en juillet vers Ponte de Lima, après avoir reçu de *Santa Casa* un cheval et 200 réaux. En mars de l'année suivante, un António Rodrigues accompagné de sa femme et de ses trois filles a également reçu 280 réis et un cheval pour se rendre au même endroit. La différence dans les registres réside dans la valeur attribuée, dans la distance temporelle et dans l'accompagnement, car si certains vont avec "les enfants", les autres ont "trois filles", ce qui peut indiquer uniquement que les noms et la destination coïncident, mais ce sont des individus différents qui voyagent, ou se sont deux voyages différents effectués par les mêmes personnes.

En ce qui concerne les familles des autres royaumes, les origines sont vastes comme on peut le voir dans le graphique 2.

## FAMILLES EN CIRCULATION À TRAVERS LE MONDE URBAIN

Autres Origines  
 4% Asturias  
 4% Barcelona  
 4% Galiza  
 4% Génova  
 4% Itália  
 4% Reino de Murcia  
 4% Sabóia  
 4% Toxa  
 4% Valencia



**Graphique 2**  
 Origine des familles étrangères ayant traversé Braga et aidées par le Misericórdia (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)

Source: ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livros de Despezas do Thesoureiro*, n° 658, 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 674.

Cependant, si nous regroupons aujourd'hui ces lieux sur des cartes européennes, nous verrons qu'un grand nombre de familles (42%) sont espagnoles, ce qui est évident par la proximité des deux royaumes. Beaucoup de ces personnes ont traversé le Portugal pour se rendre à Saint-Jacques de Compostelle. C'est le cas d'un Miguel de Murcia et de sa sœur qui traversèrent la péninsule ibérique en direction de la ville de l'apôtre Jacques. Il existe également deux autres cas de deux frères accompagnés de leurs sœurs, également d'origine espagnole. Andalousie et Séville, qui se sont rendus en pèlerinage à Saint-Jacques. Cela semble suggérer la réalisation des promesses de la famille.

En outre, un nombre considérable de familles sont originaires d'Irlande (20%), ce qui serait lié à l'expansion du protestantisme et à l'expulsion consécutive des catholiques par Cromwell au cours du XVIIe siècle. Ces individus ont cherché refuge dans les royaumes de tradition catholique, tels que le Portugal et l'Espagne, où les maisons dirigeantes leur ont procuré une protection.<sup>25</sup> Plus d'un demi-siècle après ces épisodes, les communautés irlandaises semblent avoir conservé leur identité. Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle était l'un des endroits où les réfugiés irlandais étaient accueillis et recueillis.<sup>26</sup> Cette relation peut justifier la tendance des familles irlandaises à se rendre en pèlerinage à Saint Jacques, dans la mesure où elle aurait joué un rôle important dans leur accueil, ainsi que l'importance religieuse qu'elles revêtaient pour les catholiques, en particulier face aux épreuves religieuses qu'elles ont connues. [Graphique 2]

Comme le montre le tableau 2, Saint-Jacques de Compostelle figure parmi les destinations les plus fréquentes de ces groupes familiaux, notamment parmi les familles d'origine espagnole. S'ils se sont effectivement rendus en Galice pour des raisons religieuses ou s'il s'agissait d'un prétexte pour se déplacer sur

leur territoire et émigrer, nous ne le savons pas, toutefois si nous prenons en compte le fait que neuf de ces familles étaient des “*torna-viagens*”, c’est-à-dire qu’elles rentraient chez elles, et que six d’entre elles disaient venir de Santiago, on peut admettre qu’une partie considérable disait la vérité, d’autant plus que quatre-vingt-deux de ces noyaux parentaux étaient accompagnés de lettres guides. Il convient de noter que toutes les familles étrangères étaient porteuses de ce document. Seulement trois ne l’ont pas fait. La lettre-guide était d’autant plus importante que la situation de son porteur était déracinée. Les personnes ayant des difficultés à communiquer dans la langue du pays et ayant besoin d’aide pendant leur voyage devaient se doter de tous les moyens possibles pour assurer leur sécurité pendant le voyage.

Cet instrument de contrôle des passagers a commencé à être utilisé en Espagne à l’époque moderne, compte tenu de la crainte que les personnes qui étaient dites en pèlerinage s’établissent dans le royaume en augmentant le nombre de pauvres déjà existants.<sup>27</sup> Ils se sont ensuite répandus dans d’autres régions. Un document similaire était également utilisé en Italie comme “passeport”, le voyageur devant le présenter aux autorités municipales locales. On y notait l’origine de l’individu, qui ne portait pas de maladies et le nombre de compagnons.<sup>28</sup>

Les lettres guides suivaient le modèle des “lettres de recommandation” ou “lettres de paix” déjà utilisées par l’Église catholique, constituant un “passeport” identifiant les pèlerins et faisant référence à leur origine, leur destination et les raisons de leur voyage.<sup>29</sup>

Quand quelqu’un devait déménager, il demandait au fournisseur de la *Misericórdia* ou aux évêques le plus proche, ce document, où leur besoin était reconnu.<sup>30</sup> Nous ne savons pas où les familles étrangères ont obtenu ces documents, que ce soit des autorités dont ils sont originaires, d’un évêque ou d’une miséricorde portugaise. Cependant, au Portugal, ce “certificat de besoin” ne devrait être délivré qu’aux personnes pour lesquelles des informations sur la pauvreté existaient réellement. Cela n’a pas toujours été respecté et a conduit certaines *Misericórdias* à refuser de recevoir des individus qui avaient pris une lettre de recommandation passée par certaines des *Santas Casas*.<sup>31</sup> [Tableau 2]

Sur les 112 familles assistées par la *Misericórdia* de Braga, vingt-deux ont réussi à leur faire fournir un moyen de transport. L’un d’eux, a été composé par le père et ses cinq enfants, raison pour laquelle on leur a donné deux montures. Les autres n’ont cependant reçu qu’une seule bête, dont dix ne sont composées que d’un couple et neuf d’entre elles par leurs parents et leurs enfants ou neveux. Les deux autres familles ont reçu des voitures pour se déplacer. Peut-être la différence est-elle justifiée par l’état de santé plus fragile de certains de ces éléments, nécessitant, par conséquent, un plus grand confort pendant le trajet, qui était

## FAMILLES EN CIRCULATION À TRAVERS LE MONDE URBAIN

Destination des familles en voyage	Nombre de familles
Saint-Jacques de Compostelle	40
Ponte de Lima	9
Minho	3
Ponte da Barca	3
Barcelos	2
Caldas	1
Chaves	1
Guimarães	1
Lamego	1
Lisboa	1
Porto	1
Séville	1
Valença	1
Viana do Castelo	1

**Tableau 2**  
Destinations des familles passant par Braga et aidées par le Misericórdia (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)

Source: ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livros de Despezas do Thesoureiro*, n° 658, 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 674.

autorisé dans la voiture, où ils pouvaient aller se coucher.

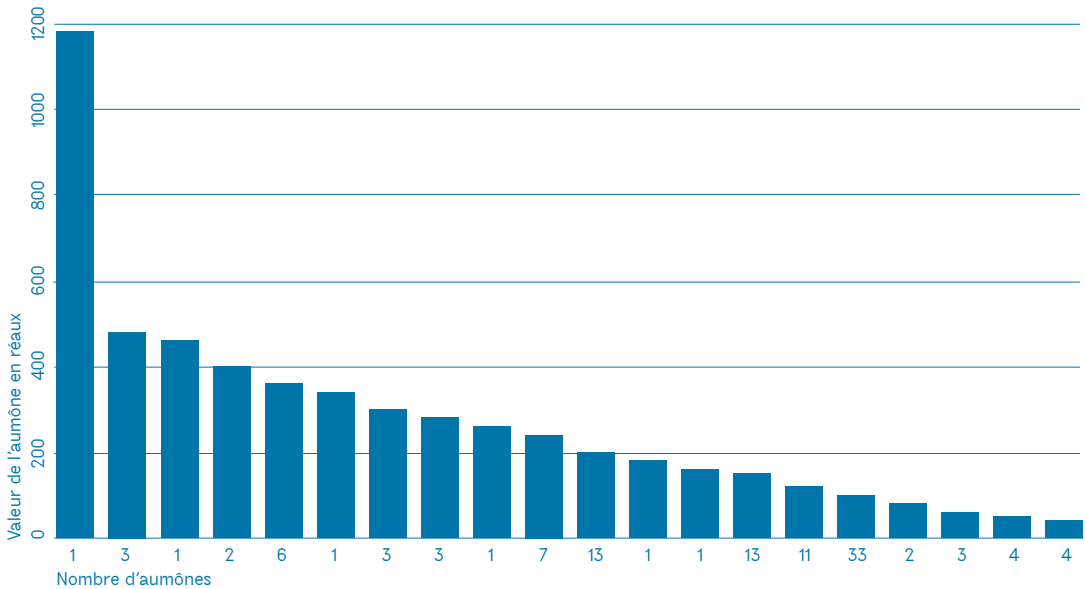
Déjà la valeur des aumônes que la Misericórdia attribuait à chacune des familles était très variable, en fonction de la nécessité et de la taille de celles-ci. **[Graphique 3]**

Le don le plus élevé accordé à une famille de voyageurs valait 1180 réis et a été remis à “Carlos de Santa Maria”, à qui la *Santa Casa* a également fourni deux chevaux. Il a voyagé seul avec cinq enfants. La quantité d'enfants que portait cet homme aurait provoqué une grande agitation parmi les confrères de la *Misericórdia*. Domingos Pires, de Valença, qui a voyagé avec son épouse et ses cinq enfants et s'est rendu à Ponte de Lima, a été aidé aussi, mais n'a reçu qu'un cheval et 480 réis d'aumône. N'oublions pas que ce chiffre est l'un des plus élevés, mais compte tenu de la similitude avec le cas précédent, il est inférieur à la moitié. Nous ne pouvons pas exclure l'hypothèse que leur voyage a été inférieur à celui de l'autre.

Nous avons également constaté que plus le nombre d'enfants transportés par les parents était élevé, plus le don qu'ils recevaient était élevé, même s'il y avait des cas exceptionnels. Certaines des plus basses aumônes (40, 50 et 60 réis) ont également été données aux personnes défavorisées, comme ce fut le cas d'une veuve de Monção qui s'est rendue à Lisbonne avec deux enfants malades.

Dans les autres cas, ces aumônes plus petites ont été données à des couples voyageant seuls.





## Considérations finales

**Graphique 3**  
Répartition des aumônes  
accordées aux familles  
en circulation par la  
*Misericórdia* de Braga  
(XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)

Source: ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livros de Despezas do Thesoureiro*, n° 658, 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 674.

Le soin et le souci que les *Misericórdias* ont eu au cours de la période moderne pour aider les plus défavorisés sont évidents et ont été largement explorés dans de nombreux ouvrages. Cependant, nous avons remarqué que ces confréries ont développé un travail de charité très important quand elles ont accepté de donner un logement aux familles qui voyageaient.

Ceux-ci venaient des régions les plus variées du royaume du Portugal et de l'étranger et amenaient avec eux des enfants, des neveux, des frères, entre autres, ce qui rendait leurs voyages coûteux et difficiles. Face à ces conditions, les *Santas Casas* étaient disponibles pour résoudre certaines difficultés, à savoir offrir un lieu de sommeil sûr, aumône pour se procurer la nourriture nécessaire et suivre leur périple, voire même leur transport, lorsque les forces ne leur permettaient plus de suivre le chemin sur propre pied.

La *Santa Casa* de Braga semble avoir constitué un soutien important pour les familles qui circulaient à l'époque moderne en les accueillant dans leur maison de pèlerins et en les aidant avec des aumônes et des soins salutaires lorsqu'elles étaient nécessaires. Il fournissait également, le cas échéant, un moyen de transport pour se rendre à la prochaine *Misericórdia*, facilitant ainsi les déplacements des pauvres en transit.

Nous trouvons des familles venant de différentes parties du vieux continent, bien que les plus abondantes soient les ibériques. Les noyaux familiaux les plus courants en transit étaient composés par les couples ou ceux-ci et leurs enfants,

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se présentant comme un déplacement possible de tous les membres composant l'agrégat.

Pour toutes ces questions, les *Misericórdias* ont joué un rôle central dans la circulation de la population au Portugal à l'époque moderne.

## Notes

1. Pour ce sujet, voir Roberto López, J., "Peregrinos jacobeos en Oviedo a finales del siglo XVIII", in *Cuadernos De Estudios Gallegos*, Tomo XXXIX, Fascículo 104, 1991, pp. 143-146.

2. Lire Brizay, François, "Voyager en Méditerranée aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles", in *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 121-3, 2014, p. 156.

3. Il convient de noter que non seulement les *Santas Casas* ont accueilli des voyageurs. Certains pèlerins se sont rendus dans des monastères, des maisons privées, des hôpitaux ou des auberges. À ce sujet lu Brizay, François, *Voyager en Méditerranée...*, pp. 150-153.

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5. Serrão, José Vicente, "A Agricultura"... pp. 155-161. Voir aussi Oliveira, Aurélio de, *Terra e trabalho. Senhorio e gentes no vale do Cávado durante o Antigo Regime*, Maia, Edições ISMAI; CEDTUR, 2017.

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10. Chacón Jimenez, F.; Hurtado Martinez, J.; Rodriguez Soler, M.; Sancho Alguazil, R.; Vimal Gomez, T., "Contribución A L'Historie de la Famillie dans les Pays de la Mediterranee occidentale 1750-1850", in *Annales de Démographie Historique*, n° 1, 1987, pp. 155-182.

11. Roberto López, J., "Peregrinos Jacobeos en Oviedo a Finales del Siglo XVIII", in *Cuadernos De Estudios Gallegos*, Tomo XXXIX, Fascículo 104, 1991, p. 143.

12. Sá, Isabel dos Guimarães, "O Trabalho", in Lains, Pedro; Silva, Álvaro Ferreira da (org.), *História Económica de*

Portugal, 1700-2000: O Século XVIII, vol. 1, Lisboa, ICS - Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2005, pp. 93-119. Lire aussi Pardal, Rute, *Práticas de caridade e assistência em Évora (1650-1750)*, Évora, Colibri/CIDHEUS, 2013, pp. 80-98.

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# The city and the “processions by the time”: The case of Misericórdia of Braga in XVII–XVIII centuries

## Introduction

Michel Foucault recalls the moments of happiness described by a German author in the year 1781, these being occupied by ceremonies, religious practices, pilgrimages, visits to the poor and sick, and calendar festivities.<sup>1</sup> This was how the European society in Early Modern Age divided its day-to-day into a traditional cyclical ritual calendar, depending on the seasons and with past reminiscences of other civilizations. This has been improving and adjusting to the cycles of the Catholic Church and the institution of the week, the day and the hour.<sup>2</sup>

After the Council of Trent (1545-1563), a reform of the Protestant Reformation took place in order to standardize liturgical practices, calling on the faithful to exalt maximum faith and piety.<sup>3</sup> Since its foundation, one of the main characteristics of Catholicism has been manifestations in public space with the exhibition of martyrs, miracles, demonstrations of sacrifice and processions, as well as a liturgical calendar composed of various celebrations such as Advent, Lent, *Corpus Christi* and Christmas. The feasts of the immense devotions to saints with their different vocations are also added. With the Counter-Reformation these rites were strengthened and efforts were redoubled with more elaborate decorations, the building of more lateral altars in the churches, and greater ostentation in the liturgical garments. The processions, pilgrimages and moments of veneration, with exacerbated sermons, beatifications and canonizations, accompanied by music and scenes that raised the grandeur of Baroque culture.

Other moments that made up the calendar, but not liturgical, were the profane festivities, with some of them based on a religious motive. Examples are the carnival, symbol of traditional folk culture,<sup>4</sup> which precedes Lent, or the feast of fools, a parody to the ecclesiastical rite. Peter Burke reports that some French clergymen in 1444 even defended the festival of the mad, claiming that this was a joke of an ancient custom, allowing once in a year that the innate folly would show itself.<sup>5</sup> Profane manifestations also complemented sometimes these cult moments with some merriment through dances, bullfights, dances, games, parades, illuminations and fireworks, as well as rites of pagan-Christian syncretism, traditional meaning of what is popular religiosity.

The history of mentalities<sup>6</sup> allowed to approach the party in its different perspectives, however their study thus formulated a problem in defining the concept of popular religiosity,<sup>7</sup> which can be interpreted as the "religion of the masses".<sup>8</sup> Because of its ambiguity, since popular beliefs and customs<sup>9</sup> are not exclusive to the people, having an existence independent of religious doctrine. Its development is due to the simple fact that man and the conceptions he constructs are not linear and to the collective

memory of the communities, which allows rites and traditions not to fade, as well as in the search for a response when the religion employed does not respond to personal difficulties and desires.

And so even with a strong institution like the Catholic Church and the growing fervor for Christian piety throughout the Early Modern Age, the popular religiosity strengthened, especially in public of festive events. Religious entities, by unconsciously demonstrating their power, but also sometimes as a means of restoring faith, favored a panorama with many elements present, leaving their comfort zone, as was the case of processions, making it possible to intercalate, in a fine line between the sacred and the profane.

The processions were the main demonstration of religious organizations in the city within, it was a ritual of power, which allowed distinguish hierarchies and maintain social order.<sup>10</sup> When carrying out some of these processional processions, it was necessary to clean and maintain the order in the streets, as they functioned as places of passage in the urban perimeter, which led to squares, markets, bridges and buildings of private and collective forum.<sup>11</sup> They were open public spaces, which par excellence hosted all kinds of rituals, from the most sacred to the most profane.<sup>12</sup> They were also the stage for large ceremonies,<sup>13</sup> religious festivals and events that marked the life of the individual, such as weddings and funerals. The itineraries of the processional processions were previously chosen and defined with rigor and with the objective of integrating some of the main churches of the city. Municipal and ecclesiastical authorities ordered them to prepare the roads, cleaning not only the ground or pavement,<sup>14</sup> but also the walls. The streets turned into a stage with a backdrop composed of balconies filled quilts and tapestries.<sup>15</sup>

It was at this festive worship scenario and religious experience that the Misericórdia of Braga celebrated some major festivities instituted by the religious calendar such as the days of Santa Isabel, All Saints, All Souls, Christmas and Lent. But also has shown interest in another festive ritual, the “processions by the time”, which established the symbiosis between the sacred practices handed down by the Catholic Church and the profane, giving rise to the popular religiosity.

## The “processions by the time” and its rituals

This practice of cult of penitential nature, did not have its own date, being held at community needs or a day of invocation of a particular saint. They were made in times of deprivation and misfortune such as droughts, wars, epidemics, famine, disease, the death of royal

figures or the high clergy,<sup>16</sup> but also to thank the divine goodness for listening to their entreaties. The realization of these was in the mutual interest of both the communities and religious institutions, which saw it as a means to further strengthen the devotions, through the intercession of Christ, the Virgin and the saints. However, this was not an exclusive practice of the Catholic religion.<sup>17</sup>

It has several designations as "ladainhas", "rogações" or "clamores". The word "ladainha" derives from the Latin word "litaneia" which means "pray" and so also could call "rogações".<sup>18</sup> The "ladairo" or "ladário", is also like designated these processions, that were made until the churches, sanctuaries and chapels. Similarly, there were penitential shrines to sanctuaries and hermitages, with trails to places withdrawn, mostly performed at night, which led to situations conducive to infractions and immorality. Added to this was a ritual with paid reminiscences, which led, in the early nineteenth century, some were prohibited by the Church.<sup>19</sup> José Leite de Vasconcelos differentiates "ladainha" of "clamor", saying the claims are the penitential processions where they sing the litanies, and the "clamor" expression used mainly in the area between Douro and Minho.<sup>20</sup>

In the city of Metz in France, more than any other procession, the rogation processions were the main time to address God in deprivation, attributing 47% of the processions made between 1403-1525 to meteorological conditions.<sup>21</sup> In Portugal this type of ritual happened, although many of these manifestations could have a different name. In Lisbon, for example, two processions such as Nossa Senhora da Saúde and the Ferrolho have been institutionalized because of the plague of 1569, after which follow others.<sup>22</sup>

As mentioned Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, these processions are one of the lesser-known rituals of the Misericórdia, referring to Aveiro, which during the seventeenth century made several processions by the lack or excess of rain, and the Azores, which organized these parades processional due to earthquakes.<sup>23</sup> In Caminha's Misericórdia, the same happened, becoming during the eighteenth century a routine custom in the confraternity. Recourse, not only, for natural causes, but also, in dangerous circumstances, as annexation of the Portuguese crown to Castile, in 1580.<sup>24</sup>

The first record of this ritual in the minutes of the Santa Casa of Braga takes place in 1617 to make the processions by the time, sending a warning to the Cathedral Chapter of Braga.<sup>25</sup> In the project of 1618-1625, the confraternity's statutes mentioned three courses,<sup>26</sup> which were to be followed during the three days in which these processions were being carried out, however, we do not know if these paths were maintained afterwards. The first procession would go to Nossa Senhora a Branca on the Souto street, returning by the street of São Marcos, to the street of São João, and after visiting the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, in



the Cathedral, he would retire to the Misericórdia. The second itinerary would take the street of São João to the convent of the Remédios, returning by the street of Anjo towards the college of S. Paulo,<sup>27</sup> following the street D. Gualdim Pais, collecting itself in the same form as the first. The last route went to the convent of the Salvador through the Campo dos Touros, following the Biscainhos street until the one of São Miguel-o-Anjo, returning by the street of Maximinos, entering through the main door of the Cathedral.

The Santa Casa has delegated that flags would be the same as paraded in Endoenças procession. Beneath the canopy was the walk with Christ crucified, who would be taken by four or six men “noble people worthy of such a place”.<sup>28</sup> The pallium was transported by order of the Board in 1630, by former clerks and *provedores*,<sup>29</sup> and the sacred wood also follow underneath this.<sup>30</sup>

In the Commitment of 1628, these processions are no longer described, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it continued to fulfill this ritual. In the year 1658, it was the third time that the Misericórdia performed the processions by the time to prevent disease, bad weather and, in return, to celebrate the “good success of our arms”,<sup>31</sup> since Portugal was in the period of the Restoration War (1640–1668), that is to say beyond the allusion to the disease, there was also a political dimension. Already in 1660, held on by a lack of water, cattle and the rye crops.<sup>32</sup>

Expenditure on these processions of penance and prayer included the sacristan who tinkled the bells, servants in attendance, frames, music, sermons, and firewood to wash the feet of the penitents who bore the image of Christ.<sup>33</sup> These data are scarce and only appeared to us until 1715, in the butler’s expense book.

The processions were held together with other confraternities and the Cathedral Chapter of Braga,<sup>34</sup> which carried out the processions in the morning, and the Misericórdia in the afternoon. However, the confraternity did not require of this ecclesiastical organ or of the archbishop any kind of permission, in these circumstances.<sup>35</sup>

The gathering of other religious institutions to reinvigorate and dignify these processions by the time was a practice that became ordinary. The Misericórdia, besides acting with the Cathedral Chapter of Braga, also did with the confraternities of Bom Jesus do Monte and Santa Maria Madalena da Falperra. The first one, in 1788, requested permission to bring his image in *via crucis* to the church of Santa Casa, and then accompany the confraternity to the church of S. Victor. In the following year, he asked permission to bring the image again, to implore the end of the rains.<sup>36</sup>

Nevertheless, the confraternity of Santa Maria Magdalena da Falperra will ask many times more to the Board to expose the image of its saint in the church of the Misericórdia. This one was constituted in 1635, previously already existed in the hill of the Falperra a chapel dedicated to the saint that archbishop D. Diogo de Sousa (1505–1532) ordered to do there works in the period of its

prelature. Later, in 1741, the confraternity ordered the construction of some houses, because it was a place of passage of pilgrims.<sup>37</sup> It was denoted that it was an institution dependent on the charity of other congeners, since its church was built with donations, such as D. Rodrigo de Moura Teles (1704–1728), who donated money during his tenure as archbishop.<sup>38</sup> Just as in 1737, they asked the Santa Casa a dress for the Santa Maria Madalena, also receiving alms in cash.<sup>39</sup>

The devotion to Santa Maria Madalena would have taken place in the Santa Casa, in 1700, during a mass, with music, which involved *atabales*, shawms and trumpet, more with chaplain mor and his assistants.<sup>40</sup> However, it was in 1745 that he asked Mercy to leave the image of Saint Magdalene for his church, worshiping his image.<sup>41</sup> In 1755, the brothers requested a procession with the saint and the image of Christ, due to the Lisbon<sup>42</sup> earthquake, because it served as the "lawyer of good weather".<sup>43</sup> For the same reason, the January 31, 1761, caused the collapse of houses. And so the Archbishop ordered the prayers to be made, and the procession at night with the images of Nossa Senhora da Torre, St. Francisco de Borja, Santo Lenho under the pallium and five priests to preach.<sup>44</sup>

In another procession on October 5, 1768, to stop the rain, besides the images of Santa Maria Magdalena and Bom Jesus do Monte, were also joined those of Senhor dos Passos, Senhora da Torre, Senhora da Piedade, and others that the confraternities took in their respective andores. Even in heavy showers, the procession left, women shouting through the streets, begging for divine mercy.<sup>45</sup> On the contrary, in 1775, the Archbishop D. Gaspar de Bragança (1758–1789), asked the canons of the Chapter, to make a thanksgiving procession, as a thank you by the rains.<sup>46</sup>

Until 1800, there were several petitions to bring the image just as in 1778,<sup>47</sup> to carry the image of Bom Jesus. In August of 1808, year in which the French took the city, many ceremonies were suspended, by the fear and terror imposed. Archbishop José da Costa Torres (1806–1813) interrupted the nocturnal penitential processions, and in these three days of prayer, everything was done without great apparatus. Inácio José Peixoto traced Braga in this period as "Waving of priests through the streets with swords, ribbons, cordoons and weapons and the deserted churches of priests! All restless and the clergy does not make a devout public procession by day!"<sup>48</sup>

Therefore, this scenario throughout the nineteenth century, the image of Santa Maria Madalena continued to be present in the Misericórdia church, being the month of August chosen for his coming, no reason related to the prayers by time.<sup>49</sup>

## Conclusions

The processions were a strong manifestation of religious character that adapted to the space and to the local people, allowing to cross diverse rituals. At the same time, all efforts, from the civil to the ecclesiastical and municipal entities, were concentrated on the same purpose, so that all elements and means were available for the procession to proceed in the best way.

Similarly, and inserted in this context the “processions by the time” were a representation of popular piety, being held at the most diverse needs. They provided not only a strong dynamic in the city of Braga, but also in the conviviality between the different entities, in particular, the ecclesiastical ones. As mentioned above, this is a type of event that occurred in different ways and for different purposes, so it is necessary to invest in the study on the subject for the Misericórdias.

## Notes

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2. Muir, Edward, *Ritual in early modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 55-57.
3. Muir, Edward, *Ritual in early modern Europe...*, pp. 204-205.
4. The party was a means of expression of popular culture where all social groups interacted, providing moments of equality with the use of disguises and props, as happened in Carnival. Burke, Peter, *La cultura popular en la Europa Moderna*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, S.A., 1996, pp. 63-64.
5. Burke, Peter, *La cultura popular...*, p. 287. To know more about the party of the madmen reVad Heers, Jacques, *Fêtes des fous et carnivals*, Paris, Fayard, 1983, pp. 172 - 190.
6. For Lucien Febvre to study only the economy did not explain the structures and evolution of a social group, giving a new title to *Annales* magazine. *Economics. Sociétés. Civilizations*. And he proposed a new strand of study, the “mentalities”. Duby, Georges, *A História Continua*, Porto, Edições Asa, 1992, pp. 77-83.
7. About the concept of popular religiosity and its demonstrations, consult Sánchez Lora, José Luis, “Religiosidad popular: un concepto equívoco”, in Serrano Martín, Eliseo (ed.), *Muerte, Religiosidad y Cultura Popular - Siglos XIII-XVIII*, Zaragoza, Institución “Fernando el Católico”, 1994, pp. 65-79.
8. Lima, José da Silva, “A Religiosidade popular”, in Azevedo, Carlos Moreira (dir.), *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, p. 109.
9. Folklorists, in their traditional view, reduce popular religion to only pagan, superstitious, and magical experiences. Vovelle, Michel, *Ideologias y mentalidades*, Barcelona, Editorial Ariel, 1985, pp. 123-124.
10. Bell, Catherine, *Ritual theory, ritual practice*, Nova Iorque, Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 195.
11. Laitinem, Riitta; Cohen, Thomas V., “Cultural history of early modern streets- an introduction”, in Laitinem, Riitta; Cohen, Thomas V. (ed.), *Cultural history of early modern European streets*, Leiden, Brill, 2009, pp. 1-10.
12. The carnival took place in the square where the market was located or on city streets. Muir, Edward, *Ritual in early modern Europe...*, p. 92.
13. In many cities of the Italic Peninsula, particularly in the sixteenth century, certain squares and streets had a definite appearance for the great public ceremonies. For example, Venice was well known for the enormous splendor of such ceremonies. Muir, Edward, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Nova Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1981, p. 60.
14. For example in the year 1752, in Ponte Lima, it was ordered that the path and sidewalk be repaired, for the procession of Ashes of the Third Order to pass. Barbosa, António Francisco Dantas, *Tempos de Festa em Ponte de Lima (Séculos XVII - XIX)*, Braga, Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade do Minho, 2013, tese de Doutoramento policopiada, p. 99. One of the main concerns of cleaning up the streets of the cities was the fact that not only people but also animals, such as pigs, geese or ducks, circulated. What contributed to the dirt of the streets were a public health problem, since it assumed large proportions. It should be noted that sometimes the levels of dirt were such that the priests could not attend to their services, nor the municipal entities attend their meetings. About this topic Rosen, George, *A history of public health*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2015, p. 22.
15. Araújo, Maria Marta Lobo de, “As manifestações de rua das Misericórdias portuguesas em contexto barroco”, in *Hispania Sacra*, LXII, 125, 2010, p. 106.
16. João Luís Jácome, in his memoirs, on January 18, 1789, stated that D. Gaspar de Bragança (1758-1789) was ill, and no cure was working. Asking, then, that if prayers and processions be made, to implore their improvements. Jácome, João Luís, *Memórias e diário íntimo de um fidalgo bracarense (1787-1810)*, Braga, Arquivo Distrital de Braga/ Universidade de Minho, 2013, p. 110.
17. Barriandos, Mariano, “Les variations climatiques dans la péninsule ibérique: l’indicateur des processions (XVIe-XIXe siècle)”, in *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine*, nº 57-3, 2010, p. 158.
18. Bluteau, Raphael, *Vocabulário Portuguez e Latino*, vol. 5, Coimbra, Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesus, 1728, p. 15.
19. João Francisco, “Oração e devoções” in Azevedo, Carlos Moreira (dir.), *História Religiosa de Portugal*, vol. 2, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 2000, p. 614.
20. Vasconcelos, José Leite de, *Etnotografia Portuguesa*, vol. IX, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2007, p. 403.
21. Litzenburger, Laurent, “Temps de fêtes, temps de prières: les pratiques culturelles liées au climat à Metz (vers 1400 - vers 1525)”, in *Annales de l’Est*, nº 1, 2014, p. 189.

## Notes

22. About the rituals of these two processions read up respectively Oliveira, João Carlos, “Os divertimentos”, in Serrão, Joel; Marques, A. H. de Oliveira (dir.), *Nova História de Portugal: Do Renascimento à crise dinástica*, vol. V, Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1998, p. 673. Gomes, Maria Eugénia Reis, *Contribuição para o estudo da festa em Lisboa no Antigo Regime*, in *Colecção Temas de Cultura Portuguesa*, nº8, Lisboa, Instituto Português de Ensino à Distância, 1985, p. 23.
23. Sá, Isabel dos Guimarães, *As Misericórdias Portuguesas de D. Manuel I a Pombal*, Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, 2001, p. 100.
24. Pinto, Sara, *Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Caminha – 500 anos*, Caminha, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Caminha, 2015, p. 28.
25. Arquivo Distrital de Braga (henceforth ADB), Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia, 2.º *Livro dos Termos*, 1598-1632, nº 4, fl. 113.
26. Manuela Milheiro called him roguish processions and says that his journeys surrounded the walls of the city. Milheiro, Maria Manuela de Campos, *Braga: A cidade e a festa no século XVIII*, Braga, Núcleo de Estudos de População e Sociedade, 2003, p. 314.
27. At that time there lived the Society of Jesus.
28. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livro dos Estatutos e assentos desta Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, 1618-1625, nº 1, fls. 18v.-18.
29. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia, 2.º *Livro dos Termos*, 1598-1632, nº 4, fl. 225.
30. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, 5.º *Livro dos Termos*, 1653-1661, nº 7, fl. 100. The Santo Lenho represented the sheltering of the body of Christ. When it was not exposed, it was kept in the tabernacle and could only be opened in the presence of all. Only three people had the key, these being the *provedor*, the clerk and the butler. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, 7.º *Livro dos Termos*, 1678-1694, nº 9, fls. 53-53v.
31. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, 5.º *Livro dos Termos*, 1653-1661, nº 7, fl. 100.
32. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, 5.º *Livro dos Termos*, 1653-1661, nº 7, fl. 146. The temples in December originally served to thank the divine intercession in wine and grain crops. Vaz, A. Luís, *Natal de Braga, Natal português: origens, história, significado*, Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1983, p. 42.
33. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Despesa dos Mordomos*, 1693-1717, nº 681, fl. 38v.
34. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia, 10.º *Livro dos Termos*, 1723-1734, nº 12, fl. 113.
35. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia, 10.º *Livro dos Termos*, 1723-1734, nº 12, fls. 114-114v.
36. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, 18.º *Livro dos Termos*, 1787-1791, nº 20, fls. 80v., 109.
37. *Estatutos da Irmandade de Santa Maria Madalena do Monte*, Braga, s.e., 1952, pp. 5-6.
38. *Estatutos da Irmandade de Santa Maria Madalena do Monte*, Braga, s.e., 1952, p. 6.
39. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Livro da Despeça do Tezoureiro da Santa Casa*, 1724-1756. nº 671, fls. 396, 487.
40. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, *Despesa dos Mordomos*, 1693-1717, nº 681, fls. 134v.-135.
41. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, 11.º *Livro dos Termos*, 1734-1746, nº 13, fl. 390v.
42. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, 15.º *Livro dos Termos*, 1751-1757, nº 15, fl. 192v. After this earthquake, King Joseph instituted the All Saints procession on the second Sunday of November in thanksgiving for the safeguarding of the royal family during this catastrophe. Milheiro, Maria Manuela de Campos, *Braga: A cidade e a festa no século XVIII...*, p. 317.
43. Peixoto, Inácio José, *Memórias Particulares de Inácio José Peixoto: Braga e Portugal na Europa...*, p. 53.
44. ADB, Fundo dos Manuscritos, *Livro Curioso*, nº 341, pp. 76-77.
45. ADB, Fundo dos Manuscritos, *Livro Curioso*, nº 341, pp. 178-179.
46. ADB, Fundo das Gavetas do Cabido, *Cartas do Arcebispo Dom Gaspar dos anos de 1575 té o de 1788*, tomo 13º, nº 174.
47. ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, 16.º *Livro dos Termos*, 1776-1780, nº18, fl.157
48. Peixoto, Inácio José, *Memórias Particulares de Inácio José Peixoto: Braga e Portugal na Europa...*, p. 282.
49. Castro, Maria de Fátima, *A Irmandade e Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga. Devoções, procissões e outras festividades (do século XVI e começos do século XX)*, Braga, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga e autora, 1998, p. 229.



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# Leisure, culture and sociabilities in the eighteen hundreds urban space

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In the nineteenth century, the north of Portugal continued to be a region marked by rurality, where work in the countryside left few moments of leisure to people whose livelihood depended on what the land gave. However, agricultural duties provided meetings and gatherings, which often were opportunities for some fun moments of relaxation and sociability. This was what happened at the time of sowing and harvesting, when more arms joined in the execution of the agricultural tasks.

The concept of sociability has been explored by European historiography, particularly by the French,<sup>1</sup> although it is not easy to define it by the complexity it contains.<sup>2</sup> Some consider it a characteristic of human beings and even of some animals, while others consider it to be something more superficial, close to conviviality. Within this analysis, we understand sociability as the result of the bond or the interaction of the individual with certain social groups, which generates behaviors and values.<sup>3</sup> It is a concept derived from the interaction of individuals, strengthened by the encounter and the sharing of interests/objectives, in certain times and spaces.<sup>4</sup> Hence there are different forms and places of sociability.

In the eighteenth century some changes arrive to the district of Viana do Castelo, a region of northern Portugal, which borders the Spanish province of Galicia to the north. In the second half of this century, some of its municipalities are served by train, the press generalizes, allowing novelty and progress to arrive more quickly and favor social changes. By this time, the local bourgeoisie was beginning to assert itself and trying to impose its values, norms and ways of acting. In urban areas, the cities headquarters, the social classes began to impose themselves in certain places, sometimes using indirect conditioning mechanisms to restrict access and frequency, which went through the payment of entrance or ticket jewelry or even by the right clothing to wear.

As Alain Corbin tells us, the nineteenth century is marked by the development of the concept of leisure. The enjoyment of idleness is related to the new context provided by the new century, the fruit of its innovations and transformations: on the one hand, the conquest of time and, on the other, the sharp separation between the workspace and leisure. However, the way in which leisure is lived depends on two factors: the time and the economic capacity of the beneficiary. With regard to time, we can highlight the reduction of working hours, which is achieved in the second half of the nineteenth century, in England, which will increase leisure time. However, we are faced with a new model of society, class society, and not all classes are equally amused. Gender also dictates differences: men and women choose different places and amusements.

Religious festivals continue to take place, but other forms of sociability emerge. There are transformations dictated by several factors: the transport revolution, which brings people together



and facilitates the circulation of ideas, people and goods; the increase of the free time, which leads to the appearance of the show industry, oriented to the amusement of the masses. Theater, cinema and opera arrive in the Alto Minho in the late nineteenth century. Some of these cultural manifestations begin by integrating the traditional festivities, of a religious nature, until they become autonomous and imposing themselves, which will allow them not only to gain a loyal audience, but also a space of their own. Then, the first theaters, cinematographs and other show houses appear.

Born in France in 1895, cinema quickly spread throughout Europe, not only in the big capitals, but also in the province and smaller lands. At the end of the nineteenth century, Minho populations were already watching cinematographic projections.<sup>5</sup> In 1914, in Arcos de Valdevez, the winter was animated by the cinema sessions, being shown movies like “From America to Europe in airship”, “Satanasso”, among others, in Teixeira Coelho Theater. In January 1915, the newspaper *Alvorada - órgão do Partido Republicano dos Arcos de Valdevez* informed that films would be shown on the events of World War I, which then plagued Europe.<sup>6</sup> In the early twentieth century, in Viana do Castelo, capital of the district, and the busiest urban center, the movie sessions took place at Teatro Sá de Miranda, founded in 1879.<sup>7</sup> In 1918, on Sunday, there were two sessions. There were tapes that had been successful in other parts of the country, such as the “White Pearl”, the “Mysterious Weapon”, or the “World is a Theater”. In the intervals opera pieces were sung. These were cultural activities aimed at the most literate groups in the Viana do Castelo’s society. This did not prevent the underprivileged from attending these events, under the patronage of local authorities, who in the context of charitable initiatives, which were advertised in local newspapers, took orphans and helpless old men to the cinema. In that year, the civil governor held a session dedicated to the institutionalized children of the *Asilos de Infância Desvalida e das Meninas Órfãs e Desamparadas* and to the old people who were in the Charity Hospital.<sup>8</sup> In Viana do Castelo, the cinematographic period ended with the arrival of summer, when the heat invited to meet in open spaces. But in Monção there were summer sessions, which in 1902 were run by Excelsior Company.<sup>9</sup>

Several theatrical companies traveled the country, taking the shows with greater success to smaller rooms. In the district of Viana do Castelo, because of its proximity to Spain, there were companies operating that were from the other side of the border. The press ends up showing the growing importance of the theater, both as a show house, where musical events, dances, *saraus*, cinematographic exhibitions took place, or as an art form of show that takes place throughout the nineteenth century. The theatrical events were publicized and criticized, the play itself, the audience, its affluence, its behavior, and even the garments were scrutinized. See, in this regard, the criticism published in the newspaper *O Noticioso* from Valença:

“Promoted by the proud sailors who, patriotically, have been here for months, there was an attractive show, last Sunday on our theater, the product of which was destined to the great national subscription for the acquisition of material for our navy. The program was as follows: the comedy in 1 act “Pantaleão e C<sup>a</sup>”, in which starred J. Costa, S. Araújo, F. Correia, and D. Santos; the “Pratilheiro”, cançoneta by Correia; “Did not love me”, monologue by Santos; “Little Luck”, cançoneta by Araújo; “Ah, eh, ih, oh, uh”, monologue by Costa; “Frascata de Malveira”, cançoneta by Dias, and “Amor duma tricana” by Costa and Peniche, and in the third act the comedy in 1 act, “Valentes e Medrosos”. As we are informed, the house was full. (...) this was assured to us by a competent person, which the esteemed and intelligent sailors went very well, being widely applauded, receiving from the public many ovations. The rehearsal lieutenant Mr. Leitão was victorious. The small theater was decorated to perfection, and the orchestra under the skilful regency of Mr. Luís José Gonçalves, and composed of several elements of this village was very greatly pleasing. Sincere congratulations to our guests and distinguished sailors, for the well-spent night that they provided for the public of Valença”.<sup>10</sup>

In fact, some theatrical shows were more elitist, especially those that were integral part of the soirées, but there were others more inclusive, destined to the whole public. This was mainly intended for benefit shows, which were intended to raise funds for a cause. These initiatives are becoming more and more common as the twentieth century approaches. Among the most aided associations were the Volunteer Firefighters and Mutual Relief Associations, which developed from the thirties of the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> The circus, as a traveling show, was also received with great enthusiasm by the people, and is usually promoted by a local association, often also, with the purpose of obtaining funds for a certain institution or cause. These were playful moments that included trapeze artists, gymnasts, clowns and equestrian exhibitions.

One of the aspects that varies according to the weight of bourgeois ideology has to do with the growing tendency for the privatization of public spaces and the preference for more modest forms of amusement. The bourgeois classes chose family meetings and programs, which demanded some appropriate economic power and clothing, and were therefore beyond the reach of the working classes, from which they wanted to demarcate themselves and at the same time control especially their party and leisure moments, that they associated with excessive consumption of alcohol, conflict and violence.

In fact, social groups amused themselves differently. Even in the thermal and bathing resorts, they did not frequent the same spaces and did not went there at the same time, although moralists

applauded the development of these practices among the popular classes, as it kept them away from taverns and promiscuous and amoral behavior.

Idleness is related to free time and the way in which time is consumed varies according to social groups, and the more affluent had more ostentatious leisure, although their forms of sociability can be divided into formal and informal. According to Maurice Agulhon, in the 1930s in France, the bourgeois social groups were promoting public and private spaces, which later happened in the Viana do Castelo district. In spite of the informality of some of this idleness, even that which took place at home, such as soirees, reunions or dances, was widely reported in the press. It was at home that social gatherings were organized, which assumed different typologies, according to the number of participants and the degree of formality:<sup>12</sup> the visits, which obeyed a calendar, an expression of urban female sociability; the *soirées*, informal reunions that took place at night; the assemblies, more numerous reunions; the dances, which, by their size, could take place in halls and required a greater formalism, etiquette and rigor in the garments. By its frequency in the pages of the newspapers, it is verified that *soirées* and dances would be the most common events. However, there were also meetings driven by local personalities. In the organized *raout*, in 1905, by General Luciano de Pego Almeida Cibrão and family, ladies and gentlemen talked through the night, accompanied by music.<sup>13</sup> At the end of summer and the closing of the most festive cycle, sociabilities tended to be confined to enclosed spaces and to acquire a more intimate and familiar character.

Leisure and recreation constituted important instruments of demonstration of power, recognition and social projection. The more private parties, including the rites of passage, were advertised, which allowed us to know how they were celebrated. In 1886, in connection with a double wedding, in Caminha, the celebrations of the wedding were described: the sung mass, the procession between the church and the house, the coloring of the flowers thrown from the balconies, the banquet and the distribution of the food to the poor who attended the event.<sup>14</sup> In the early twentieth century, in 1909, D. Aurora Raposa Gonçalves and Dr. Anselmo Ribeiro de Castro were married in the chapel of *Misericórdia*. In the local newspaper, the following was reported:

“All that is most distinguished in Valadares, as well as some of the principal families of Monção, surrounded the bride and groom, and at the end of the act they covered them with flowers”.

It was a wedding with 80 guests, celebrated in the palace of the parents of the bride, which had the performance of the band from Valadares, followed by a ball.

The *soirées* were held in a private space, usually frequented by relatives and close friends, and took place, especially when celebrating festive dates. They were associated with the art of well receive and were fundamental to maintaining a certain group cohesion by preserving a set of formalities. It was important to know who was invited and how it was presented, as well as how time was occupied: there was singing, dancing, representations, poems recited and they ate and drank with moderation and elegance.

The most private events and the moments of leisure that took place in the public space were published in the pages of the periodicals, deserving special attention the announcements of departure, stay and return from the bathing and thermal resorts. From the second half of the nineteenth century, people from the Alto Minho went more and more frequently to the bathing resorts, particularly to Vila Praia de Âncora and Moledo, both in the municipality of Caminha.<sup>15</sup> The arrival of the train benefited these localities, having contributed to their beaches to become more and more crowded. The increase in the influx of bathers has led to the construction of equipments such as billiards cafes, amusement halls, restaurants, casinos and hotels, as well as other modes of entertainment such as horse racing. By the end of the nineteenth century, the house rental business was already growing at both locations. In fact, the four months of the bathing season, from July to October, were considered fundamental for the commerce of the municipality of Caminha, especially in Vila Praia de Âncora, where the largest number of tourists was concentrated. In Moledo, the commercial and catering offer was more limited and subject to seasonality. In 1884, a theater was inaugurated, offering to the bathers one more distraction, to which the piano concerts joined and recitations of poems. The creation of spaces to play tennis and cricket, sports in vogue, including among the ladies, was another innovation. In Vila Praia de Âncora, there was also theater on the beach, which animated the summer nights in the late eighteenth hundreds, which, in addition to being used for the presentation of plays, was also used for dances, in which attended the bathers of this resort. In order to emphasize its importance, it was sought to refer the names of the most sounding families, like the Count of Margaride or the Count of Aurora. In September, there were still festivities in honor of Our Lady of Bonanza, brightened with fireworks, illuminations, singing and music bands. They were parties organized by the fishermen, being animated by the presence of the bathers and outsiders of the neighboring lands, especially of Caminha, Vila Nova de Cerveira, Valença and Viana do Castelo. The celebrations were also animated by festivities and regattas, in which they participated with motorboats and steamboats.

In spite of a latent conservatism in the region and the religiosity that was manifested through festivals, processions and pilgrimages, innovation will even reach religious festivities, introducing new

forms of entertainment in devotional manifestations, in addition to processions, preaching and religious services. In the nineteenth century, these celebrations were opportunities to organize quermesses and bazaars, listen to bands and music concerts and watch fireworks. However, religion is no longer the sole promoter of these events, since recreational associations, such as assemblies and societies, and institutions, such as Firefighters or Mutual Relief Associations, sought to promote cultural meetings and new forms of recreation, fruit of new ways of thinking the public space and social relations, demarcating the private from the public, as well as of the new social differences, having amusements associated to the different classes.

The movement to the beaches was motivated not only by the desire for rest and enjoyment of leisure time, but also for health reasons, especially to treat female and child diseases, making it imperative to create amusements suitable for males.<sup>16</sup>

But not all the Minho people were limited to the beaches of their region. Specially the wealthiest moved to more socially attractive beaches, known for their frequency, as was Espinho's case. The summer period ended in October, as rural workers could only go to the baths at the end of September or at the beginning of the following month, when the harvest season was over.

The *thermae* and spas began to be frequented in mid-June.<sup>17</sup> In the spas of Monção, which benefited from train and good roads, there were already hotels and houses to rent. The demand for these spaces was dictated by leisure and the need to treat certain diseases. In the twentieth century, the *Club das Termas* (Baths Club) was created, which was divided into two sections: the first one was aimed at guaranteeing members as many distractions as possible; the second aimed at the development of instruction. The club consisted of three classes of associates: the members, who were selected on the basis of their moral qualities and literary education, had to pay a fixed quota of fifty cents; the family members, who included the individuals without established social status, paid, annually, two *escudos*; and the annual ones, which were the associates that were not covered by the previous paragraphs.<sup>18</sup>

In Melgaço, the *thermae* were livelier from the beginning of summer. The hotels and the terraces were then transformed into spaces of sociability. Single girls sought to flirt tourists, although there was a great distance between the habits of the thermal tourists and the locals.<sup>19</sup> Tennis was the sport of choice and it was sought to occupy time with rally paper. With the arrival of the thermal season, the neighboring localities were also animated, mainly those that were served by the train. This was the case of Valença, where the *aquistas* went to Melgaço and also to Mondariz, in neighboring Galicia, which had a famous seaside resort, which was sought after by celebrities of the time. One of the distractions of the Valença people was precisely "to see the trains arrive".<sup>20</sup> Despite the fame

of Mondariz, Melgaço also already had hotel structures, which allowed to host a large number of thermal tourists. The Grande Hotel do Peso, which was the oldest, had capacity for 120 guests.<sup>21</sup>

In the border towns, the moments of sociability were shared by the inhabitants of both sides of the border. Many Galicians, in addition to attending the thermae of Monção and Melgaço, had fun at the festivals of the Alto Minho, entered as actors in theater plays, exhibited their talents of exquisite pipers in religious celebrations. On the other hand, many Portuguese also went to the festivities of Santiago de Compostela or of St. Bartholomew around Tui. They went on excursions to Galicia, made walks between Baiona and Tui and the wealthy went to the Mondariz thermae. The excursions, facilitated by the progress in transport, translate the taste for the trips, allowing the popular classes to know new places at more accessible prices.

The departures and arrivals of long trips, especially those joining the two sides of the Atlantic, were widely described in the newspapers. It was intended to welcome the illustrious countrymen, informing them of their arrival and the reasons for their stay, which included visits to family members, a trip through Europe, the treatment of a health problem or simply business.

In the wake of the importance that is being given to physical well-being and robustness, the practice of sport, which becomes part of the education of the younger generation, begins to be valued and associated with certain values that one wishes to convey, teamwork, respect for rules and principles. Among the various sports, football is beginning to stand out, played at festivals and fairs. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the first clubs were born to allow a national competition to take place. At the end of the century, football matches were very popular public spectacles, mainly sought after by the popular classes.

Regarding the Portuguese reality, despite the emergence of associativism and the emergence of various recreational and cultural associations, amusements did not abound, even in the capital. Football appears in the last decades of the nineteenth century, by British influence, and even at the end of this century, organizations linked to this sport are born.<sup>22</sup> Also the religious festivals began to be animated by equestrian competitions, swimming, regattas and bicycle competitions. On the beaches, tennis and cricket were played.

Associativism manifests itself through the emergence of associations, societies and assemblies, which were elitist in character, for the financial obligations they included, which went through the payment of a jewel of entry and of monthly quotas that were not available to all. They were, therefore, closed circles, promoters of specific forms of sociability, with a strong cultural component, but almost always reserved for members and their families. In some cases, they promoted recreational and entertainment shows,

accompanied by tea and small snacks, which could include dance, games, *soirées*, theatre plays and shows with illusionists and *transformistas*, music recitals and concerts of erudite music, exhibitions and even philanthropic activities. In 1918, the *Assembleia Vianense* of Viana do Castelo organized bridge tournaments.<sup>23</sup> The literary societies, in turn, aimed at promoting reading and education, but also promoted playful and recreational activities. These were also formal, closed associations formed by associates. In March 1887, the *Grémio Literário Caminhense* bought a piano, which was placed in their ballroom. The collectivity established that, from that date, a monthly meeting of families of the associates would take place and that, at the time, the ladies would offer tea to the members. In fact, from that date, the piano started to brighten the parties and the dances of the association. In Valença, there was the *Núcleo Valenciano da Liga pela instrução*, which began to hold the Feast of the Tree in 1908. The feast program included the planting of a tree, music, fireworks and speeches by local personalities linked to teaching.

These cultural and recreational associations will develop in nineteenth century Europe and Portugal will be no exception. If in the first stage they are the result of an aristocratic or bourgeois impulse, they will open up to other social groups, especially as they expand and enter smaller urban environments. Music, theater, sport or the defense of certain causes will lead members of society to volunteer in promoting their defense and dissemination.

These associations also promoted wider events. The *Assembleia Valenciana*, from the town of Valença, celebrated Carnival with *soirées*, in which “ladies and gentlemen” of the city of Tui participated, which, by the rules of dressing and by established social networks, were reserved for an elite. It is worth mentioning the participation of women in these social events and the prominence that was given to their clothing, and one more opportunity for their names to be mentioned in the press.<sup>24</sup> About the Carnival of 1905, the newspapers praised the elegance of the ladies, the refinement of the banquet organized by a patisserie in the city of Oporto, and the joy of the masqueraders who had fun in the night. For the less affluent, the Carnival was celebrated at the *Teatro Valenciano*, organized by the *Associação Valenciana de Socorros Mútuos*, with many masked people and a great ball. Those who could not pay for a party celebrated the date on the street. At the time, passers-by were smudged, oranges and eggs were thrown. There was, therefore, a clear spatial demarcation of idleness, dictated by the social condition and economic power, which, although not instituted, took root from the nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> The local press referred to the fact that some locals wanted to go to Oporto, where great Carnival festivities took place, which were advertised in the pages of the newspapers.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to opportunities for socializing and cultural activities, some associations dedicated themselves to other leisure and sports activities, organizing competitions and contests.

The *Sport Club Vianense* for example, organized horse races. The *Club Valenciano* did lead shooting tournaments in 1907.<sup>27</sup> In turn, the Taurino Club organized tauromachic spectacles, like bullfights and *garraíadas* that happened during the celebrations in honor of Our Lady of Agony.

In Portugal, the festivities and moments of conviviality were undergoing a process of transformation, as the bourgeoisie joined these celebrations, more visible in urban centers, imposing new values and other forms of participation.<sup>28</sup>

Since the eighteenth century, a sense of rejection towards carnival festivals, rites and practices associated with festivals and other rituals based on violence and suffering inflicted on human beings and animals has developed in Europe, culminating this tendency in the extinction of many of these playful moments. As a consequence, the festivals were also refined and the end of some of its most grotesque and popularized manifestations was demanded. An example of this attempt to “civilize” amusements was the ban on bullfighting in Portugal, still in the first half of the century of the eighteenth hundreds. In 1836, the administrator of the municipality of Ponte de Lima received a letter from the general administrator of the district of Viana do Castelo, informing him of the prohibition by royal decree of bullfights, considered as a “barbaric and improper fun of civilized nations”.<sup>29</sup> “In this diploma, dated September 19, 1836, it was considered that bullfights, by their brutal nature, were an instigator of aggressive and criminal behavior, and therefore an obstacle “to the moral improvement of the Portuguese Nation”.<sup>30</sup> However, its validity was of short duration, being revoked in June of 1837. Bullfight was introduced in some festivities, as was the case of the pilgrimage of Our Lady of Agony, in Viana do Castelo, in 1869, being the seventies decade a period of development of tauromachic art.<sup>31</sup> Alongside this reality, we are watching what Norbert Elias calls the refinement of aggressiveness, which has the effect of rationalizing emotions.<sup>32</sup>

The *quermesses* are part of the set of initiatives, of elitist character, promoted in the context of major religious events. In June of 1895, a *quermesse* was organized, whose revenues were in favor of the Portuguese Red Cross. Its selective character was evident in the participants and organizers of these charity parties, as well as in the amusements, to the bourgeois taste, which included fireworks, music bands and illuminations of the gardens. It is important to note that the *quermesses* did not fail to constitute a traditional assistance mechanism, of aid to the needy, the old, the child or the displaced, and not a response based on prevention or on the causes that are the origin of social problems.<sup>33</sup> However, innovation was sometimes centered on recipients of revenue, which attests to new social concerns, for example in the field of education. In October 1911, in Viana do Castelo, a *quermesse* was organized to provide books



and clothing to the poor children in order to properly equip them to attend school in the new school year that was about to start.

*Quermesses*, fairs, pic-nics, performances of bands of music took place in the public gardens. These are spaces that begin to appear in many localities, as a result of the revalorization of the countryside and nature, with a view to its modernization and its embellishment. The city should create public parks that allow rest, walking and family sociability and intergenerational. Trees are planted and several tree-lined areas begin to form part of urban landscapes. Public walks are born, which represent a new paradigm that, in Portugal, will be imposed from the second half of the nineteenth century. These are very frequented spaces, day and night, that offer to the visitors illuminations, concerts, fireworks, dances and spectacles, *quermesses* and other charity parties.

The public garden is one of the consequences of the impacts of the Industrial Revolution, a response to the social and hygienist concerns that emerge from this movement, appearing as an element to appease and mitigate the harmful effects of industry. An escape to a daily life suffered in uncomfortable and unsanitary dwellings and in factories with unbreathable environments. On the other hand, the valorization of gardens and public parks was also the assertion of the bourgeoisie and its values and the deposition of aristocratic values, leading to the generalization of goods and habits so far confined to a minority. In these gardens, and those associated with them, there is also a series of equipments: cafes, kiosks, cabins, parks for children. In August 1909, the festival in honor of the Virgin of Faro was celebrated in the garden of Valença.<sup>34</sup> In the place, pavilions were built, destined to bazaars and to the buffet; in the bandstand, bands played music and later there was a firework session.<sup>35</sup> It is important to point out once again the presence of the religious, but tinted by profane events, which continue to appeal to the senses, in a clear sign of escape from daily life, enhanced by the light of fireworks and illuminations, by the sound of music bands, the detonation of mortars and the smell of party sweets and refreshments, which is becoming the apanage of religious celebration.<sup>36</sup>

An example of this osmosis between innovation and tradition was evident in the Festivities of the Agony, in Viana do Castelo, in which, besides *gigantones* and *cabeçudos*, from the richly dressed farmer's wife, fairs of cattle and bullfighting, fireworks, the lighting competitions, the animation of the bands and the *Zés Pereiras*, there were also, at the end of the nineteenth century, swimming tournaments and international cycling races. The party moves to the garden and to the public promenade, where some of these events took place. In these festivities, it was tried to satisfy the different social groups and age groups, which required more diversification of entertainments.

In the eighteen hundreds and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Alto Minho continues to be marked by a strong

religiosity, which is manifested in the existence of a large number of churches and chapels, as well as devotional confraternities, despite the difficult moments some of them had to face.<sup>37</sup> The religious festivals were not limited to enclosed spaces, but extended through the streets and squares, through processions, which allowed the meeting of different social groups. Alongside these were the fairs and cattle competitions, as happened at the feasts in honor of the Holy Spirit of Paredes de Coura.<sup>38</sup> Above all, the profane component was an attraction, not only for people from more or less distant lands, but also for many Spanish neighbors.<sup>39</sup>

The profane was evident in the different celebrations of the liturgical calendar, through the *arraial*. Of all the religious celebrations, should be emphasized, for its greatness, the celebrations of the Body of God. In Monção, the eve of the celebration was filled with an *arraial* with music, fireworks and balloons.<sup>40</sup> In the description of the religious festival, the columnist of the newspaper jornal *O Independente. Jornal Semanal, Político e Noticioso – órgão dos interesses locais* made reference to the distinguished personalities who were present: the members of the city council, judicial authorities and public officials.<sup>41</sup> However, the different social groups mingled at the end of the religious celebration, after which the profane returned through the “*pandega da Coca with S. Jorge*”. The newspaper also alluded to the added effect of the festivity, given the large influx of foreigners from neighboring lands, which filled the taverns.

The excesses were associated with the popular pilgrimage and the consumption of alcohol caused some disturbances in the public order.<sup>42</sup> In fact, festivities were sometimes an opportunity for adjustments to old accounts. The festive atmosphere, coupled with the excesses of wine consumption, gambling, or unresolved loves, led to some pilgrimages ending up in spectacles of beatings.

In this way, the Catholic Church is linked to the construction of an identity and a collective memory through more formal rituals, to which was added the informality of the profane party. This institution was also associated with profane celebrations, in which it sought to include the religious element. See the case of mutual associations. For example, the *Associação Valenciana de Socorros Mútuos* organized with great pomp the feast in honor of Our Lady of Lapa, its patron saint. There was a mass and sermon in the chapel embellished for the purpose. It was also the case in births, visits, weddings and royal deaths. In spite of the increasing desacralization of the public space, the influence of the Catholic Church in the district of Viana do Castelo was great.

The royal visits constituted authentic symbols of temporal power, of their ability to interrupt daily life, uniting the secular and the religious.<sup>43</sup> There was a mutation of urban space, which showed the effort of the entire population and the integrative force of temporal power. Pavilions were erected, works were done,

the streets were cleaned and decorated, triumphal arches were erected, the balconies decorated with bedspreads and flowers, and the most important squares and gardens were illuminated. They organized processions, corteges, visits where the people and the elites were present. The religious element was present through the masses and processions, as well as in the banquets, in which the privileged participated, with the possibility of depriving with the representatives of the monarchy. On September 20, 1887, the royal family visited Viana do Castelo. Several political and social associations were involved in the preparation of the visit. The celebrations were promoted by the Commercial Association of the city and by several commissions, committed to inaugurate the improvements made in the local port and port bar. The train station and the streets were decked out, a pavilion and a *chalet* were built where a lunch would be served. In the autumn of 1908, the city received King D. Manuel II. The popular ones got together to receive him at the train station, military, music bands welcomed the monarch, who, in a procession, went to the church of São Domingo, where a *Te Deum* took place. The city adorned itself with triumphal arches, the bandstands were decorated, the farmer's wives dressed up and the children were rehearsed for the occasion. If the people went down the street, the ladies stood by the window, beckoning to the monarch. After visiting the Town Hall, the king visited the care centers, strolled through Santa Luzia and finished the day at a dinner organized by the Assembleia Vianense. Practically the entire Alto Minho society was involved in the event, albeit in a differentiated way. In a period of great political instability, the newspapers sought to strengthen the region's support for the monarchist institution.<sup>44</sup>

The royal visits are demonstrative of the organizational capacity of the city, but the activities that took place there revealed the social differentiation that was found in it. The processions were an example of this, with the most crowded events, as well as other manifestations, which, by the places they were associated with and the formal requirements, were instruments of social differentiation. In this way, the city that aggregates the people is the same that distinguishes them, referring the sociabilities, proper of each social group, to a certain space. This reality, present in other festivities, as the Carnival, which we have already mentioned, is evident in the royal visits. In fact, the profane parties had a strong legitimizing purpose of the different forces of civil and military power, allowing the exteriorization of the power of the local authorities that paraded through the city.

Increasingly, social groups will seek amusements out of doors, driving the private space back to the public, where forms of sociability multiply. On the other hand, the greater intolerance towards violence is also going to be felt in the way the people enjoy themselves. We can also consider that sporting spectacles become

a substitute for rituals marked by cruelty, especially for animals, being exchanged, albeit not totally, for sports such as football and boxing. The Church will also try to control more aggressive behaviors, such as the carnival, by looking at them as blasphemy.

As we approach contemporaneity, there is a decrease in the number of festivities that marked the calendars throughout Europe, as well as the number of rituals and violent practices that characterized these celebrations, generally tolerated by the authorities and even considered as normal, involving both people and animals.<sup>45</sup>

In this way, in the eighteenth hundreds, European popular culture continues to be marked by the celebration: in family, celebrating the rituals of passage; in community, celebrating the patron saint of the village; in annual celebrations foreseen in the catholic calendar (Christmas, the Easter, Popular Saints). Christmas was celebrated in family, but also in the street; followed by the carnivalesque parades and the Lenten cycle, with Holy Week being a period of celebration in and outside the temples through the processions. The summer was filled with feasts and pilgrimages, which ended only with Saint Michael in September, some dedicated to the popular saints and patron saints, and others, profane, associated with the summer solstice.

The party meant a break in a daily life characterized by hard work; it was an opportunity to stop frugality and eat and drink the best there was, sometimes too much; was a pretext to dress the best clothes, for the women to display their most valuable gold pieces and even to clean the houses. In short, even in this century, despite the tendency towards the laicization of society, time was still counted with reference to the great annual festivals.

The major changes occur in the introduction of new elements that make up the festive atmosphere and the emergence or generalization of modern forms of entertainment that reflect the new values and practices of class society of the nineteenth century, in an environment where rurality still prevails, but the bourgeois customs are penetrating, although gradually.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, there is also a growing demarcation between work and leisure and idleness, in the bourgeois classes of the Alto Minho, with times and spaces that tend to be more defined and differentiated. This will lead to a more evident approximation between individuals of the same social group, albeit geographically distant, and the remoteness of those who are socially different, though spatially close. The district of Viana do Castelo thus reveals itself as a region where tradition and innovation are combined through associativism (confraternities and associations), festivities (religious and profane) and sociabilities (formal and informal) provided by them.

## Notes

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3. About this theme read Roque, João Lourenço, “Coimbra de meados do século XIX a inícios do século XX. Imagens da Sociabilidade urbana”, in *Revista de História das ideias*, vol. 12, 1999, pp. 301–302.
4. About this concept read Jordi Canal, “Maurice Agulhon e a categoria sociabilidade”, in *Ler História* [Online], 68 / 2015, posted on March 18, 2016, consulted on June 09, 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/lerhistoria/1780>; DOI : 10.4000/lerhistoria.1780
5. Moraes, Juliana de Mello, “A recepção do cinematografo no Norte de Portugal: algumas hipóteses de investigação”, in Lopes, Frederico, *Cinema em Português. IV Jornadas*, Livros LabCom, 2012, pp. 57–66.
6. *Alvorada – órgão do Partido Republicano dos Arcos de Valdevez*, nº 28, January 17, 1915.
7. On the sociabilities of the people of Viana do Castelo read Loureiro, José Carlos de Magalhães, “Espaço e tempo na sociabilidade religiosa urbana. Viana do Castelo na segunda metade do século XIX”, in *Cadernos Vianenses*, Tomo 29, Viana do Castelo, Câmara Municipal de Viana do Castelo, 2001, pp. 71–113.
8. *Gazeta do Lima – Órgão do integralismo Lusitano no Alto Minho*, nº 11, May 23, 1918.
9. *O Regional*, nº 72, August 1, 1902.
10. *O Noticioso*, Nº 2:978, Outubro 17, 1911.
11. About this read Roque, Joao Lourenço, “Coimbra de meados do século XIX a inícios do século XX. Imagens da Sociabilidade urbana”..., pp. 326–327.
12. Cascão, Rui, “Em casa: o quotidiano familiar”, in Vaquinhas, Irene (coord.), *História da vida privada em Portugal. A época contemporânea*, s/1, Círculo de Leitores, 2011, pp. 244–245.
13. *O Noticioso*, nº 2:693, October 13, 1905.
14. On marriage between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries read Lopes, Maria Antónia, “As grandes datas da existência: momentos privados e rituais públicos”, in Vaquinhas, Irene (Coord.), *História da Vida Privada. A época contemporânea*, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 2011, pp. 152–193.
15. On this the beach of Vila Praia de Âncora read Ortigão, Ramalho, *As praias de Portugal. Guia do banhista e do viajante*, Porto, Livraria Universal, 1876, p. 111.
16. About this issue read Esteves, Alexandra, “As praias do Norte de Portugal entre os finais do século XIX e o século XXI”, in Ramos Melero, Rodolfo; Mollevi Bortolov (eds.), *Los Retos del Turismo: Lecturas, reflexiones y estudios de casos*, Madrid, Delta Publicaciones, 2018, pp. 127–138. Esteves, Alexandra, “Praias, Termas e Caldas do Norte de Portugal no século XIX: espaços de cura e de lazer”, in Folguera, Pilar; Pereira, Juan Carlos; García, Carmen; Izquierdo; Pallol, Rubén; Sánchez, Raquel; Sanz, Carlos (eds.), *Pensar com la Historia desde el siglo XXI. Actas XII Congreso de la Asociación de História Contemporânea*, Madrid, Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2015, pp. 279–298. Almeida, Eduardo Paulino Torres e, *Hydrotherapia suas indicações no tratamento das nevroses*, Porto, Typographia Occidental, 1885. Bicho, Francisco Laranja de Castro, *Organização dos Serviços Sanitários em Portugal*, Porto, Tip. da Empresa d’ “O Progresso”, 1926. Cantista, António Pedro Pinto, “O termalismo em Portugal”, in *Anales de Hidrologia Médica*, vol. 3, 2008–2010, p. 84. Duarte, José A., *Hidrologia Médica. Generalidades sobre Águas Thermaes*, Porto, Typographia de Pereira e Cunha, 1891. Fernandes, Alfredo, *Estancia hidro-mineral das Taipas*, Porto, Typ. Da Encyclopedia Portuguesa, 1912. Freitas, Antonio Ignácio Pereira de, *Das águas mineraes em geral e da sua aplicação em particular ao tratamento das moléstias cirúrgicas*, Porto, Typographia do Commercio do Porto, 1866. Júnior, A. F. Silva, *Estudo sobre os efeitos physiologicos e therapeuticos dos banhos do mar frios*, Porto, Typographia de Manoel José Pereiram 1874.
17. Esteves, Alexandra, “Lugares de cura e de lazer: praias, termas e caldas no Norte de Portugal, entre os finais do século XIX e o dealbar de novecentos”, in Araújo, Maria Marta Lobo de; Esteves, Alexandra; Coelho, José Abílio; Silva, Ricardo (Coords.), *Sociabilidades na vida e na morte*. (séculos XVI–XX), Braga, CITCEM/FCT, 2014, pp. 295–315.
18. Historical Archive of Governo Civil de Viana do Castelo (henceforth HAGCVC), Concelho de Monção. *Estatutos do Club das Termas*, 1922.
19. *O Noticioso*, nº 2:674, June 3, 1905.
20. *O Noticioso*, nº 2:674, June 3, 1905.
21. In the pages of the periodicals the guests of the Great Hotel of Peso were mentioned: “Here is the list of the thermal residents that are staying at the Grande Hotel of Peso: José Maria Pereira;

D. Teresa Maria da Costa Cosme; D. Maria Gentil da Costa Cosme; Hermínio Soares and lady; Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos; José Alves Carneiro, lady and girls; Padre Manuel Nogueira da Conceição; Jacinto Dias Carneiro; Elias de Andrades Vilares; D. Julia de Andrades Vilares; D. Candida de Andrades Vilares; António Gonçalves da Cunha Tabora maestro of the band of the town hall, Lisboa; Simão José Carneiro, lady and girl; Ezequiel da Silva Guimarães and lady; Paulino de Melo and lady; D. Maria Alina V. Amarante; Manuel Joaquim da Silva Braga; Joaquim Mário de Sá; D. Teotónio Ribeiro Vieira de Castro, bishop of Melipor; Francisco de Paula Ribeiro Vieira de Castro; Padre Manuel Luís Cabral, secretary of the bishop; D. Maria Isabel Monteiro da Silva; dr. Manuel Cerqueira Machado; João de Castro, lady and girl. There are many rooms ordered for different families, mainly from Lisbon". *O Noticioso*, nº 2:677, June 24, 1905. On the development of these structures read Santos, Miguel Dias, "A evolução do alojamento nos primórdios do Turismo em Portugal: Discursos e Realizações (1800–1906)", in *Revista Rosa dos Ventos – Turismo e Hospitalidade*, 9 (IV), 2017, pp. 506–520. Cunha, Licínio, "Desenvolvimento do Turismo em Portugal: os primórdios", in *Fluxos e riscos*, nº 1, s. d., pp. 127–149.

22. See Nunes, Ana Bela, Valério, Nuno, *Contribuição para a História do Futebol em Portugal*, Lisboa, ISEG, 1996.

23. About the *Assembleia Vianense* read Arriscado, José Augusto, "Sociabilidade burguesa em Viana do Castelo na segunda metade do século XIX: a assembleia vianense", in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*. Porto, III Série, vol. 6, 2005, pp. 271–289.

24. See, about the Carnival of Valença, in 1908, the published article in the *Noticioso*: Let us try to give a list of the names of our kind patricians and guests who deigned to attend and also of the garments with which they presented themselves that for their simplicity and fine taste, caught our attention, reminding us to have seen, among others, the most excellent ladies: D. Narcisa de Oliveira ribeiro, in black; D. Augusta Lima in black, D. Teodolinda Brito in gray, D. Ascensão Sobral black and white blouse, D. Antonia Falcão blouse of pale colors, D. Amália Correia in white, D. Alice M. da Costa in brown and D. Ernestina Fragozo in gray. D. Isaura de Oliveira Lima very gentle in its green sea garment with cream

lace, D. Maria José de Oliveira elegant white silk with silk embroidery, D. Maria Vicencia Falcão, intricate blouse with white embroidery, D. Antonia Falcão in pale blue, D. Antonia Julia Leite Ribeiro de Magalhães, white blouse of valenciennes, D. Sara Sobral in white, D. Maria da Agonia Seixas, white blouse, Dona Maria Isabel Seixas and Dona Carolina Eulalia Seixas, white blouses with red *bretelles*, D. Maria José Lobo, in black, D. Carolina Brito, white blouse, D. Maria de A. Almeida, in pale blue with black embroidery, D. Joaquina Cruz, in white, D. Carolina Augusta Lima in pale blue, D. Julia and D. Berta Fernandes, in white with Valencian *entremeios* D. Julia Passos in rose color, D. Julieta Fernandes in red, D. Mercedes Soares and sister, in white, D. Adriana Gomes in rose, D. Briolanja Fragozo in dark blue. *O Noticioso*, n. 2:808, January 30, 1906.

25. *O Noticioso*, n 2:662, March 10, 1905.

26. *O Noticioso*, n 2:662, March 10, 1905. About how the royal family celebrated the Carnival read Pereira, Ana Cristina; Troni, Joana, *A vida privado dos Bragança*, Lisboa, Esfera dos Livros, 2011, pp. 250–251. Sobre o entrudo leia-se Crichlow, Michaeline (ed.), *Carnival Art, Culture and Politics: Performing Arts*, New York, Routledge, 2012.

27. *O Noticioso*, nº 2:784, August 29, 1907.

28. Read Muir, Edward, *Fiesta y Rito en la Europa Moderna*, Madrid, Editorial Complutense, 2001, pp. 169–173.

29. Municipal Archive of Arquivo Municipal de Ponte de Lima, (henceforth MAPL), *CMPL-8839 MAÇO II*, unpaged.

30. *Collecção de Leis e outros documentos oficiais publicados desde 10 de Setembro até 31 e Dezembro de 1836*, Sexta Série, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1837, p. 11.

31. About the festivities of Our Lady of Agony Martins, Moisés; Gonçalves, Albertino; Pires, Helena, *A Romaria de Nossa Senhora da Agonia. Vida e Memória da cidade de Viana*, Viana do Castelo, Grupo Desportivo e Cultural dos Trabalhadores dos Estaleiros Navais de Viana do Castelo, 2000. Sobre as touradas em Portugal consulte-se Cascão, Rui, "Vida Quotidiana e Sociabilidade", in Mattoso, José (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vol. V..., pp. 539–540.

32. Check Elias, Norbert, *O Processo Civilizador: Uma História dos Costumes*, volume I, Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar Ed., 1994, pp. 189–202.

33. About the *quermesses* read Vaquinhas, Irene, "Quermesses como uma forma específica de sociabilidade

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no século XIX. O caso da “Quermesse da Tapada da Ajuda” em 1884”, in *Biblos*, vol. LXXII, 1996, pp. 273–291.

34. *O Noticioso*, n 2:883, August 19, 1909.

35. About firework read Correia,

Ana Paula Rebelo, “Fogos-de-artifício e artificios de fogo nos séculos XVII e XVIII: a mais efêmera das artes efêmeras”, in *Arte efêmera em Portugal*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2001, pp. 101–138.

36. Lima, José, “A festa da aldeia e os sentidos. O caso do Alto Minho”, in *A Festa da Aldeia. Património Festivo Europeu*, Braga, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais, 2007.

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38. *A Plebe – Hebdomadário Republicano Independente*. Sobre as feiras do Alto Minho veja-se Capela, José Viriato, “Feiras e mercados”, in Capela, José Viriato (coord.), *As Freguesias do Distrito de Viana do Castelo nas Memórias Paroquiais de 1758. Alto Minho: Memória, História e Património*, Braga, Casa Museu de Monção, Universidade do Minho, 2005, pp. 617–622. Capela, José Viriato, “Feiras e a actividade mercantil”, in Capela, José Viriato (coord.), *Monção nas Memórias Paroquiais de 1758*, Braga, Casa Museu de Monção, Universidade do Minho, 2003, pp. 73–80. Escaleira, José; Loureiro, José Carlos, *Feiras e mercados de Viana. Cem anos de trocas, memórias e afectos*, Viana do Castelo, Grupo Desportivo e Cultural dos trabalhadores dos estaleiros navais de Viana do Castelo, 2001.

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# Representations of women, marriage, and conjugal life in two 16<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese avant-garde authors: João de Barros and Rui Gonçalves\*\*

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## Introduction

In mid-sixteenth century, two Portuguese jurists argued for equality of capabilities between the two sexes and strove for a change in the discourse on women and for greater equity between women and men. The first, João de Barros (not to be confused with his contemporary and namesake, João de Barros, the intellectual), published the book *Espelho de casados* (A mirror of married people) in 1540, in Porto, refuting the detractors of marriage and women, and praising married life. Seventeen years later, in Lisbon, Rui Gonçalves published *Dos privilégios e prerrogativas que o género feminino tem* (On the privileges and prerogatives of the female sex). After arguing that women are equal or superior to men, he systematises from the abundant legislation in force all situations that could, in any way, protect women.

In this chapter, I will try to highlight the innovative contributions of these authors and what their work reveals about the prevailing images and practices of their time.<sup>1</sup>

## Woman: 16<sup>th</sup> century conceptions

In order to understand the most relevant aspects of the two books under analysis, one needs to be familiar with the context of both authors as regards marriage conceptions and practices, legal norms in force, and prevailing stereotypes or representations of women. Or, better said, “the woman”, in the singular, as was usually said and written, for women were assumed to share the same innate essence. However, discourses also become lived reality (rather than just imagined reality), even when they construct images removed from concrete reality, for the reason that they mould people’s behaviour. And behaviours may force a change in mental representations. The ways in which these dialectical relations between what is thought and what is actually lived<sup>2</sup> in specific places, times, and social groups work is a much harder research topic than that of the analysis carried out in this chapter. From Antiquity, the discourse of theologians, physicists, and legal experts described female human beings as inferior, trapped in the *imbecillitas* of their corrupted nature.<sup>3</sup> The growing derogation of women in western culture was a result of the combined action of the three types of intellectuals mentioned above. Based on the myth of the primal sin and the fall from Paradise with Eve being blamed for it, it was concluded that women had an evil nature and were responsible for human suffering. The patristic texts that demonised women and sexuality, disseminated a deep contempt for women, whose capacities were deemed inferior to men’s. All these fathers of the Church were still being quoted in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (and they would

continue to be so into the 20<sup>th</sup> century). João de Barros and Rui Gonçalves, like all intellectuals of the period, were well acquainted with such much-repeated assertions.

As concerns medicine, the medical knowledge of Antiquity continued to pontify during the Middle and Modern Ages. According to Aristotelian and Galenic thought, all that is hot and dry is superior to what is cold and wet (the frail, sick part) since heat and dryness promote the use of the mind, of reason, strength, creativity, and honesty, while cold and wetness generate lowness, unbridled desire, irrationality, etc. The male body was considered to be hot and dry while the female body was regarded as cold and wet. This medical axiom, which remained unchallenged for a long time, is also to be found in *A mirror of married people*. As regards gestation, Aristotle claimed that women were mere incubators and men were the genuine reproducers, a belief still shared by Thomas Aquinas as late as the 13<sup>th</sup> century. As distinct, superior beings, men could only generate men, although accidental circumstances pertaining to the female matrix in specific, particularly cold and wet conditions caused the semen to degenerate, producing females. Accordingly, all women were maimed, deformed, imperfect males. As for Hippocrates and Galen, who believed that women were a copy of men, having exactly the same organs though in a less perfect state, they believed that there existed both male and female semen, the latter being of a weaker kind, although it determined the child's sex. In the Middle Ages, although Aristotelian medical theories prevailed, Galen becomes increasingly important. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century, authors had concluded that resorting to permanent depreciation and insult would hardly contribute towards leading women to becoming good Christians. And thus, new texts gradually emerged discussing the good qualities that women also possess or can develop, which necessarily gave rise to opposing arguments. The *querelle des femmes*, which was of course far more than a mere literary dispute, is then born to last a number of centuries.<sup>4</sup> Still very much alive in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it seemed to be a key concern for many in that age.<sup>5</sup> It indeed rekindled, has had happened before, in the Renaissance. Obviously, this was not a random phenomenon: in those times, where so many vital transformations aimed at enhancing human dignity occurred, women were, generally speaking, not considered. Hence the title of Joan Kelly-Gadol's classic "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" (1977). In many respects, they did not, in the same way as they did not derive any gains either from the many achievements of the Enlightenment or from the rights of citizenship guaranteed by the liberal revolutions. That is the reason why traditional historiographical periodization does not really have much to do with the actual situation of women's lives. In those periods of civilizational advances for men (or, to put it more accurately, for men who belonged to some minority segments), what actually happened to the women who

belonged to the social groups participating and benefitting from them was in fact an increase in the gap between them and the other sex. For that fundamental reason, and because the climate was favourable to questions and interrogations of all kinds, in those periods where paradigm shifts are prone to occur, the debate on the relative position of the sexes and their self- and hetero-representations exploded.

Dr João de Barros' *A mirror of married people*, which was, for a number of reasons, though principally for its philogynous approach, a pioneering work in Portugal, is thus published in a context where women and marriage become subjects of dispute. The same can be said of the book of Rui Gonçalves, published in 1557, as well as *Bondade das mulheres vindicada e malícia dos homens manifesta* (*The goodness of women vindicated and malice of men made manifest*), a pamphlet authored by Paula da Graça (?-1730?)<sup>6</sup> and published in 1715, against the background of a later dispute.

However, neither João de Barros nor his colleague Rui Gonçalves were successful in imposing their beliefs. Major 17<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese figures (such as António Vieira, Francisco Manuel de Melo, Manuel Bernardes, among others) continued to insist that women were intrinsically evil and a danger to men. The same was true as concerns humorous popular literature and its many texts on women's cunning and women's faults that were still being published in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This explains why in 1715 Paula da Graça and, also in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Félix José da Costa and Gertrudes Margarida de Jesus felt the need to refute the very same age-old arguments.<sup>7</sup>

## Marriage: the evolution of conceptions and practices

For many centuries the Church avoided to get involved in the regulation of marriage and family life, which it did not really praise.<sup>8</sup> Conjugal sex was never considered a sin in the preponderant Jewish doctrine, although Christianity developed in a Hellenic cultural environment, where flesh and spirit were seen as a dichotomy, a view which St. Paul shared and disseminated. For him, marriage had but one advantage: it was a means to which those unable to live in chastity could resort, as shown in his famous and much-repeated dictum Better to marry than to burn (1Cor 7: 9). If marriage was a remedy to fight concupiscence, then procreation was not the aim. And why should it be, since Paul was convinced that the world would soon come to an end with Christ's second coming?

However, many generations went by and the world continued to exist, while a negative view of women and sexuality was reinforced

with Patristics, which led many people, like St Jerome or, later, pope Gregory the Great, to conclude that sexual pleasure was necessarily sinful. In other words, married people were denied eternal salvation. In the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, St Augustine sought to reconcile married life and salvation through his doctrine of the three goods (*bona*) of marriage: *proles, fides, sacramentum* (offspring, fidelity, sacrament). The remedy against concupiscence, the utility which Paul had ascribed to marriage, was included in *fides*, with the “conjugal debt” (that is, a marital duty to have sexual intercourse whenever the spouse so wished) preventing one’s own incontinence as well as one spouse’s. However, Augustine of Hippo advised couples against continuing to engage in sexual intercourse as soon as procreation was ensured. He thus highlighted the procreative purpose of marriage, which deliberately comes first, deemphasising the aim assigned by Paul. The Augustinian conception is the one that will prevail in theological discourse, in which the horror of sexuality would continue to be present for many centuries. As regards *sacramentum*, in St. Augustine, and for many hundreds of years, it did not have the meaning later ascribed by the Church. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century it was merely a symbol or a sign of stability. The precise meaning of sacrament and the stabilisation of the number of sacraments – seven – will occur much later, as a result of the reflections of theologians and canonists.

Although in João de Barros’ time theologians liked to say that marriage was the first sacrament – an argument repeated by Barros -, invoking Adam and Eve’s union in Paradise, the historical reality is radically different. Christian marriage was only established as a sacrament in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century – and, at the time, a minor sacrament when compared to the others – as a result of a long process which was to continue for another three hundred years, until 1563, when Catholics set the doctrine and practice of marriage, as did also, around the same time or slightly later, the different reformed currents. However, despite the existence of such norms, in many European areas a considerable time elapsed before marriage conceptions and its rites finally changed.

Although this is self-evident, I would like to stress the fact that at the time when João de Barros wrote his book Catholic marriage had not yet been defined and regulated by the Council of Trent (1545–1563). And although some rules were already perfectly established – indissolubility, consanguineous exogamy, affinity, and spiritual kinship (created by baptism), sacramentality, and the need for the consent of both parties – at the time marriage rites were extremely varied because the only requirement for the validation of marriage was the consent of the intended spouses, and the fact that they were not relatives. Weddings were thus celebrated with or without a priest to officiate, inside a church or at its door, at the bride’s house, in the country, on a road or in a tavern, in the presence of witnesses or just the couple by themselves, “por

palavras de presente” (by words of the present) or “por palavras de futuro” (by words of the future). If the latter, which were a marriage pledge, were followed by the carnal consummation of the marriage, the act became valid and indissoluble.

The Church forbade (but did not invalidate) weddings with no witnesses and suggested that a priest should be present at the constituting rite, but had not yet imposed this requirement. Thence the diversity of marriage rites in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In Italy, most weddings were celebrated without the presence of a priest, with the upper classes preferring to have a notary to endorse the material provisions of the marriage contract. The absence of ecclesiastic authorities may seem strange to us now, especially to those who think that this is a recent practice, but it did make sense in the past because the ministers of a Catholic wedding have always been the contracting parties themselves. There is, however, a fundamental difference: after Trent, for a marriage to be valid, the rite must be celebrated in the presence of the parish priest or one of the members of the couple (or an authorised priest), besides a minimum of two witnesses. However, since that was not the case before, so-called clandestine weddings were frequent, with couples ministering their own marriage without the presence of witnesses. The reason why we know of the existence this type of wedding is that, as is easily understandable, it often led to much controversy and to conflict: either because parents would not accept the marriage, claiming that the bride had been abducted, or because one of the newlyweds would reconsider. Indeed, how could something that had happened solely between the two be proved if one of them denied it? Had the words been pronounced or not? Had it been mere merrymaking or was it a genuine marriage? In practice, these could hardly be distinguished. We can find references to such cases in João de Barros’ book, since the author had dealt with this problem during the course of his professional activity.

Finally, we should note that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the issue of the supreme will of the intended spouses *versus* parental consent was a source of fierce debate, since both humanist Catholics and reformed Christians rejected the principle whereby the mere will of two young individuals was enough to bind them for life, with all the ensuing legal consequences for both themselves and their families. And to conclude the topic, although this resolution was posterior to the books under analysis, it must be added that the Protestants imposed the condition of paternal authorisation while the Catholics proclaimed that marriage is the result of two free wills (which would become three should the father’s consent be additionally required), although the principle of consensualism was mitigated or annulled through the imposition of rules and the punishment of those who married against their parents’ will, even though such marriages were considered valid. Therefore, the new Catholic clandestine marriages belong to a different type: they are

irregular because they lack the families' permission, the three previous announcements and a written record (all of which were conditions laid down by the Council of Trent), but now, in order to be considered valid, marriages must necessarily be performed in the presence of witnesses and the parish priest – even if against the will of these persons and even including the use of force against the priest, since the presence of this one was enough in itself as there was no Tridentine provision concerning the need for his assent.

## João de Barros

Not much is known about the life of João de Barros, a contemporary of his far more famous namesake, the author of *Décadas da Ásia* (*Decades of Asia*); to avoid him being mistaken for the latter, references to our João de Barros usually include his academic title of Dr. He was probably born in the north of Portugal, in Braga or Porto, and took a degree in Law at the University of Salamanca, which was attended by many Portuguese students, especially from the north, since the Portuguese university was located in Lisbon at the time and it was undergoing a period of considerable decline. By 1529 he had obtained his degree and was married and living in Porto, and in 1540 he was citizen of the city of Porto and a widower. During this decade he was appointed judge of the Supreme Courts in Lisbon.

*A mirror of married people* was studied by Eugenio Asensio back in 1949, although, from my point of view, his much-cited analysis is not particularly adequate.<sup>9</sup> A much more pertinent, correct approach can be found in the work of Maria de Lurdes Fernandes, which I cannot but recommend.<sup>10</sup> As for this study of mine, it was developed from an historian's perspective, which is necessarily different from a literary approach. I am not exactly interested in literary issues, which have been discussed and analysed before, my focus being the history of representations, matrimonial law, marital life, including ideas and practices, and marriage itself as concerns its nature and constitutive rites. *Espelho de casados* was the first work published in the Portuguese language on the subject of marriage, the roles of husbands and wives, and their relationship. It was also the first Portuguese text to protest against the detractors of women, highlighting the fact that faults and qualities depend on personality rather than sex, which was in itself a quasi-revolutionary notion. Another interesting fact about this book is its publication date, 1540, a time when the practice of marriage, which was the result of a centuries-long evolution, was the object of criticism by both Protestants and Catholics before the Tridentine model was established.

**Objectives and structure of “A mirror of married people”**

A “mirror” was a guidebook, a kind of “roadmap”, a meaning which the author’s reading audience could immediately identified. However, the full title of João de Barros’ book is much longer:

“A mirror of married people which includes a copious discussion of how excellent, beneficial, and necessary marriage is, as well as many maxims, examples, pieces of advice, and doctrines and doubts that are necessary for married people, and finally, the requirements for a perfect marriage in the Lord’s service”.

In other words, the author wishes to leave no room for ambiguity, spelling out his intention in the very title: this is an apology for marriage as the perfect state both in earthly life and for eternal salvation, and includes a set of instructions meant to assist married couples in living well according to their state, and calls for a change in wrongful behaviours. As the Introduction also makes clear, it is also a guide that instructs single people on how to choose their adequate spouse, since marriage is good in itself, provided status and personalities fit each other. Although he does not mention this in so many words, his target audience also included women, as can be inferred from some passages of his text. By approaching marriage as something very positive, Dr João de Barros starts from the following premise: he rejects the gloomy views on women that were so widely shared by others. This book is therefore also an apology for women as human beings, because they are conceived of as possessing the same dignity and the same weaknesses that the author identifies in men.

To support his case, in the manner of his day, he resorts to an extensive inventory of quotations from both the Old and the New Testaments, from ancient Greek and Latin authors, the Church Fathers, medieval theologians and canonists, and humanist authors. He also illustrates his arguments using concrete examples of women and men who were the protagonists of different mythological, pagan, biblical, and historical episodes from Antiquity to his day. Being a member of the legal profession, he abundantly cites other authors of the field, as well as a large number of his own professional cases.

Also noteworthy is the fact that the author draws on two other areas of his life experience: that of a man who used to be married and a father, and that of a man who lived with women and listened to their opinions. Right at the beginning of his book, João de Barros explains: “I who practiced the married profession now have decided to write this book”. Now a widower, he claims to know what he is talking about, suggesting that he is in a better position to do so than the clerics or laymen who vilify marriage without ever having experienced it. *A mirror of married people* clearly reflects



the feelings of someone who had had a happy marriage and who had experienced both the joys of parenthood and the death of his children. Dr. João de Barros was also unique in that he occasionally used women's judgements and opinions to support his arguments, which meant that he actually listened to women and believed that they deserved credit.

The book is organised into four parts: in the first part "twelve reasons against marriage are described all of which [...] will subsequently be rejected". The readers are immediately warned that they will encounter unreasonable arguments in the book. Wishing to expound such commonly invoked reasons to later refute each one of them, the author presents them as if they had been written by a friend. For the sake of stylistic harmony, all the parts contain twelve arguments. The first, the letter supposedly written by his friend, includes the following: 1) "because of the responsibilities of marriage", 2) "because of children and their death", 3) "because it is a kind of servitude" for the husband, 4) "because of the simpleness of women", 5) "because of women's inconstancy", 6) for the "fundamental reason against women that has to do with their lack of self-restraint", 7) "in consequence of the discord between the husband and the adulterer",<sup>11</sup> 8) "because the husband does not live with the adulteress", 9) "because of women's faults and cunning", 10) "because of poverty, sickness, and old age", 11) "because the woman is poor or wealthy", 12) because it can never be undone.

The second part of the book sets out the arguments in favour of marriage, which the author shares: 1) "because man is perpetuated"; 2) "because of he who commanded it"; 3) "because of the glory and joy of marriage"; 4) "because it follows our ancestors' tradition"; 5) "because it follows the Moderns"; 6) "because of offspring"; 7) "because of honour"; 8) "out of respect for friendship"; 9) "because marriage is in favour of the republic", 10) "because the woman helps the husband"; 11) "out of respect for the police", i.e., law and order in society, and 12) "to avoid sin".

In the third part of the book, the arguments supposedly put forward by the author's friend are addressed. The declared objective of this work, as becomes clear throughout the text and is stated at the beginning of this third part, in which the "reasons invoked against it [marriage] and against women" are refuted, is not only to uphold the worth of marriage, but also that of women. And this was inevitable: how could the excellence of marriage be supported without denying the evilness and foolishness supposedly inherent in women? Having demonstrated both the excellence of marriage and the moral and intellectual equivalence between women and men, in the fourth part of the book the author guides his readers in choosing their spouse, by stipulating a number of rules: 1) "appropriate age"; 2) "the man's wealth"; 3) "she/he should be healthy"; 4) "he/she should have no children"; 5) the woman should be "a virgin"; 6) "wealthy woman"; 7) "equal woman", 8)

the woman should be “honestly handsome”, 9) the man should be “potent”; 10) both should have “good morals”; 11) the intended spouses should know each other; 12) they should not be relatives. As Eugenio Asensio stresses, Dr João de Barros published his book at the end of an historical period where there was considerable freedom of thought and also the freedom to write, and he did not fail to take advantage of it. It suffices to quote his assertion: “Plato, whom everyone calls divine, in whose writings one finds nearly all of John’s Gospel”; or to notice how he cites and admires some authors who will be proscribed in the future. But this proved to be a swan song: it will not be long before books start to be scrutinised by bishops and the Inquisition, which was established then in Portugal.

Lastly, everything seems to indicate that *A mirror of married people* was not widely disseminated. The book was never cited, there was no second edition and there are almost no copies of it left. The root causes for this failure may have been the syncretic character of its author, his doctrinal broad-mindedness, and a certain degree of tolerance towards different lifestyles, which the days of Counter-reformation no longer permitted.

### **Misogyny rejected by João de Barros**

The first part of the book lists the catalogue of supposed female faults and incapacities generally identified with the female sex at the time and which have been mentioned above. Some of those misogynous commonplaces are immediately highlighted and included in the list of reasons against marriage: weak understanding, volubility, lasciviousness, character flaws and defects, and a cunning personality. Others emerge as the text develops those topics. They are “opinionated, arrogant, and deceitful”, incapable of keeping a secret, fickle, greedy, etc. As regards their love for their husbands, “most of them do not love them except when moved by self-interest, even though the husband may be a saint”. Arguments are put forward which will be much appreciated centuries later: “A woman has a dissimilar head to that of a man, with no more than one brain, or commissure, while the man has three”.

### **João de Barros’s views on marriage**

Seeking to rehabilitate marriage, João de Barros uses a variety of arguments, sometimes converging them into the same “reason”. Here is a passage from reason n.11:

“Political, perfect life consists in one of two states: marry or join religion, and those who do not live in this manner are

considered to live with no order. And, therefore, Plato was very sorry for having lived unmarried, which was a barren life. And since not all of us can join religion and there is much honesty and justice in marriage, it is better to marry than to burn, as St Paul says”.

By this he means: although a religious state is more perfect (from the standpoint of the Catholic Church), a married man does contribute to good social organisation and is therefore useful both to the Republic (Plato) and to his own salvation, since he avoids falling into the sin of concupiscence (Paul’s argument). João de Barros makes a point of also mentioning the then-recent arguments in favour of the marriage of Christians. However, because this was not the position of the Catholic Church, he always approaches it with extreme caution, explaining that it is not the true doctrine. He nonetheless argues that married people may be more virtuous than those who chose sanctified celibacy, and that they may find their path to sanctity and contribute to a more perfect society on Earth.

Among the book’s topics are the controversies surrounding marriage, which included its legitimising foundations, its indissoluble nature, the intended spouses’ free will, marriage rites, the dispensation from kinship prohibitions, and the issue of subsequent marriages. As mentioned above, for Paul of Tarsus the purpose of marriage was to avoid succumbing to sin, while for Augustine of Hippo it was progeny, faith/fidelity and *sacramentum*. Procreation as a justification for sexual intercourse will remain a key argument up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as we know, with many claiming that the only thing that prevented marital sexual activity from being a sin was the conscious goal of reproduction. For some people, marriage without reproduction was unjustifiable. But Dr João de Barros has a different opinion and he refers his readers to more advanced theologians who proclaim that the grounds for marriage rest in its own intrinsic merit: “this is a better opinion” because “besides the good of progeny, God granted married people a glory in the family and the contentment of the married state”.

Yet, his position concerning marriage between relatives was less liberal. He did not like consanguinity dispensations, but he had to be careful since such marriages were a common practice among monarchs, including the Portuguese ones. As for the marriage of widows or widowers, it was a common practice given the high mortality rates prior to old age. Although St Paul disapproves of them and the Church never encouraged them, these marriages were dictated by specific demographic and socioeconomic circumstances and, among the upper classes, by political or lineage reasons. João de Barros did not exactly appreciate this practice, but he considered people’s individual circumstances, including those of widows with children, and he concluded with the following kind, humane words: “But sometimes fathers and mothers will

marry so rightly that they will satisfy themselves and their children, and anything may happen". He characteristically tends to refuse general, cold, coercive rules that have no regard for people.

Backed by his legal experience, Barros also provides brief, but precious information on the act of marrying: he explains that the words pronounced were enough to grant validity to a marriage and that informal weddings during festivities and village festivals were a frequent practice among the lower classes.

### João de Barros's views on women

Challenging the stereotype of female silliness, João de Barros begins his argument, as was typical in his time, by providing concrete examples of knowledgeable women. Surprisingly, his second example is Pope Joan, whom he mentions in order to illustrate women's commendable capacities, not condemning her in the slightest for her acts. He then argues that aptitudes do not depend on people's sex, that "women are as able and wise as men" because "they do not lack in art, ingenuity, subtlety, and discretion. And if you tell me that many of them are not like that, I will answer that there are also many men who are ignorant and unreasonable". He then adds an argument that may seem obvious, but which is not yet self-evident: were women to have access to authorship and other truths would be taught. For example, when women are accused of being inconstant, he argues: "variation is a natural state of both men and women because our state consists in perpetual motion and it should not be a matter of reproach". He then mentions a number of examples of constancy and strong spirit in women and reminds his readers that there have been as many female as male martyr saints. By this he means that women and men are equal also as regards moral and spiritual virtues.

## Rui Gonçalves

Rui Gonçalves was born in the island of S. Miguel, Azores, and he studied both civil law and ecclesiastical law at the University of Coimbra, where he lectured since 1539. When his book *On the privileges and prerogatives held by the female sex...* was published, in 1557, he was no longer a Professor at Coimbra and worked as an attorney at law in the *Casa da Suplicação*, the kingdom and empire's supreme court, in Lisbon.

### Structure and objectives of “On the privileges and prerogatives of the female sex”

The book is divided into two parts: the first, comprising one-third of the text, expounds “some virtues in which women were equal to and preceded men”; the second is a detailed systematisation of the legal framework and related practices concerning Portuguese women in mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. For lovers of literature and the history of culture and representations, or for our contemporary readers, not necessarily interested in the legal meanders of the time, this is the most interesting of the two sections, but for the author it was just a kind of prelude to the core of this work. That is perhaps why it is absent from the title, whose full version runs: *On the privileges and prerogatives held by the female sex by common law and the kingdom’s ordinances above those of the male sex*.

In the words of Sebastião de Pinho, “this is the first Portuguese book to deliberately set as its main objective the defence of a true anthropological equality between man and woman”, a study that argues for “principles of social equality in a bold, unprecedented way in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Portugal”.<sup>12</sup> I do not agree with Pinho. Rui Gonçalves was not the first to uphold the equivalence of capabilities between the sexes, since this pioneering role undoubtedly belongs to Dr João de Barros. Also, an equivalence of capabilities did not presuppose or signify “social equality” either for Gonçalves or for Barros, since this would be an unimaginable concept in their time. Besides all this, the work of Rui Gonçalves was far more pragmatic and less comprehensive than his predecessor’s, since his aim was to write a law compendium within the existing legal framework that might facilitate the legal protection of women. And I disagree even more with Pinho’s title (*The first Portuguese “feminist” book*) even with the word feminist being placed between inverted commas. Being feminist essentially means repudiating two types of behaviour: to evaluate someone’s personality and worth as a function of their sex and to assign that person one or more social roles because they “naturally” belong to her/his sex. Obviously, neither Rui Gonçalves nor João de Barros or, for that matter, anyone in their time conceived of the world in this manner.

### The qualities of women

The virtues “in which women were equal to and preceded men” selected by Rui Gonçalves in the first part of his book belong to the following areas: “doctrine and knowledge”, “counsel”, “fortitude”, “devotion and fear of God”, “liberality”, “clemency and mercy”, “chastity”, “conjugal love” and, in contradiction to these, “idleness”, where he should have written diligence since this is a

list of positive values. The author simply followed the Seven gifts of the Holy Spirit as defined by the Catholic Church: wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, and fear of the Lord. He then continued by listing a different set of seven heavenly virtues, the qualities of liberality, chastity, diligence, patience, and kindness, omitting only abstinence/gluttony and humility/pride and very aptly adding conjugal love. Not a lot of effort was required to compose this section of the book: the author followed the two well-known sevenfold gifts, illustrating them with examples of women who personified these virtues, which had been detailed and established many centuries before.

This first part of the book indeed appears to be an addition to the laborious legal compilation that the author had organised, with the intent of providing his book with the erudite doctrinal input of other authors rather than just the legal experts on whom he draws intensively in the following section. However, there is no doubt regarding the philogynous quality of his approach, and, after *A mirror of married people*, this is a pioneering text in its peremptory affirmation of the equality between women and men as far as intellectual and moral capacities are concerned. And therefore, “it is easy to understand that it [the female sex] is clearly as perfect as the male one, and that men are not more perfect than women”. Rui Gonçalves goes as far as to attack those who devote themselves to “writing against the life and customs of the female sex, nearly blaming Nature for producing females rather than males”, and he does not shy away from using an argument which is, to this day, raised by the Catholic Church to defend (and deny) the ordination of women: such authors “forget that our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, could have assumed humanity in the female sex”.

### **The legal prerogatives of Portuguese women**

In the second part of his work, Gonçalves details 106 legal prerogatives pertaining to Portuguese women. These provisions are arranged alphabetically according to their Latin term or expression, followed by comments based on seventy jurisconsults who are mentioned in nearly 500 footnotes, and elaborated on by the author, who, as a legal expert, discusses the laws which concern women “under common law and Ordinances of the realm”. A brief description of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese legal system is therefore pertinent.

Western Europe was governed by international civil and canon laws provided that they did not collide with specific territorial laws, and the combination of those two formed common law. Civil law was heir to Roman law and its medieval glossators, notably: Roman laws collected from *Instituta* and *Digesto*, Accursius’ glosses (13<sup>th</sup> century), Bartolus’ commentaries (14<sup>th</sup> century) and the opinions

of magistrates. Canon law had been systematised in Gratian's *Decretum* (12<sup>th</sup> century) and Gregory IX's *Decretals* (13<sup>th</sup> century). As regards Portuguese laws (territorial laws), in 1557 they had been compiled in the definitive version of *Ordenações Manuelinas* (King Manuel's Ordinances) dated 1521. That is why Rui Gonçalves has to necessarily base his research on common law and the Ordinances of the realm. As stressed by António Manuel Hespanha a propos of women's supposed legal privileges,

“Although many of these restrictions are presented by the authors as honours due to the status of women, if we seek their grounds we are bound to find the virtue of honesty. And if we examine the archaeology of this virtue as a female quality, we will soon find its opposite: women's natural lasciviousness. In women, honesty is a virtue contrary to nature, a brake used by righteous reason to compensate for the violence of the drives of desire and the weakness of women's natural will to resist them”.<sup>15</sup>

Another key element to understanding the work under analysis as well as the admissibility of privileges (laws applicable only to specific people) is the corporative or organicist conception underlying 16<sup>th</sup>-century society. This is why Rui Gonçalves would never be able to envision a society that granted equal opportunities to all people, a society where each person would be able to choose their social role irrespective of their place in it, with gender being only one of the crucial categories.

As Sebastião de Pinho noted, “by implying the other side of the coin, prerogatives demonstrate women's obviously inferior position”.<sup>14</sup> Maria de Lurdes Fernandes has a similar opinion, questioning (and very rightly so) the supposed beneficial effects of some of those prerogatives such as an earlier legal age to get married, prosecuting by proxy, etc..<sup>15</sup> Most prerogatives concern dowries, and therefore, they mostly include provisions relating to a type of property or wealth that is distinct from other assets in its composition, its nature, its owners, and the rules that govern its transfer by inheritance. Since these issues tend not to be properly understood I will add a few additional notes on the subject.

First, it is important to distinguish between the legal capacity to manage and the legal capacity to hold property, since the latter was the same for women and men. However, unlike today, the marital property system in force was community property, i.e., all their estate was jointly owned by both spouses, irrespective of having been acquired prior to or after their marriage. Exceptions to this communion, or joint marital ownership regime were majorats (*morgadios*), when these existed, as well as the bride's dowry, whose sole owner was the wife, despite being managed by the Znly member of the couple who was legally entitled to do it: the husband. Also different from the current Portuguese

inheritance law was the fact that spouses were not entitled to each other's inheritance. Each of them passed on their estate to their descendants or, if there were none, to their relatives in the ascending line, and only after them, to relatives collateral to the decedent. The inheritance was equally shared by all children, of both sexes, except in the case of Majorat estates, which were inalienable assets whose inheritance was governed by the principle of male progeniture.<sup>16</sup> As happens today, there were restrictions on the freedom of testators to make dispositions of their property upon death, since they could not completely disinherit their forced heirs, from whom only one-third of each parent's assets could be withheld. The heirs were entitled to the remaining two-thirds, which were compulsory succession, with each heir's share being, then and now, called the "legítima" (reserved share). The dowry is frequently said to be provided by the father. Although fathers could provide dowries, these generally corresponded to an early payment of the daughter's reserved share. One may therefore say that the father provided the dowry only in the sense of an advancement on the bride's inheritance, which indeed depended on his will. However, on the one hand, as Rui Gonçalves notes, refusing to provide a dowry had to be properly justified, and, on the other, since all children inherited both from their mother's and their father's estate, the dowry came from the maternal as much as from the paternal reserved share.

To summarise: since the dowry regime was meant to facilitate family building and support by providing a compensatory protection to married women, whom the general law deprived of the capacity to manage their family's possessions, the numerous legal provisions that pertained to dowries – which in themselves showed the many different ways in which the dowry regime could be violated – can in no way be seen as women's prerogatives.

The remaining privileges catalogued by Rui Gonçalves can be classified as follows: those which did nothing to improve women's lives, whose mention could be dispensed with; those which were not even enforceable under Portuguese territorial law; those resulting from an obsession with female sexuality; those which amounted to nothing but an occasional exemption from discrimination against women; and, finally, those which amounted to flagrant, outright discrimination. Such "privileges" are therefore not women's prerogatives vis-à-vis men, which was simply a legal impossibility however great the efforts made by the author to try and find them among the existing national legal provisions. But they certainly were useful instruments to be used in the interests of greater fairness and dignity for the lives of women.



## Conclusion

Considering what has been summarised above with regard to the prevailing gender stereotypes in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, we understand how the two authors depart from them, being indeed pioneering in their perception of women and the relationship between women and men. João de Barros was also ground-breaking with respect to marriage (specifically the objectives of marriage and the conjugal model he proposes) and both Barros and Gonçalves intended their work to be practically applicable, changing mindsets and behaviours, and improving the lives of concrete people. Contrary to what was still claimed centuries later, they believed in the equality of moral and intellectual capacities of both sexes, although they accepted that the “natural” social roles of each of the two sexes were predetermined. However, the husbands and wives, the men and the women in *A mirror of married people* are never mere abstract categories. João de Barros does indeed resort to his vast ancient and modern erudition as well as to biblical, mythological, and historical cases, but to those he adds others which he witnessed or heard about, besides the opinions of both men and women, his personal and professional experience, and a ponderation of the specific life circumstances of each person involved. Now, if one knows how to mobilise these resources, one is certainly able to escape dogmatism. That is why we find passages that resonate with the pulse of real life, and insights that show how the author pays genuine attention to the behaviours he seeks to understand in a book that praises conjugal union and appears to be implicitly driven by a longing for marital bliss.

As for Rui Gonçalves, he was the first to systematise from the general legal system – which was unfavourable to women as a specific, minoritised social group – all the norms, regardless of how small and fragile they were, that allowed for a degree of protection or that enabled women to escape discrimination. He thus proved to be a legal professional who was attentive to the situation of Portuguese women, providing them with instruments to alleviate their problems. Although he does not call for women and men’s equality before the law, he seeks to enhance women’s dignity within the existing legal system, which was intrinsically unequal and would certainly collapse if it were to be otherwise.

Notes

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1. This text is a translation-summary of two longer texts: “Uma visão pioneira das mulheres e da união conjugal em Portugal de 1540: o *Espelho de Casados* de João de Barros”, in Franco, José Eduardo & Fiolhais, Carlos (coord.), *Obras Pioneiras da Cultura Portuguesa*, vol. 3, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 2019, pp. 76–117; “Um jurista em busca da proteção das mulheres nos meandros da lei quinhentista”, *idem*, vol. 14, pp. 19–34. Both books are integrally published with my explanatory notes (vol. 3: pp. 697–807; vol. 14: pp. 169–264).

2. I use this rather cursory distinction merely for linguistic convenience since thought is as vivid and real as actual action.

3. A synthesis from Delumeau, Jean, *La peur en Occident (XIVe–XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Hachette, 1999; Lopes, Maria Antónia, *Mulheres, espaço e sociabilidade [...] século XVIII*, Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, 1989; Bock, Gisela, *Le donne nelle storia europea*, Roma, Laterza, 2008; Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, Scarlett, *Les femmes à l'époque moderne (XVe–XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Belin, 2003; Wiesner-Hanks, Merry, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015; Lopes, Maria Antónia, “Estereótipos de “a mulher” em Portugal dos séculos XVI a XIX (um roteiro)”, in Rossi, Maria Antonietta (coord.), *Donne, Cultura e Società nel panorama lusitano e internazionale (secoli XVI–XXI)*, Viterbo, Sette Città, 2017, pp. 29–46.

4. Cf. Bock, Gisela, *Le donne nelle storia europea*, *cit.*, pp. 7–50.

5. Bolufer, Mónica, *Mujeres e Ilustración*, Valencia, Diputació de València, 1998, p. 11.

6. Cf. Lopes, Maria Antónia, “Da igualdade entre os sexos e da opressão das mulheres: alegações de uma portuguesa em 1715”, in *Obras Pioneiras da Cultura Portuguesa*, vol. 14, *cit.* pp. 60–66 and the pamphlet with my notes in pp. 341–358.

7. Cf. Lopes, Maria Antónia, *Mulheres, espaço e sociabilidade*, *cit.*, pp. 29–37.

8. Cf. Duby, Georges, *Le chevalier, la femme et le prêtre*, Paris, Hachette, 1981; Burguière, André *et al.* (dir.), *Histoire de la famille 3. Le choc des modernités*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1994; Bologne, Jean-Claude, *História do casamento do Ocidente*, Lisboa, Temas e Debates, 1999; Sarti, Raffaella, *Casa e família. Habitar, comer e vestir na Europa Moderna*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa,

2001; Seidel Menchi, Silvana & Quaglioni, Diego (dir.), *Matrimoni in dubbio: Unioni controverse e nozze clandestine in Italia dal XIV al XVIII secolo*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2001; Lazard, Madeleine, *Les avenues de Fémynie. Les femmes et la Renaissance*, Paris, Fayard, 2001; Walch, Agnès, *La spiritualité conjugale dans le catholicisme français (XVIIe–XXe siècle)*, Paris, Cerf, 2002; Silva, Nuno Espinosa da, *História do casamento em Portugal*, Lisboa, Universidade Católica, 2013; Pelaja, Margherita & Scaraffia, Lucetta, *Due in una carne. Chiesa e sessualità nella Storia*, Roma, Laterza, 2014; Lombardi, Daniela, *Storia del matrimonio dal Medioevo a oggi*, Bologna, Il Molino, 2016.

9. Asensio, Eugenio, “Les sources de l’*Espelho de casados* do Dr. João de Barros” in, Eugenio Asensio, *Estudios portugueses*, Paris, FCG/CCP, 1974, pp. 259–284. See my critique of Asensio’s analysis in Lopes, Maria Antónia, “Uma visão pioneira das mulheres...”, *cit.*

10. Fernandes, Maria de Lurdes, *Espelhos, Cartas e Guias. Casamento e espiritualidade na Península Ibérica, 1450–1700*, Porto, ICP/FLUP, 1995.

11. An adulterer was the man who had sexual intercourse with a married woman, not the married man who had extra-marital affairs.

12. Pinho, Sebastião de, “O primeiro livro “feminista” português (séc. XVI)”, in *A mulher na sociedade portuguesa. Visão histórica e perspectivas actuais*, Coimbra, FLUC, 1986, p. 216.

13. Hespanha, António Manuel, “O estatuto jurídico da mulher na época da expansão”, in *O rosto feminino na expansão portuguesa*, vol. I., Lisboa, Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos das Mulheres, 1995, pp. 53–64.

14. Pinho, Sebastião de, “O primeiro livro “feminista” português”, *cit.*, p. 214.

15. Fernandes, Maria de Lurdes, “Literatura moral e discursos jurídicos. Em torno dos ‘privilégios’ femininos no século XVI em Portugal”, in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. Línguas e Literatura* 17, Porto, 2000, pp. 415–416.

16. This special regime, only applicable to majorats, which were restricted to a small elite, has led to the belief that Portuguese women were treated unequally when it came to inheritance.

And they promised  
to marry each other:  
The marriage dowries,  
in the city of Braga,  
towards the end  
of the Old Regime

“(...) this marriage is official, having the bride and groom wedded each other in holy matrimony in the face of the Church, by the words of those present before the Sacred Council of Trent and the Primate Council of Archbishops, promised and bequeathed in dowry and marriage (...)”.<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

The present line of investigation focuses on the dowry system and the types of marriage ceremonies in Braga in the XVIII century. We intend to analyze and point out the problematical aspects of the dowry, considered to be a fundamental element to constitute family, considering its influence in the marital system of the pre-industrial “Minho’s” society, as well as the impact on the family structure.

The dowry consisted of a pre-nuptial custom that was intended to provide the future couple with the necessary economic stability, for the constitution of a new household. Not only was it advantageous for the bridegrooms but also for the whole family.

It is defined as a bilateral contract that established guarantees and obligations between those involved, it is important to get to know both who paid the dowries and those who received them and point out the problematic aspects set forth in the dowry contracts. We simultaneously highlight the variables related to those responsible for the dowry, allowing for the dichotomy of gender, planning and social status. Along this path, and given the importance of this practice in the constitution of family history this study will give us access to various realities, both in the private sphere-family and the domestic economy-, as well as the public domain-society and culture.

## The marital system and dowry practices

Understood as “a social institution that connected families from the same social status in order to perpetuate their existence”,<sup>2</sup> in the Old Regime, marriage was a collective matter and not a personal one. It was indispensable to safeguard the family lineage and transmit property in the society. Therefore, for the family, marriage was considered of utmost importance to maintain the family interests at heart.<sup>3</sup>

Alluding to Levi-Stauss’ point of view, the family was not only considered a reproductive unit but also the focal point for alliances.<sup>4</sup> Keeping in mind the civil context and following this train of thought, marriage was considered a union between

communities and involved a combination of economic and material interests that also included the social status. So being, this matter was considered too important to be dealt with by the couple. Considering this, the dowry played a key role in defining the strategies that the family would use for the marriage to take place.<sup>5</sup> In the cross between secular and religious plane, the dowry was considered an important symbolic part of marriage in the social, cultural, and family circle.<sup>6</sup>

In view of José Mattoso's vision, a significant part of the family study can be narrowed down to two fundamental points: succession and alliance. According to the author, succession not only considers biological reproduction but also equally entails taking care of and protecting the social status attained, and consequently making an effort to gather the necessary conditions to guarantee material subsistence for present and future generations to guarantee material subsistence for present and future generations. On the other hand, maintaining the social status should not only be understood as the protection of the social or political position or even the search for prestige and wealth but also as a struggle for one's identity amidst the castes of society and the various classes.<sup>7</sup>

In Portugal, the dowry has been socially and legally present for centuries, the dowry played an important role in the family foundation, because it assured material assets; helped set the family strategies, and gave the right to deal with the family estates between the intended spouses.<sup>8</sup> Regulated by the legal code of the era, the dowry system and marriage, in Portugal, involved two types of contractual agreements. The law stipulated that all marriages performed in the kingdom would be done either by "carta de ametade", marriage under the scheme of a general community of estate, or through a dowry agreement.<sup>9</sup> This established the marriage scheme of separation of property, having been determined that the woman's dowry would not be integrated into the husband's assets - assets that could not be transferred, not even to pay off debts incurred before or after the marriage.<sup>10</sup>

The fact is that the marriage dowry focused on the importance of preserving assets, memories and family identities, it is a key instrument for understanding the social and household structure in this modern era.<sup>11</sup>

In this sense, defining the dowry as an object of historical research requires the development of a broad set of skills to properly present a sustainable, critical, and analytical case study. Beginning with an in-depth study of the multifaceted aspects that encompass this topic and the connection and contribution of the dowry system in the various historical periods along with the difficulties related to its factors and dichotomies. The historiographical observation of the dowry compels an acute analysis straight to the core of its existence.

In order to evaluate the impact exerted through the dowry, it is of paramount importance to address the different contexts, concepts and perspectives. Starting with legal and public affairs to religious backgrounds, right up to private life, the study of the dowry system and marriages encompass aspects of a cultural, economic and domestic nature. Keeping in line with the latest investigation surrounding this topic, the phenomenon of the dowry has increasingly become a fundamental element in the understanding of family relationships, the forms of coexistence, endogamy/exogamy, as well as its importance in family life, having become one of the major forms of negotiation between families.

Thus, the study of the dowry contemplates several angles of analysis, all of which highlight the hidden complexities of this system. It was, normally, pre-nuptial and the agreement was occasionally subject to changes. In many cases, the official marriage was not an impediment to modifications of the dowry agreement, but rather, because it was flexible and allowed for adjustments in the family interests and assets even after the change in marital status. Consequently, the importance of the dowry in the nuclear family, besides its contribution to shaping the society that practiced it, invites one to an interdisciplinary reflection. Certain authors, after having reviewed the topic, have concluded that it is important to cross reference the historical information available with other social sciences.

The fact is that marriage and the dowry assume great relevance in the development of historiography, sociology, economy and anthropology in the family environment. While serving as a historical research study, both at a national and international level, the dowry system became a matter of study, primarily, from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Between the decades of the 60's and 80's of the past century, the scientific work related to the phenomenon of dowries prompted a multiple and interdisciplinary exchange of views between the various scholars. Ever since then, scientific literature has recognized the importance of the study of the dowry system, considering it fundamental in order to better understand the European marriage system, as well as its importance in the families planning and preservation of the individual's inheritance in the long-term.

At the heart of Anthropology, Sociology, Economics and History, the study of the dowry system and marriage was investigated from different perspectives. This study was performed by authors associated to well renowned European and American academies, one of whom was Jack Goody. He was a prominent figure of Anthropology, who on the basis of a Euro-Asia analysis regarded the family as a problem having taken into account economic and material factors, as well as family relationships and class structures. Robert Rowland, who is also an anthropologist, simultaneously, carried out his work on family life and the marital systems in

Southern Europe. Given the importance of the constitution of family and family relationships, from a sociological point of view, we verified that the dowry and marital issues was of particular interest and specifically stands out in Pierre Bourdieu's work.

Aware of the interest advanced by social sciences, the practice of the dowry has from an early stage been questioned in the field of economics. In applying the economic theory to more sensitive and important personal decisions, such as choosing a spouse or having a child, Gary Becker published his work, *The Teatrise on The Family*, in 1981. It was considered to be of major importance with regards to the study of family economics and the demographic issues related to it. In targeting the problem of the dowry, we have seen more recently, a series of publications that, in accordance with the historical analysis of the evolution of the dowry, seek to examine the prevalence of this phenomenon in current societies. The fact of the matter is that the analysis of the dowry in the Orient – where it still remains rooted – is currently one of the focal points of investigation. The intention is to evaluate the role of the female with regards to the relationships where the paternal and marital dominance prevails; South-East Asia and particularly India, along with some African countries are considered important to this case study.

In addition to the interest shown by the scientific scholars, previously referred to, the study of marriage and the dowry in the historical science field became of great interest in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Christopher Brooke is a faculty member of the University of Cambridge and took on a major role in the initial stages of the historical investigation pertaining to marriage. The book, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* must be pointed out for its meaningful contribution, whereby the author discusses the nature of marriage in the Middle Ages, in its most varied aspects – social, political, legal and religious – simultaneously analyzing marriage present in contemporary art and literature. Other authors, such as Gérard Bouchard and Alan Macfarlane were fundamental in the initial historiographical vision of the marriage system.

For its part, marriage and the dowry have been found to be the focus of analysis in the field of historical demography; it is evident in the work carried out by The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure founded by Peter Laslett and E.A. Wrigley in 1964. In analyzing the inconsistencies found in the family households, the group's objective was to evaluate the various family systems in European societies and its evolution or constancy during the past centuries.

The basis of the social class pyramid, with regards to the concept of family especially in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, regained a prominent position in social sciences and humanities due to its influence on the ever-changing social dynamics. It is certain that the transformation of the family role has since then been a subject

of comprehensive study, a greater understanding of this subject is still possible through continual and extensive dialogue between scholars of this field. If with regards to demography, the family concept renews itself through the process of birth, marriage, and death, in historiographical literature surfaced with a new train of thought regarding the family structure, beginning with the process of coexistence, the influence of the public and private sectors, as well as the defining roles of the genders.

In this way, through the various lines of approach that are intended for this study, the interdisciplinary approach is a vital tool for the recovery of this widespread phenomenon. Thus, the dowry and how it fits into the family network remains a constant debate among historians, sociologists, anthropologists and economists, regarding it as an ongoing issue, however, it has been revised at various intervals due to the evolving of the topic.

From the perspective of several authors, the dowry has proven to be common practice among the family households and serves as a means of continuum of the family system along with the social, economic, mental and political reality of its day. The dowry conveys contrasting realities represented by the following points: the importance of the land directed towards agriculture and its influence in the family's identity.

Understanding the popularity of the dowry as an object of historical study while considering it the driving force for the initiation or use of new methodologies requires prior investigation of the diverse and the wide ranging perspectives associated to it. In the ambit of investigation, the dowry system carried out through a mutual contract, not only appealed to historians to gain greater understanding of the private and public sectors, nor even the status that the dowry offered to individuals in society. It also serves as an example for extrapolating information from the various areas giving historians the opportunity to exchange opinions. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to place into effect a multi-disciplinary plan to achieve a more tangible reality that supports broader theories, discussions and, consequently, the expansion of historical science.

## Marriage and the dowry in the 18<sup>th</sup> century

The Earl of Coculim in 1711 addressed a letter to D. Luís da Cunha, who at that time was in London, stating that there had never been so many marriages in Portugal. Across the land, "lengthy dowry and property acquisition contracts were settled (...)".<sup>12</sup> The fact is that the 18<sup>th</sup> century was flagged for its marriage movement and also some mutations in the social and family life. One the one hand, the family met with transformations, both in its composition and also



in its relationships and affections.<sup>13</sup> The women also began to free themselves of the austere restraints of social seclusion imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>14</sup> According to Júlio Dantas, the religious procession brought the courtship into the streets, the “Lausperene” (Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament) brought it to the church and the play of gifts was saved for the family gatherings in the evening.<sup>15</sup>

Known in the “Minho” as “conversar” (to converse), the courtship always preceded the marriage.<sup>16</sup> For its part, this was set as a rule for the negotiation period of the dowry. The dowry, pre-nuptial gift, took on a leading role in the household, since it was considered an important means to help out with the burden of the marriage expenses.

Both the bride and groom began their married life with the family dowry. Commonly associated with the feminine gender, the dowry also contemplated the male counterpart. Moreover, we must point out the importance of the dowry system in order to comprehend gender dichotomy.<sup>17</sup> Establishing a rank of excellence in the encounter between male and female, the study of gender relations cannot be separated from the family environment. Allowing one to simultaneously understand the similarities of the family household, the dowry enables an in-depth look into the position of the male and female in the mental and cultural framework of society.

Setup in a geographical context, where only one city existed, the “Minho”, along the 18<sup>th</sup> century was considered a predominantly rural region, where the majority of the population lived off the land and cattle.<sup>18</sup>

This is understood to be a meaningful subject of study for gathering information on family history, and, consequently, of the social structures, the dowry agreement was treated as an important system for reestablishing the “Minho’s” household in the northwestern region of Portugal, along the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was also perceived in a physical sense and symbolically in the family organization, including long-term coexistence.<sup>19</sup>

At the outset, it is necessary to point out the person responsible for the dowry. There was normally a family connection between those who received the dowry and those who paid it. The dowry was generally the responsibility of the parents of those engaged to be married. However, particularly in the city of Braga, we noted that there are a variety of people who are responsible for the dowry. Starting with the parents, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, or even the grandparents, we observed that the family took on a leading role when negotiating the dowry.<sup>20</sup>

Although they claimed a prominent position, the family members did not always play the role. In many cases, the bridegrooms simultaneously adopt this role. We present the dowry of Tomé da Silva and Maria Luisa as an example, both

residents in the parish of “São Victor”. This dowry took place in 1780; a betrothed set the dowry themselves “with his dwellings by his backyard and wells that are his possession, located on Rua da Regoa de São Victor, which are legitimately his through the inheritance of his deceased parents”.<sup>21</sup> In all these cases, they assumed their own dowry as a consequence of their parent’s death.

In this situation, we speculate that this act took place due to the change in representatives and does not constitute an exclusive obligation of the parents. For example, a single dowry could include more than one representative. In 1789 in order to marry Francisco Correia, Maria Teresa Pereira, from the parish of “São Lázaro”, dowry was set by her parents, as well as her aunt Teresa Pereira that justified her dowry “because I take great pleasure in this marriage and the love and affection that she holds for she who is married”.<sup>22</sup>

Just as the dowry could be negotiated by different family members, it could also be comprised of a variety of different assets. It could include anything from land, real estate, furniture, money, and such items, and therefore the dowries were diversified, and so being impel a deep retrospective study initially directed towards the differences between the rural and urban areas.<sup>23</sup> It was a practice that imposed the transmission of personal property and land throughout the generations. The study of the dowry helps us to understand the concept of the urban and rural area, taking into consideration two main variations: on the one hand, the evolution of the public and private concepts, evident in the distribution or sharing in the homes; and on the other, the understanding of the meaning of home, through the expression of power an family dynamics.

Nevertheless, in order to conduct a study of the dowry system the geographical context must be included, since those involved are influenced by the territory in which they reside, especially with regards to the land and estates. The fact is that from the study of the dowry, we are able to examine the family domain its roots. Because the dowry is unique, they vary according to class and social status, composed of rural and urban properties, furniture, cattle, monetary funds, among other assets.

With regards to the estate, we point out the dowry in the “Minho” region and its land, which is primarily agricultural and considered the main sustenance of the nuclear family and the driving force of the “Minho’s” rural economy. In addition to the crop fields, the land also included the residence, as well as other structures related to agricultural activity, such as barns, granaries, wine cellars, threshing grounds, mills and others. Another choice of dowry, for example, could include fields, plots of land, vegetable gardens, and windmills. In some cases, the property might only contemplate the housing, and not any agricultural land.<sup>24</sup> We present Félix Dias as an example; in 1790 he arranged his own dowry to marry Teresa Ferreira, “with all of the personal property

he possesses, located in the said parish of Dadim and Nogueiró, and the home in which he lives named Paço de baixo (...) along with all of his belongings”.<sup>25</sup> In 1792, Francisca Maria Fernandes, widow, gave her daughter Rosa Maria in dowry, both from the parish of “Gualtar” “three ground level houses with the Eido property where she currently lives, and two plots of land known as Leiras na Veiga for annual grains”.<sup>26</sup>

In order to help out the new couple with the properties they received, they were generally also bestowed agricultural tools and animals. We refer to Manuel Gomes de Araújo and his dowry, resident in the parish of “Santo Estevão de Penso”. The dowry was bequeathed by his parents and included some rural properties, a pair of cows, two bulls, two cars, two plows and all the other agricultural tools required for working the land.<sup>27</sup>

Regarding dowries of property estates in the urban centers, they were generally ground floor and two floor homes. This was the case of Rosa Ludovina Clara’s dowry; resident on “Rua do Souto” that in 1796 was bequeathed by her parents “with some homes that they possess on Rua de Maximínios of this same city (...) which have two floors, with its garden (...)”.<sup>28</sup>

On another plane, we verify the movable assets. The fact is that this is of particular relevance in the study of family life, as it allows one to study the differences between the distribution of the new household, as well as the intimate relationship. The clothing had a prominent role in the female dowry since almost all of them included dresses for the bride. Yet, it is important to point out that the male dowry also included clothing but not as many. We point out Maria Inácia da Silva’s dowry as an example, residing on “Rua das Águas”, that she saw included in her dowry thirteen blouses of linen and tow, six skirts (two black ones, two white ones, and two green ones) and two large cloaks.<sup>29</sup> The bed linens were also a part of the dowry agreement. It included, bed sheets, quilts, pillows, mattresses or blankets, the bed linens reflect the need and importance of the interior decoration of the home, particularly in the bedroom on the wedding day.

Besides the clothing, the dowry could also include articles in gold or household utensils, such as, kitchen utensils, such as tablecloths and cloth napkins.<sup>30</sup> Finally, we mention the furniture. With regards to this, we highlight the hope chest and glory box. In most of the cases they came with the dowry clothing, especially in the female dowry. It served as a simple furnishing and had its place in most of the homes. Although it was mainly used for storing the clothing, it also served to store other goods, such as food.<sup>31</sup>

The fact is that the dowry was a means of showing the family’s economic power; we found that the value of the endower encourages one to explore the stratum of differences related to the social status. This is a crucial factor to be investigated in order to understand the different types of family structures and how

they are organized, making it possible to map the various regional socio-economic scenarios.

On the other hand, the analysis of the endower convinces us to study the material culture, allowing one to learn about the transfer of personal goods between parents and their offspring, especially the females.

The fact is, that since the dowry is a bilateral contract it is characterized by unique peculiarities. In 1781, André Francisco, widower, bequeathed to his daughter, Teresa Maria Luis, all of his personal belongings in the parish of Palmeira, where they resided, along with all of the furniture, animals, agricultural tools and a third of the inheritance reserved for all the burial expenses. However, the endower included in the dowry a set of demands and obligations, such as: reserving part of the annual production of the crops, such as bread, maize, wine and beans; an annual monetary allowance monetary for clothing, footwear, among other needs; upon the death of the endower, the bride and groom would pay all the burial expenses which included prayers for the soul; payment of the debts of the endower that exceeded the sum of 2000 réis.<sup>32</sup>

In short, Teresa Maria Luis would be in possession of the assets bequeathed by her father, but with a trade-off. This is known as “to reserve one’s right”. In other words, the person transmits assets but requires something in return that will benefit them. In this sense, we come to the conclusion that the dowry served as an economic guarantee for the newlyweds, but also to the endower. So, it served as a safeguard, given that through the system of demands and privileges, the endower ensured the family’s conveniences, support in their old age, the salvation of the soul after death, the sustenance from the income of the endower, or gained economic stability through the payment of debts.

Among the other obligations present in the agreement we were able to confirm that they excised their right to cohabit, in a significant number of cases.

To a great extent, this type of stipulation was associated to property assets. In bequeathing the property where they lived, the parents, aunts and uncles or grandparents obligated the bridegrooms to cohabit with them until their death. It is important to point out that, many times, this was the best way to avoid future conflicts with regards to the distribution of space.<sup>33</sup>

Generally, the dowries that were of an agricultural nature also included laboring with the family. It meant, that both those who endower, and the newlyweds would cohabit and work the land together.<sup>34</sup> We refer to Teresa Dias’ dowry in the parish of “Santa Maria de Adaúfe”, who bequeathed to her son, António Dias. His mother had decided that in bequeathing all her property, they would live together and work the agricultural lands together and, therefore, collectively benefit from the income received.<sup>35</sup> It is important to point out, that in many of these cases dividing the

space in the home was defined by both parties. Both the endower and the newlyweds dealt with the division of the space in the home at the moment the dowry agreement was drawn up, which leads one to understand that although they lived together, they needed to maintain their own identity when forming a new household.

It must be noted, that the demand to cohabit did not only include the person who bequeathed the assets. In addition to the individual's personal demands, especially when the dowry was drawn up by the parents, in some cases it also included demands to protect the interests of the brothers and sisters of the bridegrooms. As an example, we point out Bento Gonçalves Fernandes dowry, bequeathed by his parents, the full property estate but they reserved their right to live with him, and his sister was also included in this demand until she got married, and the newlywed's also had to support her.<sup>36</sup>

It is true to state that because we are dealing with the setting up of a new household, the changes in the family space were not significant. Along with the sharing of the home, the property income was also divided between them.<sup>37</sup> The farmland, especially in the rural areas, played a major role in the "Minho's" family household along with the sharing of the home. It is in this context, that we verify the sharing of the income received from assets presented in the dowry. Maria Teresa Luís dowry serves as an example of this type of agreement; we also point out José Alves case in 1780, whose parents included a life term. They established that he had to give them, annually, a third of all the crops and any income it yielded, while they were alive.<sup>38</sup>

From this perspective, it appears that the forming of a new household implied sharing not only the home but also the family income. All of the parties directly or indirectly benefited from the dowry bequeathed to the newlyweds. Marriage and, consequently, the transfer of the estate from parents to their offspring did not mean that the newlyweds were totally independent, but it was rather a form of maintaining family ties alive. The children were responsible for their parent's well-being until the moment of their death, at which time the couple became the principal head of the household.

## Conclusion

Considered a key practice for the survival of the nuclear family, the dowry surpassed the basic marriage contract that only dealt with the bureaucratic aspect of marriage. The dowry was meant to assure the interests of the parties involved, whose newlyweds, more than direct beneficiaries, represented the culmination of successful alliances forged by the endower. The dowry embodied a mutual commitment, mainly through the initiative of the latter,

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that those endowed would care and maintain the estate and, if possible, expand on it, and also support them in their old age.

In it lies the family's potential for "immortality"; set by the transmission of material assets, beginning with material assets to objects of lesser value, and also preserves the memory of the family name. The dowry could, likewise, have been extensive or limited depending on the demands that comprised the dowry agreement between those involved. In this way, the dowry primarily helped out in the redistribution of power within the family structure. The distribution or transmission of property through the generations, of small ornamental pieces, contributed to "immortalizing" the memory of their ancestors, and redefined the space in the home in a dual manner: on the one hand the reliquary that preserved the identity and structure of a group, and on the other the vital part of society - the family - reborn, molded to the new interests that emerged with the passing of time, as well as the answers to social issues that arise, in a society that is flexible and subject to change.

## Notes

1. Braga's District Archive (known as: ADB), Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book no. 830, fl. 1.

2. Flandrin, Jean-Louis, *Familias: parentesco, casa e sexualidade na sociedade antiga*, 2<sup>o</sup> ed., Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1995, p. 194.

3. See Mota, Guilhermina, "A Igreja, a Mulher e o Casamento no século XVIII", in Marques, Maria Alegria Fernandes (coord.), *Mulher: espírito e norma*, in *Actas do IV Encontro Cultural de São Cristóvão de Lafões*, São Cristóvão de Lafões, Associação dos Amigos do Mosteiro de São Cristóvão de Lafões, 2009, p. 103.

4. See Mattoso, José, *A Escrita da História - Teoria e Métodos*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1988, p. 186.

5. See Mattoso, José, A Escrita da História..., p. 184; Mota, Guilhermina, "A Igreja, a Mulher e o Casamento...", p. 103.

6. Instituted as the seventh sacrament, marriage had all its canons reiterated in the Council of Trent. Of a strongly punitive nature, the Council determined a set of changes in order to impose austerity and formality in the act of matrimony. Post Trent Council, the marriage ceremony came to depend on a set of formalities. From the publication of the three baths, testimonial of age, affiliation and a worshiper of Roman Catholic Church, and the mandatory presence of a priest and witnesses along with the Council, the validation of the matrimony required a greater and deeper scrutiny. See Fernandes, Maria de Lurdes Correia, *Espelhos, cartas e guias: casamento e espiritualidade na Península Ibérica: 1450-1700*, Porto, Institute of Portuguese Culture, Faculty of Letters, University of Porto, 1995, pp. 201-203; Silva, Nuno Espinosa Gomes, *História do Casamento em Portugal. Um esboço*, Lisboa, *Universidade Católica Editora*, 2013, pp. 91-98.

7. See Mattoso, José, *A Escrita da História...*, p. 184.

8. See Ramos, Anabela, "Casar, mas receber dote: estratégias familiares na escritura dotal (Mangualde, 1684/1715)", in Araújo, Maria Marta Lobo de; Esteves, Alexandra, *Tomar estado: dotes e casamentos (séculos XVI-XIX)*, Braga, CITCEM, 2010, p. 74.

9. The marriage contracts were drawn up before the marriage ceremony by the notary public in his office, or at the bride or groom's residence, or of the those chosen by the grantors - in these cases, the notary was sent with a service ticket following the rules of work distribution.

This public instrument should always be signed by all those present, or in case they did not know how to write, it was verbally. The dowry included (the newlyweds), the endower, along with the witnesses. In case they could not participate in the public act, the bridegrooms or endower would be represented by a solicitor. See Seabra, Maria Judite C.R., "A mulher e o dote na segunda metade do Século XVIII", in *Antropologia Portuguesa*, n<sup>o</sup> 1, 1983, p. 45.

10. *Ordenações Filipinas*, Book IV, Title XLVI, Articles 1-3; Title XLVIII, Articles 1-7; Title LXV, Articles 1-3

11. This ancestral practice dates back to Classical Antiquity. In Ancient Greece and Imperial Rome, this was assumed to be a basic practice of the marriage system that the wife's property, would be transmitted to the husband by her parents or other endower who cared for her, in order to cover the marriage expenses. As part of the legacy that the bride took with her to the marriage, it is important to mention that the dowry had no connection to the bride's future inheritance, unlike the one in the Old Regime. It was her husband's responsibility to administer the assets bequeathed while they continued married. In case of death or divorce, the woman or her children could claim the dowry, with some loss, especially if there were children. With the disintegration of the Empire, the Roman law dissolved itself in light of the new customs practiced by the invaders also causing the dowry practice, of the groom offering a dowry to the bride, to become uncommon. Arriving at modern times, it is verified that the dowry agreement is mutual, both groom and bride are bequeathed assets when entering matrimony. It is important to point out that in the Portuguese dowry system we find ties to the ancestral models, specifically when we take a closer look and see that the dowry and the inheritance are separate practices, due to the fact that in case of divorce or death or in the event there were no descendants, the property would revert to the groom, or bride or to their families. According to Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo and Alexandra Esteves, if in Greco-Roman societies, women had the freedom to choose the items of their dowry, in modern times, this decision fell exclusively upon the parents. The authors mention that in the Mediterranean countries, the paternal figure had the absolute freedom to distribute the estate to the descendants, as well as decide what

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would be included in their children's dowry. This authority was included in the legislation itself, which was centered on patriarchal authority. See Araújo, Maria Marta Lobo de; Esteves, Alexandra, *The Dowry System in Rural Mediterranean Europe. A Case Study of Peasant Families in Minho, Portugal*, New York, The Edwin Mellen Press, 2018, p. 43; Rocha, Manuel António Coelho da, *Instituições do Direito Civil Português*, Torno I, Lisboa, Livraria Clássica Editora A.M. Teixeira, 1917, p. 164; Faria, Rui, "Entre o campo e a cidade: bens móveis e de raiz nos dotes de casamento em Guimarães", in Sá, Isabel dos Guimarães; García Fernández, Máximo (direc.) *Portas Adentro: comer, vestir e habitar na Península Ibérica (ss. XVI-XIX)*, Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid e Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2010, p. 173; Evans-Greubbs, Judith, "Marrying and Its Documentation in Later Roman Law", in Reynolds, Philip L., Witte, John (ed.), *To Have and to Hold, Marrying and its Documentation in Western Christendom, 400-1600*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 64-74.

12. Dantas, Júlio, *Amor em Portugal no Século XVIII*, Porto, Livraria Chardron, de Lélo & Irmão, 1916, p. 187.

13. See Esteves, Alexandra, "A Transmissão do património familiar em Viana do Castelo através dos dotes de casamento na primeira metade do século XIX", in Araújo, Maria Marta Lobo de; Esteves, Alexandra, *Tomar Estado: dotes e casamentos (séculos XVI-XVIII...)*, p. 57.

14. See Seabra, Maria Judite C.R., "A mulher e o dote...", p. 54.

15. See Dantas, Júlio, *Amor em Portugal no Século XVIII...*, p. 172.

16. See Esteves, Alexandra, "A Transmissão do património familiar em Viana do Castelo...", p. 58.

17. We allude to José Mattoso's vision regarding the development of the gender issue in historiography. According to the author, history is not only understood through the role of the individuals, or the structures of the distribution of the population by social classes, or how the economy works and produces, or through the demographic movements, but also through the male-female dialogue. See Mattoso, José, *A Escrita da História...*, p. 182.

18. See Araújo, Maria Marta Lobo de; Esteves, Alexandra, *The Dowry System in Rural Mediterranean Europe...*, p. 193.

19. Drawn up by a public notary, the dowry agreement presented a set of

specificities which would lead us to the understanding of the dowry and of modern Portugal matrimonial system. From the date and place of the dowry deed, to the grantors and to the relationship between them, birthplace, affiliation and age of the bridegrooms, to the assets included in the dowry and the imposed conditions by the endower(s), all information present in the agreements are assumed to be important, elements of analysis in order to draw up a study to evaluate the characteristics and differences among the newlyweds, dowries and endowers. The witnesses' own evaluation and the existence or not of relationship with the other grantors is analytically relevant.

20. It should be noted that parental endowment does not mean that both parents endower. In many cases, the newlyweds are endowed by a single parent who, in most cases, is a widower. Maria da Cunha, from the parish of Santa Lucrecia, was exclusively endowed by her mother, a widow at that time who, in her endower of 1788, endowed her daughter with gold objects and some immovable assets. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book n°. 859, fl. 119.

21. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book n°. 828, fl. 26.

22. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book n°. 862, fl. 174.

23. In the specific case of the city of Braga, we verify two types of contracts, on the one hand the dowries from the outskirts of the city (rural areas), and on the other those from the urban city center.

24. Rui Faria, "Entre o campo e a cidade...", p. 177.

25. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book n°. 867, fl. 128v.

26. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book n°. 869, fl. 98.

27. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book n°. 790, fls. 44-45.

28. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, public notary Manuel José Fernandes Rego, book n°. 145, fl. 26 v.

29. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book no. 790, fls. 44-45v.

30. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book no. 789, fls. 99-99v; book n°. 790, fls. 44-45.

31. Faria, Rui, "Entre o campo e a cidade...", p. 181.

32. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book n°. 788, fl. 196.

33. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book n°. 788, fls. 195-196.



## Notes

34. According to the author, Jack Goody, in pre-industrial Europe in the rural areas, the residential homes were relatively larger, and two or three generations of family members lived under the same roof. See Goody, Jack, "Prefácio", in Burguière, André; Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane; Segalen, Martine; Zonabend, Françoise (dirs.) *História da Família*, vol. III, Lisboa, Terramar, 1986, p. 8.

35. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book n<sup>o</sup>. 789, fls. 133-133

36. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book n<sup>o</sup>. 789, fl. 109.

37. In eighteenth-century Europe we find examples, such as the ones we have presented, indicating that the constitution of the European household space at the time had common characteristics. The analysis of marriage contracts in Saint-André-des-Alpes, in Haute-Provence, exemplify this congruity. In this region, an in-depth analysis of marriage dowries revealed that the young couples cohabited with the parents of either the husband or wife, this sharing of the home was more frequent with the richer families since it was necessary to have a considerably large house with enough assets where two couples could comfortably live in it. Ultimately, parents could not request to cohabit if they were not in a position to offer their son or son-in-law a tempting estate. We also highlight the American case, more specifically, the South American region, where sharing the home was also common. In the region of Huánuco, Peru, the newlyweds, parents, grandparents, sisters, widows, single, sick and disabled family members shared the home. See Flandrin, Jean Louis, *Famílias. Parentesco, casa e sexualidade...*, p. 96; Bernand, Carmen; Gruzinski, Serge, "Os filhos do apocalipse: as famílias na América Central e nos Andes", in Burguière, André; Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane; Segalen, Martine; Zonabend, Françoise (dirs.), *Historia da Família...*, p. 137.

38. ADB, Braga's Notary Fund, *General Note*, book n<sup>o</sup>. 830, fl. 1.



JOANA VIEIRA PAULINO\*

# Being an abandoned child in 19<sup>th</sup> century Lisbon

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During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, child abandonment was an anonymous, legal and generalized practice, materialized on the Foundling Houses and the wheels. The proliferation of these type of institutions and mechanism wasn't exclusive of Portugal, being common in European Catholic states such as Spain, France and Italy.<sup>1</sup>

However, the legality of child abandonment brought the abuse of such practice. The number of children exposed at Foundling Houses grew, along with their mortality, living conditions were deplorable, and there were considerable expenses involved in the upbringing of these minors. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the reception model in force was questioned by the State, institutions and intellectuals, who considered the end of anonymous abandonment and the wheel, and the adoption of a new admission system.

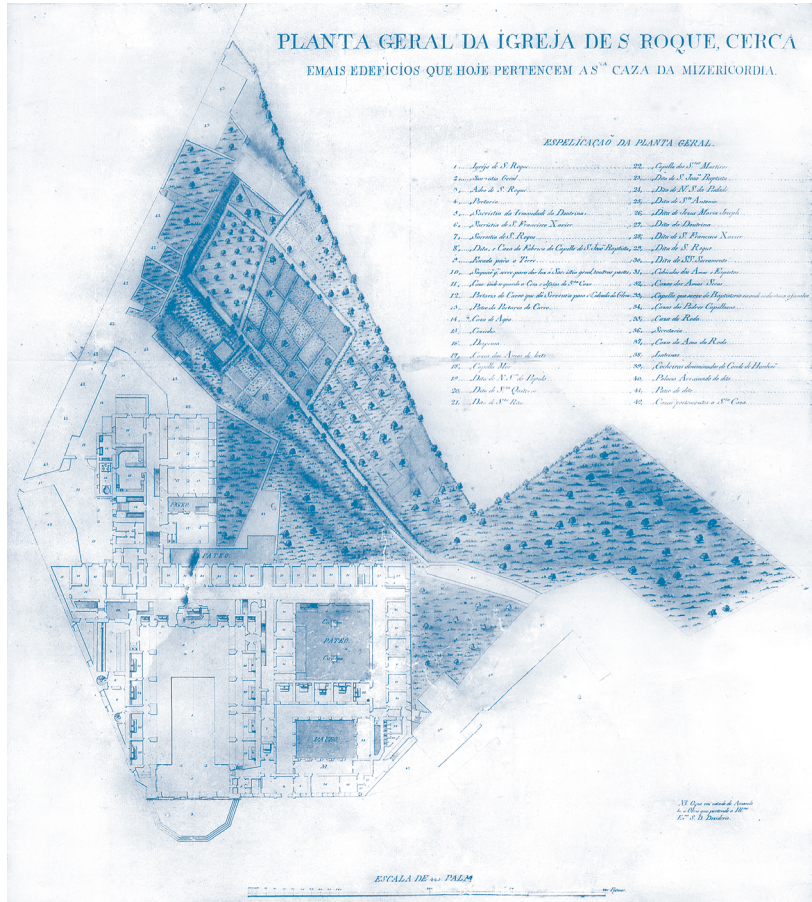
The decree of 1867 closed the wheels. Instead, controlled admission was imposed, and breastfeeding allowances were generalized. Although this decree was revoked after a few months, these measures were gradually applied throughout the Kingdom. In 1870, the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa* (literally, the Holy House of Mercy, henceforth the SCML), responsible for raising abandoned children in the Portuguese capital, Lisbon, ended with the anonymous abandonment and adopted these initiatives.

This article, divided in two parts, will firstly seek to contextualize child abandonment in Portugal and in Lisbon, mainly focusing on the 19<sup>th</sup> century, by providing a reflection on the change from the anonymous exposures to a new reception model. It will be carried out through a qualitative analysis of the sources issued by the Ministry of the Realm (*Ministério do Reino*), legislation, writings from doctors and intellectuals, the press, minutes of the SCML Board of Administration and the bibliography consulted.<sup>2</sup>

On a second moment, it is our goal to study the life course of foundlings whose guardianship belonged to the SCML and that, at some point of their lives, lived in Encarnação, a parish in the centre of Lisbon. It will help us confirm the thesis argued by contemporary doctors, intellectuals and by the SCML, stressing that children sent to urban wet nurses had a lower probability of being integrated within a family and society, having a higher mobility. How many wet nurses did they have, who were them and their families? Did those children get any education or learnt a craft? Did they get married? Was there a big geographical and within family's mobility of Lisbon's abandoned children? The main sources to pursue these questions, among others, were *Róis de Confessados*<sup>3</sup> from Encarnação and individual sources for each child in the SCML's archive.<sup>4</sup>

Image 1  
São Roque Building,  
beginning of the 19th  
century.

Source: AHSCML, *Planta geral do edifício de São Roque*, c. 1808-1815.



## The 19<sup>th</sup> century: a change of mentality regarding anonymous child abandonment

### Foundlings' welfare system in the first half of the century and the case of Lisbon's Foundling Home

In Portugal, from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when places did not have hospitals or shelters to raise foundlings, local authorities were responsible for their guardianship. Some *Misericórdias*, on a voluntary basis and once they started administrating hospitals (mainly in the cities), took charge of these minors, with the cost being borne by local authorities.<sup>5</sup>

In Lisbon, it was in 1564 that the contract between the municipal council and the SCML was signed, and the later started managing capital's major hospital, Todos-os-Santos Hospital, where the Foundling House was placed. But, in the early 1750's there was a fire

in the hospital buildings and, in 1755, an earthquake that destroyed the city. The Foundling House was then transferred to São Roque building, in the parish of Encarnação.<sup>6</sup> [\[Image 1\]](#)

In 1783, in a pioneering act within the European context, Pina Manique (1733–1805), head of the Intendancy-General of Police, ordered the creation of institutions for foundlings (with wheels) in all administrative centres, considering the high infanticide and abortion rates, which were depriving the Kingdom of individuals useful for its progress. Silence, secrecy and anonymity from then on legality ruled the world of abandonment and no attempt was made to identify those carrying it out.<sup>7</sup>

Despite the existence of a Foundling House in Lisbon, this order was not complied throughout the Kingdom. At the same time, the *Misericórdias* were experiencing economic problems, aggravated by the fact that local authorities didn't obey their financial obligations towards the foundlings. Abandonment in neighbouring municipalities was also frequent, aiming to avoid an increase in taxes in the child's municipality of origin.<sup>8</sup> For example, in Lisbon, to pay for this welfare service (as well as to meet the needs of the hospital) the SCML asked queen D. Maria I to open an annual lottery, which started in 1783.<sup>9</sup>

The lack of wet nurses and the delay on their precarious salaries was another a current problem. The general goal was to send the abandoned children to external wet nurses living in rural areas. But, the lack of these workers, led institutions to give the children to any women who would raise them, without considering their health or behaviour. In Lisbon, in 1830's, the payment of their salaries was five months delayed and the SCML recognized the accumulation of foundlings inside the institution, which had a poor level of hygiene, with a lack of clothes, no fresh air or recreational areas.<sup>10</sup>

When constructing the Liberal State, in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, government took on a decisive role in assuming responsibility for public welfare, one aspect of the Welfare-State. It was within this context that the 1836 decree, by Passos Manuel (1801–1862), uniformed the service provided to foundlings. The joint arrangement between *Misericórdias* / local authorities ended, with responsibility falling exclusively on the latter. Lisbon became an exception, since the SCML kept capital's abandoned children guardianship and improved its service by making São Roque building more spacious, bright, airy and by creating recreational areas. Wet nurses' salaried were also paid and increases, in order to receive a greater influx of these employees.<sup>11</sup>

## Debates about the foundling wheel, government's intervention and the end of legal anonymous abandonment

In Portugal and abroad where the wheel was institutionalized, a debate emerged in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century but became more avid during the mid-century, led by doctors and intellectuals. They didn't question the viability of the Foundling Houses, but the anonymous abandonment and the wheels, which should be replaced by controlled and justified admissions, policemen around the institutions and a generalization of lactation subsidies. Mentalities changed, from populationist goals and safeguard of feminine (and families) honour, to a major concern towards parental responsibility and protecting children by keeping them among their family. The SCML also placed itself against the wheel, believing that the large number of abandonments weren't due to destitution, but rather to the existence of this mechanism "which not only increasingly promotes the abandonment of children, but even appears to forgive this, inculcating the idea that there is nothing reprehensible with this action, since society accepts it with indifference".<sup>12</sup>

The fight against child anonymous abandonment was officiated in 1862 following government intervention in the public debate with the nomination of a committee which proposed three solutions (already considered in the debate): replacing foundling wheels by district hospices with controlled admission; encouraging women to declare they were pregnant;<sup>13</sup> generalizing breastfeeding allowances, following proven poverty.

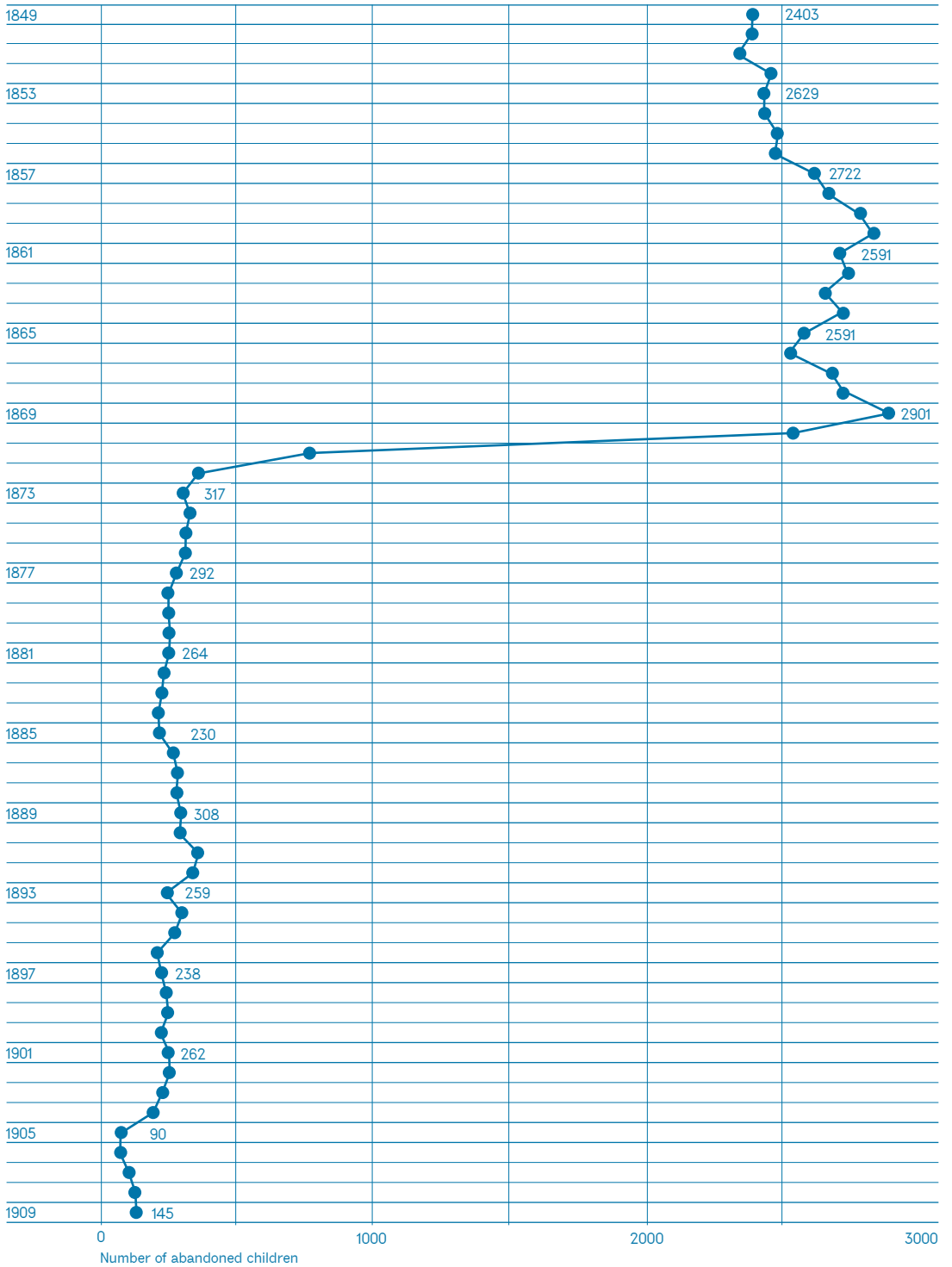
In 1862–1863 a total of 15 385 children were abandoned in the Kingdom, 3 135 in Lisbon's Foundling House, which represented 20%. There were 52 552 foundlings, 16 994 (32%) of them guarded by capital's institution. The measures proposed by the committee and supported by the SCML were enshrined in the decree of 21 November 1867, which abolished anonymous child abandonment in Portugal and, along with this, the foundling wheels. Despite the decree being revoked at the start of 1868, as part of *Janeirinha* (a protest movement that led the government to fall), foundling wheels were gradually closed throughout the Kingdom, and the measures applied, showing the unsustainability of the previous model.<sup>14</sup> [Chart 1]

From 1864, the closure of the wheels in Lisbon's district municipalities had immediate consequences on the abandonment's growth at the SCML, since no hospices were created, or lactation subsidies generalized. In 1869–1870, 2 901 children were abandoned there. When a new administration board took office in August 1870 it criticised the admission of children from other municipalities and the possibility of abandonment at any hour of the day. In December, the wheel was put inside the SCML, anonymous child abandonment ended, and a controlled and justified model was applied. The change was carried out "with almost no setbacks".<sup>15</sup>

**Chart 1**  
Evolution of the total of abandoned children in the SCML between 1849 and 1910, economic years.

Source: Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, *Relatório que a Mesa da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa dirigiu ao illustrissimo senhor Ministro e Secretario d'Estado dos Negócios do Reino com as contas da gerência do anno económico de...*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1850–1911.

# BEING AN ABANDONED CHILD IN 19TH CENTURY LISBON





If during legal anonymous abandonment almost 3.000 children were exposed each year, the end of this practice led to a big quantitative change, with a decrease to about 10% (without an increase in infanticide and abortion, as seems to have happened in other European Catholic states). The hospices in the municipalities close to Lisbon, like Belém and Olivais, were created in 1871, allowing a decline in the number of children admitted in the SCML. Breastfeeding subsidies were also very important for this tendency.<sup>16</sup> Despite the immediate reduction in the abandonment, the SCML continued to criticise the considerable number of minors for which it was responsible. From 1871, measures were applied to reduce their quantity, such as: restricting admission to children from Lisbon or whose mothers had lived in the capital in the nine months prior to birth; giving grants to parents so they would recover their children; providing police reinforcements around the institution, and granting monetary payments of 20\$000 réis to who helped to locate those who had abandoned their children. The SCML was not only preventing child abandonment, but also trying to moralize Lisbon's society.<sup>17</sup>

## A life course analysis of foundlings who lived in the parish of Encarnação, Lisbon

### Raising stages of a foundling

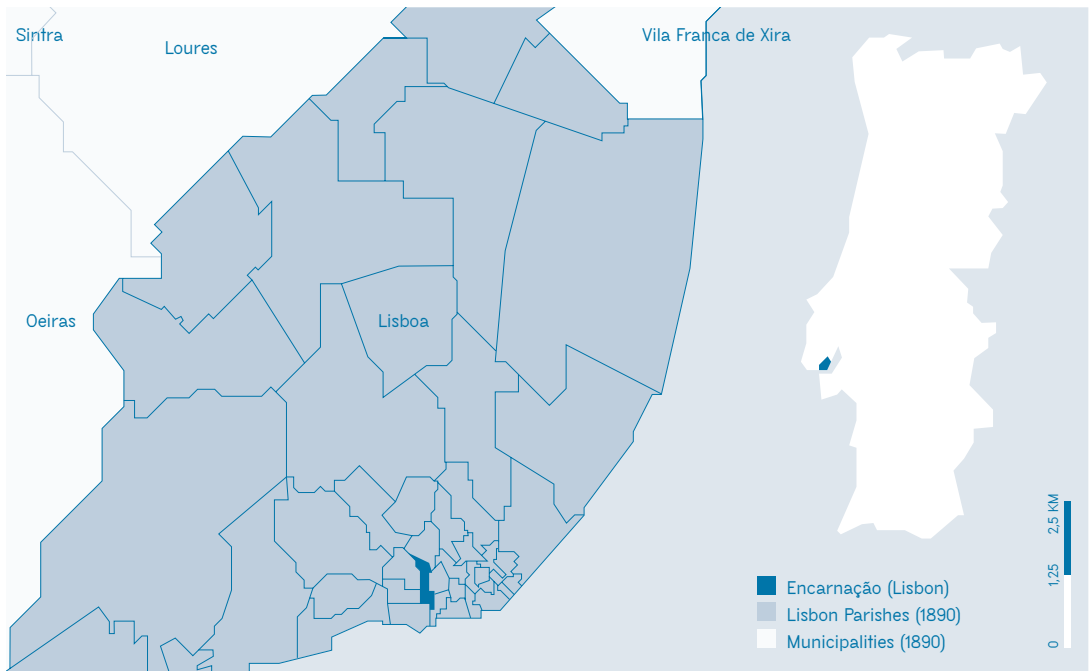
Sending children to a wet nurse was a common practice in European society, used by families, mostly, by the richer ones, but also by institutions with foundlings' guardianship. It was in 18<sup>th</sup> century France that it was generalized to the urban society, including families from popular classes. Nevertheless, contemporaries believed that children would develop healthier when raised by wet nurses living in the countryside.<sup>18</sup>

Foundlings' wet nurses were the poorest of this working class. There were several reasons which led these women to raise one or more abandoned children – wanting to have a/one more son or daughter or filling in the death of one; the importance of the salary received to their family economic context; or the need for an extra working force.

There were different stages in foundlings' raising, according to their age:<sup>19</sup>

Breastfeeding stage: it lasted until the child was one year old, while he/she was breastfed by a wet nurse whose milk was examined by the SCML doctor. They couldn't breastfeed another child at the same time or stop feeding the foundling before the period

## BEING AN ABANDONED CHILD IN 19TH CENTURY LISBON



**Map 1**  
Parish of Encarnação,  
municipality of Lisbon.

determined. Married or widows, their biological son/daughter should be dead or more than one year old. Out of all the external wet nurses these were the best paid.<sup>20</sup>

**Dry stage:** it lasted between one and 10 years old. Foundlings should be raised by women with enough means of subsistence and good behavior, certified by the local authorities. The breastfeeding wet nurse could keep the child she had raised, going through all the stages. From the age of seven the minor should attend primary education. If he/she learnt to read, write and count the wet nurse received a bonus.<sup>21</sup>

**Clothing term:** the stage after 10 years old. Wet nurses could keep the foundling up to the age of 16, having to follow Christian principles and allowing them to learn a craft or work. According to the SCML these wet nurses and crafts teachers should be charitable and have an exemplary behavior, being chosen with great care.<sup>22</sup>

At the end of clothing term, foundlings were employed and began to earn soldiers paid by the institution. It was common for girls living in Lisbon to work as servants, being registered in a stage/book called servants term. Foundlings could also already be integrated in the family or families that received them.

Wet nurses of all stages had duties, stated in a document given to them with the booklet that identified the foundling and where local authorities wrote everything concerning their raising. They should present foundlings to the SCML when ordered or in inspection days; take care of them like they were their biological children; vaccinate them and take them to the doctor in case of disease; among other mandatory “activities”.<sup>23</sup>

## The foundlings from the parish of Encarnação, Lisbon

The parish of Encarnação was situated in Lisbon municipality and district. It was placed in the centre of the capital, a noble and rich area, where trade predominated. It was also where the SCML had its main building (São Roque). [\[Map 1\]](#)

After identifying 235 foundlings living with wet nurses from Encarnação in *Róis de Confessados*, we found a match to 84 of them in the SCML sources. Were the 151 children that we couldn't locate in the institutional records from other Foundling Houses? They were, probably, from other municipalities but raised by capital's wet nurses, stressing the circulation of abandoned children. For example, in *Róis de Confessados* of 1859, Maximinno is registered as being from Coimbra.<sup>24</sup>

From the end of legal anonymous abandonment in Lisbon (1870), the SCML could be able to fulfil the goal of sending foundlings to wet nurses living in rural areas or small towns. That is how we can justify, after that date, the absence of abandoned children in breastfeeding and dry stages in the wet nurses of Encarnação.

By analysing the 71 foundlings registered in *Róis de Confessados* after 1870, only four of them were boys. The girls were mainly between 15 years old and the 20's, making us wonder if, the most of them, weren't servants in others' households. According to Rachel Fuchs, in Europe, many girls were integrated into domestic services given the security of living in a home and with a family, even if they weren't considered as part of it. The demand for servants increased especially between 1830 and 1914. This was also a common occupation in the city of Lisbon, a service used by all social classes. Nevertheless, the SCML couldn't provide the capital's needs for servants. It didn't have enough foundlings to do this job, since the demand was so high. Other Foundling Houses and Hospices mobilized their abandoned children to serve in capital's houses.<sup>25</sup> [\[Chart 2\]](#)

The 84 foundlings of our case study were mostly girls, institutionalized while new-borns, between 1834 and 1870, abandoned on the wheel (94%).<sup>26</sup> Was there no shame during the exposure? This act might have been facilitated by the existence of a wheel, a Foundling House and the acceptance of the anonymous abandonment. Or were they taken to the SCML by others than their parents, the so called *recoveiras*.<sup>27</sup> The later seems to have been the strongest hypotheses, recognized by the SCML as a current practice, justifying that most of the exposures happened during sunlight (67%).<sup>28</sup>

The clothes children were wearing were old (78%). In fact, foundlings came mainly from poor families, justifying the use of old and cheap fabrics, typical from the Industrial Revolution.<sup>29</sup> Just 33 of them entered the wheel with a sign mainly asking to be given the children a certain name.<sup>30</sup> From the 1860's the SCML didn't consider this request, making it more difficult for parents to identify their son

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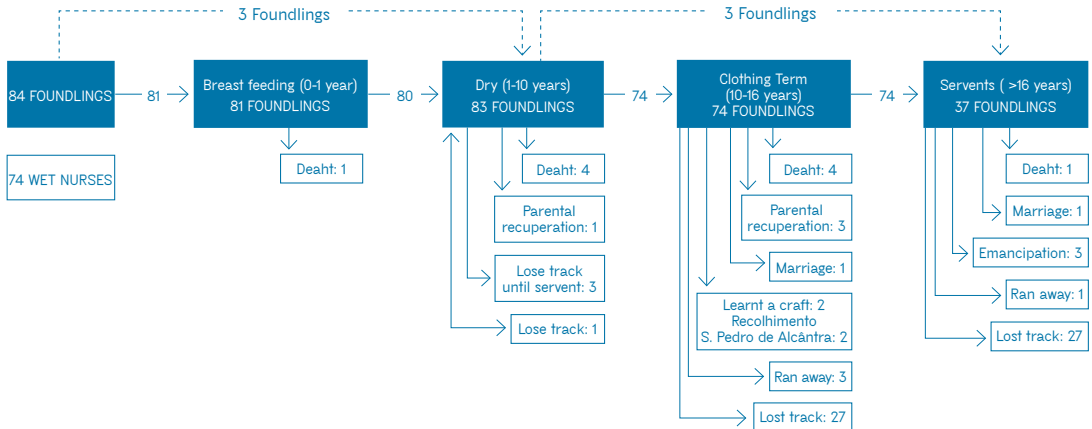


Chart 2  
Evolution of the life course of Encarnação foundlings.

or daughter and avoiding that mothers could become wet nurses of their own child, corrupting the system.

Given the importance of baptism to save the soul, foundlings were immediately baptized, a procedure facilitated by the existence of a structure in São Roque building: the church, the chaplain of baptisms and his helper. Abandoned children were then raised by internal wet nurses, who lived inside the institution and were responsible to breastfeed them while waiting to be sent to external ones. Despite aiming to send foundlings as fast as possible to the later, they stayed between a week and a week and a half in the SCML.<sup>31</sup>

By analysing the different raising stages of these abandoned children, we testify that the transaction between wet nurses gets intensified as foundlings get older, what can be related to a decrease on wet nurses' salaries. If during breastfeeding stage most of the children stayed in the same wet nurse (70 of them); in the dry stage, they changed between two (28 cases). From the clothing term on we lose the path of most of them. In fact, as we go along raising stages there was a lower control of wet nurses and on the registration of foundlings' life course by the SCML.

Most of the wet nurses were married, due to the institutional preference of the ones who had that marital status. We don't know the job of many of their husbands, just registered as "workers". When we have that information, we know they had popular occupations, standing out the artisans and highlighting manufactural activities like – carpenters, tailors, blacksmiths. Most occupations show us that foundlings were raised by wet nurses from poor families, to whom this financial support could be important.<sup>32</sup>

The places where wet nurses lived changed according to the raising stage, approaching to the big city as children got older. If during breastfeeding stage foundlings were sent to wet nurses living in the municipality of Lisbon and Torres Vedras, from the dry stage on they were raised by workers living in the capital. This reality gets its high point when the girls are already servants, staying in the same house

for short periods of time. Did salaries' decrease prevented children from staying with the same family?

There were just two boys, Jose and João, who learnt crafts with masters from Lisbon (although João ran away). Carolina and Eliza developed their education in *Recolhimento de São Pedro de Alcântara*, finishing it with the grade Good.<sup>33</sup> But these wasn't the common path of abandoned children. From this case study, 37 girls became servants and changed from a total of 224 houses in Lisbon parishes (considering this service as mainly being related to urban areas), where they served from two weeks to two years. There was one girl that served in 45 houses! Nevertheless, we lost the track of 26 girls, making us wonder if they were integrated in the families they served to or if the institution simply lost their path. We know that five continued to serve in others' households, three got emancipated, one died, one ran away and one got married.

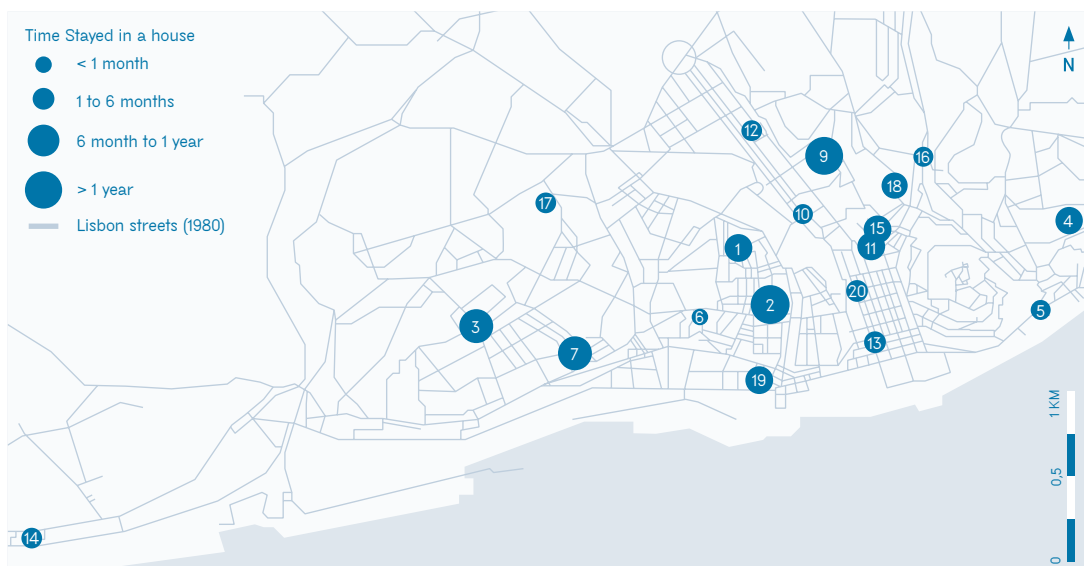
Mortality was low, to what might have contributed the importance given to vaccination and the sent of some children to São José Hospital when they were ill. Contrasting with the idea that most foundlings died during the first year, in this case study only one died in breastfeeding stage, four in dry stage, four during clothing term and another one while she was already a servant. Did these children suffer from any disease? Did it correspond to a period of epidemics? Didn't the wet nurses treat them right?

Parental recuperations weren't also representative. Four girls were recuperated by their parents and three just by the mother, without them having to pay any fee. It occurred when children were already nine, 13 and 15 years old, no longer needing for such attention, care and availability, making it impossible for the mother to work. Were they recuperated in order to be an extra working force for their family?

There were 12 girls who got married, seven of them in the SCML church. The husbands were legitimate sons, single, between 19 and 43 years old, having jobs such as artist, shoemaker and carpenter. These marriages unmask a possible social integration.

Gathering information from *Róis de Confessados* and the SCML records allowed us to know with who foundlings lived with. Despite de variation of people in the same household, there was an average of three individuals living in it. Nevertheless, foundlings integrated mainly houseful (42 cases)-houses where families lived with other people that didn't belong to it-, with a variable number from year to year, which could difficult their integration. For example, in 1850, Balburdia de Meca lived with the wet nurse Gertrudes da Conceição and her two sons. But, from 1852, there were more people living in the same house (between four to six), who didn't belong to the family.<sup>34</sup>

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**Map 2**  
Life course of Joaquina  
between 1853 and 1870.

Raising stages:

- 1 Breastfeeding (1853-1854)
- 2-7 Dry (1854-1864)
- 8-14 Clothing (1864-1868)
- 15-20 Servent (1868-1870)

Parishes:

- 1. Mercês
- 2. Encarnação
- 3. Lapa
- 4. Santa Engrácia
- 5. São Vicente
- 6. Santa Catarina
- 7. Lapa
- 8. São Vicente de Paio  
Mendes, Ferreira do  
Zêzere municipality
- 9. Encarnação
- 10. São José
- 11. Socorro
- 12. Coração de Jesus
- 13. São Julião
- 14. Santa Maria de Belém
- 15. Socorro
- 16. Anjos
- 17. Santa Isabel
- 18. Pena
- 19. São Paulo
- 20. São Julião

### Joaquina's life course: a case study

Joaquina was abandoned at 11h45, 15 January 1853. Born in São José Hospital, she was taken to the SCML wearing old clothes.<sup>35</sup> In the end of that month, Joaquina was given to the breastfeeding wet nurse Margarida Leonor dos Santos, a widow who was already raising another foundling girl, Leonor, and who, in June, would take another one from the SCML called Anna.<sup>36</sup> They lived in the parish of Encarnação (despite several changes of address), with the wet nurse's son (Augusto Pedro), and a single woman (Rita da Asumpção). It was probably the death of Margarida's husband (Joaquim Eugenio dos Santos) that led her to look for an alternative income, raising foundlings to earn money.

Notwithstanding the financial motivation Margarida took good care of these children. Joaquina was vaccinated (1853) and the wet nurse received a bonus because she treated them with “all punctuality, affection and cleanliness” when they were ill (1855).<sup>37</sup> But, in 1856, Margarida took Leonor, Anna and Joaquina back to the SCML. Did their health condition get worse? The girls were given to different wet nurses. While, some years later, Leonor and Anna died, Joaquina changed frequently between houses (as a servant in some of them), despite staying in the capital. It was a life course that we may consider common of a foundling girl raised by Lisbon wet nurses.<sup>38</sup> [Map 2]

Even though during breastfeeding stage Joaquina just had one wet nurse, who would be her first dry stage one, from then on, her path shows us mobility between houses, mainly in the capital. Passing by several Lisbon parishes, she had six dry stage wet nurses and seven during clothing term.<sup>39</sup> When she “became” an “official” servant, at 15 years old, she continued to change from one house to another.

The high mobility of Joaquina makes us wonder if she started serving during clothing term or, even, during dry stage. She stayed for short periods in each house, which would help us justify the high mobility and the lack of integration in a family. We can also state that during clothing term and as an “official” servant she lived in rich parishes of Lisbon downtown.<sup>40</sup> For example, she served in Monte Brasil Baroness’s house, D. Maria Sebastiana Alvares Botelho (1800–1875), married to José Quintino Dias (1792–1881), where she stayed more than a year. This man, Monte Brasil Baron, was a noble and military, who headed a military pronouncement during Liberal War in Portugal.<sup>41</sup>

## Conclusion

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was the century of the child, with a growing awareness of their importance, not only to the family, but also to the State, which saw them as Nation’s progress. This is how we can justify the measures taken regarding foundlings from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century-fighting infanticide and abortion by generalising Foundling Houses and the wheels-and throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century-fighting child abandonment’s massification by promoting parental responsibility.

Lisbon was an exception in what concerns foundlings’ welfare. Despite the improvements in the service and in the SCML, problems continued, aggravated by the legality of child abandonment which led to an increase on such practice. The end of the anonymous exposures in Lisbon brought a decrease on the admissions. Nevertheless, the SCML still had to apply specific measures, like against public abandonments.

By analysing the life course of some foundlings raised by wet nurses from Encarnação we testified that legal exposures on the wheel happened during the day. They also may have been predicted during pregnancy, since most of children were abandoned after birth. Despite being taken by wet nurses from outside Lisbon in the early stages, as foundlings got older, they were taken to the SCML, probably due to the decrease in the wet nurses’ salary, and given to other living in Lisbon, according to the lack of these workers. The wet nurses’ that raised foundlings belong to the poorest of this working class. They were mainly married to men living from jobs related to the popular classes.

Death, education, parental recuperation and marriage weren’t representative paths for this case study, contrasting with girls serving as servants, a common activity in urban areas and for which the SCML didn’t have enough girls for the demand.

## BEING AN ABANDONED CHILD IN 19TH CENTURY LISBON

The life course of foundlings living in Lisbon was marked by a high mobility and a lack of family integration. Only 4% of them stayed with the same wet nurse from breastfeeding stage until we no longer can track them in religious and institutional records, facilitating family and social sense of belonging.



## Notes

1. Foundling wheels were hollow wooden cylinders which rotated on an axis with a single opening, situated in the windows of buildings. After placing the child there, the person abandoning the infant rang a bell located on the wall to inform the wheel attendant of the arrival. The latter, inside the Foundling House, collected the minor and provided him/her with initial healthcare. The first Foundling House was the *San Spirito* Hospital, in Rome, founded by a religious order in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Such institutions rapidly expanded throughout Italian cities, and in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, to other parts of Catholic Europe. Sá, Isabel dos Guimarães, “Abandono de crianças, infanticídio e aborto na sociedade portuguesa tradicional através das fontes jurídicas”, in *Penelope*, nº 8, 1992, p. 79; Ransel, David, *Mothers of Misery: Child Abandonment in Russia*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988, pp. 4–6.

2. No in-depth studies have been carried out concerning this transition in Lisbon, the largest Portuguese city, which at that time was experiencing a population growth – largely as a result of immigration – as well as urban, economic and social changes. Nevertheless, there are several researches about child abandonment in other parts of Portugal and in other European States.

3. It was an annual obligation of parish priests to carry out a “census”, *Róis de Confessados*, where they registered all those who lived in each household specifying, among other information, their names, ages, marital status and sometimes their job and other details (like being a foundling or not). This registration wasn't mandatory for children under seven years old, however, in Encarnação they did it.

4. *Róis de Confessados* allowed to check, from 1850 to 1910, all foundlings living in Encarnação, abled us to know with whom they lived and, sometimes, to follow their life course when the institution no longer has records. After identifying these children in *Róis de Confessados*, we analyzed institutional records, since they entered the SCML until we lost their track.

5. The *Misericórdias* were brotherhoods of charity and welfare, concerning especially the poor, ill and prisoners (children and abandoned children were not a main concern, nevertheless they could belong to the group of the ‘poor’). They were based on religious values but protected and created by the royal power

and neglecting church's mastery. The first *Misericórdia* was founded in Lisbon (1498). Lopes, Maria Antónia, “Os pobres e a assistência pública”, in *História de Portugal. O Liberalismo (1807–1890)*, vol. 5, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 1993, p. 501–515.

6. Abreu, Laurinda, “Purgatório, Misericórdias e caridade: condições estruturantes da assistência em Portugal (séculos XV–XIX)”, in *Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinam Scientiarumque. Historiam Illustrandam*, vol. 20, 2000, p. 395; Lopes, Maria Antónia, “Os socorros públicos em Portugal, primeiras manifestações de um Estado-Providência (séculos XVI–XIX)”, in *Estudos do Século XX*, nº 13, 2013, p. 20–21.

7. Child abandonment decriminalisation would be followed by Spain (1796) and France (1811). Lopes, Maria Antónia, “Os pobres e a assistência pública”, in *História de Portugal. O Liberalismo (1807–1890)*, vol. 5, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 1993, p. 503; Le Boulanger, Isabelle, *L'abandon d'enfants*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2011, p.15–16; Pérez Moreda, Vicente, *La infancia abandonada en España (siglos XVI–XX). Discurso leído el día 8 de mayo de 2005 em la recepción pública del Excmo. Sr. Don Vicente Pérez Moreda ...*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 2005, p. 35.

8. The SCML considered this practice as an abuse, pressuring the government to legislate in this regard and even submitting a proposal in 1850's, although it has never been applied. The SCML local authorities recognized that this was mainly committed by municipalities close to the capital, as attested by a case that took place in 1853, when a wet nurse was paid by the Torres Vedras City Council to leave children in the SCML foundling wheel. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Ministério do Reino, bdl. 4507, 1853.

9. Sá, Isabel dos Guimarães, “As Misericórdias nas sociedades portuguesas do período moderno”, in *Cadernos do Noroeste*, nº 15 (1–2), 2001, p. 202; Sá, Isabel dos Guimarães, “Abandono de crianças, identidade e lotaria: reflexões em torno de um inventário”, in *Inventário da Criação dos Expostos do Arquivo Histórico da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa*, Lisboa, Santa Casa da Misericórdia, 1998, p. XXI.

10. Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, *Relatório e contas da comissão administrativa da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa relativas ao ano económico de...*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1836, p. 2.

11. Arquivo Histórico da Assembleia da República, *Decree 19 September 1856*; Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, *Relatório e contas da comissão administrativa da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa relativas ao ano económico de...*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1856, p. 3-5; Oliveira, Luísa Santiago de, et. al., *A crise do Antigo Regime e as Cortes Constituintes 1821-1822: estudo e documentos*, vol. 4, Lisboa, Edições Sá da Costa, 1992, pp. 3-4 and 72.

12. Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, *Relatório que a Mesa da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa dirigiu ao illustrissimo e excellentissimo senhor Ministro e Secretario d'Estado dos Negócios do Reino com as contas da gerência do ano económico de...*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1862, p. 4.

In this side of the debate we may also include Francisco de Assis e Sousa Vaz (1797-1870), doctor of the Foundling House in Oporto; Tomás de Carvalho (1819-1897), head nurse at the São José Hospital; and the assistant to the chairperson (and later chairperson) of the SCML, António Figueira e Sousa (1836-1891). They also believed that child mortality in Foundling Houses was very high, which didn't go along with the survival goal that led to the wheels' institutionalization.

13. It already existed but was only consistently applied in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Lopes, Maria Antónia, "Assistência pública à infância após a extinção da Roda dos Expostos: Hospício dos Abandonados e crianças maiores de sete anos (distrito de Coimbra, 1872-1890)", in *Da caridade à solidariedade: políticas públicas e práticas particulares no mundo ibérico*, Braga, Universidade do Minho/Lab2PT, 2016, pp. 1-2.

14. Arquivo Histórico da Assembleia da República, *Decree 21 November 1867*; *Decree 14 January 1868*.

15. Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, *Relatório que a Mesa da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa dirigiu ao illustrissimo e excellentissimo senhor Ministro e Secretario d'Estado dos Negócios do Reino com as contas da gerência do ano económico de...*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1871, p. 5.

16. Subsidies were more frequently conceded from 694 in 1871-1872 to 5 573 in 1909-1910 per year. We only have quantitative data about them from 1870 on. Nevertheless, by reading the institution minutes, we discover that, in the 1850's they were already granted not only to mothers, but also, to other members of the family, mostly, fathers. Santa Casa da

Misericórdia de Lisboa, *Relatório que a Mesa da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa dirigiu ao illustrissimo e excellentissimo senhor Ministro e Secretario d'Estado dos Negócios do Reino com as contas da gerência do ano económico de...*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1871-1911.

17. Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, *Relatório que a Mesa da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa dirigiu ao illustrissimo e excellentissimo senhor Ministro e Secretario d'Estado dos Negócios do Reino com as contas da gerência do ano económico de...*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1871, p. 8.

18. Hunecke, Volker, "Les enfants trouvés: contexte européen et cas milanaís (XVIII-XIX siècles)", in *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, t. 32, Paris, 1985, pp. 15-17.

19. The staged and growth of children represented a decrease in wet nurses' salaries, which was paid to them every three months. These women applied to each of the raising stages by showing documents from the priest of their parish, attesting their good behaviour. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Ministério do Reino, bdl. 4507, 1835.

20. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Ministério do Reino, bdl. 4507, s.d.

21. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Ministério do Reino, bdl. 4507, s.d.

22. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Ministério do Reino, bdl. 4507, 1835.

23. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Ministério do Reino, bdl. 4507, s.d.

24. Arquivo Histórico do Patriarcado de Lisboa, *Rol de Confessados da Encarnação*, book 941, 1859.

25. Fuchs, Rachel, *Gender and Poverty in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 119.

26. Foundlings were also abandoned in São José Hospital and from there taken to the SCML.

27. Women paid to transport abandoned children to the institutions

28. 27% of the children were abandoned during the night and just 5% during dawn, what might represent the shame of the parents in the act of abandonment.

29. From November 1853 the institution no longer registers the condition of the clothes.

30. A sign was a paper, object, plant, ... "attached" to the children when they were left on the wheel. It was used when parents wanted to recuperate their son or daughter.

31. Longer stays can be related to the health condition of the children.

## Notes

If, on one hand, the institution wanted them to be cured, on the other hand, no wet nurse wanted an unhealthy child, which represented an increase in attention, care and financial expenses. Consider the case of Eufemia who was admitted in 1855 and because she was seriously ill stayed in the institution for 30 days. Arquivo Histórico da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, Section: Criação dos Expostos, *Entrada e baptismo dos expostos*, liv. 134, fl. 276v, nº 747.

32. When foundlings were in clothing term or working as servants, we find other jobs related to a higher society level, despite the decrease on registration of wet nurses' husbands' job.

33. This institution received mainly orphan, but also abandoned girls, between 12 and 20 years old, who for four years, learnt the Christian doctrine, to write, read, count, sew and iron, among other skills.

34. Arquivo Histórico do Patriarcado de Lisboa, *Rol de Confessados da Encarnação*, books 932-948, 1850-1867; Laslett, Peter, Wall, Richard, *Household and Family in Past Time*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972.

35. Arquivo Histórico da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, Section: Criação dos Expostos, *Entrada e baptismo*, liv. 131, fl. 196v, nº 99; *Matrícula das amas da casa*, liv. 2, fl. 81.

36. Leonor was abandoned in 1846 and came from Vila Franca de Xira, a municipality close to Lisbon. Anna was exposed in 1852 and had been taken by a previous wet nurse to the SCML when Margarida got her. Arquivo Histórico da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, Section: Criação dos Expostos; *Entrada e baptismo*, liv.122, fl. 195v, nº 2000; *Matrícula das amas da casa*, liv. 1, fl. 80.

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39. The first clothing term wet nurse was in Ferreira do Zêzere, where she only stayed for 17 days.

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CARINA RAQUEL GOMES FERREIRA\*

# Characteristics of the Wheel Nannies of Santo Tirso in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

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## Introduction

This study aims to analyse the characteristics of the nannies who attended the Santo Tirso Wheel, to apply for caregivers of foundlings. In this locality, the Wheel was installed in 1841. It is our objective to know the physical profile and the place of origin of these nannies. In order to carry on this study, we consulted the book of the launching of the foundlings nannies and the register of the payments made to them in the Wheel Circle of Santo Tirso, between 1842 and 1854.

The abandonment of children has always been part of society. In Portugal the assistance to these children has been known since the Middle Ages, and it is done through time by several institutions, such as the Misericórdias, the Wheel Houses and the hospices.<sup>1</sup> We can, then, mention foundling as an abandoned child in anywhere, and whose identity of the parents is unknown.<sup>2</sup>

With essentially minhotas' characteristics, the municipality of Santo Tirso belongs, however, to the district of Porto and the Province of Douro, with a minority of parishes located on the right side of the river Ave, in the Province of Minho. It is located in the north of Portugal and is situated between Braga, Guimarães, Póvoa de Varzim, Vila do Conde and Porto. Over the years, the municipality has been through different administrative and geographical restructuring, which has allowed it to increase its area and number of habitants.

It originated in a couto of the ancient Benedictine monastery founded in 978 by D. Unisco Godiniz. With the reforms of Mouzinho da Silveira in 1832, several municipalities were created as well as abolished the coutos, and in 1833 in decree no. 66 of June 28 is mentioned as a county for the first time, however, its administrative structure only became effective in 1834 with the victory of the liberal troops.<sup>3</sup> The data concerning to the population are not accurate, however, it is possible to mention that at the time of the creation of the county, the habitants of the places and villages around the monastery amounted to about 1000, reaching 3500 habitants in the village and 28,000 in the municipality, in the year 1900. This increase in population was mainly due to the implementation of the textile industry in the municipality.<sup>4</sup>

In this work, we have as reference not the limits of the current municipalities, but the landmarks from 1842 to 1853, before the aggregation of the Negrelos municipality, since our investigation falls into this temporal arch. With the growth and development of the locality in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, other concerns also came. In social terms, it was necessary to assist abandoned children, a phenomenon that concerned all societies and for which some measures were being considered.

## Assistance and legislation

The Manuelinas and Filipinas Ordinances mention that, in the absence or unknowing of other responsible people, it was up to the counties to collect and create foundlings in their administrative spaces and that these would be created at the expense of hospitals, shelters, or rents, or through contributions.<sup>5</sup> After the creation, which ended at the age of seven, the children were presented to the Orphan Judges, in order to be sent to learn a profession, with a tutor appointed by the Judge, or to be distributed to the farmers, receiving from them only education, support and clothing.<sup>6</sup> At the age of 20, they became independent and free to follow their destiny.<sup>7</sup>

In 1783, on the legal norm of May 24<sup>th</sup>, Pina Manique makes official the institution of the Wheel, with the aim of ending the infanticide, restructure the management of the foundlings and pass the responsibility of these children to the counties.<sup>8</sup> Although the Wheel was institutionalised, the unknown abandonment was being practised as we can see in the rest of Europe.<sup>9</sup> The Wheel House would, then, be installed in all the villages that were not provided with institutions dedicated to the reception of foundlings. It came to an end with the decree of 21 November of 1867, along with Europe, where the cessation took place between 1850 and 1880, and was replaced by hospices, intended to receive foundlings, beggars and abandoned children, whose family identity was known.<sup>10</sup>

Admission to the hospices was, thus, controlled, indiscreet women had to declare pregnancy, and breastfeeding allowances were granted for 12 months, “for proven poverty, with parents being responsible for raising their children”.<sup>11</sup>

## Santo Tirso Wheel House

The Wheel of Santo Tirso, created in 1841, like many others, was equipped with a wheel, a rotating mechanism, which in this case was placed in an already existing window, with a diameter of 0.56 meters.<sup>12</sup> For this reason, many older children were left, not in the mechanism itself, but at the door of the Wheel House or at the door of other people.

As soon as they arrived in the Town Hall or at the Wheel, they were handed over as soon as possible, to milk nannies or “dry nannies”, which was the name given in the Wheel’s register books to all the nannies who had been kept foundlings and who were not intended to provide breast milk, but only to raise them until they were seven years old. They were almost always country women, who earned a nanny’s salary. After seven years, the foundling could remain in the possession of the nanny, if she wished to do

that. This reality was sometimes due to the emotional ties that were created between the foster family and the child.

At these reception points, women offered themselves as nannies of milk and dry, in return of a salary corresponding to the service provided, the number of children they were taking care of and the time of creation. Each nanny, before and while the Wheel was in operation, was recorded together with his salary and the foundling given to her, in books specific for that purpose. It was a control mechanism for the institution, which needed to know who created, who was created and for how long.

It is our intention to know the physical characteristics and place of provenance of these women, who had appealed to the Town Hall and the Wheel, between 1838 and 1854, in order to benefit from a nanny's salary, which could be combined with the other work activities' income.

The existing information provides data about these women, which allowed to distinguish them whenever necessary, avoiding the easy exchange of nannies and children.

With a short period of existence, the Wheel House of Santo Tirso contributed to the monthly salary of some families, as well as to the subsistence of children who without any other alternative would be condemned to penury and death.

## The nannies and their interventions with the foundlings

In a time when there were no accepted alternatives to breast milk, and the abandonment reached high proportions, "women entered into a labour market which was their own, although it was still regulated by men", working as a nanny alongside the family economy enabled these women to be able to earn several salaries,<sup>15</sup> as we have already mentioned.

In spite of the existing models in the modern age, the woman dependent of the house, of her husband or father and of her children, "working class women had to work to support themselves whether they were single or married".<sup>14</sup> So, "The woman of the county of Santo Thyrsó is like a man: she works as much or more than he does... She is an intrepid walker, an affront to long walks, through scabrous shortcuts, with heavy burdens on her head. And in the mourejar of the agricultural task his slender figure seems to triumph over tiredness, as if it were iron".<sup>15</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup> century woman was considered emotional, fragile, sick, docile and with a maternal instinct, which made her ideal for motherhood,<sup>16</sup> and, therefore, for the support to the child. This idea of maternal instinct, induced from an early age, made them aware and predisposed to raising a child, even if they came from another



woman. But, sometimes, the result was not the most desired and the child died shortly afterwards, much due to lack of care, caused by the woman's lack of skill, experience, predisposability and poverty.

According to Maria Norberta Amorim, for Guimarães,<sup>17</sup> a village near Santo Tirso, "was in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century" which took place "the most serious mortality crisis since the great plague of 1599. The deep agricultural crisis of the first years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century together with the direct effects of the French invasions and the spread of the deadly epidemic identified as "exanthematic typhus". In 1810 and 1811 we witnessed the rise of the death curve in both urban and rural areas".<sup>18</sup>

One of the biggest problems that persisted was the high infant mortality rate, because, "a son who died at an early age was, however, one more soul who would integrate the legion of angels in heaven, beginning to intercede for those who remained on earth, and one less mouth to feed".<sup>19</sup> Financial difficulties and moral aspects were, without a doubt, the most common reasons that motivated a family to abandon a child.

Before the installation of the Wheel House in Santo Tirso, the foundling were taken to the Town Hall to provide them with a nanny. In this way, a foundling was publicly "auctioned" by the nanny who raised him for less money.<sup>20</sup> With the arrival of the Wheel, the nannies began to go to the Wheel House itself.

These women had to comply with the demands made on them, in order to preserve the integrity of the foundlings. A nanny who wished to receive a foundling had to take care of him, in other words, treat him well, feed him well and present him whenever she was asked to do so, otherwise he would be taken away from her and the payment would not be made.<sup>21</sup> Ana Maria, married, from Negrelos, "regular height, white color, round face, brown hair and eyebrows, olive eyes, regular nose and mouth", milk nanny of the foundling Agostinho, in 1852 did not receive the month of July "because the Negrelos Town Hall did not pay because of the poor treatment of the foundling, as stated in the term of payment".<sup>22</sup> This child was removed to the Wheel of Santo Tirso, where he died a month later.

In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, nannies were paid by the day and could take their dependent child home, the salary being lower than the one of the nannies who remained in the space of the Wheel House.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, they could raise several children at the same time and receive their wages for each one. The fact that they could combine more than one child and receive for each one, made the task attractive, doubling the salary in the case of caring two children. For children, accumulation could mean neglect and, as a consequence the death.

Until 1841 the "auction" of an foundling was around 12\$000 réis per year,<sup>24</sup> depending on whether the child needed to be breastfed or not. Thus, the nannies absorbed most of the revenue,

and tended to receive the salary in the Town Hall of their locality and not necessarily in the one of Santo Tirso, depending on the distance that residence was located. At that time, they had to be accompanied by those in their care, in order to be identified and evaluated.<sup>25</sup> If the foundling was good and if he was the same that had been delivered, he would still be in charge of the nanny, if the opposite happened, the payment would be suspended and the child would be removed to another nanny or to the Wheel House, as we saw in the referred case.

Sometimes, the payment took time, and the “wet nurses, traditionally very poorly paid, could spend several months without any remuneration, thus worsening the already severe living conditions of their families, with obvious repercussions on the foundlings’ health”.<sup>26</sup> As a result, nannies assume a central role in the education of these children, playing the function of substitute mothers.

In the absence of milk nannies, some methods were put in place, “during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, great strides weremade in the development of the feeding bottle and the nipple. Glass bottles were used, and the evolution of the modern bottle began. The first feeding bottles, created in 1851 in France, were elaborate. They contained a cork nipple and ivory pins at air in lets to regulate flow”.<sup>27</sup>

## Physical characterization of nannies

The analysis carried out by us allows to know the physical profile of the nanny. Their age ranged from 19 to 66 years old, however, the predominance falls between 25 and 39 years. They were mostly married, about one-third were single, and some, in much smaller numbers, were widows. In this study, the majority of the nannies welcomed foundlings during the breastfeeding phase, continuing the “dry creation” up to the age of seven. In some cases, at the end of the childcare period, the foundling remained in the possession of the nanny, as we have already mentioned, as a result of their affection and their subsequent contribution to the support of the family where they were, whether this contribution was through paid work or work in the household or on the family’s property.

The children belonging to the popular classes “worked from the moment they were physically and intellectually able to contribute to the domestic economy”, although they are only allowed to receive remuneration at the age of 14 in the case of girls and 12 in the case of boys.<sup>28</sup>

It was also common, the administrators of the Town Hall and the Wheel discovered that some nannies were the mothers of the foundling they had welcomed. The discovery was usually made a few months later, benefiting the mother from the salary of a nanny,

to raise her own child. The case of the milk nanny, Maria Rita, who received the foundling Quitéria on October 21<sup>st</sup>, 1845, benefited from the payment until the end of December, and this was suspended later for being the mother of the child, attests what we have just said.<sup>29</sup> The same happened to other nannies who had recourse to the Wheel House, because of the poverty in which these mothers found themselves. When they were discovered, it was necessary to return the salary they had earned, although we do not know if any of them returned it on the Wheel of Santo Tirso, because they are usually very poor women, sometimes beggars. Faced with unemployment, lack of husband and several children,<sup>30</sup> the women were forced to seek means of subsistence to cope with poverty. We know, then, that were accepted for nannies, very poor women, and also women whose main function was to work in the fields.

It was also recurrent that children were returned to their parents after raising with milk, perhaps because they had been exposed due to the lack of this food on the part of their biological mother or the death of her mother.

In this study, 660 nannies' registers were analysed, but despite this number, we know that some of them were recidivists, since there are repeated names, sometimes with different streets, although the remaining information is practically the same.

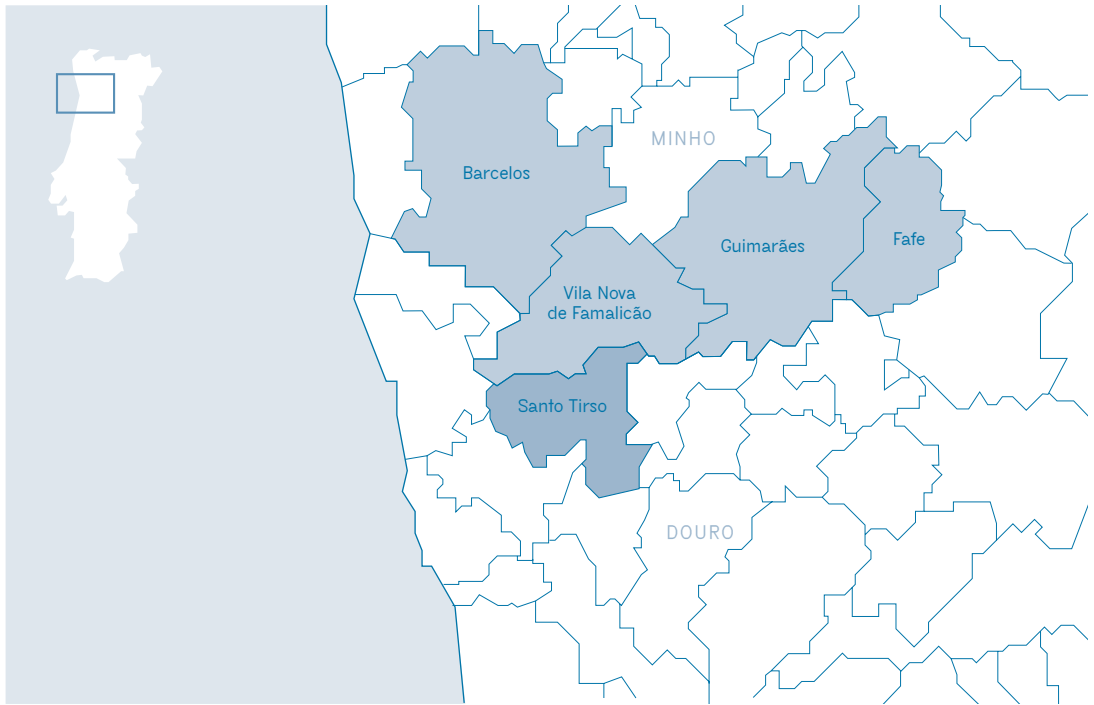
Through map 1 it is possible to see the geographical mesh representative of the nanny's place of origin. It is worth noting that, although we are studying a place belonging to the Douro, the nannies tended to live in the Minho area, mostly because of the proximity and easy access to Santo Tirso.

Through the analysis of the book of the launching of the foundlings nannies and the register of the payments made to them in the Wheel Circle of Santo Tirso, it can be seen that most of the nannies belonged to the county of Santo Tirso, followed by the counties of Negrelos, Vila Nova de Famalicão and to a lesser extent Fafe, Guimarães and Barcelos. Going to the nearest Wheel House would be the most indicated, because it ensured the speed in transport, allowing, thus, a greater availability in access to payment. It also avoided the inconvenience of being accompanied by a child, sometimes on her lap, for many kilometers.

On the other hand, in remote places and in view of the family's economic need, some women were forced to travel longer distances to take in a child and receive the salary that was due to them.<sup>31</sup> [Map 1]

Just as foundlings were sometimes replaced, in order to continue to benefit from the salary, so the nannies were easily confused. Therefore, it was necessary to implement a "identification system", who wanted to differentiate and individualize nannies on a physical and social level.<sup>32</sup> The social register of each nanny included the reference to name, marital status, place, parish, county and age. And in the physical characteristics were presented

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WHEEL NANNIES



**Map 1**  
Counties of residence of  
the foundlings nannies  
between 1838 and 1854<sup>32</sup>

Source: Municipal Archive of Santo Tirso, *Livro do lançamento das amas dos expostos e registo dos pagamentos feitos às mesmas na Roda do Círculo de Santo Tirso* (1842-1854).

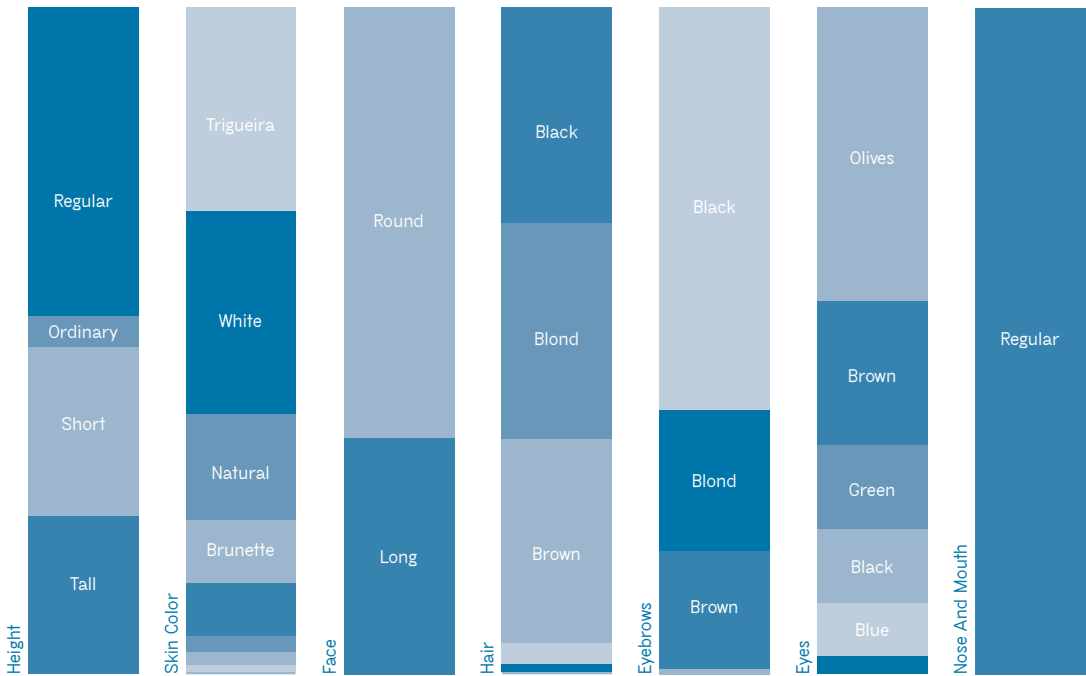
particular signs such as: the stature, the appearance of the face, the color of the skin, the hair, the eyebrows, the eyes, the appearance of the nose and the mouth.

On the physical profile of the Santo Tirso woman it is important to highlight the comments made by Alberto Pimentel, “they’re almost all elegant, with only a few being pretty. The colour of the faces is not always good; there are pale faces, of an earthly pallor, which means that, unfortunately, anemia is already invading the Minho. Several families are tuberculous”.<sup>35</sup> Thus, a very pale woman would mean that she could suffer or have anemia, but would this characteristic be a reason not to choose a nanny?

The chart 1 is meant to show the most recurring physical characteristics in the registers. Some particular signs were pointed out in some nannies, because they were less frequent. So we find mention of a nanny who had a “belida”, in other words a stain in one eye, another who had a moustache and yet another who dyed her hair white. [\[Chart 1\]](#)

The stature was represented by the height, in other words, it could be “regular” or “ordinary”, short and high. The colour of the skin was represented as “trigueira” (the colour of mature wheat, that is brunette), brunette, white, light, natural, pale, blushed, regular, and with only one record of each, red, with freckles, black and brown. The face was defined with only two adjectives, round and long, prevailing the first.

The hair could be black or blond, with very similar values, also brown, and in some cases was white. More rarely it was redhead,



**Chart 1**  
**Characteristics of the foundlings nannies between 1838 and 1854**

Source: AMST, *Livro do lançamento das amas dos expostos e registo dos pagamentos feitos às mesmas na Roda do Círculo de Santo Tirso (1842-1854)*.

black with white and blond with white. It is noted that white hair is present in older nannies, although one of the 59 year old nannies dyed her hair white, as mentioned above. As opposed to what was thought, still at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, that “some doctors advised against employing red-headed and freckled women, for example, because their milk smelled sour and “corrupted” easily; blond-haired wet nurses, on the other hand, were considered too fragile. Doctors’ preferences were for dark-haired women”,<sup>34</sup> it is evidenced that in this locality there was no preference of the nannies for the color of the hair, since the blondes are well represented.

Eyebrows are generally in line with the colour of the hair and are referred as black, blond, brown and with a lower incidence of white.

The “olive eyes” prevail as a characteristic mostly present. We can consider as “olive eyes” those that are similar to the colour of an olive, this is, greenish (but not totally green). Then follow the brown, green, black, blue, “white” (grey or very light blue), “blue toasted” and blue with green eyes.

We grouped the nose and mouth, because they were usually described in the same way. They are practically always traced as regular, with rare exceptions where they are described as large or small.

Regular height, with “trigueira” or brunette skin, round face, black hair and matching eyebrows, “olive eyes” and regular nose and mouth, neither too big or small, were the most common characteristics that could be found among all the descriptions. As an example, the single nanny Rosa Moreira, from the place of Sobradelo, parish of S. Julião of Água Longa from the county of

Santo Tirso, at the age of 27, is represented with regular height, “trigueira” color, round face, black hair and eyebrows, olive eyes and regular nose and mouth.<sup>55</sup> This nanny took care of a boy called Antonio on July 3, 1845, began milk creation on that same date, ending in August of the following year, for being the mother of the child.<sup>56</sup>

This registration system, despite being lengthy and detailed, was the one that at the time could best guarantee transparency and rigour in fiscalization.<sup>57</sup>

With the end of the Santo Tirso Wheel in 1854, all those foundlings were transferred to Porto.<sup>58</sup> As far as nannies are concerned, we know that they were given guides to introduce themselves in Porto, who identified them as the nanny of a certain child, or as a potential nanny.

## Final considerations

In the early days, months and years of an abandoned child’s life, the role of nannies was fundamental, both in feeding and raising.

Abandonment was a frequent phenomenon in all societies. As a way to help, protect and create the foundlings, several support institutions have been founded over the time, as the hospice to educate foundlings of the XII century, the hospital of Santa Maria dos Inocentes in 1359, and in 1783 the Wheel House, by the General Intendence of the Police, directed by Pina Manique.

Located in the North of Portugal, the municipality of Santo Tirso, dated 1833, had the Town Hall as first responsible for supporting the foundlings, followed by the installation of the Wheel House, in 1841.

Between 1838 and 1854 about 660 nannies were registered, including milk and dry nannies. Considering the high number of nannies that circulated in the creation of the foundlings, the need to identify them, not only in this region of study but in the whole country, became very important, in the sense that there was no temptation to deceive the institutions with the exchange of nannies, it was necessary to draw up a plan for the organization and identification of these women, who would be available for the creation of milk and dry. Through the book of the launching of the foundlings nannies and the register of the payments made to them in the Wheel Circle of Santo Tirso, it was possible to analyze the profile of the nanny in terms of its physical aspect and social condition.

Even so, the likelihood of very similar nannies was high, since most of them had, for example, black hair and eyes. But the characteristics associated with the name, civil status and address made differentiation easier.

In this way, we know that the nannies who came to this Wheel suffered from a great financial need and that some were the

children's own mothers. Because of the poverty in which the family found itself, some women subjected their own children to abandonment, in order to be able to claim them as nannies and, thus, receive a salary.

The municipality of Santo Tirso had no hospice, but in 1897 was inaugurated the Asilo Agrícola Conde S. Bento that worked until 1913, which had as function "1.º to educate orphans and abandoned, educate their spirit in the unalterable dispositions of love of God and the others; 2.º Sheltering old and invalids; 3.º Teaching theoretically and practically agriculture in general and in particular the agriculture of this region".<sup>39</sup>

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RICARDO CORDEIRO\*

# Food assistance in the city: Soup Kitchens and Charity Soup in Lisbon between 1880 and 1910

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## Low-income classes in Lisbon. Living conditions of the working classes in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries

The first socio-economic surveys of the living conditions of the Portuguese working-class date to 1906. These records clearly reveal that the income of most working-class families was inferior to their expenditures. According to Conceição Andrade Martins, approximately 70% of their earnings was spent on food, 11% on clothing, 13% on housing (rent, fuel, lighting) and the remaining 6% on other daily needs. In terms of food, bread represented the main expenditure, followed by meat and fish, wine, bacon, potatoes and beans. In Lisbon, more starch (bread, rice, pasta and beans) than protein (meat, milk and eggs) was consumed, due to the high price of the later. The hardest hit financially were the working class families who lived in the most populated neighborhoods where the cost of housing was higher and access to other supply channels was limited, (those who lived in peripheral areas had enough space to raise animals and/or cultivate a bit of land). To exacerbate the problem of the poor diets, there was an alarming lack of sanitary conditions, as Teixeira Bastos described in 1898.<sup>1</sup>

The working class of Lisbon were an immense group of men and women who had come from rural areas, and when they arrived in the city, had to procure their own housing. Their main preference was the courtyards, which were dispersed all over the city, the biggest concentration being in old neighborhoods and in peripheral areas that had formerly been the rural fringe of the city, (Ameixoeira, Olivais, Chelas, Lumiar, Charneca and Benfica), as well as the zones where factories had been installed (Alcântara, Marvila and Beato). Occupation ranged from unused spaces next to ruined palaces and abandoned convents. An official survey carried out in 1902 identified 130 courtyards in just 18 of Lisbon's 29 parishes. It can be presumed that the overall number would have exceeded two hundred, since the 11 remaining parishes included areas where still today there are dozens of courtyards, such as S. Bento, S. Isabel and Lapa. Most courtyards had no sanitation or water supply, and the unhealthy conditions of these ground floor dwellings were aggravated by lack of sunlight and humidity. The persistence of poor housing conditions led to the appearance of a new housing model, the Vilas, which were buildings or groups of buildings built expressly to accommodate the working classes. The Vilas generally brought other conditions that the courtyards did not have, but they were not democratized. Unlike the courtyards, the Vilas were concentrated mostly in Alcântara, and between Xabregas and Poço do Bispo.

## Food assistance in 19<sup>th</sup> century Lisbon

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century assistance in the city of Lisbon spanned various fields, from education to health, work and diet, in different degrees of subsistence in the daily lives of the population. Private initiatives were more extensive than state intervention. The network or networks for assistance throughout the city were characterized by a general disarticulation, as there was no connexion between state and private ventures. It was only in 1912, a year after the Republic had been implanted and the Central Ombudsman for Public Assistance was instated, that there was any coordination between the different aid organisms in Portugal. Food assistance followed the pattern of parallel practices in Europe, whereby during times of worse privation food and meals was distributed among the population. For example, the Arroios Soup (kitchen), made famous by an engraving of Domingos Sequeira, gave assistance to the displaced population during the Peninsular War.<sup>2</sup> In Lisbon, the government set up spaces for meal distribution in various locations to ensure the survival of the population. Another soup kitchen had previously been installed in Oporto in the wake of the French invasion; in 1809, when General Nicolas Jean de Dieu Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, was Governor General of Portugal, he created and oversaw the soup kitchen in that city.<sup>5</sup>

In Lisbon, food assistance to the poor and sick was provided throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century mainly by the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa (SCML). Since its foundation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the covenant of the SCML entailed alms collection during mass whereby four people from each parish of Lisbon were assigned the task of “apportioning and taking to the prisoners, twice a week, as well as to the hospitals, to the crippled and destitute” all the food and money collected, thus food assistance was delivered to those deprived of their freedom and health.<sup>4</sup> However, by the 19<sup>th</sup> century the service of meal distribution to indigent prisoners was not functioning according to the expectations of the authorities, and in 1833 the Regent of Portugal, D. Pedro, denounced the shortage and bad quality of the rations distributed to the inmates of the Limoeiro prison:

“Verifying, from the precise information that I ordered to be collected, that the Charity Soup which is currently distributed to the indigent inmates of the City Prison, does not produce the healthy purpose which it was intended for, because the food that the inmates receive is too scarce, and almost always of bad quality (...).”<sup>5</sup>

In order to rectify the problem D. Pedro named a commission with three negotiators, a Bachelor in medicine and the Surgeon

of the Nurses of the Limoeiro prison, to oversee the distribution of Charity Soup and ensure that the food was varied, that the produce was of good quality and to establish the quantities for the meals so that “all the inmates never experience shortages”. The Misericórdia of Lisbon was obliged to inform this commission of the amount it spent monthly on food, and the remaining funds was provided by the Public Treasury. In 1851, with the reform of the General Council of Beneficence, created in 1835, the Misericórdia of Lisbon again reinforces its objective of distributing “alms and domiciliary assistance”, which included food, in urban and rural parishes. In addition to the concern with inmates’ food, there was a need to create a permanent distribution service of meals for the sick. Diet was considered an important part of medical treatments, as Victor Ribeiro explains:

“Having observed directly and from information given by his fellow doctors that the clinical assistance offered by the institution often turns out to be fruitless because it is not accompanied by a regular system of meals, which the poor sick aren’t able to keep lamented the assistant Dr. José Joaquim Rodrigues da Câmara in December of 1887, whereby the satisfactory results that would be expected don’t correspond with this deficiency, to the considerable funds that the Misericórdia spends on treatments for the sick. The distinguished employee of the Treasury Mr. Eduardo Frederico da Fonseca e Sousa reminded the Table of the advantage in remedying such inconvenience with the Misericórdia establishing a service of meals to be distributed to its sick, most of whom are extremely poor, and sometimes did not even have a broth prescribed by the doctor, who saw himself in the need to prescribe flour and other foodstuffs, more destined to remedy the shortage of food than actually act as medicinal substances”.<sup>6</sup>

Under the direction of the first Marquis of Rio Maior, António Figueiredo e Sousa, Ombudsman of the Santa Casa, these needs were confirmed in 1887, and the way was paved for the founding of the “Charity Soup”, which from 1888 onwards acquired a regular character while remaining free of charge.

## The Charity Soup of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Lisbon, 1888–1910

In March of 1888 the Charity Soup of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Lisbon starts operating in the Central Kitchen of the S. Pedro de Alcântara building (SCML girls orphanage) in Encarnação parish, where two hundred free meals are distributed

Organization	Location	Parish
First District	Countess of Sampaio Palace	S. Vicente de Fora
Second District	Night Shelter	Anjos
Third District	São Pedro de Alcântara Building	Encarnação
Fourth District	Extinct Esperança Convent	Santos

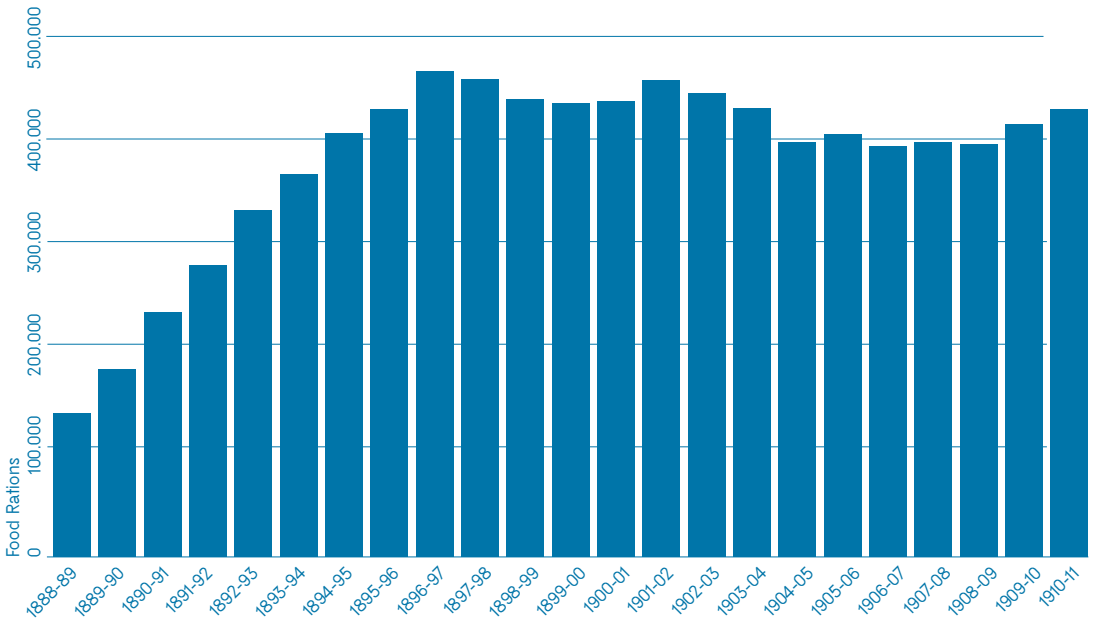
**Table 1**  
Soup of Charity's  
geographical organization  
in Lisbon, 1888.

Source: This table was composed by the author with collected data in the minute's books of the Lisbon Misericórdia Board, 1880–1888.

to the poor. Supervision of the Soup was assigned to Eduardo Frederico da Fonseca e Sousa, Second Officer of the Treasury of the SCML, and its structure comprised the following staff: a custodian of food products responsible for the distribution and registry of the out-flux of rations; a steward(ess) in charge of provisions and food supervision; a cook; six servants to help in the kitchen and with the division of rations; a clerk and a servant to transport the food to the distribution points. A few months later the hierarchical structure of the SCML was faced with the need to respond to hundreds of petitions for food assistance. On 24 December 1888 the Ombudsman Paulo Midosi approved an increase in the distribution of daily rations from 200 to 440 with the objective of “developing this philanthropic means to attenuate the misery of the poor of the capital extending this benefit to different parishes, creating three more districts for the distribution of rations, the first housed in the building of S. Vicente de Fora, the second in the Night Shelter, the third in the orphanage of S. Pedro de Alcântara and the fourth in the extinct Convento da Esperança, handing over those distribution services to four visitators...”<sup>7</sup> Thus, to extend the distribution network and improve conditions in the spaces where food was prepared three more stations were established in Lisbon, though the main one remained the Central Kitchen in S. Pedro de Alcântara. This way, the distribution of rations in Lisbon was divided into four districts. The first was installed in the Palace of the Countess of Sampaio, the second in the Night Shelter of Anjos, the third in the building of S. Pedro de Alcântara, and the fourth was in the extinct Esperança Convent in Santos. [Table 1]

The third district, installed in the building of S. Pedro de Alcântara was the one that served the most parishes—thirteen in total, from the parish of Nossa Senhora dos Mártires to the parish of Santíssimo Coração de Jesus. The first district assisted ten parishes from Sé to S. Engrácia, the second district oversaw five parishes from Santos to Olivais and was the largest in terms of territorial extension. According to the records of the SCML, during its first year of operation, between March 1888 and February 1889, the Charity Soup distributed an average of 500 meals daily throughout the population of Lisbon. This number contrasts with the 200 meals stipulated initially and which were rapidly surpassed due to the conditions of

## FOOD ASSISTANCE IN THE CITY



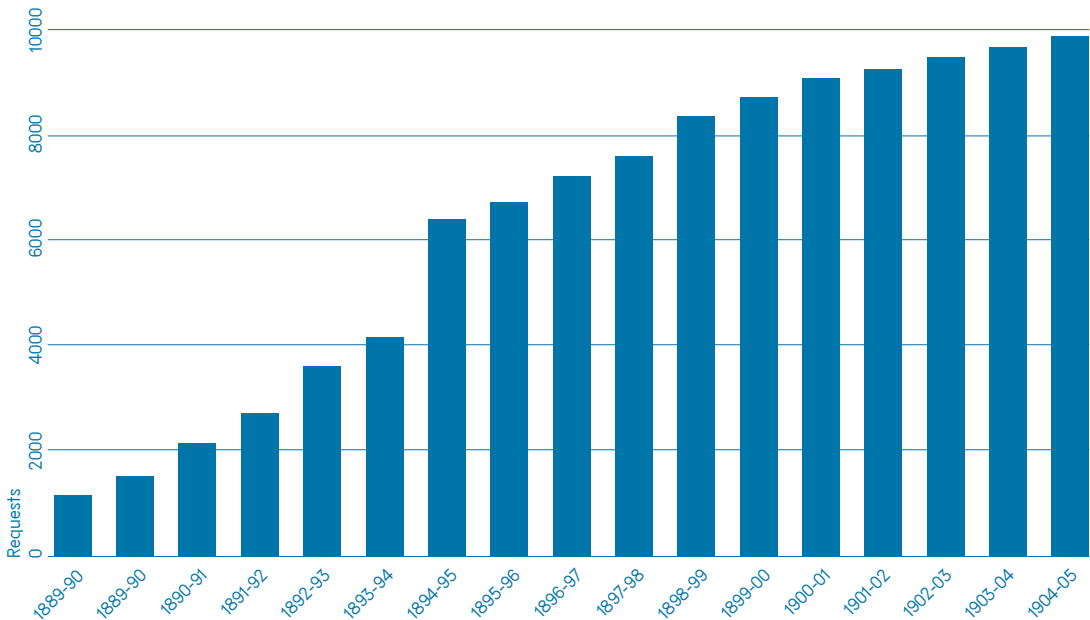
**Chart 1**  
Total number of food rations distributed by the Charity Soup in Lisbon between 1888 and 1910.

Source: This graph was composed by the author with collected data in the annual SCML printed reports, between 1888 and 1911: Relatório e Contas da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, SCML, Lisboa, 1888-1911.

the daily reality of Lisbon. To benefit from this assistance individuals had to hand in their request in the SCML which was then analyzed by one of the district inspectors to check the veracity of the information and the applicant's level of poverty. Once the information was validated and confirmed, they were attributed a registration number and non-transferable tickets for their daily meals. [\[Chart 1\]](#)

The Kitchen that distributed the most meals was the third district (S. Pedro de Alcântara), with approximately 215 daily meals, 60% of the total number of meals distributed in the city. The parish that benefited the most was Nossa Senhora das Mercês with sixty-eight daily recipients. In 1894, the SCML's daily food distribution exceeded "one thousand rations, making the Charity Soup the first and principal alms of the Santa Casa". Ten years after the Charity Soup was initiated, 1,196 meals were being distributed every day, decreasing to 1,191 meals between 1910 and 1911. With the implantation of the Republic and the ensuing political, economic and social instability, on 6 October 1910 the Santa Casa decided to substitute the rations for 400 grams of bread and 30 reis (unit of currency at the time), a measure that lasted until 11 May 1911. The number of requests for the Charity Soup grew for the period under study. As demonstrated in graph 2, between 1888 and 1889 some 1,166 applications were received by the SCML. This number increased almost tenfold in 1905, with 9,879 requests recorded. Between 1888 and 1905 the district of S. Pedro de Alcântara received 41,168. The Kitchen of S. Vicente de Fora received 20,794 requests, Anjos 20,357 and the Esperança Covent 25,475. Of the 107,794 requests recorded between 1888 and 1905, 12,375 were from residents of the parish of Mercês (3<sup>rd</sup> district), 12,350 from S. Isabel (4<sup>th</sup> district) and 8,601 from Encarnação (3<sup>rd</sup> district). [\[Chart 2\]](#)





**Chart 2**  
Total number of requests for the Charity Soup in Lisbon between 1888 and 1905.

Source: This graph was composed by the author with collected data in the annual SCML printed reports, between 1888 and 1905: *Relatório e Contas da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa*, SCML, Lisboa, 1888-1905.

These are precisely the parishes with the most beneficiaries between 1888 and 1910. Mercês with 2,990 recipients, S. Isabel with 2,739 and the parish of Encarnação with 1,788 recipients. The parishes with the least requests were from S. Julião with only 77, Conceição Nova with 118 and S. Maria Madalena with 119. These were also the parishes that least benefitted from the Charity Soup: S. Julião with 10, Madalena with 34 and Conceição Nova with 59 assisted people. The continuous rise in the number of distributed meals was closely tied to the growth of the city's population and the new needs this brought with it. In the period under study the Santa Casa sought to adapt this apparatus of assistance to the new social reality increasing the number of meals over the years.

As the quantities increased, so did the quality, and investment was made in the installation of steam kitchens and in the systematic modernization of equipment. Between 1888 and 1897 meat was dispensed only twice a week, on Sundays and Thursdays, and cod was dispensed on the remaining days of the week. The meat ration was usually accompanied by bacon, blood sausages, pasta, and potato and vegetable soup. The cod was served with potatoes and seasoned with olive oil, with a bean or vegetable soup with rice or pasta. Along with the meals 400 grams of bread were allotted, more than triple of what was served in the Soup Kitchens. The quantities did not vary over the years under analysis: 100 grams of meat, 100 grams of cod, 100 grams of potatoes, 50 grams of rice or pasta, etc. After the second semester of 1897 twenty-two different dishes were implemented, served alternately to ensure a richer and more diverse diet throughout the week. The most-served meal between 1888 and 1910, about 610 times, was boiled cod (100 grams) with potatoes (100 grams) and white bean soup

Position	Diet number	Number of times served	Meals
1	Diet 5	610	White bean soup with vegetables, boiled cod with potatoes
2	Diet 16	577	Bread soup, boiled meat with vegetables
3	Diet 1	542	Pasta soup, stewed meat with potatoes
4	Diet 4	505	Rice soup, boiled meat with vegetables

**Table 2**  
The most-served meals by Charity Soup in Lisbon between 1888 and 1910

Source: This table was composed by the author with collected data in the annual SCML printed reports, between 1888 and 1911: *Relatório e Contas da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa*, SCML, Lisboa, 1888-1905.

with vegetables. The second most-consumed meal was served 577 times and consisted bacon (8 grams) and vegetables. The least prepared meal was bread soup (100 grams) with red beans and boiled mackerel (2 units) with potatoes (100 grams). Of particular centrality in the meals was bread, cod, beef, potatoes and pasta. Broths, which were very popular, were also contemplated in the distributed meals. [Table 2]

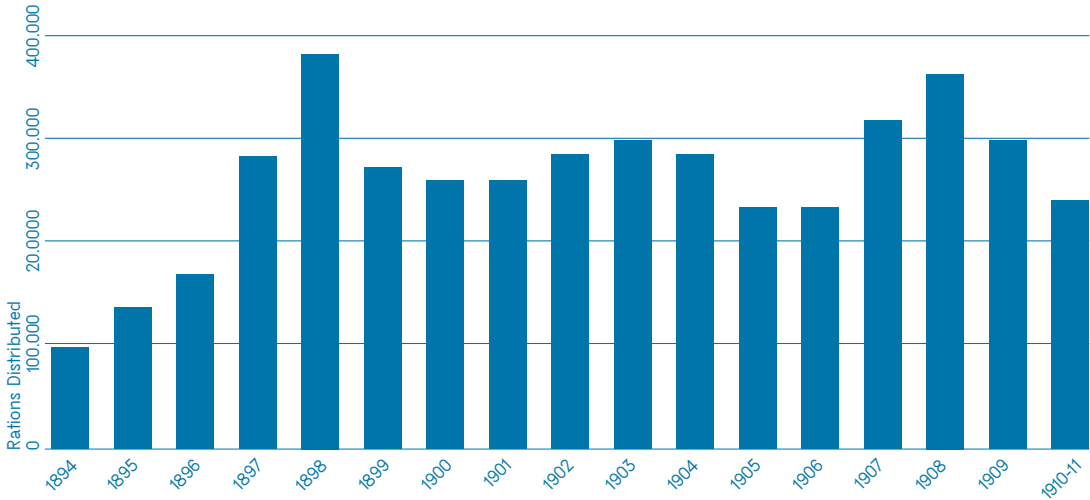
## The Soup Kitchens of Lisbon, 1893–1910

Under the presidency (1894–1909) of the Duchess of Palmela, D. Maria Luísa de Sousa Holstein, the Sociedade Protectora das Cozinhas Económicas (SPCEL) was founded, expanded and consolidated throughout the 1890s. Unlike the Charity Soup which adapted existing buildings for its purposes, the SPCEL built six new establishments in different parts of the capital.

The locations were chosen in consonance with the objectives of this Society:

“To promote the founding of suitable establishments for providing healthy, clean and abundant food to the working classes and those in need, at prices that are accessible to their means (...) to that end the association will establish in Lisbon as many kitchens as it deems necessary, giving priority to manufacturing hubs”.<sup>8</sup>

The Kitchens of Alcântara, Prazeres and São Bento accommodated the “Western axis” of the institution, while the Kitchens of Anjos, Ribeira Velha and Xabregas constituted the “Eastern axis”. All the kitchens were situated in the two large industrial hubs of Lisbon, between Alcântara and Santa Isabel and between



**Chart 3**  
Total number of rations distributed by the Lisbon Soup Kitchens between 1894 and 1911

Source: This graph was composed by the author with collected data in the annual Lisbon Soup Kitchens Association printed reports, between 1894 and 1911: *Relatórios da Direcção – Parecer do Conselho Fiscal da Sociedade Protectora das Cozinhas Económicas de Lisboa – Gerências 1894-1911*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional.

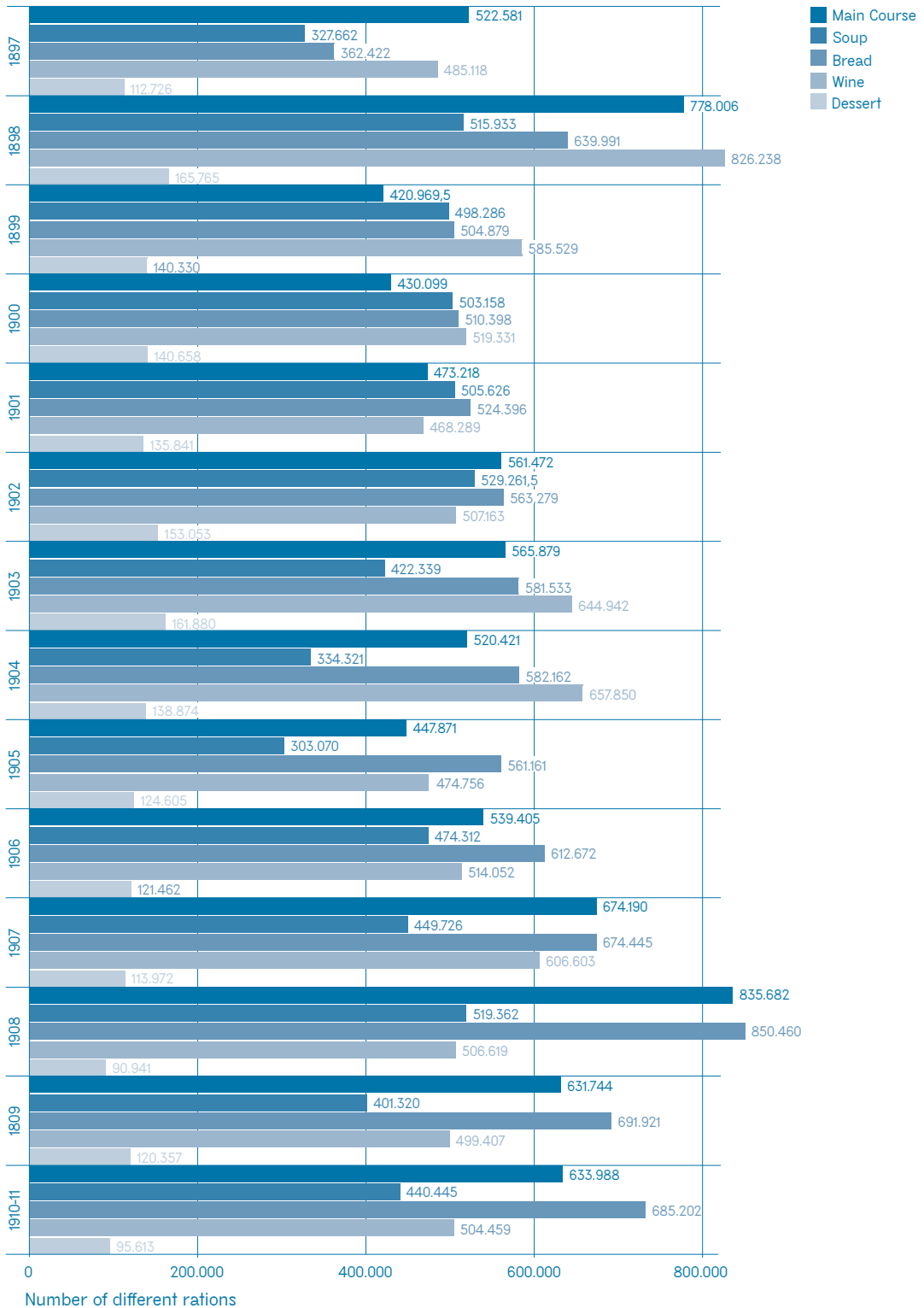
Santos and Xabregas, near the factory workers. Construction of the buildings was supported by various central governments and by the Municipal Council of Lisbon, who awarded land, subsidies, materials and labor. Their architecture and organization followed the new precepts determined by the concerns with sanitation and hygiene, transversal to all of society. The new perception of public hygiene and disease prevention became a paramount issue for the administration of the SPCEL, and they ensured that all the Kitchens had autoclaves for disinfection, wash tanks, steam boilers and other devices that guaranteed the sterilization of cutlery and crockery. The staff members of the Kitchens also promoted the introduction of hygiene habits among the users. Washing hands before meals and limiting spitting to designated places were encouraged. A group of inspectors was assigned to guarantee the good operation of the Kitchens, and periodic inspections were carried out by the Civil Government of Lisbon.

Comparable to equivalent institutions in Spain, the sisters of charity played a fundamental role in the operation of the Kitchens in Lisbon, especially since they were a source of cheap labor. Their importance was evident from the beginning when the statutes of the Society stipulated that all services were to be provided by sisters of any congregation as long as it was legal. The implantation of the Republic would underscore the sisters' crucial importance in the whole project when the latter were obliged to leave the institution. Regarding the beneficiaries of the Kitchens, these were clearly not limited to factory workers. It is important to point out that, contrary to the Charity Soup, the Kitchens were not constituted for the poor and destitute but rather for individuals who could pay for a meal. Users could get a meal ticket in the ticket office window of each Kitchen. The cost of meals showed little variation between 1894 and 1911, with only a small increase in the price per dish from 30\$00 to 40\$00 réis in 1899. The other rations maintained their original price, soup at 20\$00 reis, bread

at 10\$00 reis, wine at 20\$00, dessert at 10\$00 reis, salad at 20\$00 and coffee at 10\$00 reis. The prices practiced by the Kitchens were low compared with prices for a complete meal in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: 80 reis in a tavern and 100 reis in an eating house. However, considering the purchasing power of the urban low-income classes in this period, which grew, and the purchasing power of the same social classes in Lisbon at the end of the century, which decreased with the constant increase in prices, making ends meet would have been difficult. But after examining the salaries of the specialized workers who participated in the construction of the Kitchens another, a less pitiful reality is revealed. According to the records of the Ministry of Public Works in 1897, the daily wage of a bricklayer was 550\$00 réis, a plasterer received 800\$00 réis, a stonemason 600\$00 réis, a welder 800\$00 réis, a glazier 600\$00 réis, and a plumber 800\$00 réis, with the lowest salary being that of non-specialized workers at 340\$00 réis. Except for the last salary, the other wages would have allowed for a worker to afford a full dinner at 90\$00 réis. [Chart 3]

However, despite the reasonable cost of a meal, they did eat only one meal per day, and usually had other mouths to feed. Therefore, a big chunk of workers' salaries was spent on food with little left over for other expenses, whereby most workers fell into the category of poor. The SPCEL's policy of keeping prices low resulted in an increasing demand for the Kitchens' services during its first five years. The most utilized Kitchens were the ones of Ribeira Velha, Alcântara, Anjos and Xabregas, while the Kitchens of Prazeres and São Bento showed smaller numbers. The "Eastern Axis" where the Kitchens of Anjos, Ribeira Velha and Xabregas were situated had a bigger reach in terms of different ration sales. Most of the meals chosen included a slice of bread. More than half of the recipients drank a glass of wine and had soup, but only a small percentage had dessert. In 1900 the number of beneficiaries of the Kitchens was around 26% of the population of Lisbon, which by 1911 had decreased to 11%. This calculation demonstrates that the Kitchens had an important impact on the population of the capital in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, serving thousands of meals daily. However, due to the social and political context, and for internal questions in the SPCEL, its impact was reduced to less than half in the republican regime. The republican administration had to face great difficulties that had social repercussions. The Kitchen of Anjos stopped operating in January of 1909 when the *Teatro Moderno* (one of the theaters of Lisbon) collapsed on the dining hall of the complex. The Xabregas Kitchen was razed after the republican revolution of 5 October 1910. According to the minutes book of the SPCEL Board: "the Xabregas kitchen abandoned since the 4<sup>th</sup> when it was taken by storm by a mob, who stole money, tickets, cutlery, foodstuff, everything damaged, and finally set fire to the furniture..."<sup>9</sup> Two Kitchens closed, the resignation of

# RICARDO CORDEIRO



**Chart 4**  
**Total number of different rations distributed by the Lisbon Soup Kitchens between 1897 and 1911**

Source: This graph was composed by the author with collected data in the annual Lisbon Soup Kitchens Association printed reports, between 1897 and 1911: *Relatórios da Direcção – Parecer do Conselho Fiscal da Sociedade Protectora das Cozinhas Económicas de Lisboa – Gerências 1897–1911*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional.

the entire former administration, a reduction in donations and allocations, and the departure of the charity sisters undermined the whole structure of the SPCEL. It can be said safely that there was a clear decline in the institution after 1910. According to graph 3, between 1898 and 1908 the number of rations was well over three and a half million. This increase is explained in 1898 by the full operation of the five Kitchens existing in the city. Between 1898 and 1911 there was a decrease in the sale of food. It should be taken into consideration that the turnout and demand for the SPCEL's services were closely related to the economy of the country and consequently directly related to the increase in food prices.

Meals were prepared in consonance with the dietary preferences of the people of Lisbon, whereby there was almost always one starch-based meal:

“Three days a week there is meat with potatoes or blood sausage with rice instead of meat, being a favorite dish of Lisboners (...) Meals should be according to what they are used to in the different parts of Lisbon, not one single list from Oporto is suitable, they are badly accustomed”.<sup>10</sup>

Contrary to the Charity Soups, in the Soup Kitchens' portions almost always comprised meat (mostly beef), while fish was served once or twice a week. A predominantly starch-centered diet was maintained in the Kitchens, but with a good balance between animal protein and carbohydrates. To accompany the meat or fish, and even in soups, potatoes, rice, pasta, beans and legumes were used. Between 1894 and 1911 the most dispensed ration was the main course. This option is explained by the larger quantity and nutritional variety as compared to soup. Every week dishes of cod, tuna fish, stewed meat were served accompanied by potatoes, rice or pasta. Recipients in the Kitchens received 125 grams of bread, a small part of the average daily consumption of the country, which was a kilo, but if compared with the amount of bread dispensed by the Charity Soup it is insufficient. According to graph 4, between 1897 and 1911 the number of bread and wine rations (on annual average) always accompany the main course. The governing body of the Soup Kitchens considered that providing wine was a good strategy. According to the Marchioness of Rio Maior, D. Bárbara Maria, and right hand of the Duchess of Palmela in the administration of the SPCEL, wine was provided as a means of attracting factory workers. Adulteration of wine was one of the main preoccupations. Even if this represented a loss in the price per liter of wine, they needed to have the quality guaranteed: “we want it to be good and not at all adulterated thus there is a loss of 40000 reis per day, without wine there are no workers”.<sup>11</sup> [Chart 4]

Apart from being able to benefit from affordable and abundant food prepared in a healthy environment, the population of

	1890	1900	1911
Lisbon Population	300964	351210	431738
Charity Soup (main course and Soup rations distributed per month)	21942	36558	38204
Soup Kitchens (main course and Soup rations distributed per month)	-	77771	89536
Total number of rations distributed (SCML + SPCEL per month)	21942	114329	127740
Social Impact in Lisbon (%)	7%	32,5%	29,5%

**Table 3**  
**Soup Kitchens and**  
**Charity Soup Social**  
**impact in Lisbon**  
**between 1890 and 1911.**  
**Total number of SCML**  
**and SPCEL rations**  
**distributed per month in**  
**Lisbon between 1890 and**  
**1911(average).**

Source: This table was composed by the author with collected data from various sources such as: National annual statistics (*Anuário Estatístico do Reino de Portugal*), Santa Casa da Misericórdia-rations distribution maps (SCML annual reports) and Lisbon Soup Kitchens Association annual reports, between 1888 and 1911.

Lisbon could also rely on the free distribution of leftovers from the Kitchens, which were allocated to the more destitute. Leftovers tended to decrease in global terms. The Kitchens of Prazeres, Alcântara, Xabregas and Ribeira Velha distributed the most leftovers. The poor people in the area of Alcântara were the most benefitted.

## Conclusions

The sources and bibliography regarding the daily lives of the working classes reveal the difficult living conditions in the big cities, as low wages were compounded by dingy, unhealthy tenement housing. More than half of a worker's salary, around 60% to 70%, was spent on the daily diet. Other costs included clothing and footwear, housing and various daily expenses. With such a large part of their earnings used for food many workers suffered from poor nutrition. The creation of contemporary mechanisms for providing food assistance to the most vulnerable occurred predominantly in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. [Table 3]

The first one to appear in Lisbon was the Charity Soup whose objective was to assist the sick and vulnerable of the Portuguese capital free of charge. On the other hand, the Soup Kitchens, created in the 1890s were designed to assist the working classes by providing healthy, abundant and affordable food. Both institutions observed the dietary habits of the people of Lisbon, serving starch-based meals. Meat, cod, bread, legumes, beans, potato, pasta and rice were the most distributed food, along with broth. In accordance with table 3, we can conclude that the Charity Soup and the Soup Kitchens had an important impact on the population of Lisbon. Around 1900 this aid reached over 32% of the population of Lisbon but slid to 30% in the Republican Regime.

Notes

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9. SPCEL Administration minutes, October 22<sup>nd</sup> 1910, p. 2.
10. Marchioness of Rio Maior, “The letter of Marchioness of Rio Maior about the Lisbon Soup Kitchens, founded by the duchess of Palmela”, in *Estudos de Castelo Branco*, vol. 13, 1964, p. 107.
11. Marchioness of Rio Maior, “The letter of Marchioness of Rio Maior about the Lisbon Soup Kitchens, founded by the duchess of Palmela”, in *Estudos de Castelo Branco*, vol. 13, 1964, p. 107.



AMBRA BENVENUTO\*

# Dal secolo XIX alla Smart City

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## Introduzione

Questo contributo intende discutere del mutamento che dalla Seconda Rivoluzione Industriale ha portato alla Smart City attraverso gli scritti di Marx ed Hegel. Comparandoli con altri di materia urbanistica e architettonica, è chiaro come l'evoluzione del concetto di lavoro abbia influenzato la realtà abitativa tanto cittadina quanto periferica. Già nel diciannovesimo secolo, i teorici considerati esponevano la radice e il nucleo di fenomeni ancora in atto nelle smart city. Inoltre, si vedrà come le trasformazioni delle città più smart hanno a che fare con il concetto di lavoro con cui Marx ed Hegel si sono confrontati due secoli fa.

## Il concetto di lavoro e la rivoluzione urbanistica

“Non è quel che vien fatto, ma come vien fatto, con quali mezzi di lavoro, ciò che distingue le epoche economiche. I mezzi di lavoro non servono soltanto a misurare i gradi dello sviluppo della forza lavorativa umana, ma sono anche indici dei rapporti sociali nel cui quadro vien compiuto il lavoro”.<sup>1</sup>

Tre le ultime frontiere della progettazione urbanistica rientra la trasformazione che stanno affrontando città grandi e piccole di tutto il mondo, quelle che le porta a diventare *smart*, assumendo caratteristiche che rendano più “intelligenti” – di quell’intelligenza che rende più fluidi e rapidi. Se negli *smartphone* ciò avviene mediante continui aggiornamenti delle applicazioni, anche le città si prestano ad ogni modernizzazione possibile dei propri mezzi. Si tratta di operazioni favorite dalla tecnologia attuale le cui radici affondano in teorie economiche, sociologiche e urbanistiche di oltre un secolo fa. Ad esempio, per aggiudicarsi lo status di *smart*, una città necessita di una rete di trasporti che funzioni e possibilmente progettata a misura del territorio. È una tematica in discussione dalla Rivoluzione Industriale, momento in cui si è avvertito il bisogno di pensare reti che favorissero un tipo di coesistenza tra singoli *nella* collettività più fluida e funzionale ai ritmi di vita imposti dalla vita moderna. In quel momento “il vapore, poi l’elettricità e il motore a scoppio, accrescendo a dismisura la forza del braccio e dell’animale da tiro, hanno generato la civiltà delle macchine [...] Interessi materiali o spirituali si sono impadroniti delle invenzioni grandi e piccole: risucchi d’industriose fabbricazioni, o esitazioni d’una clientela sempre riluttante”<sup>2</sup> costituendo quell’esplosivo che ha generato una significativa rottura tra vita sociale e cornice geografica: “Con una

violenta rottura, unica negli annali della storia, tutta la vita sociale dell'Occidente s'è staccata in questi ultimi tre quarti di secolo dalla sua cornice relativamente tradizionale e ben armonizzata con la geografia. L'esplosivo che ha prodotto questa rottura è costituito dall'improvviso irrompere – in una vita fino allora scandita dal passo del cavallo – della velocità nella produzione e nei trasporti delle persone e delle cose”.<sup>3</sup> I trasporti hanno infatti giocato un ruolo importante nel prolungamento della giornata lavorativa, come ricorda Marx – “Con il prolungamento della giornata lavorativa la scala della produzione si estende”.<sup>4</sup>

La progettazione di una città richiede la volontà di proporre, se non un'utopia, almeno “la migliore di quelle possibili”, riecheggiando quella dimensione ideale fondamentale nella considerazione hegeliana del concetto di lavoro. Tale riflessione si colloca da un lato guardando alla *polis* greca e alla *res publica* romana, dall'altro alla scissione che caratterizza il mondo moderno. Precisando che il rapporto col passato non intende essere un'antistorica *restauratio* quanto un orientamento per il futuro, per Hegel la disgregazione della *polis* è avvenuta con il sorgere della società civile, con lo svilupparsi e poi il predominare del *Privatleben*: “Oggi la moltitudine che non ha più nessuna virtù pubblica, che è precipitata in uno stato di soggezione, ha bisogno di altri sostegni e di un altro conforto per aver un compenso alla propria miseria che non ha il coraggio di diminuire. L'intima certezza della fede in Dio e nell'immortalità deve essere sostituita da assicurazioni esterne, dalla fede in coloro che più sono consapevoli di essere in grado di produrre da sé il proprio modo di pensare. [...] Di qui l'accoglienza aperta e cordiale della religione cristiana nei tempi in cui la virtù pubblica dei romani stava sparendo ed era in decadenza la grandezza esterna. Perciò quando dopo secoli l'umanità è di nuovo in grado di avere idee, [...] la dottrina della abiezione dell'uomo va scomparendo, e ciò che ci rendeva interessante l'individuo affiora esso stesso come idea nella sua bellezza e, pensato da noi, diviene nostra proprietà”.<sup>5</sup>

Il tredicesimo capitolo de *Il Capitale* rappresenta un'attenta analisi di come le macchine e la rivoluzione industriale abbiano influito sul lavoro dell'uomo. A partire da come tali strumenti entrino totalmente nel processo lavorativo e parzialmente in quello di valorizzazione del prodotto alla differenza tra prezzo delle macchine e prezzo della forza lavoro; senza tralasciare le indagini sugli effetti dell'industria sull'operaio, sulla necessità di coinvolgere donne e bambini e sul prolungamento della giornata lavorativa che ha sconvolto del tutto la quotidianità.

## L'economia della Smart City

Ricercando una definizione di *Smart City* nel testo dedicato all'argomento dello studioso Giuliano Dall'Ò si evince che “parlare oggi di *smart city* vuol dire riferirsi a un modello di città nel quale [...] si modificano i rapporti tra i cittadini e le istituzioni, tra i cittadini e il mondo dell'economia e, ovviamente, tra i cittadini stessi”.<sup>6</sup> Nonostante sembri che l'attenzione sia soprattutto sul rapporto dei singoli tra i singoli nella collettività, Dall'Ò sottolinea che al primo posto tra le componenti del cambiamento c'è prima quella economica, poi quella sociale e successivamente quella ambientale. In tale cambiamento l'agire dell'uomo è basilare, soprattutto per quanto concerne il linguaggio e il lavoro. Facendo riferimento alla *Filosofia dello Spirito* di Hegel, il linguaggio è strumento per organizzare il materiale e il lavoro è concreto farsi cosa dell'Io. Il lavoro umano crea lo strumento; è l'uomo che ha la capacità di creare artefatti. Gli strumenti creati dall'uomo sono messi a disposizione della collettività e non sono sottoposti alla brama ma al desiderio di dare corpo a un atto creativo che è orientato a dare un contributo alla collettività. Oltre ad essere fortemente connesso alla cultura – alla *Bildung* – il lavoro è la possibilità dell'uomo di elevarsi all'universale. Il tutto è inoltre un modo per realizzare la *praxis* di più alto registro, quello politico.

La questione della sovrapposizione dei livelli di linguaggio e lavoro è stata trattata anche da postmarxisti come Rossi-Landi e Virno. Per il primo, il lavoro vivo è più che mai descrivibile in termini di atti comunicativi, sempre più in termini di *praxis* e meno in termini di *poiesis*. Il concetto marxiano di forza lavoro, che racchiude insieme capacità fisiche e intellettuali, si manifesta in completezza negli studi sociali nei quali il linguaggio viene perlopiù descritto come strumento di produzione di messaggi. Il passaggio è dalla *poiesis* verso la *praxis*: quest'ultima diventa sempre più simile alla *poiesis*-l'agire linguistico diventa sempre più simile a quello strumentale. Più estrema è la posizione di Virno, che in *Convenzione e materialismo: l'unicità senza aura*, afferma che è il lavoro che parla e si verifica il divenire *praxis* della *poiesis*, secondo un concetto largo di produzione che include in sé i tratti salienti dell'agire senza opera. Il lavoro sembra sempre più un agire senza opera, senza teleologia.

Tali riflessioni sono necessarie e complementari alla comprensione della rivoluzione urbanistica le cui radici sono da ricercare nel periodo che va dal 1760 al 1830: “Sono le macchine le vere protagoniste, [...] si tratta di un'evoluzione tecnologica”<sup>7</sup> – della *Technologie*: “Come ogni altro sviluppo della forza produttiva del lavoro, il macchinario ha il compito di ridurre le merci più a buon mercato ed abbreviare quella parte della giornata lavorativa che l'operaio usa per se stesso, per *prolungare* quell'altra parte della

giornata lavorativa che l'operaio dà gratuitamente al capitalista e un mezzo per la produzione di *plusvalore*".<sup>8</sup>

Bisogna precisare che non bisogna parlare tanto di tecnica quanto di *Technologie*, la scienza del governo che attraverso l'organizzazione dei burocrati organizza i processi di lavoro tanto nelle miniere quanto nell'agricoltura. Il tutto porta a una dimensione scientifica in cui l'essere umano diventa cosa tra le cose, ben lontano dalla tecnica che invece si riferisce all'agire dell'uomo. Quanto è affermato è riscontrabile anche nelle parole scritte da Marx nei *Grundrisse*, a proposito del *general intellect*: "Le forze produttive e le relazioni sociali - entrambi lati diversi dello sviluppo dell'individuo sociale - figurano per il capitale solo come mezzi, e sono per esso solo mezzi per produrre sulla sua base limitata. Ma in realtà essi sono le condizioni per far saltare in aria questa base. La natura non costruisce macchine, non costruisce locomotive, ferrovie, telegrafi elettrici, filatoi automatici ecc. Essi sono prodotti dell'industria umana: materiale naturale, trasformato in organi della volontà umana sulla natura o della sua esplicazione nella natura. Sono organi del cervello umano creati dalla mano umana: capacità scientifica oggettivata. Lo sviluppo del capitale fisso mostra fino a quale grado il sapere sociale generale, knowledge, è diventato forza produttiva immediata, e quindi le condizioni del processo vitale stesso sono passate sotto il controllo del general intellect, e rimodellate in conformità a esso. Fino a quale grado le forze produttive sociali sono prodotte, non solo nella forma del sapere, ma come organi immediati della prassi sociale, del processo di vita reale".<sup>9</sup>

Studiare alcuni brani de *Il Capitale*, oggi, porta luce su quelle che sono le motivazioni alla base della smartizzazione delle città. Nel quinto e tredicesimo capitolo del testo marxiano, si trovano tutti i presupposti che hanno plasmato la teoria economica cui ci si riferisce attualmente. Ogni cambiamento spaziale è connesso all'utile: "L'attività dei trasporti [...] si risolve in un processo di trasformazione spaziale, in quanto, in particolari circostanze, il medesimo bene economico, in un luogo diverso, dispiega una utilità maggiore".<sup>10</sup> Tutto, purché si renda quanto più efficiente l'organizzazione "intesa come capacità di coordinamento dei fattori",<sup>11</sup> qualcosa che "entra in ogni processo produttivo",<sup>12</sup> un processo in cui "i capitali, la terra e il lavoro umano sono fattori di produzione originari o irriducibili".<sup>13</sup> Seguendo Marx, per un'efficace analisi bisogna adeguare il proprio lessico distinguendo accuratamente processo lavorativo, prodotto e valore d'uso - "nel processo lavorativo l'attività dell'uomo opera, attraverso il mezzo di lavoro, un cambiamento dell'oggetto di lavoro che fin da principio era posto come scopo. Il processo si estingue nel *prodotto*. Il suo prodotto è un *valore d'uso*, materiale naturale appropriato a bisogni umani mediante cambiamento di forma"<sup>14</sup> - e comprendere che la considerazione degli spazi rientra nello stesso campo di analisi

del processo lavorativo: “Oltre le cose che trasmettono l’efficacia del lavoro al suo oggetto, e quindi in un modo o nell’altro servono come conduttori dell’attività, il processo lavorativo annovera fra i suoi *mezzi*, in un senso più ampio, anche tutte le *condizioni oggettive* che in genere sono richieste affinché esso abbia luogo. Queste condizioni non rientrano direttamente nel processo lavorativo, il quale però senza di esse può non verificarsi affatto, o si verifica solo incompletamente. Il mezzo universale di lavoro di questo tipo è ancora una volta la *terra stessa*, poiché essa dà al lavoratore il *locus standi* e al processo lavorativo dà il suo *campo d’azione* (*field of employment*). Mezzi di lavoro di questo genere già procurati mediante il lavoro sono per esempio edifici di lavoro, canali, strade, ecc”.<sup>15</sup>

Diventa dunque sempre più evidente come le trasformazioni urbanistiche siano ben lontane dall’essere realmente giustificate dalla volontà di garantire benessere di singoli, collettività e territorio e molto più a che fare con il mutamento della vita lavorativa dall’epoca pre-moderna a quella attuale, nonostante la teoria della smartizzazione affermi tutt’altro.

## Le priorità della Smart City

Nel bando del 2012 *Smart Cities and Communities*, il MIUR ha posto come obiettivo lo sviluppo di progetti innovativi mettendo al primo posto la sicurezza del territorio, avallando progetti di cura della popolazione anziana, tecnologie welfare ed inclusive insieme a maggiore attenzione per la domotica e aggiornamenti delle strutture scolastiche e su *cloud computing technologies*. Fondamentale anche l’abbattimento del *digital divide*: quella distanza tra chi sa utilizzare consapevolmente le tecnologie e chi no. Nello stesso bando è possibile leggere dell’invito a pensare a progetti sulla gestione dei rifiuti, sulla salute in generale, sull’architettura sostenibile, su conservazione di beni culturali (*cultural heritage*).<sup>16</sup> Fin qui, sembrerebbe quasi che la priorità di una *smart city* sia il miglioramento del rapporto intersoggettivo tra i singoli nella collettività, comprendendo anche l’altro assunto fondamentale della smartizzazione – quello secondo cui in una *smart city* abitano degli *smart citizen*, cittadini che partecipano attivamente alle città intelligenti formando una rete sia online che offline e condividendo interessi e rispettive conoscenze.

All’atto pratico, la smartizzazione delle città avviene soprattutto e quasi esclusivamente sul piano della connessione dei dati, poiché “nella smart city allo spazio fisico se ne sovrappone uno virtuale”.<sup>17</sup> Tra gli esempi delle città europee più *smart* spicca Manchester eppure, guardando al motivo di tale riconoscimento risulta che al primo posto c’è l’aver portato la connessione ad Internet wireless al di fuori delle mura domestiche e il miglioramento dei supporti telematici.

## Conclusione

Nel contesto italiano, lo *Smart City Index* misura il livello di smartizzazione delle città misurando il livello di energie rinnovabili e l'attenzione a tale tema; il consumo di energia elettrica (*smart building*); il trasporto pubblico locale, il trasporto privato e la mobilità alternativa (*smart mobility*) e, a pari merito con gli altri aspetti prioritari figura il *broad band*, il conto della diffusione della banda larga e ultra-larga fissa e mobile (ADSL, fibra ottica, HSPDA, LTE).<sup>18</sup> Insomma, prima di tutto ci si assicura che gli utenti possano avere accesso a Internet, il mezzo tramite cui oggi si raccolgono la maggioranza dei dati di mercato dando vita a un rapporto di servizi pubblici con tornaconto per i privati di cui David Harvey scriveva alla fine degli anni '80 in opere come *From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism*, un testo in cui analizza come le città siano passate da essere manager a imprenditori, competendo tra loro e trasformando gli spazi in capitali in cui investire, in luoghi dove fare business. Anche Rem Koolhaas, nella descrizione della Città Generica, sostiene che si tratta di “quel che resta da quando vaste sezioni della vita urbana si intrecciano nel cyberspazio. Un luogo di sensazioni deboli e rilassate, scarse e distanziate tra un'emozione e l'altra, discrete e misteriose come un grande spazio illuminato da una lampada da notte. A paragone della città classica, la Città Generica è seduta, solitamente percepita da una posizione sedentaria”.<sup>19</sup> In un testo del geografo David Harvey, *Spaces of global capitalism. Towards a theory of uneven geographical development*, si prende atto di un altro dato significativo nel cambiamento delle città dovuto al lavoro che nell'ultimo sessantennio è più che mai diventato merce: l'appropriazione da parte delle imprese del mercato liberista di luoghi in cui poter sfruttare risorse e manodopera a basso costo;<sup>20</sup> considerazioni che si accordano con quanto affermato da Harvey sul postmodernismo per quanto concerne la mancanza di una progettualità che sia politica oltre che economica. Il compito della città non è più quello di fornire servizi essenziali ma consegnare i dati raccolti per consegnarli al miglior offerente – che può essere tanto chi governa la città quanto un attore privato. I big data si configurano come quei dati che sono il germe quanto il mezzo per realizzare la smartizzazione delle città,<sup>21</sup> un'operazione che è spinta dall'obiettivo di incoraggiare politiche di sviluppo economico, a prescindere dal fatto che “la correlazione tra crescita economica e benessere non è necessariamente positiva”.<sup>22</sup>

Notes

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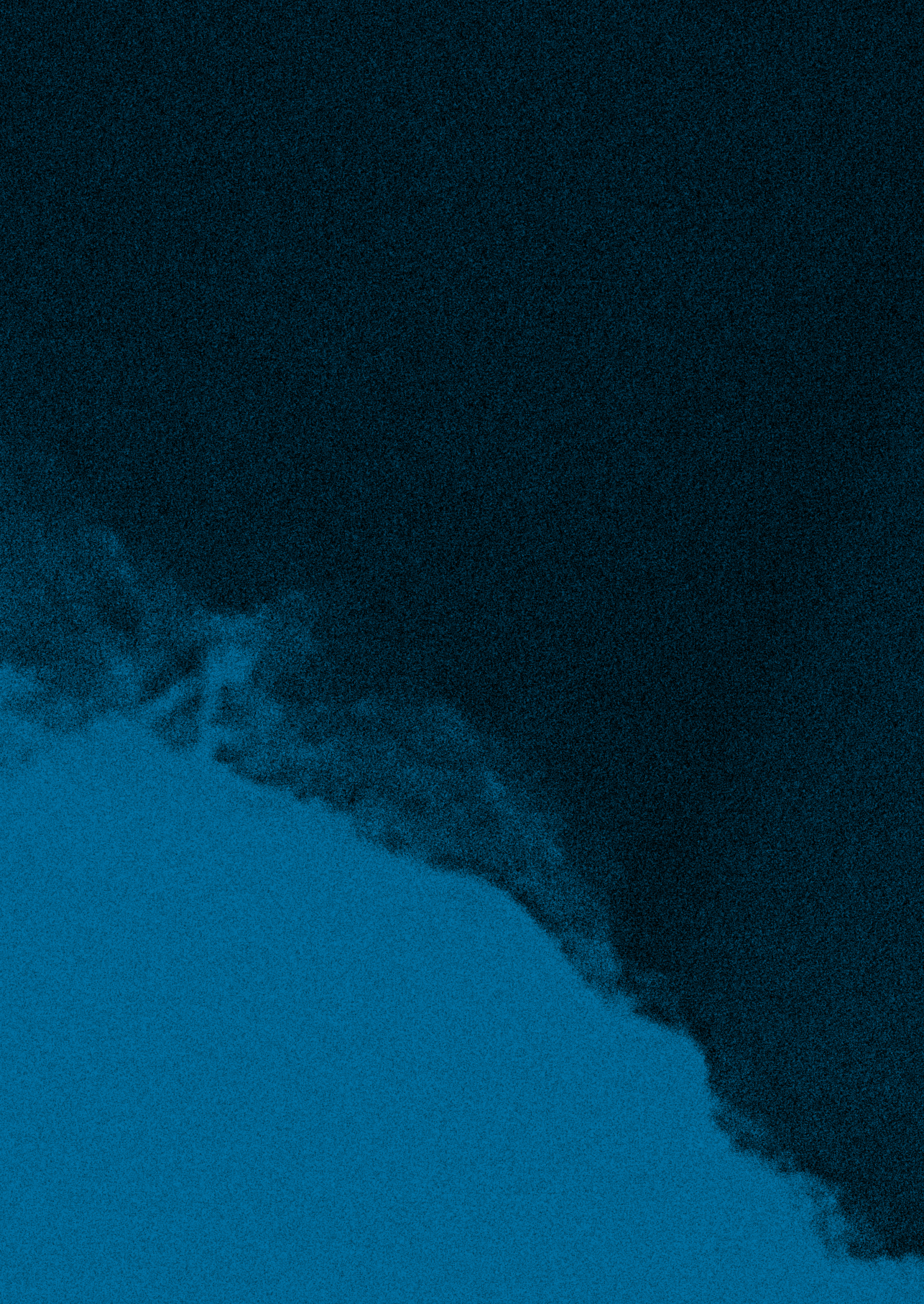


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*The City: Multifaceted Views* presents texts of different researchers, providing a very colourful palette with different views about the cities, focusing from the Middle Ages to the present time. The different views go through varied analysis perspectives regarding institutions, people, services and technology, reflecting continuity and change about the city as stage. The city is, besides a physical construction, a mental construction and it has been so throughout History. The evolution it was subjected to, but primarily the connections that its residents or those who searched it established, compose our point of analysis, embodied in a set of distinct views.

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