

Poor women and urban assistance in Early Modern Portugal: the case of Hospital of Santiago of Braga

Mulheres pobres e assistência urbana em Portugal na Idade Moderna: o caso do Hospital de Santiago de Braga

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Abstract

Any study of Hospital of Santiago has remained untackled to date. This institution housed women in a situation of great economic and social vulnerability, mainly elderly, single or widows with few or no surviving family relations. This text aims to discuss the women's poverty by comparing their stances towards death. The study is based on the analysis of parish records and accounting sources considered via a qualitative methodology. The results problematize the phenomena of the impoverishment of women in an urban context and debate the relevance of work, networks and formal assistance in the survival of the poor during the Early Modern Age.

Keywords: Assistance; Hospitals; Women; Poverty; Power and Representation.

Resumo

O Hospital de Santiago permaneceu por estudar até ao presente. Esta instituição alojou mulheres em situação de grande vulnerabilidade económica e social, sobretudo velhas, solteiras ou viúvas com poucas ou nenhuma rede familiares sobreviventes. Este texto tem como objetivo discutir a situação de pobreza destas mulheres comparando as suas atitudes perante a morte. Este estudo baseia-se na análise dos registos paroquiais e livros de contas trabalhados segundo uma metodologia qualitativa. Os resultados problematizam o fenómeno do empobrecimento feminino no contexto urbano e debatem a relevância do trabalho, das redes sociais e da assistência formal para a sobrevivência dos pobres durante a Idade Moderna.

Palavras-chave: Assistência; Hospitais; Mulheres; Pobreza; Poderes e Representação.

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Introduction

The “entail¹ of Morreira” was founded in the thirteenth or fourteenth century by Dom Martim Martins de Barros. Under the terms of this institution, the rights of usufruct of the property were reserved to the holder of the Barros lineage, provided that he fulfilled the pious obligations contained therein, namely that he ordered a series of masses and administered the Hospital of Santiago. This institution of assistance to the poor housed women until the nineteenth century. This foundation was located on Rua Santa Maria or Rua do Poço and was part of a set of properties that headed the linked properties. The building was next to Porta de São Tiago, next to the college and behind the parish church of Cividade (see Figure 1)². It was erected in the core of the medieval Braga next to an important transit route, as it led the south gate of the medieval wall to the cathedral, representing the temporal and spiritual power of the archbishop, lord of the city and of his municipality. Each floor would have had a little more than one hundred square meters and its elevation did not architecturally demarcate its function from the surrounding buildings, as was common with medieval foundations. The poor lived on the ground floor of these noble houses³ of the Barros Family⁴.

¹ The terms “entail” and “majorat” are used, throughout the text, as synonyms to designate the set of pious obligations imposed on a lineage for the enjoyment of certain properties conveyed to them. Chapel and majorat are, therefore, inextricably linked; so we also use the term “majorat-chapel”.

² At the end of the eighteenth century, the facade of this church was turned to the east, as it is still today.

³ In 1539, the building would have only one upper floor, as indicated in the foundation contract of the “Majorat of Real”. In the representation of Braga in the compilation of George Braun, probably dating from 1594, the buildings on Rua de Santa Maria already appear represented with two floors. Luís Cardoso, in the first half of the eighteenth century, referred that the old women lived “in the lower part of a gallery of noble houses of Lopo Barros de Almeida, administrator of the Majorat of Real”. Cf. Luís Cardoso, *Diccionario geografico, ou noticia historica de todas as cidades, villas, lugares, e aldeas, rios, ribeiras, e serras dos Reynos de Portugal, e Algarve, com todas as cousas raras, que nelles se encontraõ, assim antigas, como modernas / que escreve, e offerece ao muito alto... Rey D. João V nosso senhor o P. Luiz Cardoso, da Congregaçaõ do Oratorio de Lisboa*, Lisboa, 1747, p. 261.

⁴ This unpublished aspects related to the foundation, refoundation, chapel and patrimony of the Barros Family were addressed in other text entitled “Power, nobility and charity: the case of *morgado*-chapel and the hospital of the Barros family in Braga (Portugal)”.

Figure 1 – City of Braga, 1756



Source: Biblioteca Nacional da Ajuda, Manuscritos de Cartografia, Mappa da Cidade de Braga Primas de André Ribeiro Soares da Sylva, 1756-1757.

Caption: 1) Sé Cathedral 2) Santa Casa da Misericórdia 3) Church of Cividade
4) College of the Society of Jesus 5) Hospital of Santiago/Hospital das Velhas 6)
Church of São João do Souto 7) Church of Santa Cruz 8) Hospital of São Marcos 9)
Recolhimento de Santo António 10) Church of Terceiros

A hospital was a symbol of power⁵ and a mechanism for representing its benefactors⁶. These assistance institutions had a sacral dimension, as their daily life involved spiritual care and the founding act regularly imputed to administrators the fulfilment of masses by the soul of the founders. This foundational moment, fixed by will or contract, was protected by civil and ecclesiastical orders as an individual will was considered an immutable law⁷. Despite not having any chapel integrated into the hospital's physical complex, the Barros Family entail comprised a place to say mass and bury family members. If these infrastructures were originally located in the central nave of the Cathedral next to the south door, at the beginning of the century of five hundred⁸, the chapel is transferred to the cloister, with the invocation of Our Lady of Grace. Chapel and hospital were forms of public proclamation of family authority⁹ and embodied in time and space the antiquity of the lineage's name and economic power.

Since the Late Middle Ages, voluntary poverty was valued in the spiritual experience of religious orders and in individual lay experiences of holiness¹⁰. The poor were structural to the economy of salvation because it was through them that the rich alleviated sins and freed their souls from Purgatory¹¹. Then "Lei das Sesmarias" (1375), Portuguese authorities have tended to categorize the poor into three groups: the false poor; the poor allowed to beg; poor worthy of formal assistance as long as they did not beg. Sick, helpless children and old people were included in this last group and were "deserving poor". Probably due to the mismatch between assistance resources and the growth in the number of

⁵ Laurinda Abreu, *O poder e os pobres: as dinâmicas políticas e sociais da pobreza e da assistência em Portugal (séculos XVI-XVIII)*, Lisboa, 2014, p. 261.

⁶ Sandra Cavallo, *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy: Benefactors and their Motives in Turin 1547-1789*, New York, 1995, p. 99.

⁷ Maria de Lurdes Rosa, "“As almas herdeiras”. Fundação de capelas fúnebres e afirmação da alma como sujeito de direito (Portugal, 1400-1521)", PhD diss., Lisboa, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales e Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2005, p. 428-429.

⁸ Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (Lisbon), Memórias Paroquiais, Paróquia de Braga (Sé), 1758, n.º 57, p. 1117

⁹ Maria de Lurdes Rosa, "A religião do século: vivências e devoções dos leigos" in Carlos Moreira Azevedo (dir.), *História Religiosa de Portugal: Formação e Limites da Cristandade*, vol. 1, Lisboa, 2000, p. 461.

¹⁰ About the *ethos* of medieval poverty cf. Bronislaw Geremek, *A Piedade e a Força - História da Miséria e da Caridade na Europa*, trad. Maria da Assunção Santos, Lisboa, Terramar, p. 27-48.

¹¹ Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, "As Misericórdias e a salvação da alma: as opções dos ricos e os serviços dos pobres em busca do Paraíso (séculos XVI-XVIII)" in *Problematizar a História – estudos de História Moderna em homenagem a M.ª do Rosário Themudo Barbosa*, Lisboa, Caleidoscópio, 2007, p. 383-402.

poor people, this system showed a concern to distinguish those who deserved help from those who were idle and did not want to work¹². With the exception of the more or less temporary institutionalized poor, most of those who were assisted by the institutions of the Early Modern Age should be regularly visited by the donors, who verified the situation of poverty and assessed the need for alms. This gift economy was based on the geographical proximity between donors and the poor and was carried out based on local inquiry or by resorting to parish priests, who were responsible for issuing a poverty certificate. Among the visited poor, who received continuous support and were at the top of the hierarchy of access to the goods of charity, and the poor who received extraordinary alms, populated numerous subgroups in different situations of need¹³. In addition to the institutions dedicated to the support of sick fellow clergymen, those specialized in the treatment of contagious pathologies or those intended for the reception of children, some hospitals were founded in Portugal with the aim of assisting exclusively female poor¹⁴.

The current normative systems (European common law, medicine and Judeo-Christian morals)¹⁵ considered the feminine gender inferior to the masculine one. Women were naturally fragile and physically and morally weak beings. They tended towards imperfection and sin, the virtue of honesty being the control mechanism for this natural weakness¹⁶. Men, as heads of households, and, in their absence, as managers of charitable institutions, were socially

¹² Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, “Estatuto social e discriminação: formas de selecção de agentes e receptores de caridade nas Misericórdias portuguesas ao longo do Antigo Regime” in *Saúde: as teias da discriminação social*, Saúde e Discriminação Social, Braga, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade do Minho, 2002, p. 315.

¹³ Laurinda Abreu, *O poder e os pobres...*, cit., p. 34-35.

¹⁴ In the city of Porto, there was, from the 1295-1790 period, Hospital of Santa Clara or Hospital das Velhas, which welcomed 15 old and disadvantaged women. In that city, one of the hospitals in Cimo da Vila, of invocation of Espírito Santo (Holy Spirit) and known as Hospital das Entravadas, also received exclusively old and incurable women. Lisbeth Rodrigues, “A saúde do corpo” in Isabel dos Guimarães Sá and Inês Amorim (coord.), *Sob o manto da Misericórdia: contributos para História da Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto*, vol. 1, Coimbra, 2018, p. 309-315; Alexandra Esteves, “Do Hospital de D. Lopo de Almeida ao Hospital de Santo António” in Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo and Helena Osswald (coords.) *Sob o manto da Misericórdia: contributos para História da Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto*, vol. 2, Coimbra, 2018, p. 283-285.

¹⁵ On the considerations of Early Modern Age medicine about female biology and social condition cf. Évelyne Berriot-Salvadore, “O discurso da medicina e da ciência” in Natelie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge (ed.), *História das Mulheres. Do Renascimento à Idade Moderna*, trad. Maria Carvalho Torres, vol. 3, Porto, Edições Afrontamento, 1994, pp. 409-455.

¹⁶ António Manuel Hespanha, “O estatuto jurídico da mulher na Época da Expansão”, *Oceanos*, n. 21 (1995), p. 8-16.

responsible for caring for female honour. As a result of paternalistic control over the feminine virtue, women's exclusion from the exercise of intellectual and liberal professions, and the depreciation of their wages compared to the value of male work, women were prominent charitable agents¹⁷ and recipients of assistance¹⁸. This relevance of female poverty has remained constant throughout the early modern period in Portugal. In addition to hospital-type assistance, women were institutionally placed in retreats, *mercearias*¹⁹ or received various support from the scope of formal assistance, such as alms or dowries. The Santa Casa da Misericórdia (Brotherhood of Holy House of Mercy)²⁰, for example, developed a very consolidated activity in the pursuit of this support, both as direct managers of the poor's heritage and as executors of the pious wills of private founders²¹. Lay and ecclesiastical lords, in the field of their socio-political functions, also performed charitable and assistance works in their domains²². Alms were a cohesive factor in the current corporate model based on discriminatory principles²³. The act of giving presupposed a recognition of

¹⁷ Olwen Hufton, "Women Without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century", *Journal of Family History*, n. 9 (1984), p. 366–373; Maria Antónia Lopes, "Mulheres e trabalho em Coimbra (Portugal) no século XVIII e inícios do XX" in Juan José Iglesias Rodríguez, Rafael M. Pérez García, and Manuel F. Fernández Chaves (coords.), *Comercio y Cultura en la Edad Moderna*, XII Reunión Científica de la Fundación Española de Historia Moderna, Sevilla, 2015, p. 1779–1786.

¹⁸ Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, *Dar aos pobres e emprestar a Deus: as Misericórdias de Vila Viçosa e Ponte de Lima (séculos XVI-XVIII)*, Barcelos, 2000, p. 703.

¹⁹ An institution where a poor person (the *merceeiro/a*) periodically receives alms (housing, money, food or clothing) in exchange of the obligation to pray for the soul of one benefactor.

²⁰ Brotherhoods of immediate royal protection, governed by a commitment granted by the crown, composed, and managed by lay men from the local elites where they were implemented (noblemen and officers), carried out works of mercy and other charitable acts for the poor. During the 16th century, they became, by royal initiative or by local lords, administrators of several hospitals. The first brotherhood was founded in 1498, in Lisbon, and its diffusion and implementation in the kingdom and empire of Portugal was quick. The bibliography on these institutions is very extensive, but we must highlight the ten volumes of the *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum* coordinated by José Pedro Paiva.

²¹ Cf. Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, "A assistência às mulheres nas Misericórdias portuguesas (séculos XVI-XVIII)" in *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos [Online]*, n. Colóquios (2008), p. 1-3, <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.23482.c>, consulted 2020/07/15.

²² See, in these topics, the work of Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, "Vila Viçosa, os "pobres" e as "esmolos" do duque D. João II (1636-1646)", *Revista de Demografia Histórica* XXII, n. II (2004), p. 183-205; Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, "Aos pés de Vossa Alteza Sereníssima": as pobres do arcebispo bracarense D. José de Bragança", *Cadernos do Noroeste* 17, n. 1-2 (2002), p. 101-123.

²³ Cf. Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, "Estatuto social e discriminação: formas de selecção de agentes e receptores de caridade nas Misericórdias portuguesas ao longo do Antigo Regime" in *Saúde: as teias da discriminação social*, Saúde e Discriminação Social, Braga, 2002, p. 333-334.

social hierarchies that, at all levels, included the provision of clientele-type services. These relationships involved the transfer of goods with an economic value whose retroactive effects did not always have a monetary aspect. The social actors of the architecture of the powers of the Early Modern Age fit into this system of gift since everyone had someone above them to whom to render service and from whom to receive compensations²⁴.

1. Hospital feminine noun: sources and delimitation of the problem

Acknowledged the issues of the rich, which are summarized in the previous paragraphs²⁵, this text takes a look at 111 cases of the poor²⁶ that, in the 1630-1830 period, we identified as inhabitants of Hospital of Santiago. Our methodology is qualitative and is based on the crossing and questioning of references present in sources of different nature, as it was not possible to identify any institutional documentation. Much of this analysis focuses on the parish register of the neighbouring parish of the hospital (São Tiago of Cividade), where 56 women who died at the institution were buried, and on the expense books of the steward of Santa Casa da Misericórdia official of its administrative bureau who was responsible for shrouding all the poor who could not afford it²⁷. The responsibility of burying these women was triggered by Santa Casa as work of mercy (burying the dead) when the dead did not have enough goods to pay for the religious service in the parish church. The documents that support this analysis were produced by third parties at the end of the life of the poor (see the

²⁴ The importance of the donation economy for the social structure of the Early Modern Age was established by Ângela Barreto Xavier e António Manuel Hespanha, “As redes clientelares” in José Mattoso (dir.), *História de Portugal: O Antigo Regime (1620-1807)*, vol. 4, Lisboa, 1998, p. 340-346.

²⁵ See note 5.

²⁶ We consider a case, any episode related to someone identified as a resident in the hospital. From the crossing of parish records and the steward’s expense books, we found 111 cases. The examples that we mentioned below regarding alms in clothing were collected from our master’s dissertation and are not part of the documentary *corpus* of the sample of this work.

²⁷ Contrary to what happened in other European geographies, such as in England, where assistance to the poor was predominantly developed by parishes, in Portugal these competences were mostly assigned to secular institutions. Cf. Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, “Assistência. II. Época Moderna e Contemporânea” in Carlos Moreira Azevedo (dir.), *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores e Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa da UCP, 2000, p. 140-148. More recent studies have highlighted the role of individual subjects, lay as well as ecclesiastical, in maintaining these practices.

table in Annex 1)²⁸, allowing us to compare their attitudes towards death²⁹ and to glimpse the care profile of this hospital throughout the early modern period.

Despite the fact that the institutional data are evidently lacking³⁰, our methodology allows us to reveal the diversity of institutionalized poor people and discusses impoverishment and gender in the urban context during the Early Modern Age. This text confronts questions from the history of poverty with the history of women, highlighting that life paths and the position towards family, marriage and motherhood are structural elements to an integrated understanding of the feminization process of poverty. The study of the Hospital of Santiago calls for important considerations regarding the status of elderly women, whether single or widowed and the role of care institutions as social inclusion entities for women without active guardianship of a male relation (husband, father or son). To this end, we must examine the importance of local neighbourhood and institutional assistance networks, as they made it possible to add to the housing supply guaranteed by the Barros Family the other essential assets for the survival of the poor (food and clothing)³¹, but also to confront the activities performed by women in the urban economy. Our methodology, despite being based on sources that were not directly produced by the poor, reflects a discourse of otherness that observes the resources and life paths of the poor³², certainly complementing that which emanates from documents of a strictly institutional nature.

²⁸ The references do not seek to understand the typicality of those poor men or women who may have been admitted by the institution. This insufficiency is determined by the methodology employed and the working time available, which prevented the study from being extended to other documentary centers, but also by the internal limitations to the selected sources. There are only expense books by the steward of Misericórdia de Braga for the 1628-1748 period. However, from 1713/1714 onwards, expenses with the masses of the poor appear aggregated without mentioning the name or provenance of the deceased. This limitation is partly overcome by the existence of a single mass book for the poor, whose chronology covers the 1747 -1793 period. The death records of the Cidade parish are exhaustive to the defined chronology (1630-1837). These limitations of the resources do not allow us to determine the representativeness of this sample in relation to the total number of women assisted during the chronology established by this work.

²⁹ Similar treatment was given to the parish records of women collected in “Convertidas”, in Braga, in the work of Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, *Oração, penitência e trabalho: o recolhimento de Santa Maria Madalena e São Gonçalo de Braga (1720-1834)*, Vila Nova de Famalicão, 2017, p. 229-231.

³⁰ Check notes 20 and 21.

³¹ Maria Antónia Lopes, *Pobreza, assistência e controlo social em Coimbra (1750-1850)*, vol. 1, Viseu, 2000, p. 40.

³² The concept of “life-cycle” applied to poverty and assistance was applied, in a pioneering way, by Tim Wales and brought to the Portuguese reality in the doctoral thesis of Rute Pardal.

Going through its toponymic evolution, it remains that this institution persisted for a long time based on the social function it occupied: giving shelter to women who, weakened by old age and or unable to work, saw their productive autonomy diminished or extinct and were transformed into structural poor. Physically and mentally handicapped, incurable sick, embarrassed poor, orphans, widows, and old people were among the types of poverty that have been granted alms since the Middle Ages³³. These typologies remained in force throughout the Early Modern Age³⁴. According to the Pullan³⁵ and Gutton's³⁶ classification model for the "structural poor", there was the vastness of "cyclical" poverty to which 75 to 80% of the European population was subjected. At any time, given the fragility of work and the production system, the majority of the population could fall into a situation of vulnerability that made it incapable of guaranteeing its survival. The productive crises generated hunger, high price inflation and reduced purchasing power. These situations exposed the poor income of the population to market variations that prevented the autonomous survival of households³⁷.

Pullan and Gutton categorized poverty according to a static criterion that took into account the situation of a poor person at a certain point in his/her life. As Montserrat Carbonell i Esteller pointed out, a dynamic perspective of poverty must cross the phenomenon of impoverishment with the family, the world of work and the social representations of the sex and gender of the poor³⁸. Women, despite being subordinate to the mental and moral schemes of the time, had social visibility because they performed relevant family and economic functions that gave them social capital³⁹. The place of women in the history of poverty, therefore, has to consider the subject's spatial-temporal coordinates before her

See Tim Wales, "Poverty, Poor Relief and the Life-Cycle: some evidence from seventh-century Norfolk" in Richard M. Smith (ed.), *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 351-404. Rute Parda, *Práticas de caridade e assistência em Évora (1650-1750)*, Lisboa, 2015, p. 237-278.

³³ Christopher Dyer, "Poverty and Its Relief in Medieval England", *Past & Present* 216, n.º 1 (2012), p. 42-43, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gts016>, consulted 2020/07/13.

³⁴ Laurinda Abreu, *O poder e os pobres...*, cit., p. 22-37.

³⁵ Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social of a Catholic State*, Cambridge, 1971, p. 988-997.

³⁶ Apud Stuart Woolf, *Pobres en la Europa moderna*, Barcelona, 1989, p. 17.

³⁷ Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, "Pobreza" in Carlos Moreira Azevedo (dir.), *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, Lisbon, 2001, p. 456.

³⁸ Montserrat Carbonell i Esteller, "Las mujeres pobres en el Setecientos", *Historia Social*, n. 8 (1990), p. 124, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40340254>, consulted 2020/08/01.

³⁹ Social networks interact dynamically in the construction of social capital that has dynamic relationships with other types of capital, such as economic or political. Pierre Bourdieu, "Le capital social: notes provisoires", *Actes de La Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, n. 31 (1980), p. 2-3.

position in relation to the marital status, professional occupation, life stage or the degree of family integration⁴⁰. These criteria are decisive for the historian to problematize women as protagonists of production and consumption, both inside and outside the doors of their homes⁴¹.

In the urban context and from an intersectional perspective, women alone, single or widowed, were more vulnerable to poverty. Nuclear family coherence, namely the presence of both husband and wife, was one of the structural guarantees for economic stability⁴². A young woman who could not save money for a dowry and position herself in the marriage market⁴³, or a woman who did not remarry, would face serious difficulties in supporting herself independently; a situation that worsened in the presence of dependents⁴⁴. The care institutions were protective of the family in a double sense: on the one hand, they reproduced their solidarity by compensating for the economic imbalances caused by changes in the environment and structure, distributing cash or in-kind support; on the other hand, they replaced it, when they protected the public reputation of some of its members⁴⁵, providing places where women could hide from scandal and ensure that they arrived at marriage with their honour preserved. This virtue, which was opposed to the allegedly degenerate condition of women, was attached to the legal, religious and cultural norms of the period.

Seclusion was a “virtue” in itself. André Vauchez highlighted it clearly in the experience of medieval lay religiosity, stating that seclusion and reflection

⁴⁰ On the social situation of Portuguese women in relation to work and the performance of economic activities in the European context cfr. the discussion present in Filipa Ribeiro da Silva e Hélder Carvalhal, “Reconsidering the Southern European Model: Marital Status, Women’s Work and Labour Relations in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Portugal”, *Revista de Historia Económica / Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 38, n. 1 (2020), p. 50-53, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0212610919000338>, consulted 2020/09/01.

⁴¹ On gender, the roles of men and women in the home, family and domestic and public economy in the European framework, see the conclusions of Raffaella Sarti, *Casa e família: habitar, comer e vestir na Europa Moderna*, trad. Isabel Teresa Santos, Lisboa, 2001, p. 353-366.

⁴² The rural family of the municipality of Braga had a similar behaviour: “the lack of one of its elements [of the couple] makes the peasant house fragile not only from an economic but also a social point of view”. Margarida Durães, “A Casa Rural Minhota: Papel e Significado no Contexto Hereditário - Séculos XVIII e XIX”, *Cadernos do Noroeste* 1, n. 1 (1987), p. 88.

⁴³ See, for example, the vulnerability of single women in Galicia (Spain): Serrana Rial García, “Solás y pobres: las mujeres de las ciudades de Galicia ante la marginalidad y la prostitución”, *SEMATA, Ciencias Sociais e Humanidades*, vol. 16 (2004), p. 301-331.

⁴⁴ Olwen Hufton, “Mulheres, trabalho e família” in Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge (ed.), *História das Mulheres. Do Renascimento à Idade Moderna*, trad. João Barrote, vol. 3, Porto, 1994, p. 65-69.

⁴⁵ Stuart Woolf, *Pobres en la Europa moderna...*, cit., p. 44.

distanced the human being from his/her instinct and made it possible to encounter God⁴⁶. Laurinda Abreu evidenced that the philosophers and social reformers of the Early Modern Age established a public morality fixed in the apology of humility, seclusion and in the valorisation of institutions, to which they transferred family functions⁴⁷. Bluteau, in the early seventies, in addition to the instrumental function of something that serves to shelter or the religious institution with that name⁴⁸, defined “seclusion” as “a retreat; the not leaving home; the escaping from being seen”. The fellow clergyman associates with this word a set of sayings about female honour and honesty⁴⁹. The virtue of seclusion seems to apply differently in terms of gender. It must be for this reason that, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Father Luís Cardoso identified the Hospital of Santiago as a retreat⁵⁰, despite the fact that the poor did not live in seclusion.

In the *ad limina* visits presented to the pope by the archbishops of Braga D. Frei Agostinho de Jesus (p. 1588-1609), in 1594, and D. Frei Aleixo de Meneses (p. 1612-1617), in 1615, it was referred that inside the city there was a *domicilium* (house) for old women⁵¹. This institution was certainly different from the *hospitalli* (hospital) of São Marcos and its *hospitium* of pilgrims, administered by Misericórdia. Gradually, between the middle of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, the toponymy of the Hospital of Santiago began to contemplate the function more than the invocation⁵², demarcating the social relevance of the assistance it practiced. Luís Cardoso, in 1747, reported that, in the parish of Cividade, there was “a retreat called Hospital das Velhas

⁴⁶ André Vauchez, *A espiritualidade na Idade Média Ocidental (séculos VIII to XIII)*, trad. Teresa Antunes Cardoso, Lisboa, 1995, p. 169.

⁴⁷ Laurinda Abreu, *O poder e os pobres...*, cit., p. 179.

⁴⁸ Seclusion institutions for laywomen who sometimes received *porcionistas* (girls who paid a fee to stay in the institution). The retreats could be formative, contemplative or reformatory. Cf. Laurinda Abreu, *O poder e os pobres...*, cit., p. 216-217.

⁴⁹ Rafael Bluteau, *Vocabulário português e latino, aulico, anatomico, architectonico, bellico, botanico, brasílico, comico, critico, chimico, dogmatico, dialectico, dendrologico, ecclesiastico, etymologico, economico, florifero, forense, fructifero... autorizado com exemplos dos melhores escritores portugueses, e latinos*, vol. 7, Coimbra, 1721, p. 157.

⁵⁰ Luís Cardoso, *Diccionario geografico, ou noticia historica de todas as cidades...*, cit., p. 261.

⁵¹ According to these documents, in the city of Braga there was a house where poor women lived, located inside the walls: “*aliud est domicilium intra moenia in quo decrepitae miseraeque anus vitam agunt*”. António Franquelim Sampaio Neiva Soares, *Relatórios das Visitas Ad Limina da Arquidiocese de Braga (1585-1910)*, vol. I, Braga, 2015, p. 199 and 264.

⁵² Throughout the seventeenth century, the institution started to be mainly referred to as *Hospital das Velhas* to the detriment of the use of the term *Hospital de Santiago*.

who [the old women] live in the lower part of a gallery of some noble houses” of the Majorat of Real. At the end of the nineteenth century, the house started to be called Asilo das Velhas (Old Women Asylum) or Casa das Inválidas (Home of the Disabled Women)⁵³.

2. Owners of *trapetes* and *farrapinhos*⁵⁴: the hospital’s poor women

By housing women for alms, the Hospital of Santiago was a mechanism for monitoring honour and constituted a public proclamation on the honesty of its residents. Due to the circumstances of their lives that led to their impoverishment, the women in the hospital were deprived of male guardianship. The experience in the hospital guaranteed that they lived in opposition to their nature, for which they were considered less dignified, more fragile, passive, lustful, cunning and evil than men. This perspective on gender converged from normative structures based on the assumptions of European civil, canonical and common law, on the ancient medicine theories and on Jewish tradition⁵⁵. In order to avoid entropies in the economic-social system, the normative framework, which subordinated the female element to male tutelage, opened a legal opportunity to those outside the domain of *pater familias* (householder), to whom it attributed total contractual and negotiating autonomy. Single women over 25 and widows were legally capable and autonomous to act economically⁵⁶. The poor who sought shelter in the Hospital of Santiago were free to make this choice. The institution replaced the male family guardianship of the father, husband, or children with the guardianship of the administrator of the entail of the Barros Family.

Since women’s work was depreciated in relation to men’s, and women’s wages were lower, their survival was conditioned by the economy of improvisation⁵⁷. In addition to activating local, parochial or institutional solidarities, sharing housing with employers, family members or strangers was one of the possibilities to guarantee the joint sharing of basic expenses. Hufton called the cohabitation strategy of several women without biological ties to

⁵³ ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1772-1837, n.º 79, fls. 148 and 171v.

⁵⁴ Clothing of little value; mere rags.

⁵⁵ António Manuel Hespanha, *O estatuto jurídico da mulher na Época da Expansão*, cit., p. 16.

⁵⁶ Elina Guimarães, “A mulher portuguesa na legislação civil”, *Análise Social* XXII, n. 92-93 (1986), p. 558.

⁵⁷ Stuart Woolf, *Pobres en la Europa moderna...*, cit., p. 24-25.

each other a spinster clustering⁵⁸. We believe that, by obtaining shelter in the Hospital of Santiago, the poor women guaranteed free access to housing that, simultaneously, publicly proclaimed their status as deserving poor⁵⁹. In this way, it was possible for them to activate supplementary survival mechanisms with institutions specialized in supporting the poor. Margarida Gonçalves, widow, resident at the Hospital of Santiago in 1637, was recognized as poor by Father Pedro Lopes Falcão, who sold her old clothes and the blanket to pay for four masses prayed at the privileged altar of São Pedro de Rates in the Cathedral and three in Church of Cidade⁶⁰. Maria, single, and Juliana, two residents of the hospital, received alms in clothing from Santa Casa da Misericórdia, in 1712 and 1717⁶¹.

We do not know how the institution's internal experience was governed, namely: how domestic activities were developed; how cohabitation and conflict were managed; or, if there were any productive functions, similar to what happened in other institutions⁶². It is certain that these women did not live in seclusion. For two decades, Francisca Dias, a widow, lived in the institution⁶³, maintained the activity of midwife and was the protagonist of several moments in the parish of Cidade. When she was admitted to the institution one of her children was an infant⁶⁴. In the baptisms of Inácia

⁵⁸ Olwen Hufton, *Women Without Men...*, cit., p. 373.

⁵⁹ On the criteria that distinguished those who deserved it from those who were not entitled to assistance cf. Laurinda Abreu, *O poder e os pobres...*, cit., p. 28-37.

⁶⁰ ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registos Misto, 1630-1645, n.º 56, fl. 153.

⁶¹ ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, Livro da Despeza do Tesoureiro, 1711-1724, n.º 670, fls.18v. and 209v.

⁶² Although with a personal reconversion dimension to combat laziness, there was a house for work in the Recolhimento das Convertidas, in Braga cf. Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, *Oração, penitência e trabalho...*, cit., p. 121-122. Although we do not know if it was a production aimed at the market, the orphans in Porto embroidered, sewed, spun and made lace in Recolhimento das Órfãs de Nossa Senhora da Esperança, in Porto. Cf. Elisabete Jesus, "O Recolhimento das Órfãs de Nossa Senhora da Esperança" in Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo and Helena Osswald (coords.), *Sob o manto da Misericórdia: contributos para História da Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto*, vol. 2, Coimbra, 2018, p. 309.

⁶³ We were able to identify a record of a list of confirmation, dated of 1626, in which Francisca Dias is identified as "now" living in Hospital of Santiago. We deduced that she would have recently become a widow. As a result of her poverty situation, she would have been able to secure a place in the hospital. The woman died in late 1646. Cf. ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registos Misto, 1629-1645, n.º 56, fl. 76 and ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registos Misto, 1645-1688, n.º 57, fl. 5v.

⁶⁴ Francisco must have been under the age of five, as prescribed by the Synodal Constitutions of Braga for the sacrament of confirmation. Cf. *Constituições Synodais do Arcebispado de Braga, Ordenadas anno de 1639, pelo Illustríssimo Senhor Arcebispo D. Sebastião de Matos e Noronha:*

(1635) or Serafina (1636), she was the depository of the secret of the identity of the true parents of the girls, protecting the parents of infamy, and, in the case of the second girl, she was responsible for taking her to the wet nurse that the priest determined. She was godmother, and probably midwife, of Catarina (1630), the daughter of a couple from Amares who had come to the city to obtain “goods necessary for their home”. She baptized Francisco (1629) and Eugénia (1642) by her own hands, due to the danger of imminent death at their birth. She sponsored João (1633), Francisco (1639) and Isabel (1646) together with one of her two sons⁶⁵. These boys, Francisco, a shoemaker, living on Rua de Maximinos (in front of the Cathedral), and Frutuoso, a tailor, after being conducted to learning a trade, lived in different places than their mother, but continued to share family and public acts. As a midwife, Francisca Dias participated in exclusively female sociability related to honor and sexuality⁶⁶, and had a common professional occupation among the urban female population in the lower strata⁶⁷. Her consideration as a deserving poor, which allowed her access to free accommodation at the Hospital de Santiago, must have resulted from her husband’s death with minor children. Female widowhood and the problem of material and spiritual impoverishment were latent concerns of the paternalistic structures of modern society⁶⁸.

e mandadas imprimir a primeira vez pelo Illustrissimo Senhor D. João de Sousa, Arcebispo e Senhor de Braga, Primaz das Espanhas, do Conselho de Sua Magestade & Seu Sumilher da Cortina, & c., Lisboa, 1697, p. 26. The boy was confirmed in Capela de São Geraldo, in the presence of the archbishop in 1626. His godfather was Marcos Gonçalves who also sponsored a foundling named Francisco, who also lived in Hospital of Santiago. See ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registos Misto, n.º 55, 1578-1629, fl. 77.

⁶⁵ We managed to trace the name of Francisca Dias in these various events lived in the parish of São Tiago da Cidade. Cf. ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registos Misto, 1578-1629, n.º 55, fl. 77; Livro de Registos Misto Livro Misto, 1629-1645, n.º 56, fls. 3, 5, 6v. 13v., 17, 17v., 23v., 27v., 37, 48, 48v., 52, 62v. 65v. and 76.

⁶⁶ Margaret L. King, *A mulher do Renascimento*, trad. Maria José de la Fuente, Lisboa, 1994, p. 16.

⁶⁷ The same happened in the city of Évora. Check Rute Pardal, *Práticas de caridade e assistência em Évora...*, cit., p. 267.

⁶⁸ On paternalistic concerns about the state of widows cf. Scarlett Beauvalet, *Être veuve sous l’Ancien Régime*, Paris, Belin, 2001, p. 23-52; Stephani Fink De Backer, *Widowhood in Early Modern Spain: Protectors, Proprietors, and Patrons*, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2010, p. 223-256.

Table 1 – Assets of the poor women of Hospital de Santiago, 1631-1830

Name	Assets
Águeda Teresa	Frail furniture
Beatriz Fernandes	Farrapetes
Catarina	Trapinhos
Catarina Carvalho	A few assets
Catarina Simões	2 boxes, 2 mantéus and 600 réis in cash and suits (8160 réis)
Custódia Jesus	Two pieces of furniture
Francisca Dias	3000 réis for the soul
Inês Gonçalves	Trapinhos
Isabel de Jesus	Some things
Isabel Lopes	Small box and skirt
Margarida Gonçalves	Blanket and old suits (500 réis)
Maria da Costa Freire	She had no money or cloth
Maria de Amorim	She had been richer
Marta Silva	Some rags and more things

Source: ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registos Misto, 1630-1645, n.º 56; Livro de Registos Misto, 1645-1688, n.º 57; Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1688-1730, n.º 77; Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1730-1772, n.º 78; Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1772-1837, n.º 79. ADB, Paroquial da Sé, Livro de Registo Misto, 1642-1657, n.º 313.

Other death records showed that, even though they lived in the hospital, a minority of women had live sons and daughters. Catarina (1734)⁶⁹ and Maria dos Santos (1746)⁷⁰ were single mothers. The second woman's daughter was raised in the house of Estevão Falcão. Benta, daughter of Maria de Oliveira (1746), served, at the time of her mother's death, in the convent in Vila do Conde⁷¹. Penitência Jerónima da Silva (1750)⁷² was a widow and had two daughters, Catarina and Maria, who were her heirs. Inácia de Amorim (1753)⁷³ had a niece called Páscoa. But these were exceptional cases. Most of the hospital's poor women were alone and without any social support network at the time of death. These women designated their own soul or the parish priest as heirs, thus giving him the order to sell the few goods and contribute to the salvation of his soul - see Table 1. The few rags or furniture they had could be brought back to new functions and new wearers, in a context of constant reuse of material

⁶⁹ ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1730-1772, n.º 78, fl. 20v.

⁷⁰ ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1730-1772, n.º 78, fl. 90.

⁷¹ ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1730-1772, n.º 78, fl. 89.

⁷² ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1730-1772, n.º 78, fl. 135v.

⁷³ ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1730-1772, n.º 78, fl. 108.

goods. Therefore, the priests intervened as sellers in the second-hand market, which was extremely important for the survival of the poor and the economy of “improvisation”, as has been proven by international studies on the subject⁷⁴.

Though we do not know if any of the babies who Francisca was a godmother to were born in the hospital, we identified children who lived in the institution. Francisco, foundling and resident at the Hospital of Santiago, was confirmed in 1626, together with one of Francisca Dias’ children.⁷⁵ Luís, a foundling, was identified as a resident in the institution and received a shroud, mass and grave of Misericórdia⁷⁶. In the middle of the first quarter of eighteen hundreds, Joana da Conceição, aged eight to nine, lived with her mother in the hospital⁷⁷. More than simply a place for elderly women, Hospital das Velhas was also a place where children occasionally lived.

Of the 111 identified women housed in the Santiago hospital, forty-four possess references to their marital status. Of these cases, twenty-four women are identified as widows and twenty as single (see the table in Annex 1). As we have seen, most of the women staying at the hospital had few or no active family networks and lived without the close presence of male guardianship. We have already explained how life paths, the ability to work and the absence of a family influenced the definition of poverty. The demographic structure of the Early Modern Age⁷⁸ meant that only a minority of the population reached old

⁷⁴ Second-hand goods markets were very important for the survival of the poor, as numerous international studies have attested. Cf. Miles Lambert, “‘Cast-off Wearing Apparel’: The consumption and distribution of second-hand clothing in northern England during the long eighteenth century”, *Textil History* 1, n. 35 (2004), p. 1-26, <https://doi.org/10.1179/004049604225015620>, consulted 2020/09/01; Victoria López Barahona and José A. Nieto Sánchez, “Dressing the Poor: the provision of clothing among the lower classes in the Eighteenth-Century Madrid”, *Textile History* I, n. 43 (2012), p. 23-42, <https://doi.org/10.1179/174329512X13284471321127>, consulted 2020/09/01.

⁷⁵ ADB, Paroquial da Cividade, Livro de Registos Misto, 1629-1645, n.º 56, fl. 76.

⁷⁶ ADB, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, Livro de Despeza dos Mordomos, 1679-1682, n.º 679, fl. 39v.

⁷⁷ ADB, Paroquial da Cividade, Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1772-1837, n.º 79, fl. 171v.

⁷⁸ In the absence of integrated information in relation to the demographic structure of the Portuguese population, we base these conclusions on the works developed in Spain on the censuses of Aranda (1768), Floridablanca (1787) and Godoy (1797). In comparative terms, in 1864, the date of the first statistical survey of the Portuguese population, the number of people aged over 60 per 100,000 inhabitants was slightly above Spain and Italy, and slightly below Belgium and France. (see *Estatística de Portugal. População. Censo no 1.º de Janeiro. 1864*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1868, p. XI). The Spanish aging process was in line with coeval European trends, especially with Mediterranean countries. We believe that the demographics of northern Portugal can be compared to the Spanish population structure, especially in Galicia.

age⁷⁹ and, therefore, reached the state of its life that, for natural reasons, was unable to support itself autonomously. Family integration and ownership of properties were decisive for the experience of a dignified and respected old age. To have or not to have property to transfer to those to come was a fundamental condition for guaranteeing close family members who could sympathetically support aging⁸⁰. The scarcity of old people led to their social appreciation, as they were seen as depositories of wisdom and other cultural assets⁸¹. When they had their own, the elderly kept ownership of the house, conducted their destinies and used that position to guarantee the presence of productive elements that showed solidarity towards their old age⁸². In the middle of the eighteenth century, only a minority of Portuguese women would have this safeguard, since only fourteen percent of the heads of the family were occupied by people of the female gender⁸³. Formal care and family networks were structural to the survival of elderly people⁸⁴.

The aging phenomenon affected women and men and urban or rural contexts differently⁸⁵. The demographic structure, the moral disincentive to female remarriage, the biological cycle, the differential age at the date of marriage and the woman's long temporal permanence in widowhood determined that this state was culturally associated with the female gender⁸⁶. Bluteau defined

⁷⁹ The peninsular northwest, namely Galicia and the area between the Douro and Minho Rivers, had similar demographic behaviors, especially in terms of mortality. Cf. Maria Norberta Amorim, "Comportamentos demográficos de Antigo Regime na Península Ibérica", *Ler História*, n. 47 (2004), p. 169.

⁸⁰ Margarida Durães evidenced that, in the inheritance strategies of rural populations from Braga, the definition of the transmission of the *prazo* (three lives rent contract) was structural to the maintenance of the house as a productive and solidary unit. The historian pointed out that, more important than varony, the *prazo* tended to always stay with the eldest son, who remained in the same cohabitation with the parents. Cf. Margarida Durães, *A Casa Rural Minhota...*, cit., p. 88.

⁸¹ Pedro Carasa, "Marginación de la vejez en la cultura del liberalismo contemporáneo español" in Francisco García González (coord.), *Vejez, envejecimiento y sociedad en España siglos XVI-XXI*, Cuenca, 2005, p. 106.

⁸² Isidro Dubert, "Vejez e envejecimiento en España, siglos XVIII-XX. Fases, distribución espacial e importancia sociofamiliar", *SEMATA, Ciências Sociais e Humanidades* 18 (2006), p. 106.

⁸³ Filipa Ribeiro da Silva e Hélder Carvalho, *Reconsidering the Southern European Model...*, cit., p. 48.

⁸⁴ Susannah R. Ottaway, *The decline of life: old age in eighteenth-century England*, Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 173-220.

⁸⁵ Alberto Marcos Martín, "Viejos en la ciudad. La estructura de edad de la población en los núcleos urbanos españoles del Antiguo Régimen" in Francisco García González (coord.), *Vejez, envejecimiento y sociedad en España siglos XVI-XXI*, Cuenca, 2005, p. 76-77.

⁸⁶ Maria de Lurdes Correia Fernandes, "Viúvas ideais. viúvas reais. Modelos comportamentais e solidão feminina (séculos XVI-XVII)", *Faces da Eva*, n. 1-2 (1999), p. 51.

that widowhood” was “the state of the widower” and that “widower” was the “man who lost his wife”⁸⁷. In turn, “widow” was the woman “whose husband had died” or who had “useless husband”, that is, imprisoned or absent, and “the woman who lives alone and out of wedlock”⁸⁸. To this definition, the author added observations of a moralistic nature, namely that “marrying a widow was a kind of odious bigamy”. In Norwich, England, public authorities treated elderly single women, widows and those abandoned by their husbands in an equal and privileged manner. Young single women who lived alone were not considered poor to be worthy of alms⁸⁹. Marital status and life cycle were moral catalysts for assistance and socio-cultural categorization⁹⁰.

The state of formal or informal widowhood posed enormous challenges to the survival of the families most economically exposed to poverty, whose survival depended on the working capacity of its various elements. In the face of the loss of a family member and the presence of small children in the household, the social situation of the widower or widow was easily degraded⁹¹. As we have seen, charities acted in these cases, replacing the family in the economic and/or moral dimensions. The professional renewal of the children alleviated this burden, as there were many young girls and boys who were single and who, working as servants or apprentices, hoped to be able to pay a dowry and position themselves in the marriage market, in order to constitute their own family⁹².

The economic and productive system that attracted surplus human resources to the city in the countryside also provided a greater concentration of the elderly population in urban centres. The nature of the migratory movements of the populations, with high rates of male emigration, higher mortality of men and women’s inferior age for marriage, have been pointed out as other factors that favoured that phenomenon. Historical demography has shown that female populations in cities showed less nuptiality and less matrimonial intensity than their rural counterparts, which posed objective challenges in achieving a stable marriage relationship. Cities had higher rates of permanent celibacy for single

⁸⁷ Rafael Bluteau, *Vocabulário português...*, cit., vol. 8, p. 541.

⁸⁸ Rafael Bluteau, *Vocabulário português...*, cit., vol. 8, p. 540.

⁸⁹ cf. Lesley Silvester, “The Experience of Single Women in Early Modern Norwich “Rank Beggars, Gresse Maydes and Harlots”” in Anne M. Scott (ed.), *Experiences of Poverty in Late Medieval and Early Modern England and France*, London and New York, 2016, p. 103.

⁹⁰ On gender differences in the cultural definition of the old category in the English case, see the work of Susannah R. Ottaway, *The decline of life...*, cit, p. 33-44.

⁹¹ For the association between widowhood and poverty in other European geographical realities Cf. Scarlett Beauvalet, *Être veuve sous l’Ancien Régime*, cit., p. 311-335; Stephani Fink De Backer, *Widowhood in Early Modern Spain...*, cit., p. 223-256.

⁹² Margaret L. King, *A mulher do Renascimento...*, cit., p. 35 to 46 and 68.

women and a higher concentration of widows. The great family dependence in the face of conjunctural and structural oscillations could be overcome through cohabitation with younger or “apparent consanguinity” relatives, such as those who the maids established with their employers. The fragility of the old woman and/or poor widow and without a family that framed her won several solidarities, either through charities or fraternal networks⁹³.

Charity managers seem to have recognized this situation by directing specific care practices for orphaned women through the granting of dowries, enabling them to take an advantageous position in the marriage market and thus escape from the situation of poverty in which they found themselves. This was an objective way to prevent these young women from seeing their honour affected, from falling socially, slipping into begging or prostitution and affecting the functioning of the established social order. As the ideal maiden was the one who remained honourable until marriage and the ideal widow was the one who did not remarry and who practiced the virtue of seclusion, the efforts directed at these feminine states led by the men who managed the charity are understandable, as in this case of the Barros Family of Real, the local elites, integrated in Misericórdia, or the archbishops, as lords of the city⁹⁴. The powers identified the exercise of their public authority and prestige with the donation. The mental frames of the time valued the support given to women, especially widows, single women and orphans.

The fraternities, brotherhoods, hospitals and individuals, as public agents, created resources that responded to the mismatch between the economic model of “improvisation” and the social valorisation of old age⁹⁵. We identified sick or disabled women who found a roof at Hospital of Santiago. Like the cases of the woman *entrevada*⁹⁶ to whom the Misericórdia, in 1671, paid for shroud, mass and grave⁹⁷; Maria Paneta, mad (1737); Custódia de Jesus, blind (1760); and Ana Maria (1803), who died at the age of seventy⁹⁸. It was also a structural poor the sick woman who had been stuck in a tall bed for two years in Hospital

⁹³ On the population feminization of cities, female old age and exposure to poverty cf. Alberto Marcos Martín, *Viejos en la ciudad...*, cit., p. 80–92.

⁹⁴ In “ad limina” visits, these lines of support for widowed and unmarried women in Braga were exalted. See António Franquelim Sampaio Neiva Soares, *Relatórios das Visitas Ad Limina...*, cit., p. 190-96.

⁹⁵ Pedro Carasa, *Marginación de la vejez...*, cit., p. 106-107.

⁹⁶ A person who could not get out of bed.

⁹⁷ ADB, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga. Livro de Recibo e Despeza do Mordomo, 1660-1672, n.º 687, fl. 316.

⁹⁸ ADB, Paroquial da Cividade, Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1730-1772, No. 78, ff. 29v and 1850; Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1772-1837, n.º 79, fl. 89v.

of Santiago, for whom Dom Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires (p. 1559-1590) commissioned alms care to the governor of his archbishopric during the stay of that prelate in the Council of Trento (1545-1563)⁹⁹. Physical inability to work, due to mental/physical illness or age, which made independent survival impossible, was one of the structuring facts of the hierarchy of meritorious poverty in force in the Early Modern Age. The poor in this condition occupied the top of the system of selection and differentiation that mediated access to alms. For this reason, they were provided with regular support given by the assistance agents who operated in Portugal during this period¹⁰⁰.

In half of the cases identified¹⁰¹, women were so poor that they died unable to pay a dignified burial at their own expense. Nevertheless, we identified examples in which poverty was relativized, at the time of death, by the ownership of goods and solidarities that guaranteed a good death, according to the prescriptions of the time. Isabel de Jesus was a *beata*¹⁰², lived in the hospital and was buried with her own habit¹⁰³ and Marta Fernandes, single, had been the housekeeper of a canon¹⁰⁴. One made a will and the other did not, but in both episodes there was enough assets to pay for services. Marta left the parish priest as her heir, took the habit of São Francisco, was accompanied by the twelve clerics who sang in the choir of the Cathedral and by twenty priests. She was buried in a bier of Santas Chagas, had four masses with the body present at the privileged altar of São Pedro de Rates and thirty masses and a service of three lessons by clerics who sang in the choir of the Cathedral and their six assistants were said for her. Of the goods that devout Isabel had with her, the priest made money, in 1722, to pay for the bier of Confraria das Santas Chagas¹⁰⁵, to say five masses with the body present at the privileged

⁹⁹ Luis Cacegas and Luis de Sousa, *Vida de Dom Frei Bertolameu dos Martyres da Orde[M] dos Pregadores Arcebispo e Senhor de Braga Primas das Espanhas Repartida em Seis Liuros com a Solenidade de sua Tresladação por Frei Luis Cacegas da mesma Orde[M] & Cronista della na Prouincia De Portugal. Reformada em Estilo & Ordem & Ampliada em Sucessos & Particularidades de Nouo Achadas por Frei Luis De Sousa da mesma Ordem & Filho do Conuento De Bemfica*, Viana da Foz do Lima, 1619, p. 63.

¹⁰⁰ Laurinda Abreu, *O poder e os pobres...*, cit., p. 34-35.

¹⁰¹ Fifty-five of the 111 – see table in the Annex 1.

¹⁰² Woman who made spiritual life with great displays of devotion. Cf. Antonio de Moraes Silva, *Diccionario da lingua portugueza - recopilado dos vocabularios impressos ate agora, e nesta segunda edição novamente emendado e muito acrescentado*, vol. 1, Lisbon, 1813, p. 271.

¹⁰³ ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1688-1730, n.º 77, f.77.

¹⁰⁴ ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Livro de Registos Misto, 1630-1645, n.º 56, f. 141.

¹⁰⁵ This confraternity was one of the few institutions in Braga that, in addition to Misericórdia, had its own bier that it used to bury its fellow clergymen and which it rented to third parties, through the payment of a monetary amount. Irmandade de *Santa Cruz*, Confraria das Almas

altar of the same confraternity, to pay the accompaniment by seven priests and to have three services of ten priests with masses included said.

If they were structurally poor and the hospital only gave them accommodation, with what did these women eat and how did they dress? We know that Braga had other agents who, in a supplementary way and integrated with Hospital of Santiago, could help these poor women¹⁰⁶. The ecclesiastical lord regularly attended to the poor and we know that, on certain occasions, the chapter distributed alms¹⁰⁷. Santa Casa, the largest institution of assistance in Braga, had a charitable activity implemented in the hospital area, since it had been managing Hospital of São Marcos since 1559 and supported women through Recolhimento de Santo António (retreat)¹⁰⁸, located in Campo da Vinha, in operation since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Misericórdia gave dowries to single girls and practiced ritualized alms, at Easter, Visitation day (2 of July at that time), All Saints' Day and Christmas. It supported pilgrims, prisoners, orphaned or abandoned children, women, the sick or apprentices¹⁰⁹, through the dispatch of petitions in cash or in kind¹¹⁰. Using the royal privilege it had held since the end of the sixteenth century¹¹¹, Santa Casa buried the poor free of charge, carrying out the seventh work of mercy (burying the dead)¹¹². The great material scarcity illustrated

de São Vítor and Confraria das Almas de São João da Ponte also had this service. Cf. Norberto Tiago Gonçalves Ferraz, "A Morte e a Salvação da Alma na Braga Setecentista", PhD diss., Braga, Universidade do Minho, 2014, p. 212-216.

¹⁰⁶ In the middle of the sixteenth century, *Misericórdia of Viana da Foz do Lima*, despite not having its own hospital, gave alms to poor who were cured in the small hospital in the village. cf. Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, "A proteção dos arcebispos de Braga à Misericórdia de Viana da Foz do Lima (1527-1615)" in Laurinda Abreu (ed.), *Igreja, caridade e assistência na península Ibérica*, Évora, 2004, p. 5, <https://books.openedition.org/cidehus/203>, consulted 2020/06/04.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Celeste Dinis and António Francisco Barbosa, "Pobreza e caridade: a acção assistencial do Cabido Bracarense em período de Sé Vacante (1728-1741)", *Cadernos do Noroeste*, História 3, 20, n. 1-2 (2003), p. 497-522.

¹⁰⁸ Besides this retreat, the city of Braga had, on the 18th century, five more establishments of a similar nature. About these institutions cf. Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, "Os recolhimentos femininos de Braga na Época Moderna" in Laurinda Abreu (ed.), *Asistencia y Caridad como Estrategias de Intervención Social: Iglesia, Estado y Comunidad (s. XV-XX)*, Bilbao, Universidade del País Basco, 2007, p. 293-313.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Maria de Fátima Castro, *A Misericórdia de Braga: assistência material e espiritual (das origens a cerca de 1910)*, vol. 3, Braga, 2006, p. 261-268.

¹¹⁰ Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, "Assistir os pobres e alcançar a salvação" in *A Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga 1513-2013*, Braga, 2013, p. 447-526.

¹¹¹ Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, "Rituais fúnebres nas Misericórdias portuguesas de Setecentos", *FORUM*, n. 41 (2007), p. 8.

¹¹² Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, *A oferta assistencial na Braga Setecentista...*, cit., p. 249.

in table 1 and the physical incapacity to work shown in Annex 1 lead us to infer that the women of the Hospital de Santiago survived by articulating family-type care, provided by living with other women within the institution, with the local solidarities, activating possible help in the surroundings of the institution¹¹³, and formal assistance to the poor provided by the Misericórdia or other brotherhoods of which they belonged¹¹⁴. The case of Francisca Dias also proves to us that it would be possible to reconcile institutionalization with work¹¹⁵. Although we do not have data to prove it, access to the yard, orange grove and well, outhouses in the back of the house where they lived and property of the Barros family, could allow the production of foodstuffs for self-subsistence.

Half of the women housed in Hospital of Santiago were accompanied and buried free of charge by Misericórdia. Santa Casa had a tomb for the poor that, due to its commitment, had to bury “with decency and Christianity and with respect for the people who died”¹¹⁶. The steward of the house was to give a shroud¹¹⁷ to all the poor who died, thus guaranteeing the minimum dignity to all, regardless of social status¹¹⁸. These poor people were buried in the cemetery that the institution had in the cloisters of Santo Amaro da Sé, at the back of its church, next to some olive trees¹¹⁹. Burials were moments of consolidation of the public image of Santas Casas, as

¹¹³ Regarding the importance of family and neighborhood networks for the survival of the poor people of Évora cf. Rute Pardal, *Práticas de caridade e assistência em Évora...*, cit., p. 262-266.

¹¹⁴ Sobre as esmolas das confrarias de Braga aos seus membros cf. Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, *A oferta assistencial na Braga Setecentista...*, cit., p. 255-256.

¹¹⁵ In the English case, poor elderly people continued to perform productive and distributive functions as long as physical strength allowed them. They combined the work with the charitable support received. When compared to men, women more easily reconciled aging with work. Cf. L. A. Botelho, *Old Age and The English Poor Law, 1500-1700*, Woodbridge and New York, The Boydell Press, 2004, p. 96-98; Samantha Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle Under the English Poor Law, 1760-1834*, London, Woodbridge, Royal Historical Society, Boydell Press, 2011, p. 148-159.

¹¹⁶ ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia, Compromisso da Misericórdia de Braga 1628-1630, n.º 2, fl. 29v.

¹¹⁷ On the appearance and fabrics of the shrouds of the poor in Braga cf. Luís Gonçalves Ferreira, *Vestidos de caridade: assistência, pobreza e indumentária na Idade Moderna. O caso da Misericórdia de Braga*, Vila Nova de Famalicão, 2020, p. 156-170.

¹¹⁸ ADB, Fundo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia, Compromisso da Misericórdia de Braga 1628-1630, n.º 2, fl. 22v.

¹¹⁹ Misericórdia had another cemetery for the hospital to use. Cf. Norberto Tiago Gonçalves Ferraz, *A Morte e a Salvação da Alma...*, cit., p. 218.

their apparatus was illustrated and social respectability was promoted¹²⁰. These deceased were at the end of the line of social representation, which quoted honourability according to the burial apparatus and the number of masses sent to pray after death. The number of masses with the body present and for the soul, the use of the shroud, the quality of priests and accompaniment, the place where the body was deposited showed the condition of the deceased¹²¹. After they had said the mass offered by Santa Casa, they only had the suffrages of All Souls' Day and the action of Confraria das Almas (Brotherhood of Souls) that had the mission of praying to free all souls from purgatory¹²².

Table 2 – Last address of the poor women of Hospital de Santiago, 1631-1830

Location	Cases (No.)
Church of Cividade (churchyard)	1
Church of Cividade (near the main door)	1
N.d.	1
Church of São João do Souto (churchyard)	1
Church of São Vicente	1
Sé Cathedral	1
Sé Cathedral (Cemetery)	1
Church of Nossa Senhora-a-Branca	1
Hospital's Cemittery	3
Sé (Cloister)	4
Church of Terceiros	4
Church of Cividade (interior)	34
Cemittery of the poor (<i>Misericórdia</i>) (a)	58
Total (a)	111

Source: see the table in Annex 1.

Caption: (a) The episode of the alms is not included.

¹²⁰ Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, *Rituais fúnebres nas Misericórdias...*, cit., p. 9.

¹²¹ Cf. Ana Cristina Araújo, *A morte em Lisboa: atitudes e representações 1700-1830*, Lisboa, 1997, p. 361-370.

¹²² Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, "O Purgatório a estremecer: Capelas largadas e missas atrasadas nas confrarias da Almas de Braga (século XVIII)" in Alexandra Esteves (coord.), *Homens, Instituições e Políticas (séculos XVI-XX)*, coord. Braga e Guimarães, 2019, p. 121.

Table 3 – Bier of the poor women of Hospital de Santiago, 1631-1830

Bier	Cases (No.)
Brotherhood of Espírito Santo	1
Brotherhood of São Crispim	1
Brotherhood of São Francisco da Sé	1
Brotherhood of São Francisco Xavier	1
Brotherhood of São Vicente	1
Third Order of Saint Francis	2
Brotherhood of Santa Ana	2
Brotherhood of Santas Chagas	15
N.d.	29
Brotherhood of Santa Casa da Misericórdia (a)	58
Total	111

Source: see the table in Annex 1.

Caption: (a) The 55 cases of deceased women to whom Misericórdia paid shroud, mass and grave are included.

In addition to “burying the dead”, Santa Casa, as the manager of Hospital of São Marcos, was working at another level as a supplementary resource in alleviating the condition of poverty of the “old women” in Santiago. At that hospital, all admitted sick women found a roof, bed, food, clean clothes, medicine and spiritual comfort¹²³. Despite sharing the designation with that institution, Hospital dos Barros did not provide medical assistance. Maria de Freitas (1794), single, and Esperança Francisca (1795), widow, died in Hospital of São Marcos¹²⁴. This small medieval hospital, which in the nineteenth century was supposed to resemble an asylum in order to take this toponym, lived and interacted with a hospital with its own modern medical staff in the sense of that term.

The women from the Hospital of Santiago managed to activate other solidarities. Suffrages for the soul should be carried out in the parish church of the deceased, unless testamentary statement to the contrary¹²⁵. The priests of Cidade made money from some goods to fulfil their wishes (see table 1).

¹²³ About body care at Hospital de São Marcos cf. Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, *Memória e quotidiano: as visitas e as devassas ao hospital de S. Marcos de Braga na Idade Moderna*, Braga, 2014, p. 44-78.

¹²⁴ ADB, Paroquial da Cidade, Registo de Óbitos, 1772-1837, n.º 79, fls. 61 and 67v.

¹²⁵ *Constituições Synodales do Arcebispado de Braga, Ordenadas anno de 1639...*, cit., p. 281-282.

They channelled the economic resources left by the deceased to the services provided within that parish church; in thirty-six of the cases, women were buried inside or outside that temple (see table 2). Confraria das Santas Chagas, which operated in Church of Cividade, was one of the most important brotherhoods of the city of Braga because it had a privileged altar¹²⁶ and a bier of its own, which it rented regularly¹²⁷. The privileged altar of Santas Chagas was much in demand by eighteenth century Braga testators. This popularity was based on the belief that the masses said at these altars guaranteed greater benefits to the salvation of the soul¹²⁸. The Chagas' bier was the second most requested in the cases under study (see table 3). Thus, Church of Cividade had a network of services that allowed the death of these women to be lived according to the mental assumptions of the time, that is, in the exact measure of their patrimony.

Apart from those that shrouded themselves at the expense of Misericórdia with a simple sheet in “burel” or “soria”¹²⁹, few poor women managed to pay for a habit and reap the salvific properties of these garments. By dressing like religious orders, the dead person aspired to transport his/her secular, civil and sinful dimension, to the sanctity and sacredness idealized in the hereafter.¹³⁰ A habit was a distinct asset, with various prices and qualities, but always quite expensive.¹³¹ As a way to prevent the difficulties and obstacles caused by an eventual social disgrace and fall, individuals could join a fraternity during their life. These institutions, in the context of their assumptions of peer solidarity, gave shrouds, accompanied burials, ordered suffrages for their deceased fellow clergymen, and, in some cases, prescribed visits in case of illness or granted alms to poor fellow clergyman¹³². Margarida Gonçalves, widow, who died on

¹²⁶ Norberto Tiago Gonçalves Ferraz, *A Morte e a Salvação da Alma...*, cit., p. 335.

¹²⁷ Tiago Ferraz showed that the Confraria das Santas Chagas had its own bier since 1720 (Norberto Tiago Gonçalves Ferraz, *A Morte e a Salvação da Alma...*, cit., p. 214). The parish records show that, already in 1631, Maria Lopes was taken in the bier of this fraternity in exchange for alms. The record of Beatriz Fernandes, who died on January 10, 1632, indicates that the priest paid one cruzado for the rental of that bier of Chagas. Cf. ADB, Paroquial da Cividade, Livro de Registos Misto, 1630-1645, n.º 56, fls. 125v. and 126v.

¹²⁸ Norberto Tiago Gonçalves Ferraz, *A Morte e a Salvação da Alma...*, cit., p. 333-335.

¹²⁹ Burel and soria are coarse woollen cloths.

¹³⁰ Ana Cristina Araújo, *A morte em Lisboa...*, cit., p. 444 and 445.

¹³¹ The most requested shroud in the wills of Braga, in the seventeenth hundreds, cost 2400 réis and the most economical one thousand réis. Cf. Norberto Tiago Gonçalves Ferraz, *A Morte e a Salvação da Alma...*, cit., p. 140.

¹³² On the charitable action of some fraternities from Braga towards their poor fellow clergymen see Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo, “As confrarias de Braga e a ajuda aos pobres na Idade Moderna. Estudo preliminar”, *Revista de Ciências Sociais* 2, n. 1 (2014), p. 15-32; and Ariana Almendra, “A confraria de São Vicente no século XVIII: funcionamento e práticas

September 17, 1637, was transported in the bier of Confraria de Santa Ana, for being its sister¹³³. Ana da Silva, widow of António Álvares¹³⁴, buried in the middle of the eighteenth century, was accompanied as a sister by Confraria de Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres¹³⁵.

We believe that some cases illustrate examples of “new poor”. Maria Amorim, widow, who died in December of 1738, seems to be an example of a woman who has seen her social situation altered in the course of her life. The priest said that she was accompanied by Confraria de Santa Ana and Confraria de São Sebastião “in which she had entered in life when she was richer”¹³⁶. Catarina Simões, single, born in Tadim (municipality of Braga), had made a will signed by two witnesses where she stated she wanted to be buried by Irmandade de Santa Cruz, one of the most expensive and prestigious in the city. Fearing that she would not have enough money to fulfil this wish, she confessed to three of her hospital companions that she wanted to be buried in Church of Cividade. She was accompanied by Confraria do Espírito Santo, which had some masses said for her. The sale of two small boxes, two *mantéus*¹³⁷ and small clothes made more than 7500 réis, which were used to pay the ten priests who accompanied her, in the parish rights of the burial. She had 600 réis in cash which, with the remainder of the clothes, allowed 56 masses to be said for her soul¹³⁸. Catarina Simões was, of all the women identified in the hospital, for whom more suffrages were prayed. On average, the deceased women managed to pay only three masses¹³⁹, a number that, together with the other data, illustrates the great poverty of these women.

Concluding Notes

The Hospital of Santiago housed women in a situation of great economic and social vulnerability, mainly elderly, single or widows with few or no surviving

assistenciais aos irmãos” in Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo (coord.), *As confrarias de Braga na época moderna*, Vila Nova de Famalicão, 2016, p. 35-41.

¹³³ ADB, Paroquial da Cividade, Livro de Registos Misto, 1630-1645, n.º 56, fl. 153.

¹³⁴ This was the only case identified whose husband’s name is declared on the death record.

¹³⁵ ADB, Paroquial da Cividade, Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1730-1772, n.º 78, fl. 108.

¹³⁶ ADB, Paroquial da Cividade, Livro de Registos Misto, 1630-1645, n.º 56, fl. 158.

¹³⁷ Open skirt that crossed over the legs.

¹³⁸ ADB, Paroquial da Cividade, Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1688-1730, n.º 77, fl. 92v.

¹³⁹ The value is 3,16 masses per case. In order to avoid the distorting effects of the Misericórdia registers, as they have a type of monitoring for the poor that we do not really know, we only consider the fifty-six cases from the parish registers. We serve those that were performed with the body present or for the soul, without the services, as results were evidenced separately.

family relationships. This care profile justifies the other designation that the institution took, documented as Hospital das Velhas. This evidence reveals the importance of the type of assistance provided, which responded to the processes of feminization of urban poverty and the social vulnerability triggered by the aging and/or widowhood of women in the demographic, social and cultural contexts of the Ancient Regime. Most of the women living in this institution lived in a situation of structural and extreme poverty, which made them unable to pay autonomously for the funeral, the shroud of the body and the suffrage for the soul. In cases where women had some assets that made it possible for them to die more accompanied, the resources available at the time of death had a reduced financial relevance, which only allowed them to ensure what was essential for the payment of the minimum parish service. The fraternal, parochial and vicinal networks were among solidarities activated to minimize the impacts of the change in living conditions that led to impoverishment. The population structure, working conditions and economic activities performed by women make it possible to understand the relevance of the social response of Hospital of Santiago in activating the “improvisation” economy.

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Annex 1 – Identified cases of residents in Hospital de Santiago, 1631-1830

Year	Name	Condition	Source
1631	Maria Lopes	Widow	Parish register
1632	Beatriz Fernandes	N.d.	Parish register
1634	Marta Fernandes	Single and housekeeper	Parish register
1637	Margarida Gonçalves	Widow	Parish register
1638	Maria da Costa Freire	Widow	Parish register
1638	Maria de Amorim	Widow	Parish register
1644	Inês Gonçalves	N.d.	Parish register
1644	Madalena Lopes	N.d.	Parish register
1646	Francisca Dias	Midwife, widow and nurse	Parish register
1647	Catarina	Single	Parish register
1647	Catarina Carvalho	N.d.	Parish register
1649	Catarina Carvalho	N.d.	Parish register
1650	Ana Francisca	Widow	Parish register
1652	Maria Francisca	N.d.	Expense book
1654	Margarida Gonçalves	N.d.	Expense book
1657	Maria Rodrigues	N.d.	Expense book
1660	Margarida Fernandes	Single	Parish register
1661	Catarina da Silva	N.d.	Expense book
1662	Margarida Ferreira	N.d.	Expense book
1663	Maria Barbosa	N.d.	Expense book
1664	N.d.	The poor woman	Expense book
1666	Juliana Rodrigues	N.d.	Expense book
1666	Leonor	N.d.	Expense book
1666	Isabel Lopes	Single	Parish register
1667	Leonor Duarte	N.d.	Expense book
1667	Catarina de Brito	N.d.	Expense book
1668	Catarina Gonçalves	N.d.	Expense book
1669	Justa Martins	N.d.	Expense book
1670	Ana da Costa	N.d.	Expense book
1670	Francisca Pereira	N.d.	Expense book
1671	Maria Ferreira	N.d.	Expense book
1671	Maria Pires	N.d.	Expense book
1672	Grimaneza (sic)	N.d.	Expense book
1672	Maria Barbosa	N.d.	Expense book
1673 (b)	Luís	Foundling	Expense book
1673 (b)	Marinha Rodrigues	N.d.	Expense book
1674	Maria, a Bocha (sic)	N.d.	Expense book
1674	Maria Pereira	N.d.	Expense book
1675	Andreia	Foundling raised by Carvalho	Expense book
1675	N.d.	A poor woman	Expense book
1677	N.d.	A woman	Expense book
1678	Domingas	N.d.	Expense book

1678	Isabel Francisca	N.d.	Expense book
1679	Isabel Maria	Negra	Expense book
1682	N.d.	Assistant (sic)	Expense book
1683	Águeda de Araújo	N.d.	Expense book
1683	Maria de Barcelos	N.d.	Expense book
1686	Maria da Silva	Widow	Parish register
1687	Maria de Araújo	N.d.	Expense book
1687	Maria Francisca	N.d.	Expense book
1687	N.d.	A poor woman	Expense book
1690	Marta Silva	N.d.	Parish register
1691	Maria de Sousa	N.d.	Expense book
1692	Maria Alves	N.d.	Expense book
1693	N.d.	A poor woman	Expense book
1693	Isabel da Costa	N.d.	Expense book
1693	Joana	N.d.	Expense book
1696	Maria de Abreu	N.d.	Expense book
1696	Ana Gonçalves Silva	N.d.	Expense book
1705	N.d.	A poor woman	Expense book
1708	N.d.	A poor woman	Expense book
1709	Mariana	N.d.	Expense book
1709	Inês	Traveller	Expense book
1710	Maria Gonçalves	N.d.	Expense book
1711	N.d.	Mute	Expense book
1711	Catarina Simões	N.d.	Parish register
1722	Isabel de Jesus	Devout woman	Parish register
1723	Catarina	Single	Parish register
1723	Maria da Silva	Widow	Parish register
1726	Maria Pinto	Single	Parish register
1726	Maria Pereira	Widow	Parish register
1727	Maria Gomes	Widow	Parish register
1734	Marta Pereira	N.d.	Parish register
1734	Catarina	Old and single	Parish register
1737	Maria Paneta	Mad	Parish register
1737	Justa	Single	Parish register
1746	Maria de Oliveira	N.d.	Parish register
1746	Maria dos Santos	Single	Parish register
1747	Maria de Faria	Widow	Parish register
1749	Benta Carreira	Single	Parish register
1750	Ana Silva	Widow	Parish register
1753	Jacinta Giralda	N.d.	Book of services (a)
1753	Inácia Amorim	Single	Parish register
1754	Isabel da Silva	Single	Parish register
1754	Penitência Jerónima da Silva	Widow	Parish register
1755	Francisca Afonso	N.d.	Book of services (a)
1760	Catarina da Pedra	Widow	Book of services (a)

1760	Custódia de Jesus	Blind	Parish register
1761	Maria de Oliveira	Widow	Parish register
1763	Ângela Francisca	Widow	Book of services (a)
1765	Isabel Pires	Widow	Parish register
1770	Jerónima Ribeiro	Widow	Book of services (a)
1774	Domingas do Rosário	Assistant	Book of services (a)
1782	Teresa da Costa	N.d.	Book of services (a)
1783	Águeda Teresa	Single	Parish register
1783	Helena Gomes	Widow	Book of services (a)
1786	Maria Ferreira	Widow	Parish register
1787	Perpétua Loureira	Single	Parish register
1790	Andreia Gomes	Widow	Parish register
1791	Teresa Maria	Widow	Parish register
1792	Maria Teresa	Widow	Parish register
1794	Ana Maria	N.d.	Parish register
1794	Josefa Rodrigues	Single	Parish register
1794	Maria de Freitas	Single	Parish register
1795	Esperança Francisca	Widow and assistant	Parish register
1803	Ana Maria	Old (70 years)	Parish register
1803	Francisca da Mota	Widow	Parish register
1813	Joana Maria Agrela	Single	Parish register
1816	Rosa Maria Vilaça	Single	Parish register
1823	Leonor	Single	Parish register
1830	Joana Da Conceição	Child (8 to 9 years)	Parish register

Source: ADB, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Braga, Livro das Missas dos Pobres, 1747-1793, n.º 117, fls. 10v., 15, 25v., 30, 50, 63 and 68; Livro de Despeza dos Mordomos, 1679-1682, n.º 679, fls. 39, 39v., 56, 57v., 84, 65v., 105, 152v., 145, 181 and 220; Mordomo - Livro da despeza do Mordomo, 1682-1693, n.º 680, fls. 8v., 19, 99v., 114v., 180v. and 206; Livro de Despesa dos Mordomos, 1693-1717, n.º 681, fls. 10v., 34, 58, 226v., 271, 295, 298v., 307v. and 317; Livro de Recibo e Despeza dos Mordomos, 1651-1660, n.º 686, fls. 37, 106 and 179v.; Livro de Recibo e Despeza do Mordomo, 1660-1672, n.º 687, fls. 17v., 25v., 70v., 114, 157v., 162v., 168, 176v., 206v., 228v., 240v., 263, 313, 315, 316 and 318. ADB, Paroquial da Cividade, Livro de Registos Misto, 1630-1645, n.º 56, fls. 125v., 126v., 141, 153, 156v., 158, 186 and 187; Livro de Registos Misto, 1645-1688, n.º 57, fls. 5v., 8v., 13v., 49v., 61 and 100; Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1688-1730, n.º 77, fls. 11v., 34v., 92v., 159v., 166v., 169v., 179, 179v. and 186v; Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1730-1772, n.º 78, fls. 19v., 20v., 27, 29v., 89, 90, 91v., 102v., 108, 128, 128v., 135v., 172, 185 and 185v.; Livro de Registo de Óbitos, 1772-1837, n.º 79, fls. 30v., 36v., 39v., 44v., 50, 54, 58, 60, 61, 67v., 89v., 89v., 121v., 130v., 148 and 171v. ADB, Paroquial da Sé, Livro de Registo Misto, 1642-1657, n.º 313, fls. 344v. and 350v.

Caption: (a) Records from a book of masses of the poor by the main chaplain of Santa Casa (1753-1783). (b) These expenses do not appear broken down by months and are grouped by the biennium of Misericórdia (July 1673 until June 1674). We assume 1673 to separate these results from those of the first half of the following institutional year (1674-1675).