



# LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS  
MODOS DE HABITAR

**ABADA EDITORES**

# LA CASA

## ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS MODOS DE HABITAR

II CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL CULTURA Y CIUDAD  
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## La construcción del espacio doméstico miñoto en el Portugal del siglo XVIII

### *The Construction of "Minho's" Domestic Space in Portugal's 18th Century*

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#### **Resumen**

La presente investigación se centra en el análisis del contrato matrimonial como instrumento para el estudio de los modelos de la arquitectura doméstica, en la sociedad preindustrial miñota. Elemento fundador de la familia, el dote de matrimonio materializaba la importancia de la preservación del patrimonio, la memoria e identidades familiares, constituyendo un mecanismo fundamental para el conocimiento de las estructuras domésticas, en el período moderno. Basado en el análisis de las escrituras de dote, es nuestro propósito valorar la relación de este origen histórico como el elemento para la construcción de la historia de la familia, su espacio y organización.

**Palabras clave:** espacio doméstico, cultura material, propiedad de la tierra, patrimonio, dote

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

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#### **Abstract**

*The present research focuses on the analysis of the matrimonial contract as an instrument for the study of the models of domestic architecture in the pre-industrial "Minho's" society. As a family founding element, the marriage dowry has materialized the importance of the preservation of families memory and identity patrimony, constituting a fundamental mechanism for the understanding of the domestic structures in the modern period. Based on scriptures analysis and other historical documentation concerning dowry deeds, it is our purpose to evaluate the relevance of this historical source as an element for the construction of the family history, to its space and organization.*

**Keywords:** domestic space, material culture, land ownership, patrimony, dowry

**Topic:** Architectures of the house: domestic space throughout history

## Introduction

Being understood as an object of fruitful study for the construction of family history dowry writing plays a preponderant role in the present investigation, constituting an important mechanism for the (re) constitution of the “Minho’s” house in northwestern Portugal throughout the 18th century as either physical space as a representative concept of the family organization and in its long-term ways of cohabitation.

As a stipulated practice of personal transmission of land assets between generations, the study of the abovementioned historical source leads us to the definition of “Minho’s” urban and rural houses, we must consider two main variants. In first place, it is important to point the evolution of the concepts of private and public, evident in the division or the sharing of domestic interiors. In second place and taking into perspective, the clear understanding of the house concept as an expression of family dynamics and dynamics, since this spatial complex would imply the agrarian properties of such aggregates, expanded or parcelled out by inheritance regimes, or before the consummation of the marriage between families.

Therefore, the analysis of the endowment practice leads us to a deeper and more rigorous understanding of the social and economic differentiation between the family cells, through immovable patrimony, evidencing, in particular, the betrothal of the spouses. In this way, the analysis of the objects transmitted to the gifted incorporates a vital role to understand the sense of belonging and the identity preservation between different generations which was reflected by the material culture. Given the present problem, the articulation of the endowment phenomenon with the alteration or maintenance of private and / or public spaces, reflect the importance of land in the construction of the identity of the individual, whose recognition, before their pairs, was materialized in architecture and in the house management, taken as the personal or family signature of “Minho’s” community.

### 1. The dowry phenomenon

The importance of dowries study is suggested by scientific literature of the last quarter of the twentieth century, which indicates its potential as a field of interest in European historiography and demonstrates its importance for a deeper understanding of the (re)constitution of the modern period, in addition to its influence on interpersonal experiences, on the preservation of patrimonial assets and for the transmission and organization of inheritance systems which were transversal throughout generations.

The phenomenon of endowment and its impact on Western models of marriage implies, in the historical context research, the articulation with various subjects, such as the plurality of concepts associated with it. The study of the dowry regime and marriage as an object of historical research has constituted work mainly from the second half of the twentieth century onwards. Between the 60s and the 80s of the last century, the scientific investigation related to endowment triggered a plural and interdisciplinary production involving branches of knowledge such as Anthropology, Economy, Sociology and History.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the interest in the subject

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<sup>1</sup> As an example of the interdisciplinary nature of this research, the pioneering studies of the economist Gary Becker (*The Teatrise on The Family*), the anthropologist Goody Jack (*The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*), the historian Christopher Brooke (*Marriage in Christian Europe*) and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (“Les strategies matrimoniales dans le système de reproduction”).

arrogated private prominence in important university spheres, like "The Cambridge Group", constituting a point of inquiry in the scope of the historical demography and of the social structures. Since then, the scientific literature has demonstrated the potential for a study on endowment as a key element for understanding the European model of marriage, as well as its importance in family strategies and the preservation of individual heritage over its long duration.

In the field of family history, the dowry was a prenuptial practice in order to provide the future couple with economic conditions for the new household creation. Being established as a public act, the endowment endured the inherent burdens in marriage, anticipating, in certain cases, inheritance.<sup>2</sup>

Present in the Portuguese social and juridical reality since ancient times, the dowry took on the important role of the founding covenant of the family, as it ensured material goods, family strategies were stipulated and the right to property relations between the spouses was drawn up.<sup>3</sup> Regulated by the legal code of the time, the dowry and matrimonial regime in Portugal implied two types of contractual agreements. The law determined that all marriages made in the kingdom would be made either by "ametade" letter, that is, by a regime of communion of goods<sup>4</sup> or from the deed of dowry. This established the regime of separation of goods, being determined the incommunicability of the female dowry with the assets of the husband. Goods that could not be sold, nor to satisfy debts contracted before or after the marriage.<sup>5</sup>

Even though it consigned a donation to the spouses and it regulated the management of the assets of both, the dowry took on a role of payment, not only for the bride and groom but also for the whole family. Defined with a bilateral contract, it ensured guarantees and duties between the involved elements - the gifters and the gifted. Dowry worked as an economic guarantee for wives and for the gifters, it was also characterized as a safeguard instrument for the institution because of demands and privileges, ensuring families convenience by protecting the old aged and also for soul salvation after death.

Assets and amounts of money or the transmission of root assets impelled a deep evaluation and understanding since these donations were particularly variable. At the same time, the analysis of the goods legacy compels to the culture study in order to be possible to better know and understand the inheritance of personal objects between parents and children, highlighting the female case.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The practice of endowment has remained present throughout European history, whose origins go back to Classical Antiquity. Since then, in the legislative codes, the dowry presented changes, allowing an understanding of the evolution of parental structures and the systems of division of assets. According to Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo and Alexandra Esteves, if in Greco-Roman societies, women had the freedom to choose the goods that were their dowry, in the modern period, this decision fell exclusively on the parents. The authors, who, in the Mediterranean countries, enjoy the full freedom to distribute their legacy to the descendants, as well as to decide the composition of their children's dowry, in full. Such prerogatives were contained in the legislation itself, which is centred on paternal power. See: Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo and Alexandra Esteves, *The Dowry System in Rural Mediterranean Europe. A Case Study of Peasant Families in Minho*, (Portugal / New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2018), 43.

<sup>3</sup> Anabela Ramos, "Casar, mas receber dote: estratégias familiares na escritura dotal (Manqualde, 1684/1715)", in *Tomar estado: dotes e casamentos (séculos XVI - XIX)*, coords. Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo and Alexandra Esteves (Braga: CITCEM, 2010), 74.

<sup>4</sup> *Ordenações Filipinas*, Book IV, Title 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Ordenações Filipinas*, Book IV, Title 46.

<sup>6</sup> Commonly associated with the feminine gender, the dowry also integrated the masculine reality. Although to a lesser extent, men, like women, began marital life endowed by their families.

In line with the recent advances in research on this subject, the phenomenon of endowment is increasingly becoming a unifying factor for a more incisive understanding of kinship relations, ways of cohabitation, the balance of concepts of inbreeding and exogamy, as well as the priority character of the dowry in family management and domestic architecture, becoming one of vital business or private affairs.

## 2. Portuguese Minho's Spaces and ways of living in the eighteenth century

Set in a geographical context, where there was only one city, in the eighteenth century, "Minho" was characterized as a predominantly rural region, where most of the population lived on incomes from land and livestock.<sup>7</sup> This main thing constitutes one of the most important points to consider when analyzing the domestic "Minhoto" space and its construction. From a different set of sources that allow us the knowledge about the family architecture and domestic life, we take as reference dowry writing, a source that, as we have seen, assumes a primordial role in the study of the family and its space.<sup>8</sup>

From the analysis of gifted goods, we enter the domestic space and its constitution. Being particularly distinct, the donations varied according to the social group, being rural or urban estates, own as well as rented for a certain time, movable goods, cattle, pieces of trousseau, some amounts in money, among other things.

In a search for definition and physical description of spaces, we allude to the donation of immovable property. In "Minho's" case, the highlight is the allocation of the so-called "couple", that is, the main agrarian unit of this region, constituting the sustenance of the family nucleus and motor of "Minho's" rural economy. In addition to the fields of cultivation, the couple also included housing, as well as all annexes linked to the agricultural activity, such as cuts, haystacks, wineries, among others.<sup>9</sup> As a second category, there is the provision of fields, fields, vegetable gardens or mills, for example. In other cases, endowed heritage could only cover housing, without any associated farm being associated. As an example, we indicate the case of the spokesman José Álvares de Castro, of "São Clemente de Sande" parish, in Guimarães, who in the 18th century was endowed by his parents Manuel de Castro and Ana Manuela de Andrade, with his couple from a place called "Resumarães" and all the belongings associated with it.<sup>10</sup>

Linked to the allocation of immovable heritage, we can find a set of peculiarities that allow us to know and evaluate the constitution type of the family space of this region which is the main study object. As we mentioned, at the time of the allocation, reservations were usually made by the donors. It is a fact that these guarantees constitute one of the main study areas, leading to the analysis of the type of Portuguese Minho's domestic architecture. In a first analysis, we

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<sup>7</sup> Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo and Alexandra Esteves, *The Dowry System in Rural Mediterranean Europe ...*, 193.

<sup>8</sup> In addition to the study of dowry writers, wills, orphanage inventories and death inventories, are important sources in the analysis of domestic architecture.

<sup>9</sup> Rui Faria, "Entre o campo e a cidade: bens móveis e de raiz nos dotes de casamento em Guimarães", in *Portas Adentro: comer, vestir e habitar na Península Ibérica (ss. XVI - XIX)*, dir. Isabel dos Guimarães Sá and Máximo García Fernández (Valladolid: University of Valladolid and Press of the University of Coimbra, 2010), 177.

<sup>10</sup> Braga's Archive District (known as: ADB), *General Note*, book n.º 789, 14v.

showed the cohabitation. In a significant number of cases, the requirements of the donors were shared by the same housing space. See the marriage dowry case of António José Rodrigues and Ângela da Costa, both residents in Braga in "São Miguel de Cunha" parish. The nephew's mother, Ana Fernandes, endowed her son with all the root goods he possessed. However, the main reserve was to share the same space, that is, the bride and groom would have to live with her until her death. On the other hand, the donor anticipated the possibility of future disagreements, stating that in case of problems in the coexistence, she reserved for herself the kitchen from the outside of the house.<sup>11</sup>

Usually, cohabitation, given the fact that we have a majority of rural skills, involved a family job, that is, along with living together, gifted and gifted would also work on land in a shared way.<sup>12</sup> We allude to the dowry that Teresa Dias, from the parish of "Santa Maria de Adaúfe", in Braga, made to her son António Dias. By giving all his immovable property, the mother of the groom determined that, by living together, they would also work together on agricultural property, taking full advantage of the income of gifted goods.<sup>13</sup> It is important to point out that in many cases we find the definition of spaces between both parties, that is, at the time of the dowry deed, a division of the house spaces between gifters and gifted people leads to the realization that, despite a coexistence together, there was a need to create a certain individuality, inherent in the creation of a new aggregate, from the division of the domestic space.

It should be noted that the cohabitation reserve did not include only donors. In addition to the definition of individual reservations, in some cases, especially when the donors were the parents, guarantees were established for the brothers of the newlyweds. Among them, we find reservations related to cohabitation. As an example, we have highlighted the case of the Bento Gonçalves Fernandes grant. His parents provided him with all his immovable property, imposing the reservation of cohabitation. However, the sister of the groom also entered the reserve. Until he married, he would have to live with the gifted and gifted, and the livelihood of the bride and groom.<sup>14</sup> It is a fact that in the case of the marriage of the constitution of a new household, the changes in the domestic family space were not considerable, while the sharing of space and family income was maintained.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> ADB, *General Note*, book n.º 788, 196.

<sup>12</sup> According to author Jack Goody in pre-industrial Europe, there were larger residential units in rural areas, where two or three generations cohabited under the same roof. See: Jack Goody, "Prefácio," trans. Ana Santos Silva and João Silva Saraiva, in *História da Família*, Vol. III, dirs. André Burguière, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber and Martine Segalen and Françoise Zonabend (Lisboa: Terramar, 1986), 8.

<sup>13</sup> ADB, *General Note*, book n.º 789, 133.

<sup>14</sup> ADB, *General Note*, book n.º 789, 109.

<sup>15</sup> In the Europe of the eighteenth century, we found examples such as the ones presented which proves that the European families space presented common characteristics. The analysis of marriage contracts in Saint-André-des-Alpes, Haute-Provence, is an example of this homogeneity. Through a thorough analysis of marriages in this region, most of the young married couples cohabited with the parents being more frequent the cohabitation within richer families because it was necessary a considerably big house and sufficient equity for two couples live together. Ultimately, parents could not force the cohabitation if they couldn't offer the conditions to offer the son or the son-in-law a tempting heritage perspective. The American case is also noteworthy, particularly the region of South America where a cohabitation was also a reality. In the Huánuco region of Peru, with newlyweds, we could find living with them the husband's parents, sisters, widows or single, sick and disabled. See: Jean Louis Flandrin, "Famílias", in *Parentesco, casa e sexualidade na sociedade antiga*, trans. M.F Gonçalves de Azevedo (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1995), 96; Carmen Bernand and Serge Gruzinski, "Os filhos do apocalipse: as famílias na América Central e nos Andes", trans. Ana Santos Silva and João Silva Saraiva, in *Historia da Família...*, 137

Part of the construction of “Minho’s” family’s architecture and inseparable from domestic coexistence, especially rural, was the farm’s space. Independently of cohabitation, the usufruct of the income of gifted goods incorporated, in most cases, the group of reservations imposed by the donors. Damiana Maria Francisca da Cunha, from “Pico de Regalados”, was endowed by her uncle who donated all her assets. However, it determined that while she was alive, the gifted and her husband would have to guarantee him a third of the bread and wine and all other income of the said goods. At the same time, half of the wood of the properties donated would be for him, the giver.<sup>16</sup> The fact is that the creation of the new household implied the sharing not only of the house but also of the family economy. Directly or indirectly, all participated in this, enjoying the patrimony inherited from the spouses. Marriage, and therefore the transfer of the patrimony from parents to children, did not imply a total independence for the couple, but rather the maintenance of a connection with the family and of a continuous coexistence. The children would have responsibility over the parents, until the moment death, being the new couple the main family support.

In order to assist the spouses in the exploitation of endowed properties, a set of agricultural implements, such as animals, were bequeathed. As an example, we evidenced the dowry of Manuel Gomes de Araújo, resident in the parish of “Santo Estevão de Penso”. Gifted by his parents, he inherited rural properties along with two cows, two oxen, two cars, two plows, and all the other crucial implements for farming.<sup>17</sup>

The analysis of legacy mobile heritage is of relevance in the study of the construction of the family space since it allows us to point out the differences on the domestic or intimate space of the new household constitution. Normally, the elements that allow us to know this reality are present, more significantly, in the feminine dowry. Clothing held a predominant role in the universe of women’s endowment, for almost all brides included their dresses in their trousseau. However, it should be noted that, although in less quantity, the gifts of the bride and groom also included clothes. As an example, we refer to the dowry of Maria Inacia da Silva, resident in Rua das Águas, in the city of Braga, endowed with thirteen shirts of linen and tow, six skirts - two black, two white and two green - and two bonnets.<sup>18</sup> The bedding also composed dowry scripts. Since sheets, blankets, cushions, mattresses or blankets, bedding, translates the need and importance of the composition of domestic interior space, particularly the bed, at the time of marriage.

Alongside the pieces of clothing, the dowry could still be made up of household utensils, kitchen appliances and details, such as napkins and towels stood out.<sup>19</sup> We can also point out the presence of the furniture. In this category, the highlight goes to the box and the ark. Most of the time, they accompanied clothing gifts, especially in the feminine dowry. Being a simple type of furniture, it was common in all dwellings, and its usefulness was the need to store clothes but could be used to store other goods, such as non-perishable food.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> ADB, *General Note*, book n.º 788, 166v.

<sup>17</sup> ADB, *General Note*, book n.º 790, 44.

<sup>18</sup> ADB, *General Note*, book n.º 790, 44v.

<sup>19</sup> ADB, *General Note*, book n.º 789, 99; ADB, *General...*, book n.º 790, 44v.

<sup>20</sup> Faria, “Entre o campo e a cidade...”, 181.



### 3. Conclusion

A decisive practice for the maintenance of family nuclei, the phenomenon of endowment went beyond the simple contractual function necessary for the consummation of marriage. To endow, it also implied asserting the interests of the parties involved, not only those of the neighbours, as those of the donors themselves. For these, the pre-established conditions assumed a commitment that guaranteed the stability of their material life and, in turn, an assisted death.

The transmission of material goods, from immovable property to smaller objects, remained static elements that particularized the memory of a specific family group, the size of which could be large or small, according to the reservations that made up the dowry contract, between the various generations. In this context, endowment aided, especially, in the (re)construction of the architecture of the powers and structures of kinship. The demarcation of the property, or the passing of small ornamental pieces between generations, contributed to the "immortality" of the memory of their ancestors, converting the domestic space into a reliquary that preserved the identity of that family.

Finally, the demonstration of the economic power of families could be shown in the inventory of each of the neighbours, in addition to defining the distribution of the assets accumulated by the donors. Not infrequently, the dowry writing emphasized the names of direct or collateral relatives of the bridegrooms themselves, whose interpretation throws two previous considerations: firstly, the phenomenon of endowment extended beyond the proper benefit of the gifted, but involved, if necessary, the interests of close relatives, such as the brothers of the spouses. On the other hand, such a practice predefined the ways of living together and inserting the individuals in the same space, who shared the different stages of life, beginning with cohabitation until the assistance, at the moment of death.

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