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The City: Multifaceted Views

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Leisure, culture and sociabilities in the eighteen hundreds urban space

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

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

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

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

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

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

Born in France in 1895, cinema quickly spread throughout Europe, not only in the big capitals, but also in the province and smaller lands. At the end of the nineteenth century, Minho populations were already watching cinematographic projections.⁵ In 1914, in Arcos de Valdevez, the winter was animated by the cinema sessions, being shown movies like "From America to Europe in airship", "Satanasso", among others, in Teixeira Coelho Theater. In January 1915, the newspaper *Alvorada - órgão do Partido Republicano dos Arcos de Valdevez* informed that films would be shown on the events of World War I, which then plagued Europe.⁶ In the early twentieth century, in Viana do Castelo, capital of the district, and the busiest urban center, the movie sessions took place at Teatro Sá de Miranda, founded in 1879.⁷ In 1918, on Sunday, there were two sessions. There were tapes that had been successful in other parts of the country, such as the "White Pearl", the "Mysterious Weapon", or the "World is a Theater". In the intervals opera pieces were sung. These were cultural activities aimed at the most literate groups in the Viana do Castelo's society. This did not prevent the underprivileged from attending these events, under the patronage of local authorities, who in the context of charitable initiatives, which were advertised in local newspapers, took orphans and helpless old men to the cinema. In that year, the civil governor held a session dedicated to the institutionalized children of the *Asilos de Infância Desvalida e das Meninas Órfãs e Desamparadas* and to the old people who were in the Charity Hospital.⁸ In Viana do Castelo, the cinematographic period ended with the arrival of summer, when the heat invited to meet in open spaces. But in Monção there were summer sessions, which in 1902 were run by Excelsior Company.⁹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Sport Club Vianense* for example, organized horse races. The *Club Valenciano* did lead shooting tournaments in 1907.²⁷ In turn, the Taurino Club organized tauromachic spectacles, like bullfights and *garraíadas* that happened during the celebrations in honor of Our Lady of Agony.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

1. See Agulhon, Maurice, *Le Cercle dans la France Bourgeoise*, Paris, 1977.
2. Read Bernardo, Mariana Ana, *Sociabilidade e Distinção em Évora no Século XIX. O Círculo Ebroense*, Lisboa, Edições Cosmos, 2001.
3. About this theme read Roque, João Lourenço, "Coimbra de meados do século XIX a inícios do século XX. Imagens da Sociabilidade urbana", in *Revista de História das ideias*, vol. 12, 1999, pp. 301-302.
4. About this concept read Jordi Canal, "Maurice Agulhon e a categoria sociabilidade", in *Ler História* [Online], 68 / 2015, posted on March 18, 2016, consulted on June 09, 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/1erhistoria/1780>; DOI : 10.4000/1erhistoria.1780
5. Moraes, Juliana de Mello, "A recepção do cinematografo no Norte de Portugal: algumas hipóteses de investigação", in Lopes, Frederico, *Cinema em Português. IV Jornadas*, Livros LabCom, 2012, pp. 57-66.
6. *Alvorada - órgão do Partido Republicano dos Arcos de Valdevez*, nº 28, January 17, 1915.
7. On the sociabilities of the people of Viana do Castelo read Loureiro, José Carlos de Magalhães, "Espaço e tempo na sociabilidade religiosa urbana. Viana do Castelo na segunda metade do século XIX", in *Cadernos Vianenses*, Tomo 29, Viana do Castelo, Câmara Municipal de Viana do Castelo, 2001, pp. 71-115.
8. *Gazeta do Lima - Órgão do integralismo Lusitano no Alto Minho*, nº 11, May 23, 1918.
9. *O Regional*, nº 72, August 1, 1902.
10. *O Noticioso*, Nº 2:978, Outubro 17, 1911.
11. About this read Roque, Joao Lourenço, "Coimbra de meados do século XIX a inícios do século XX. Imagens da Sociabilidade urbana"... pp. 326-327.
12. Cascão, Rui, "Em casa: o quotidiano familiar", in Vaquinhas, Irene (coord.), *História da vida privada em Portugal. A época contemporânea*, s/1, Círculo de Leitores, 2011, pp. 244-245.
13. *O Noticioso*, nº 2:693, October 13, 1905.
14. On marriage between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries read Lopes, Maria Antónia, "As grandes datas da existência: momentos privados e rituais públicos", in Vaquinhas, Irene (Coord.), *História da Vida Privada. A época contemporânea*, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 2011, pp. 152-193.
15. On this the beach of Vila Praia de Âncora read Ortigão, Ramalho, *As praias de Portugal. Guia do banhista e do viajante*, Porto, Livraria Universal, 1876, p. 111.
16. About this issue read Esteves, Alexandra, "As praias do Norte de Portugal entre os finais do século XIX e o século XXI", in Ramos Melero, Rodolfo; Molleví Bortolóv (eds.), *Los Retos del Turismo: Lecturas, reflexiones y estudios de casos*, Madrid, Delta Publicaciones, 2018, pp. 127-138. Esteves, Alexandra, "Praias, Termas e Caldas do Norte de Portugal no século XIX: espaços de cura e de lazer", in Folguera, Pilar; Pereira, Juan Carlos; García, Carmen; Izquierdo; Pallol, Rubén; Sánchez, Raquel; Sanz, Carlos (eds.), *Pensar com la Historia desde el siglo XXI. Actas XII Congreso de la Asociación de História Contemporânea*, Madrid, Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2015, pp. 279-298. Almeida, Eduardo Paulino Torres e, *Hydrotherapia suas indicações no tratamento das nevroses*, Porto, Typographia Occidental, 1885. Bicho, Francisco Laranja de Castro, *Organização dos Serviços Sanitários em Portugal*, Porto, Tip. da Empresa d' "O Progresso", 1926. Cantista, António Pedro Pinto, "O termalismo em Portugal", in *Anales de Hidrologia Médica*, vol. 3, 2008-2010, p. 84. Duarte, José A., *Hidrologia Médica. Generalidades sobre Águas Thermaes*, Porto, Typographia de Pereira e Cunha, 1891. Fernandes, Alfredo, *Estancia hidro-mineral das Taipas*, Porto, Typ. Da Encyclopedia Portuguesa, 1912. Freitas, Antonio Ignácio Pereira de, *Das águas minerais em geral e da sua aplicação em particular ao tratamento das moléstias cirúrgicas*, Porto, Typographia do Commercio do Porto, 1866. Júnior, A. F. Silva, *Estudo sobre os efeitos physiologicos e therapeuticos dos banhos do mar frios*, Porto, Typographia de Manoel José Pereiram 1874.
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18. Historical Archive of Governo Civil de Viana do Castelo (henceforth HAGCVC), Concelho de Monção. *Estatutos do Club das Termas*, 1922.
19. *O Noticioso*, nº 2:674, June 3, 1905.
20. *O Noticioso*, nº 2:674, June 3, 1905.
21. In the pages of the periodicals the guests of the Great Hotel of Peso were mentioned: "Here is the list of the thermal residents that are staying at the Grande Hotel of Peso: José Maria Pereira;

- D. Teresa Maria da Costa Cosme; D. Maria Gentil da Costa Cosme; Hermínio Soares and lady; Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos; José Alves Carneiro, lady and girls; Padre Manuel Nogueira da Conceição; Jacinto Dias Carneiro; Elias de Andrades Vilares; D. Julia de Andrades Vilares; D. Candida de Andrades Vilares; António Gonçalves da Cunha Taborda maestro of the band of the town hall, Lisboa; Simão José Carneiro, lady and girl; Ezequiel da Silva Guimarães and lady; Paulino de Melo and lady; D. Maria Alina V. Amarante; Manuel Joaquim da Silva Braga; Joaquim Mário de Sá; D. Teotónio Ribeiro Vieira de Castro, bishop of Meliapor; Francisco de Paula Ribeiro Vieira de Castro; Padre Manuel Luís Cabral, secretary of the bishop; D. Maria Isabel Monteiro da Silva; dr. Manuel Cerqueira Machado; João de Castro, lady and girl. There are many rooms ordered for different families, mainly from Lisbon". *O Noticioso*, nº 2:677, June 24, 1905. On the development of these structures read Santos, Miguel Dias, "A evolução do alojamento nos primórdios do Turismo em Portugal: Discursos e Realizações (1800-1906)", in *Revista Rosa dos Ventos - Turismo e Hospitalidade*, 9 (IV), 2017, pp. 506-520. Cunha, Licínio, "Desenvolvimento do Turismo em Portugal: os primórdios", in *Fluxos e riscos*, nº 1, s. d., pp. 127-149.
22. See Nunes, Ana Bela, Valério, Nuno, *Contribuição para a História do Futebol em Portugal*, Lisboa, ISEG, 1996.
23. About the *Assembleia Vianense* read Arriscado, José Augusto, "Sociabilidade burguesa em Viana do Castelo na segunda metade do século XIX: a assembleia vianense", in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*. Porto, III Série, vol. 6, 2005, pp. 271-289.
24. See, about the Carnival of Valença, in 1908, the published article in the *Noticioso*: Let us try to give a list of the names of our kind patricians and guests who deigned to attend and also of the garments with which they presented themselves that for their simplicity and fine taste, caught our attention, reminding us to have seen, among others, the most excellent ladies: D. Narcisca de Oliveira ribeiro, in black; D. Augusta Lima in black, D. Teodolinda Brito in gray, D. Ascensão Sobral black and white blouse, D. Antonia Falcão blouse of pale colors, D. Amália Correia in white, D. Alice M. da Costa in brown and D. Ernestina Frago in gray. D. Isaura de Oliveira Lima very gentle in its green sea garment with cream lace, D. Maria José de Oliveira elegant white silk with silk embroidery, D. Maria Vicencia Falcão, intricate blouse with white embroidery, D. Antonia Falcão in pale blue, D. Antonia Julia Leite Ribeiro de Magalhães, white blouse of valenciennes, D. Sara Sobral in white, D. Maria da Agonia Seixas, white blouse, Dona Maria Isabel Seixas and Dona Carolina Eulalia Seixas, white blouses with red *bretelles*, D. Maria José Lobo, in black, D. Carolina Brito, white blouse, D. Maria de A. Almeida, in pale blue with black embroidery, D. Joaquina Cruz, in white, D. Carolina Augusta Lima in pale blue, D. Julia and D. Berta Fernandes, in white with Valencian *entremeios* D. Julia Passos in rose color, D. Julieta Fernandes in red, D. Mercedes Soares and sister, in white, D. Adriana Gomes in rose, D. Briolanja Frago in dark blue. *O Noticioso*, n. 2:808, January 30, 1906.
25. *O Noticioso*, n 2:662, March 10, 1905.
26. *O Noticioso*, n 2:662, March 10, 1905. About how the royal family celebrated the Carnival read Pereira, Ana Cristina; Troni, Joana, *A vida privada dos Bragança*, Lisboa, Esfera dos Livros, 2011, pp. 250-251. Sobre o entrudo leia-se Crichlow, Michaeline (ed.), *Carnival Art, Culture and Politics: Performing Arts*, New York, Routledge, 2012.
27. *O Noticioso*, nº 2:784, August 29, 1907.
28. Read Muir, Edward, *Fiesta y Rito en la Europa Moderna*, Madrid, Editorial Complutense, 2001, pp. 169-173.
29. Municipal Archive of Arquivo Municipal de Ponte de Lima, (henceforth MAPL), *CMPL-8839 MAÇO II*, unpagged.
30. *Collecção de Leis e outros documentos officiais publicados desde 10 de Setembro até 31 e Dezembro de 1836*, Sexta Série, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1837, p. 11.
31. About the festivities of Our Lady of Agony Martins, Moisés; Gonçalves, Albertino; Pires, Helena, *A Romaria de Nossa Senhora da Agonia. Vida e Memória da cidade de Viana*, Viana do Castelo, Grupo Desportivo e Cultural dos Trabalhadores dos Estaleiros Navais de Viana do Castelo, 2000. Sobre as touradas em Portugal consulte-se Cascão, Rui, "Vida Quotidiana e Sociabilidade", in Mattoso, José (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vol. V..., pp. 539-540.
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no século XIX. O caso da “Quermesse da Tapada da Ajuda” em 1884”, in *Biblos*, vol. LXXII, 1996, pp. 273-291.

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

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