



LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS
MODOS DE HABITAR

ABADA EDITORES

LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS MODOS DE HABITAR

II CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL CULTURA Y CIUDAD
GRANADA, 23-25 ENERO 2019



Este Congreso ha contado con una ayuda del Vicerrectorado de Investigación de la Universidad de Granada obtenida en concurrencia competitiva.



UNIVERSIDAD
DE GRANADA

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C/ Gobernador, 18
28014 Madrid
www.abadaeditores.com

Imagen de portada: La cabaña primitiva, frontispicio realizado por Charles-Dominique-Joseph Eisen para el *Essai sur l'architecture* de Marc-Antoine Laugier, edición de 1755
Fuente: ETH-Bibliothek Zürich

Imagen de contraportada: Grabado encabezando el capítulo "Adspetus Incauti Dispendium" del libro de Theodoor Galle *Verdicus Christianus*, 1601
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ISBN 978-84-17301-24-8
IBIC AMA
Depósito Legal M-607-2019

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II Congreso Internacional Cultura y Ciudad
La Casa. Espacios domésticos, modos de habitar
Granada 23-25 enero 2019

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Los Espacios, las gentes y las formas de estar en casa en el norte de Portugal ochocentista

The Spaces, the People and the Ways of Being at Home in the North of Portugal in the 19th Century

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Resumen

Nuestra comunicación trata de los modos de habitar en el norte de Portugal, en el siglo XIX, usando, como caso de estudio, el distrito de Viana do Castelo, región esencialmente rural, que confina con la región española de Galicia.

Nuestro objetivo es mostrar las transformaciones que sucedieron en la forma de usar y encarar el espacio doméstico, expresadas, especialmente, en su representación y compartimentación. Las diferencias sociales también están bien patentes en el modo de habitar. En el mundo rural, la casa es un espacio de trabajo y descanso, donde el agricultor cohabita con los animales, guarda los aperos agrícolas y almacena las cosechas. La compartimentación es mínima, el mobiliario escaso y el confort inexistente. A contrastar con la simpleza de la morada de los campesinos, emergen las casas "de los grandes", o sea, de los nobles y señores, que se distinguen por la ostentación y dimensión. En el medio urbano, la casa presenta otras particularidades, que nos proponemos a presentar, siendo considerada, a este propósito, la construcción predominante en las villas miñotas y en la ciudad de Viana do Castelo.

Palabras clave: modos de habitar, espacio doméstico, compartimentación, Viana do Castelo

Bloque temático: Arquitecturas de la casa: el espacio doméstico a través de la historia

Abstract

Our communication is about the ways of inhabiting in the north of Portugal in the nineteenth century, using as a case study, the district of Viana do Castelo, an essentially rural region bordering the Spanish province of Galicia. It is our goal to show the transformations that took place in the way of using and facing the domestic space, expressed namely in its presentation and compartmentalization.

Social differences are also evident in the way of inhabiting. In the rural world, the house is a space of work and rest, where the farmer cohabits with the animals, guards the agricultural implements and stores the crops. Compartmentation is minimal, the furniture is scarce and the comfort is nonexistent. Contrasting with the simplicity of the peasants' home, the houses of "the great ones", that is of the nobles and masters, are distinguished by ostentation and dimension. In the urban area, the house presents other special features, which we propose to present, being considered in this regard the predominant construction in the Alto Minho villages and in the city of Viana do Castelo.

Keywords: ways of inhabiting, domestic space, compartmentization, Viana do Castelo

Topic: House architectures: the domestic space through history

The concept of house knows a variability due to two vectors: space and time. Home is a space that reflects in social logics, with its own rules. Hence the study of the house is associated with other concepts such as everyday life, sociabilities, family, intimacy and woman. Nowadays, the concept of house knows different typologies and meanings due to the environment and the functionalities assigned to it. The house began as a place of protection against the weather and the attacks of animals, although we cannot speak of a space that aimed to separate men from animals, and that was gradually transformed into a space of production, work and in a savings unit. These functions it already had in the medieval period and, at the same time, it was also an authentic theater of the family life. It should be noted that the search for comfort, hygiene and privacy have only recently become concerns associated with the domestic space.

In Minho in the nineteenth century, it is important to distinguish between the urban house and the rural house. This visible distinction for example in the architectural configuration, implied the development of different forms of sociability and use of the inner space of the residence and its relationship with the exterior. On the other hand, the concept of house had a broader meaning for the people of the countryside than for the inhabitants of the counties of this region of the country.¹ According to João de Pina Cabral, for the peasant, the concept of house extends to its lands, animals, structures, present family, absent and even deceased relatives. For these, the dwellings were mainly spaces of consumption and enjoyment, besides, circumstantially, they function as places of work. In the countryside, they functioned simultaneously as spaces of production and consumption, as a consequence of the close connection between the land and the house: the agents of the house worked the properties that were part of it, and these guaranteed their subsistence.² Being an instrument to grow the land, the rural house appears more targeted towards the exterior, composed of the threshing floor and the agricultural annexes, where the man and the animal lived together, in a promiscuous sharing of the domestic spatiality.³

Since the fifteenth century the houses have become, as we have already said, more compartmentalized, with separate spaces, according to the functions for which they were intended. The complexification of the domestic space will lead to it being divided by areas, in order to create, within the big houses and the palatial structures, places of greater privacy, a concept that is becoming more and more expensive. This will lead to the appearance of the antechamber, where visitors are received, where they eat and socialize, no longer having to make it in the room. Next to it other compartments will arise: the necessary ones, the dressing rooms and the studios, that worked like offices, where they took care of the mail, for example.

From here, the palaces become more complex and the apartments (consisting of antechamber, bedroom, closet and wardrobe) are built around them, which can be considered as houses within the houses themselves, giving them greater privacy, something that as we have said was increasingly sought. However, even the apartments are compartmentalized, transforming into a

¹ João de Pina Cabral, *Filhos de Adão, Filhas de Eva. A visão do mundo camponesa no Alto Minho* (Lisboa: D. Quixote, 1989), 65. In the perspective of Tomás Mantecón, the house "era en la Cantabria rural de los siglos XVII y XVIII un centro de posesiones materiales, un espacio limitado por muros y techumbre, cerrado sobre sí, dominado por un grupo humano que se formaba a partir de una sociedad conyugal, un centro generador y distribuidor de solidaridad y servicios, entre éstos los de protección y disciplina." Check: Tomás Antonio Mantecón Movellán, *Conflictividad y disciplinamiento social en la Cantabria rural del Antiguo Régimen* (Santander: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidade da Cantabria, 1997), 83.

² About the connection between land and the house in Alto Minho, see: João de Pina Cabral, "Comentários críticos sobre a casa e a família no Alto Minho rural", *Análise Social*, vol. XX, n.º 81-82 (1984): 263-284.

³ Check: Michelle Perrot, "Maneiras de habitar", in *História da Vida Privada*, vol. 4, *Da Revolução à Grande Guerra*, dir. Georges Duby and Philippe Ariés (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1990), 307-323.

succession of rooms, which the individual travels from the public to the private. The most affluent social groups had separate apartments, one for the husband and another for the wife, each of which could even have two, not forgetting that the children could have their apartments too. Moreover, the separation of spaces for men and women in the house will be a trend during this period, materialized, for example, in the seven hundreds, of the existence of staging rooms, divisions directed to the women, where they sat on the floor, on cushions, placed on a bed stage. It was the space where they received the visits, being a Muslim inheritance in the Iberian Peninsula that also was felt in Spain.

Then there were the more public spaces: the salons, the halls, the chapel, libraries and galleries. Therefore, in these structures will be increasingly visible the existence of three distinct areas: private, of representation and of service. There is a proliferation of spaces designed to welcome the guests and the need to move away from the servants, increasingly numerous. Not everyone slept in the palace, there is also a hierarchy within it. However, this reality is limited to the grand palaces, the less wealthy continue to eat, sleep and receive in the same space.

Also in Portugal the noble houses will know these changes, related to compartmentalization and specialization of the spaces. In the eighteenth century, these were commonly composed of two or three stories: a ground floor, where the stables were and structures to support the work and the kitchen; and a first floor, which was reached through a large inner staircase, where the rooms were. The third floor was for the servants, where their rooms were located and they stayed overnight. On the ground floor, was where the services were concentrated and the products were arranged, taking advantage of the fresh environment.⁴ It would thus be the busiest, noisy, crowded area, but also the smelliest and dirty of the house. The first floor consisted of a succession of compartments, given the absence of corridors, which meant that, in order to preserve intimacy, the rooms were placed at the ends of the buildings. The main door of the house was topped with a coat of arms and the staircase was tiled. It should be noted that the most wealthy were chapel owners and in urban spaces could also be flanked by gardens and shops, which were leased to merchants and artisans.

Having traced the framework of the palatial houses, of the wealthiest, let's focus on the houses of the popular groups in Portugal, where, at the end of the Old Regime, there was a single, multipurpose division, since it fulfilled different functions. In some regions we already know certain particularities: in Minho, usually the ground floor was for the animals, where the corrals and the courts were and on the first floor would be for the people. In urban spaces, another phenomenon is noted: a house being occupied by different families. The furnishings were still sparse, however, for example, there were references to oratories. The hygiene of bodies and dwellings was rudimentary. There were mobile toilets, various types of basins to wash hands, feet, face, to take a shower or half bath. Of note, the difficult relation that the man maintains with the water during this period and that will only change in the eighteenth century, with the development of the hygienist movement. Cleaning the body meant changing clothes, washing the visible parts and keeping fists and collars immaculate. But just as in other European states, the urban centers faced the problem of water supply, dirt and bad smells: the "water goes" system is practiced, cisterns were scarce, the private wells, and the alternative of getting water from the watering hole was expensive.

⁴ Mafalda Soares da Cunha and Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, "As grandes casas", in *História da vida privada em Portugal, vol. II - A Idade Moderna*, dir. José Mattoso (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2011): 225.

In the cities, especially in Lisbon, the buildings were predominant in height, with four or five stories, and the ground floor was used for shops, warehouses and stables. In most houses there was a direct door from the street to the interiors. The foreigners noticed the lack of fireplaces and stoves, which resulted from the mild climate of the city.⁵

In the nineteenth century, the house clearly identifies with the private, the familiar intimacy that one wants to separate from the public domain. The house is now the symbol of the family, space of affections, secrets, sharing and intimacy. There were still differences between the rural and the urban world and determined by the social condition of the residents. The "Portuguese House" was now being sought, but the way of homogenization was complex, given the existing diversity, motivated by the uses and customs of the people and by the territory itself and the climate. The house, a place for routine activities, was also a reflection of a culture and a way of being. The dwellings of the elites reflected their economic power and their social status, turned outward, on the facades; and inside in the way they were decorated. In the countryside, the rural elites went in the same direction, having as examples the Brejoira Palace, located in Monção and built in this period. Still in Minho, we see the houses of the "Brazilians" being born and marking the landscape, which carry the exotic of the other side of the Atlantic, with new colors and decorative elements. However, the popular houses are still small, and sometimes the area reserved for animals is larger than the one for the people, being polyvalence their predominant characteristic, as well as the centrality of the kitchen: in which the meals were prepared, ate, talked around the fireplace and even slept. In the houses there could be boxes, arks and chests, but we may not find beds or furniture for rest. Moreover, this piece of furniture was so important that it was often left in testament.⁶

In the nineteenth century, we have a new society, of classes, and therefore we cannot only look at the top and the bottom of society, having to look at their environment: to the middle classes, whose ways of inhabiting little is known. It is recognized in this period the ideal house, consisting of a kitchen, a dining room and bedrooms. Most dwellings had no latrine.

As for the poor classes, the data is more abundant, although the problems are secular: they lived in small, dirty, unhealthy, and unbreathable spaces. The situation was particularly complex in Porto, with the islands, whose number increased during the nineteenth century, according to Gaspar Martins, in the late nineteenth century, a third of the population of Porto lived in "islands",⁷ which concerned the authorities for lack of conditions they showed, making recurrent the illnesses caused by the precarious conditions of life of its inhabitants. At the same time, Porto was inhabited by a high bourgeoisie, which was influenced by the British presence. They built far from the urban center, imposing chalets and mansions, hidden by high hedges and large gardens. In the center of the city lived the merchants and craftsmen in buildings, where there is often a continuity between work and home: on the ground floor they worked, where the stores, warehouses and workshops were and on the upper floors they rested. However, with regard to popular housing, it

⁵ Maria Clara Loureiro Borges Paulino, "Uma casa portuguesa. Olhares estrangeiros sobre a arquitectura doméstica em Portugal entre meados do século XVIII e meados do século XIX", in *Família, espaço e património*, coord. Carlota Santos (Porto: CITCEM, 2011): 419-431.

⁶ Fernanda Olival, "Os lugares e espaços do privado nos grupos populares e intermédios", in *História da vida privada em Portugal, vol. II - A Idade Moderna*, dir. José Mattoso (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2011): 256.

⁷ Gaspar Martins Pereira "Casa e família. As "ilhas" no Porto em finais do século XX", *População e Sociedade*, n.º 2 (1996): 159-183.

does not seem evident that public and domestic space were antagonistic, but there seems to be some continuity.

For its part, Lisbon, showed signs of not being able to absorb all those who went to it in search of work and better living conditions. They could even find some form of sustenance, but it rarely allowed them to live in the center of the city, moving to degraded peripheral areas near the factories, leading to an anarchy situation, from the urban point of view. In the nineteenth century, the city saw the birth of the courtyards and the villages, and there were working villages, which was a way of making space more profitable.

And what to say about the rural world? The situation was quite diverse. In Minho, in its northern region, there were still huts. In this part of the country, the house was seen as a work space, with no major concerns about its cleanliness or furniture, and it is not uncommon to have houses with a single room. In this part of the country, the house was often small for the number of people who resided there. It was noted the lack of hygiene, light, as well as the absence of latrines and the proximity to the animals. In the house were kept the animals and the work instruments. In Trás-os-Montes, the situation was not very different, where they used to use old pigpens as living spaces.

It should be noted that, in the nineteenth century, concerns arose over the hygiene of public spaces, but also with private ones. The cleaning of homes began to be standardized, through guidelines that sought to regulate the dumping of garbage and all kinds of filth that were thrown from home into the public space. As an example, the inhabitants of Ponte de Lima could not dispose of the filth through the streets, squares and other public places indiscriminately, nor could they keep them inside their houses, without being properly conditioned, in order to avoid the bad smells. In case of default, they would be subject to the payment of pecuniary penalties, established in the Code of Postures of that county.⁸ However, the village did not have the necessary sanitary facilities, the latrines continued to be dumped onto the public road and the application of the "water goes" system persisted.

Through the project presented in 1849 for the reform of the municipal postures of Ponte de Lima, we noticed this growing concern of the authorities with health and cleanliness, trying to control and prevent the behaviors less proper of the inhabitants.⁹ In this sense, the following measures were adopted: prohibition of depositing manure in public squares, streets and public places, under penalty of payment of a fine; prohibition of transporting fecal deposits through the streets of the village and suburbs before nine o'clock in the evening in the winter and eleven o'clock in the summer.¹⁰

It was sought to ensure the safety of the residents, their physical integrity and avoid possible conflicts caused, for example, by the fall of any object from balconies, windows or roofs. For this

⁸ Municipal Archive of Ponte de Lima, (henceforth MAPL), *Reforma do Código de Posturas de Ponte de Lima – 1848*, n.º 2.4.1-28 (Ponte de Lima: 1848), 9-10.

⁹ Regarding preventive public health measures taken in Portugal in the second half of the XIXth century, read: João Cosme, "A preocupações higio-sanitárias em Portugal (2.ª metade do século XIX e princípio do século XX)", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: História*, série III, vol. 07 (2006): 181-196.

¹⁰ Municipal Archive of Ponte de Lima, *Projecto de reforma das posturas do município da vila e concelho de Ponte de Lima – 1849*, n.º 2.4.1.28 (Ponte de Lima: 1849), 9-10. On the measures of public hygiene developed in León in the second half of the XVIII century, see: María José Pérez Álvarez, "Insalubridad y respuesta institucional en la ciudad de León en el siglo XVIII", in *El mundo urbano en el siglo de la Ilustración*, ed. Ofelia Rey Castelao and Roberto J. Lopéz (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta da Galicia, 2009), 364-366.

reason, it was forbidden, under penalty of fine, to hang on the sidewalk dustbins or vessels that were not quite secure; depositing in the street something that could disturb the circulation of people and vehicles; galloping through the streets or among the people, particularly on market days.¹¹

The urban centers of the Alto Minho still had many of the characteristics of the rural world, as can easily be seen from the existence of fields, gardens and yards marking the landscape and by the circulation of animals, such as pigs and cows which, in fact, caused problems of all order.¹² The newspaper *O Lethes*, published in Ponte de Lima, denounced the lack of care and negligence regarding the cleaning of streets, which looked more like garbage dumps and of houses, which, according to the newspaper, were shared with filthy animals.¹³ This reality is not surprising, since it persisted in the twentieth century, as some descriptions of the Minho house prove. In fact, in this century, the criticisms on the lack of hygiene of the popular houses remain, classified as pigpens, in the Republican Portugal.¹⁴

Even at the beginning of the twentieth century, the absence of sanitation conditions, water supply, toilets or bathrooms was highlighted. In the absence of these, hygiene and basic needs were met in basins or mobile toilets. Houses in height are a reality, especially in the urban world and tend to replicate social stratification: the lower floors were associated with the lower classes, due to the disadvantages associated with them, leaving the middle and upper classes with the first two floors.

With regard to the interior filling, in the nineteenth century and also in the following, the division of spaces and their decoration were established according to the functions that were attributed to the house: rest; hygiene, socializing, food and intimacy. The domestic comfort will be driven by the discoveries and the progress that will be made in the meantime: gas lighting, piped water, coal heating, bathrooms. Although it is worth mentioning here the great imbalances between the rural and urban space, arriving the news first to the city. Family life will be revolutionized by all these advances, making the house a home, a space with an identity, a trend that will consolidate with two other innovations that will reach this century: the telephone and the telephony.

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¹¹ MAPL, *Projecto...*, 46-54.

¹² In 1849, in Ponte de Lima, it was forbidden the circulation of loose pigs in the street, without being properly accompanied by a person: MAPL, *Projecto...*, 53.

¹³ *O Lethes*, n.º 57, 15 de Agosto de 1865.

¹⁴ Irene Vaquinhas Guimarães and Maria Alice Pinto Guimarães, "Economia doméstica e governo do lar. Os saberes domésticos e as funções da dona de casa", in *História da Vida Privada. Época Contemporânea*, dir. José Mattoso (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2011): 214.

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