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The Black Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil: A History

by

PATRICIA A. MULVEY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction for the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 13, 1976
date

Harry Bernstein
Chairman of Examining Committee

May 13, 1976
Date

Paul Hiegl
Executive Officer

May 13, 1976
date

Guyny Nabarra

May 13, 1976
date

Ruth Dine

May 13, 1976
date

Bob Armstrong
Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

THE BLACK LAY BROTHERHOODS OF COLONIAL BRAZIL: A HISTORY

by

Patricia A. Mulvey

Adviser: Professor Harry Bernstein

This thesis is an analysis of the membership and functions of the black lay brotherhoods of colonial Brazil. It also includes a comparative study of 165 lay brotherhoods of free blacks, mulattoes and slaves founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Colonial Brazilian society was divided by class, color and ethnic background. Social progress and mobility for blacks and mulattoes was severely limited. "Free blacks did not rise above the middle level of society in civilian, ecclesiastical and military institutions."¹ Access to the upper levels of society was blocked by the white elite. Through the mechanism of a lay confraternity a slave or free man could exert a leadership role in the black community. As a member and officer of a black confraternity, Afro-Brazilians had a legal way to fight against injustice in the church and the slavocratic society of colonial Brazil, since the lay brothers

¹F.W.O. Morton, "The Military and Society in Bahia, 1800-1824," Journal of Latin American Studies, vol. 7, part 2, November 1975, p. 255.

built churches and organized festivals, helped slaves to buy their freedom papers by advancing loans to enterprising slaves and provided legal counsel for slaves in their time of need. Through their disputes with the local parish priests over the use of churches and burial privileges, the black lay brothers asserted the power of the laity within the church which was recently recognized at Vatican Council II.

The social, religious and economic functions of the lay brotherhoods were impressive. They ranged from burying the dead, visiting the sick, praying for the dead, providing dowries, visiting prisoners, bringing them food and taking care of the families of dead and destitute members. Attendance at masses, novenas, benedictions, funerals and festivals was mandatory for all members. Membership and officership carried great social prestige within the black community. Through their confraternities slaves and free blacks could pool their resources for church building, festivals, funerals, buying freedom papers for slaves or fighting against injustice in the courts.

Slaves were the majority of the members of the black lay brotherhoods. Freemen and women played a prominent role as officers and financial backers of the confraternities. The members of the black and pardo militias were active in

the lay brotherhoods. Once a slave gained his freedom papers with the aid and assistance of his lay confraternity, he tended to feel indebted to the association and often gave generous donations to the treasury to enable the black brothers and sisters to carry on their social and charitable works of mercy.

The majority of the black lay brotherhoods were found in the mining boom towns of eighteenth century Minas Gerais which had the largest population in Brazil by the end of this century. Salvador do Bahia, the colonial capital from 1549 until 1763 was the next most popular center for the establishment of lay confraternities. Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco were also important centers for the growth and proliferation of lay brotherhoods.

The Black Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil: A History

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CHAPTER I

THE INSTITUTION OF BLACK LAY BROTHERHOODS: INTRODUCTION: IBERIAN BACKGROUND

The black lay brotherhoods were fraternal organizations of free blacks, African slaves and mulattoes dedicated to religious education and social benevolence in the Iberian peninsula, Spanish America, Portuguese Africa and Brazil. Medieval in origin, modeled on white brotherhoods, these religious organizations provided a wide variety of social welfare services and mutual aid activities not normally performed by the state authorities. Like their white counterparts in the Iberian peninsula, these black sodalities offered certain privileges to their members. They promised their members a decent Christian burial, aid to dependents in time of death, help in time of sickness, the saying of masses and rosaries for the souls of dead brothers, the ransoming of slave members from the bonds of slavery and the right to take part in the religious festivals in honor of the patron saint of the confraternity. These societies of African slaves and free blacks were important institutions providing socially acceptable outlets for the leisure time of their black members. They also were vehicles for the social and religious control of blacks by the ecclesi-

astical and civil authorities. Membership in a brotherhood and election as an officer or king or queen of the religious festivals carried great social prestige in the black community. In a slavecratic society where the masters had almost complete control over their slaves, the black confraternities provided some protection for the slaves and offered an opportunity for newly arrived slaves to fraternize with members of their own tribal nations. Through the mechanism of slave confraternities the religious orders were able to provide some measure of religious education and indoctrination for slaves just nominally baptized without any religious instruction in Africa or on the slave ships.

Historians to-date have not studied the black confraternities in great depth. A study of black brotherhoods provides the historian with the opportunity to view the perspective of the African population since the documents of the confraternities are black sources. Except for the sporadic slave uprisings in Brazil during the colonial period, the historian does not find much information reflecting the attitude of the free black or slave in Brazilian society. Since the African population of colonial Brazil was a poor submerged part of the lower class, often illiterate and uneducated whose activities

were severely restricted by the white authorities, slave confraternities are valuable institutions to study in order to gain insight into the lives of Afro-Brazilians. Through their numerous petitions to the Crown, their lengthy disputes over privileges and the minutes of their meetings the historian is able to understand the inner workings of the confraternities and to learn about the conditions of the blacks in colonial Brazil. This thesis proposes to show that the black irmandades played a significant religious, social and economic role in the lives of the urban black population in Brazil. Through a detailed study of the compromissos, or charters of incorporation of the brotherhoods, it is possible to trace the Iberian origins of the brotherhoods and to gain some knowledge of the tribal membership of each confraternity. Throughout the colonial period the black confraternities struggled for social equality for the black population. In their petitions to the Crown and in their disputes with white brotherhoods, the black lay confraternities provided a platform for black demands and a statement of their social grievances. A study of the activities of the black brotherhoods sheds some light on the conditions of the urban black population and the attitudes of the

Crown, ecclesiastical and civil authorities towards this poor servile population which would aid historians in analyzing race relations in Brazil.

The festivals organized by the black confraternities show examples of religious syncretism and the survival of African cult practices under the guise of Catholicism. African tribal dances, languages and songs were often displayed at religious festivals despite the prohibitions against these practices. Some of the black confraternities may have been fronts for preserving secret African religious practices such as candomblé or macumba (a type of voodoo) which were forbidden by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. In the northeastern state of Pernambuco the black confraternities were composed of the same people who frequented the candomblés. Wherever the black confraternities have existed African religious practices have survived.¹ In many of the brotherhood festivals Kings and Queens were elected to run the ceremonies and to be in charge of certain religious processions. This was an example of the survival of the Congolese and Angolan custom of electing kings and queens for religious festivals. The position of king and queen and their subdelegates were elective posts and were highly coveted positions.² These offices were often held by slaves.

By studying the membership lists and the names of the officers and members of the leading black confraternities it is possible to discover the occupations and social status of the black brothers and sisters. This would supply the historian with valuable information about the occupational level of the black urban population in colonial Brazil.

The existence and survival of the black brotherhoods show the strength and solidarity of African tribal bonds, since many of the confraternities were organized by national or tribal groupings. Black confraternities were an important step in the assimilation or creolization of the African population in Brazil. By the end of the colonial period the majority of the black confraternities were composed of creoles and mulattoes. These creole brotherhoods tended to exclude tribal Africans of Sudanese origin from membership. The existence of brotherhoods in Latin America may have contributed to the greater cultural identity and cohesion of the slaves in Brazil since the religious processions and festivals of the brotherhoods allowed for the retention of African customs, dances, languages and ritual under the guise of Catholicism.

The records of the black irmandades are not as well preserved as the records of the white brotherhoods due to their perennial lack of funds, the widespread illiteracy of the black population, and their poor administration of

their financial accounts and property holdings. Church documents on the brotherhoods were often destroyed by the ravages of time, warfare, natural calamities and neglect. The primary sources for this study are to be found mainly in Portuguese and Brazilian archives. The Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon contains the largest bulk of material on this topic. In this archive there are about fifty compromissos or statutes of the brotherhoods which state in detailed chapters the functions of the officers of the confraria and the religious and social activities of the organization as well as the duties of its members. In the uncatalogued boxes of documents in this archive there are enumerable lengthy petitions of the brotherhoods to the Portuguese crown and the Overseas Council on a wide variety of matters. Some of the petitions request permission to build new churches for the growing black population, to incorporate new brotherhoods, to extend burial privileges to newly formed brotherhoods, to settle disputes between the church officials and the confraternities over the soaring costs of religious services and priestly activities. Other petitions deal with conflicts among rival brotherhoods over burial privileges or precedence in religious processions. The Lisbon Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo contains the largest body of compromissos which provide some insight

into the organization of slave brotherhoods in Portugal and Brazil. Other libraries in Portugal held isolated compremissos. The Arquivo Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional of Rio de Janeiro also contain compromisso material. In Bahia the Arquivo Ecclesiástico, the Biblioteca Publica, and the Santa Casa da Misericórdia have documents on slave confraternities. In some of the colonial churches of Brazil there exist the minutes of the brotherhood meetings as well as an indication of their property holdings, but these church documents are scattered and fragmentary. It is often difficult to gain access to these private collections. The major sources of documentation on the black brotherhoods can be found in the following sources: the minutes of the confraternity meetings, their lawsuits, and their petitions to the High Court and the Crown, all of which are found in the major libraries, churches and archives of both Brazil and Portugal.

Historically the black confraternities emerged in the early modern period in the Iberian peninsula and Latin America to provide spiritual consolation for newly arrived African slaves. They also offered a measure of defense and protection for the slaves. They were mainly cooperative in nature and owe much to the Jesuits and Dominicans for their founding in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Dominican order had special canonical privilege to found lay brotherhoods for the African population in Portugal

and Africa. In the New World this privilege was extended to other religious orders. The Jesuits were especially active in organizing lay confraternities among the African population in Brazil, Colombia and Peru.

These lay brotherhoods were democratically governed. Membership was open to all social classes. It was always possible to belong to a brotherhood despite low social status. There were annual elections for the officers of the brotherhoods. Numerous confraternities were organized under the patronage of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict.³

When the first African slaves began arriving in large numbers into the Iberian peninsula in the fifteenth century, confraternities were created to aid in their conversion. The aristocratic white brotherhoods excluded blacks from their membership. The organization of Iberian society into brotherhoods dependent on social status, color or occupation was a carryover from the medieval practice of organizing society into different estates or guilds. The earliest slave brotherhoods date from the fifteenth century and were found mainly in Seville, Barcelona, Valencia and Lisbon. The religious organization of slaves into brotherhoods in Europe and Latin America was an attempt by the religious orders and church officials to assimilate the slave into

European dominated societies. By giving the slaves a religious role in the confraternities and a place in the religious processions, it was hoped that the slaves would be kept from falling back into pagan religious practices.

From the beginning of the slave trade the monarchs of Portugal and Spain took a paternalistic interest in the African slaves in the Iberian peninsula. The Spanish King in 1401 appointed a free black Juan de Valladolid who was given the title of the Black Count and the office of Mayoral and Juez of all the African slaves in the city of Seville. He was responsible for the slaves' behavior, their disputes, lawsuits, marriages and all their affairs.

The historical antecedents of the Latin American slave brotherhoods can be found in Seville, according to the Spanish chronicler Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga who makes mention of the customary dances and festivals of the African slaves in the Andalusian capital during the reign of King Henry III.⁴ He also noted that the Negro slaves of Seville were treated humanely during this period.

The Kings of Spain were concerned with the religious orthodoxy of their slaves. They approved their organization into brotherhoods for this purpose. In Seville these early confraternities and religious festivals offered some escapes from the rigors of the slave's life. In Seville a hospital

and Cofradía of Our Lady of the Angels were established in the late fourteenth century to serve the black inhabitants of the parish of San Bernardo on the outskirts of the city. The brotherhood of Our Lady of the Angels celebrated its festivals throughout the whole of the eighteenth century. These Sevillian brotherhoods were involved in the famous Corpus Christi processions celebrated annually in that city. The Cofradía de los Negritos took an active part in these processions. The Sevillian blacks were noted for their musical and dancing skills. In 1565 there were about 15,000 black slaves in the Archbishopric of Seville which provided enough of a population to merit organization into a confraternity.⁵

In Spain other slave brotherhoods were found in Valencia, Barcelona, Madrid, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Santa Maria, Jerez de la Frontera and Medina Sidonia. The earliest compromisse of a black confraternity was the Cofradía de los Cristianos Negros of Barcelona which dates from 1455. This cofradía was open to all free blacks, their wives and children, and slaves who were about to be freed by their masters. Small weekly dues were required of each member. The aim of the brotherhood was to increase its members' works of charity

and to encourage their worship of God. They were obliged to help the sick and indigent. Each member had to give some small sum to the brotherhood treasury to be held for their own burial. Each male and female member had to say prayers for the souls of the dead brothers when they entered the brotherhood. The dues of the membership were used for masses for the dead, interment of dead brothers, as a fund to aid the living in time of illness or impoverishment and to pay for the church ornaments which the brotherhood needed. The free blacks of Barcelona like their Sevillian counterparts celebrated the feast of Corpus Christi with a candle lit procession to the Church of St. James. The rules of this confraternity were basically medieval. They were obsessed with obtaining a decent Christian burial which was the chief purpose for the organization of the black cofradías.⁶

In 1472 a Cofradía de los Negros Libertos was established in Valencia. This confraternity had grown out of the religious custom of free blacks of carrying candles in a procession to the chapel of Our Lady in the Monastery of St. Augustine. They organized a brotherhood so they could continue their religious processions and observances without asking for special permission from

the religious authorities each time they wanted to meet.

The rules of this confraternity called for annual elections of four maiorals (chiefs or heads) who would direct and lead the pre-Lenten religious festivals and govern the brotherhood. This confraternity, like many of the slave brotherhoods in Latin America, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary under the invocation of Verge Maria de Gracia. This cofradia also proposed to help their brothers in time of sickness or poverty. They also sought a place to hold their meetings and a royal standard to carry in their religious processions and festivals. According to the research of Miguel Gual Camarena, King Ferdinand of Aragon approved the charter of the brotherhood, with the exception of granting the brothers' complete freedom to meet without the King's or Church's permission.

The existence of a brotherhood of free blacks in Valencia raised questions as to their origin and method of manumission. It is surprising to find a brotherhood of free blacks in Valencia at such an early date since there were very few blacks in Valencia in 1472. These free blacks were of African origin. The forty freedmen who started the confraternity may have been manumitted by their masters or given their freedom as cerarii or cerocensules, a special class of ex-slaves who were freed but had the religious obligation of praying for

their former masters. This type of manumission was frequent in Asturias and Leon at the end of the Middle Ages. Valencian slaves were particularly active in the processions in honor of the kings of Spain. The Spanish slave confraternities played an active role in the religious and festive pageantry of the Church.⁷

From the beginning of the slave trade the Portuguese monarchs encouraged the Christianization of the slaves. The decade of the 1440s marked the beginning of the Portuguese overseas slave trade. The first African slaves were brought into Portugal in 1441 by Antão Gonçalves from the northern coast of Mauritania. At this time the urgent need for workers, manual laborers, and domestic servants in Portugal explained the commotion and enthusiasm with which the slaves were welcomed. In 1437 Prince João II opposed the formation of an overseas empire due to the difficulty of populating the depopulated kingdom of Portugal. In 1444 Portuguese navigators and traders from Lagos returned to the coast of Mauritania and brought back more slaves. Between 1441 and 1448 a minimum of 1000 slaves were imported into Portugal. In the decade of the 1450s at least 700 to 800 slaves were entering Europe annually via the Algarve and Lisbon. In the

second half of the fifteenth century the coast of Guinea. provided a better market for slaves. Using the whole West coast of Africa as a slave market, the Portuguese brought to Europe mainly slaves of Guinean and Congolese origin, including some from Northern Angola. As a result of this flourishing slave trade, by 1551 Lisbon had a population of 9,950 slaves out of a total population of 100,000. In 1620 Lisbon still had a population of 10,000 slaves despite miscegenation and the transfer of the slave trade to Brazil.⁸

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were at least fifteen slave confraternities in Portugal in the major urban areas. Six were located in Lisbon which had the largest percentage of slaves. The Portuguese Crown and the church encouraged slave confraternities to aid in the Christianization of the African slaves which was one of the chief justifications for the slave trade. Why did poor slaves want to belong to confraternities? Undoubtedly the most important function that confraternities performed for their members was providing decent Christian burial. Dead slaves were generally not buried. Their bodies were often tossed in the streets of the cities, or in rural fields or even in dung heaps with little regard for the humanity of the dead slaves. In 1515

King Manuel I was shocked at the disgraceful conditions in Lisbon in regard to the bodies of dead slaves which were left to decay in the streets of the city. He said:

"We are informed that the slaves who die in this city, brought from Guinea, like others, are not buried very well as they should be; their bodies are thrown on the ground in such a manner that they are discovered, in many cases uncovered so that the dogs eat them; a great many of these slaves are thrown in dung heaps ... or in the fields of farms."⁹

The King proposed as a remedy for this situation that communal graves be constructed where quick lime would be used to destroy the bodies. Owners who threw the bodies of their slaves in other places would be fined. The slaves who died in the plague of 1523 were buried in this manner.¹⁰

This lack of adequate burial for slaves became a problem in colonial Brazil. In Portugal and colonial Brazil the black confraternities provided the vital service of burying dead slaves in a decent manner. Destitute blacks were buried at brotherhood expense. In Portugal the kings encouraged the organization of blacks into confraternities because of their concern over the lack of decent Christian burial for slaves. The Church encouraged the creation of lay confraternities among the slaves for purely religious and pious reasons.

Freed blacks and slaves joined confraternities in Portugal as a form of death insurance. However other

religious, social and economic reasons motivated the slaves. Some of the African population in Portugal had been already Christianized by Catholic missionaries in Africa. The baptized slave often arrived in Portugal with a devotion to Our Lady of the Rosary. In the sixteenth century the Dominican missionaries had already spread the belief in the rosary to parts of Portuguese Africa. The newly Christianized African slave may have regarded the rosary as an amulet or good luck charm. There were branches of the Rosary brotherhood in São Tomé, Cabo Verde, Angola, Mozambique, the Congo and India. In light of the popularity of the cult of the Virgin of the Rosary it was not unusual for pious African slaves and freedmen to join confraternities dedicated to this cult.¹¹

Socially the brotherhoods provided meeting places for slaves of the same tribal "nations" apart from the watchful eyes of their masters.¹² Confraternities also had economic importance for their members. They sometimes helped slaves buy their freedom papers by holding the savings of members or by giving loans to the slaves from the treasury of the brotherhood. Confraternities often represented the slaves in lawsuits against their masters. Apart from purely religious motivation, confraternities offered economic and social protection for their

members against the abuses of powerful individuals.

The oldest slave confraternity in Portugal dated from 1460 and was located in Lisbon in the Monastery of St. Dominic. This confraternity was dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary. Composed of free Africans and slaves who came to Portugal already Christianized, the confraternity was governed by free blacks since the compromisso stated: "They agreed that no one who was a slave could be an officer nor have command in the brotherhood, nor a white morisco nor a mulatto nor an Indian."¹³ The compromisso was approved in 1565 and was based on the 1516 statutes of the white brotherhood of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia. It was required that the scribe of the brotherhood be a white man of noble birth. This same rule was imposed on the branches of the Rosary brotherhood in Brazil. This requirement was based on the widespread illiteracy among the black population. This rule was lifted at the end of the eighteenth century for the branches of the Rosary confraternity in Brazil.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Rosary brotherhood in the Monastery of São Domingos was composed of thirty-eight members. There were twelve officers, six major officers and six minor officers. The six principal officers were the procurator general, scribe, treasurer, two stewards and the judge. The six minor

officers were the prince, the king, duke, count, marquis and cardinal. The officers of this confraternity were all freed Africans who were married and at least forty years of age. The procurator general was an educated man who held the degree of licenciado. The scribe was a white man of noble birth. In the compromisso twelve of the members of the confraternity listed their occupations beside their names. Five of the members listed their jobs as laborers. One of the laborers was a worker in the Lisbon corn market. Three members were sailors. Four other brothers gave their occupations as an embroiderer, a tailor, a shipwright and a stone mason. The members of the Rosary brotherhood in the Monastery of St. Dominic were freed adult Africans who worked in Lisbon as manual laborers or skilled artisans. They were a minority of the black population but undoubtedly an elite group among the black community of Lisbon.

Most of the regulations of the compromisso involved the religious obligations and charitable duties of the members of the confraternity. The members of the brotherhood had to attend a high mass together every Sunday of the year. On the feast day of Our Lady of the Rosary each year in July the brotherhood sponsored a religious procession at which the members wore their cloaks and hoods, carried candles and recited the rosary. Elections were

held on this day and alms were collected in the streets of Lisbon. Anyone who disturbed the religious solemnity of the procession would be punished for complaining over the results of the elections.¹⁴

The leading members of the brotherhood had to bring oil and wax for candles to the masses. The officers were elected for one year and could not hold office for more than three consecutive years. The brotherhood also encouraged their lay members to receive the sacraments and attend Sunday mass together. The religious fervor and devotion of the brothers was always encouraged by the lay confraternities.

On February 2 the feast day of the Purification of the Virgin, the brotherhood held their customary religious procession and mass. They gave blessed candles to the Portuguese ships leaving for Africa. These candles may have been used to encourage the baptism of slaves brought to Portugal. Although slaves were required to be baptized in Africa, they often arrived in Portugal without being baptized. Pope Leo X in a papal bull issued in 1513 conceded to the Church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição in Lisbon the right to have a baptismal font for Moslems and blacks who came from parts of Guine, who often died without that sacrament.¹⁵

The most important provisions of the compromisso involved the burying of dead brothers. If a brother or a spouse of a member died, the whole brotherhood accompanied the body to the Church for burial in a candle lit procession. From yearly dues paid by all members, the brotherhood provided for burial, masses for the dead and the candles carried in funeral processions. Poor brothers who died without the necessary money to pay for funeral expenses would be interred at the expense of the brotherhood. Prayers and masses for the dead were always said whenever the brotherhood assembled for religious services. The members of the brotherhood were pledged to help a member if he was sick or in need and would collect alms if the brotherhood lacked the necessary funds to aid sick and indigent brothers.

Under certain conditions this black confraternity would aid slaves in gaining their freedom. However the brotherhood was limited by its financial resources in freeing slaves. The compromisso placed limitations on the confraternity's ability to liberate slaves. The charter of the confraternity noted that the brotherhood was bothered by many slaves who were half free or conditionally free. These slaves wanted the Rosary brotherhood to help them become free. In such cases the

compromisso stated that the brotherhood was not obligated to help free all its slave members, but they promised to help the slaves by speaking in their favor but they would only lend money to those members to whom the brotherhood had great obligation. They limited the funds they would lend to the amount of 500 reis. The brotherhood did not wish to be defrauded in this matter. They expected repayment of the loan. The compromisso further stated that no officer of the confraternity could receive money by himself to help a slave secure his freedom without first getting the approval of the mesa of the brotherhood and giving the slave a receipt for his money. The irmandade clearly imposed limitations on its financial ability to help free African slaves except those who were brothers. Only those members who had performed special services for the brotherhood were given financial assistance.

This particular branch of the Rosary brotherhood gained many privileges from various Portuguese kings which were later applied to other branches of the Rosary brotherhood in Portugal. In 1505 King Manuel I conceded permission to the free female members of the brotherhood to become regateiras or street vendors selling shell fish or herbs and others products in

the markets of Lisbon like the poor white women. Apparently this law was not enforced, since many African women were not allowed to sell their goods in the markets and were forced to sell their goods at the doors of their houses. In 1515 the King reissued permission and the black women were allowed to sell their goods in the plazas and markets. 16

The greater social question that the brotherhood was concerned with was the freeing of slaves. In 1513 the Rosary brotherhood complained to the King that many slaves who were freed in the wills of their masters were denied their freedom by their masters' heirs. In their petition to the Crown the brotherhood sought royal mercy for such slaves so that they could obtain their freedom papers. In 1518 the King allowed the slaves to be freed if they could give financial guarantee of their value. This problem of freeing slaves was a troublesome question which plagued the brotherhoods throughout the sixteenth century. In 1555 another branch of the Rosary brotherhood in Lagos in the Algarve sent a similar petition to João III describing the difficulties that the slaves faced when they were freed by the wills of their owners and the wills were not honored. The king ruled that the corregedor of the comarca or the juiz de fora should make an inquiry into the case, investigating

the wills and the cause of the slave's freedom. However slaves in this case were also required to post a bond proving financial means before they could be freed. The burden of proof in such cases was on the slave's part not the owner's. Black confraternities did represent their slave members in disputes with the authorities over their freedom.¹⁷

In 1521 and 1646 petitions were sent to the Crown by the Rosary confraternity in Lisbon complaining about the injustices committed by the wardens of jails against black women who were the wives of sailors or interpreters who were away on sea voyages and were subjected to night raids by the police searching for fugitive slaves and criminals. In these illegal searches the women were robbed by the police. Kings Manuel I, João III, and João IV ruled that these searches were illegal without an order from the magistrate.¹⁸

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Portuguese kings conceded further privileges to the Rosary brotherhood in the Monastery of St. Dominic. João III in 1549 granted the brotherhood the right to collect alms in the streets of Lisbon. King Sebastião in 1578 approved the right of the confraria to inherit the land of free blacks who were unmarried and died

without heirs. Kings Manuel I, João III, Sebastião and João IV confirmed the right of the brotherhood to receive 500 reis from the slave ships coming from the Costa da Mina.¹⁹ The black brotherhoods gained some funds from the profits of the slave trade!

Other black brotherhoods also obtained royal privileges. In Lisbon the Rosary brotherhood in the Monastery of São Salvador gained royal privileges in 1688 and 1702 that their slave brothers could not be sold outside of Portugal by their masters. Pedro II conceded these privileges to the Rosary confraternity because the slaves complained that they were sold outside of the Kingdom of Portugal without being rescued by the money of the brotherhood since their masters valued their slaves at exorbitantly high prices so that the brotherhoods could not purchase their freedom papers. João V extended the right to receive 500 reis from each ship that came from the Costa da Mina to the Rosary brotherhood in the church of São Salvador.²⁰ By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all branches of the Rosary brotherhood in Lisbon had the same privileges due to the extension of royal privileges. The black brotherhoods of the Rosary in the monasteries of São Domingos, São Salvador, Santíssima Trindade and Graça had the important rights to pay slave owners the true value

for slaves and to ransom slaves who were being sold abroad. By the eighteenth century due to the royal privileges of Pedro II and João V, the black brotherhoods had the right to prohibit their slave members from being sold outside of Lisbon or the Kingdom of Portugal. João V conceded the further privilege to the Rosary brotherhoods that they could ransom slave brothers who were mistreated by their masters.²¹ The alms that the brotherhoods collected were not taxed. In the sixteenth century the officers of the Rosary brotherhood in Évora were exempt from the payment of taxes during their term of office.²²

Charles Boxer in his book on Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire cited the case of a Brazilian slave brought to Portugal by his master, a Mineiro gold miner, who refused to fulfill his promise to free his slave and proposed instead to take him back to Brazil. The enterprising slave joined the Lisbon confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Church of São Salvador whose members enjoyed the privilege of not being sold as slaves for the overseas market. The gold miner went to a Portuguese lawyer to see if he could take the slave to Brazil by some legal trick, but the lawyer was sympathetic to the plight of the slave and admonished the master to free him.²³ This example indicates how an enter-

prising slave used the brotherhood to protect himself from a cruel master.

Lisbon had the largest number of Rosary brotherhoods in Portugal, but slave confraternities were not confined to Lisbon alone. Southern Portugal had branches of the confrarias dedicated to the Virgin in Lagos, Évora, Leiria, Muge, Alcacer-do-Sol, Elvas, Setubal and Moura. Most of the black confraternities in Portugal were founded in the sixteenth century with some exceptions. The branch of the Rosary brotherhood located in the Monastery of St. Dominic was established in the mid fifteenth century. In the eighteenth century branches of the Rosary brotherhoods were established in the Dominican churches of Santíssima Trindade, São Salvador, Penha de França and the convent of Santa Joana. Little is known about most of these brotherhoods other than their location and their date of incorporation. Most of the black confraternities of Portugal were founded in Dominican churches or convents. The majority of the black confraternities existed until the eighteenth century. The abolition of slavery in Portugal in 1761 by the Marquis of Pombal may have removed the social need for black confraternities except for purely religious reasons. However in Lisbon one branch of the Rosary brotherhood did survive until the nineteenth century. The black brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary and the Adoration of the Holy Magi Kings was established in the eighteenth century around

1733. It was originally located in the Hospício of St. Dominic and was later transferred to the Convent of St. Jean. Its nineteenth century compromisso described conditions when the whole membership was free. All the officers had to be blacks except for the position of scribe which could be held by a white man if there were no literate black members. Only six other white brothers were allowed to enter the confraternity. Of the six major officers who signed the compromisso, five were Africans from the Congo and one was a Brazilian from Bahia. Women were admitted to the brotherhood if they were wives of the members. Like the older compromissos there were provisions for saying masses for the dead and burying destitute members at the expense of the brotherhood. The confraternity assisted poor brothers imprisoned for debts. The treasury box of the confraternity was used as a bank or depository for those members who wished to make voyages outside of Lisbon or Portugal. Members could not borrow money without depositing some security equal or double the value borrowed. Members were expelled from the brotherhood for not keeping the secrets of the mesa, for being disobedient, for drinking excessively and spreading public scandal or infamy about the members.²⁴

In Southern Spain many African slaves were introduced by the Portuguese trading ships to meet the demands in that region for manual labor and domestic service. Along the Southern Spanish coast from Gibraltar to the port of Santa Maria confraternities of slaves were established by the black populations with ecclesiastical and royal approval. Many of the *morenos* in Spain had already been Christianized in Portuguese territories. Brotherhoods organized in this area show the familiar devotion to Our Lady of the Rosary so popular in Portugal. The morenos brotherhoods of Cádiz adopted a holy black hermit of the Franciscan order, St. Benedict of Palermo as their patron, even though he was not officially canonized until the eighteenth century.²⁵ Devotion to this holy man was undoubtedly spread by the missionaries anxious to convert Africans. Many brotherhoods in colonial Brazil adopted him as their patron.

In his study of the *morenos'* confradías of Cádiz the Spanish writer Hipólito Sancho de Sopranis discovered seven principal black confraternities in Southern Spain. The oldest brotherhood was located in Jerez de la Frontera and was called the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Reyes. It was established in 1527 and was located in a chapel in the Dominican Monastery of Real Convento de Predicadores.

It existed there until the eighteenth century. The oldest brotherhood in the vicinity of Cádiz was the Cofradía de los Hermanos Morenos del Rosario de Cádiz. It dated from 1590. It was located in the hospital of the Santa Misericórdia and was later transferred to the Hermitage of San Antonio. Another moreno cofradía was established in the port of Santa Maria where the black population was numerous in the late sixteenth century. It was dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict. In Medina Sidonia a slave confraternity was founded in 1645 dedicated to the Holy Name of Jesus. Two more black brotherhoods were created in Cádiz in the mid-seventeenth century. The first was for black slaves and was entitled the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Salud y San Benito de Palermo y Santa Efigenia. It was located first in the church of the Rosary and then later in a chapel in the Dominican convent of Cádiz. The second brotherhood was organized by mulattoes in the mid-seventeenth century and was located in a women's hospital in Cádiz. It was entitled the Cofradía de Mulatos del Santísimo Ecce Homo. In Gibraltar a branch of the brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict of Palermo was founded in the late 1500s or early 1600s.

The brotherhoods of the morenos in Spain had a dual social and religious function. They were motivated by the blacks' desire to help one another and to preserve contacts

among the slave population so they could better defend themselves in their dealings with the white population. Like the Sevillian brotherhoods the moreno brotherhoods of Cádiz paraded in the Corpus Christi processions carrying a standard with the pictures of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict. Sancho de Sopranis noted that the moreno brotherhoods of Cadiz were characterized by poor internal administration and rowdy festivals. They often exhausted their scarce funds in lengthy lawsuits with religious orders and the ecclesiastical authorities over the use of a particular chapels or altars. Some of the moreno brotherhoods admitted white members who acted like "trojan horses" within the brotherhood. Three brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary admitted white members. As the white membership increased and gained control of the brotherhood, the black members were expelled. This was the case of the Rosary branches in Cadiz and Santa Maria where the white brothers expelled the morenos who formed new *cofradías*. The Rosary brotherhood of Cadiz had many disputes with the Dominican order over the *cofradías'* use of the order's chapels and churches. However the morenos of Southern Spain were stubborn in maintaining their religious associations. The civil and church officials were benevolent with these organizations despite their endless litigations and poor

administration.²⁶ At the end of the eighteenth century these slave confraternities tended to disappear entirely from the scene as the blacks were assimilated into Spanish society. Unfortunately a lack of adequate sources prevents further research on the internal social and religious activities of these brotherhoods.

The Spanish American slave confraternities resembled their Spanish counterparts. Black brotherhoods were one of many Iberian institutions transmitted by the Spanish and Portuguese settlers to the New World. The slave confraternities established in black urban communities throughout Latin America were modeled on Iberian medieval confraternities. Because the black population was larger in the Americas, slave confraternities were more numerous there than in Spain and Portugal. The Iberian nations' prior experience in importing and Christianizing African slaves led the colonizers of Latin America to transfer the same lay socio-religious associations of slaves to Brazil and the Spanish American colonies.

What was the relationship between the Portuguese confraternities and the black brotherhoods of Brazil? The Brazilian confraternities were always more numerous than the Portuguese lay brotherhoods due to the greater

size of the African population in the New World. The black confraternities in Brazil were divided by ethnic considerations. There were separate brotherhoods for mulattoes, creole blacks, and tribal Africans in Brazil, whereas the whole black population in Portugal was united together in one confraternity. Brazilian slaves unlike Portuguese slaves were allowed to be officers of lay brotherhoods with their masters' permission. Women had an important role in the Brazilian brotherhoods. They were in charge of the festivals and held at least two offices in the confraternities. Women were members of the Portuguese brotherhoods but were not allowed to be officers. The Brazilian confrarias were involved in a wider range of social activities than their Portuguese counterparts. The building of churches and the granting of dowries were extra activities of the Brazilian lay associations in addition to the customary charitable duties of lay confraternities. The Brazilian brotherhoods of the Rosary were modeled on the older Portuguese associations. They had similar privileges. The crown protected these brotherhoods when there were disputes over privileges and the conditions of slaves. The lay brotherhoods interceded on behalf of the slaves to protect them from illegal abuses and mistreatment by their masters. The various kings of Portugal were favorable and sympathetic to the problems of the Rosary confraternities in Portugal and

Brazil. They conceded royal privileges and protection to them. Black brotherhoods in Portugal were better protected than their Brazilian counterparts because of their physical closeness to the crown. The practice of congregating freed blacks and slaves into lay religious associations was encouraged by the crown and church in Portugal's overseas possessions. Membership in a black brotherhood was a source of aid and comfort to slaves absent in other plantation societies of the Northern European powers.²⁷ The black brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary acted as moral guardians and protectors of the slave population in Portugal and Brazil.

CHAPTER I

Footnotes

¹Roger Bastide, Les Religions Africains au Brasil, (Paris: 1960), p. 74.

²See Appendix G for a picture of the crowning of the King of the Congo by the 19th century European artist and traveler Johan Moritz Rugendas.

³A.J.R. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia 1550-1755, (Berkeley: 1968), pp. 142-143.

⁴Fernando Ortiz, "Los Cabildos Afro-Cubanos," Revista Bimestre Cubana, Vol. XVI, No. 1, enero-febrero 1921, p. 10.

⁵Ruth Pike, "Sevillian Society in the 16th Century: Slaves and Freedmen," Hispanic American Historical Review, No. 3, August 1967, p. 345.

⁶Charles Verlinden, L'Esclavage dans L'Europe Medievale, (Brugge: 1955), pp. 529-530.

⁷Miguel Gual Camarena, "Una Cofradía de Negros Libertos en el Siglo XV," Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragon, Vol. V, 1952, pp. 457-462.

⁸Maurício Goulart, Escravidão Africana no Brasil (Das Origens à Extinção do Trafico), (São Paulo: 1950), p. 7; and cf to A.H. de Oliveira Marques, Historia de Portugal, (Lisboa: 1972), Vol. I, pp. 223, 224, 353, 398.

⁹Victor Ribeiro, A Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, (Lisboa: 1902), pp. 182-183.

"Nos ssomos certificado que os escravos que falleçam nesa çidade, asy dos tractadores de guinee, como outros, nam ssam asy bem soterados, como devem,

nos llugares omde sa llamçados, e que sse llaçam sobre a teerra em tal maneira que fiqua descubertos, ou de todo ssobre a terra sem cousa allguma delles se cobryr, e que os caees os comeem; e que a maior parte destes escravos se llaça no monturo, que estaa junto da cruz q estaa no caminho q vay da porta de Santa C^{sa} p^a santos, e asy tenbem em outros llugares pellas herdades dhy darredor; E que posto que nysso tenhaees provydo com pennas, e provejaees todo ho posiuell, se na remedeia como deue. E p^r que ysto convem de ser m^{to} provido, p^r a coruçã que se segiria da podridã dos ditos corpos, comsyramos q ho melhor remedio sera fazerse huũ poço, o mais fundo que podese ser, no llugar que fose mais comvinhauell e de menos imcomsyniente, no qual se llãçasem os ditos escravos; e que fose llaçado, de tempo em tempo no dito poço, allguma camtidade de call virgem, pera se melhor gastaré os corpos, se escusar o mais que posiuell ffor a dita coruçã; E que a este poço fosse feito ao redor da boca huu cercuyto de parede de pedra e call, e que, q^l q^r, q̃ escravo llamçase ou madase llançar em out^o cabo, saluo no dito poço, pagase huua çerta penna, quall vos bem pareçese: porem vos emcomendamos e mãdamos que llogio nysto emtedaees, e vejaees o llugar que sera mais comvyniete p^a o dito poço sse fazer, e aseentay a penna q se pohera, e todo o q nysso fezerdes nos screvee conpridam^{te} p^a o vermos, e averdes nosa resposta. E emcomẽdamos vos q̃ lloguo nysto etendaees, p^r q ho avemos p^r cousa de m^{to} noço serviço. Scripta em allmeyrim, a 13 dias de novebro de 1515. Rey - p^a a cidade sobre o poço hi se lançaré os escrauos."

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 182-183.

¹¹Antônio Brásio, Os Pretos em Portugal, coleção pelo império, No. 101, (Lisboa: 1944), pp. 9, 75.

¹²Carlos Ott, "A Irmandade do Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos do Pelourinho," Afro-Asia, Nos. 6-7, 1968, p. 122.

¹³Antônio do Rosário de Sousa Carvalho, "Das Confrarias do Rosario," De Primordiis Cultus Mariani, Acta Congressus Mariologici - Mariani in Lusitania Anno 1967 Celebrati, Vol. VI, (Roma: 1970), Chapter 7, see Appendix B.

¹⁴Ibid., Chapters 3 and 16.

¹⁵António Brásio, Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 77-79

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 78, 80.

cf to Pedro A. d'Azevedo, "Os Escravos," Arquivo Historico Portuguez, vol. 1, p. 395, document XIV.

"Eu el Rey faço saber a quantos este meu alvara virem que avendo Respeito ao que dizem na pitação atras escrita os mordomos e confrades dos homens pretos da confraria de nossa senhora do Rosario da villa de laguos ey por bem e me praz que os escravos que na dita villa e em seu termo per testamentos de seus senhores ficarem forros puramente e sem condiçao sendo lhe posta algua duvidal a sua liberdade o corregedor de comarca da dita villa ou o Juiz de fora della que da causa de tal liberdade ouver de conhecer ou que faz parte dos ditos escravos e de cada huu delles for Requerido o faraa laguo poer em sua liberdade pera livremente poder requerer sua justiça dando os taes escravos primeiro fiança segura e abonada per que seus senhores estem seguros de os tornarem a aver com a extemação do serico do tempo que asy estiverem em liberdade quando contra os ditos escravos se detriminar que nam devem daver a dita liberdade e de fazerem detriminar a dita causa no tempo lhe asynaraa o Juiz da causa e o proroguaraa segundo lhe parecer necessario pera despacho final da dita causa noteficoo asy ao dito corregedor e Juiz e a quaaes quer outras justiças a que o conhecimento destto pertencer e lhes mando que cumpram este alvara como se nelle comthem o qual ey por bem que volha e tenha força e vigor como se fosse carta feita em meu nome per mym asynada e passada pella chan cellaria sem embargo da ordenação de segundo livro vimte que diz que as causas cujo effeito ouver de durar mais de hũ anno passem per cartas e passando per alvaras não valham. Bathesar da Costa o fez em lixboa e cinco de fevereiro de mil ____ cinquenta e cinco." (1555) (Privilegios de D. João III, liv. 3, fl. 308 v.)

¹⁸António Brásio, Ibid., pp. 82, 83, 88.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 83-85, 87.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 90-91.

²¹Ibid., pp. 93-96.

²²Ibid., p. 100.

²³Charles Boxer, Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825, (Oxford: 1963), pp. 108-109.

²⁴Compromisso dos irmãos pretos da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario e Adoração dos Santos Reis Magos situado no real convento das religiosas de Santa Joana desta cidade de Lisboa, published in Isaias da Rosa Pereira, Dois Compromissos de Irmandades de Homens Pretos, Arqueologia e Historia, volume IV, (Lisbon: 1972), pp. 32-43, See Appendix D for a copy of the compromisso.

²⁵Hipólito Sancho de Sopranis, Las Cofradías de Morenos em Cadiz, (Madrid: 1958), pp. 6, 7.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 11-14, 19, 43.

²⁷Charles Boxer, Ibid., pp. 108-109.

CHAPTER II

THE BLACK BROTHERHOODS OF SPANISH AMERICA: THE NEW WORLD BACKGROUND

The brotherhood tradition established in the Spanish Indies was encouraged by the Church to aid in the conversion of the African population and to provide religious services for the blacks. The cofradías were dominated by free blacks since slaves could not be organized into gremios or brotherhoods until the mid-eighteenth century. Lay religious associations of free blacks existed in Venezuela, Cuba, Peru and in the Río de la Plata region. The strict local ordinances against unsupervised meetings of slaves restricted brotherhood membership to freedmen and women and discouraged slave brotherhoods until the late colonial period. These religious confraternities of enfranchised blacks were characterized by colorful religious processions and African dances which reveal the survival of African customs and heritage in the New World. The activities of the lay brotherhoods were restricted to cultural and religious activities.

In Cuba the definitive study of the African brotherhoods has been made by the famous Cuban historian Fernandes Fernando Ortiz. In an article entitled "Los Cabildos Afro-Cubanos" he defined the term "cabildo" as associations of

of Negroes located in the city organized on the basis of the different African tribes. These associations held meetings for newly imported Africans in certain houses on their festival days. They commemorated their religious holidays by playing their drums and national instruments accompanied by singing and dancing. The king of the cabildo was usually a tribal chief. In Havana there were about twenty-one cabildos with African names such as Arara, Apapa, el Congo Real, el Mandinga and el Oro. The Cuban cabildo was a Sevillian importation and not an invention of the colonial authorities. The celebration of the feast day of Corpus Christi was an important event for the Cuban cabildos. Like the Sevillian festival, an elaborate procession was organized by the ecclesiastical authorities to commemorate this feast day. The free blacks marched in this procession.¹

The Afro-Cuban cabildos had important humanitarian and social functions. The chief of the cabildo aided his subjects if they were sick, paid the expenses of their burial if they were too poor to pay for the traditional elaborate funerals and used the savings of the cabildo to free old and infirm slaves. Their

pious functions were of a beneficial nature and were very similar to the medieval brotherhoods, the Iberian cofradías and the Brazilian confraternities of the Rosary. The Cuban cabildos tended to free those slaves whose morality and good conduct made them worthy of obtaining brotherhood funds which were gained from cabildo meetings and dances. Since there were numerous brotherhoods in Cuba relying on the collection of alms and monthly dues, the cabildos probably freed only a minority of the slave population. The brotherhoods in Spanish America were undoubtedly poor and had a precarious existence. A rare few accumulated land and rich endowments, but since the black population was a poor servile class, only through cooperative effort and numerous activities did they remain alive. The Cuban clubs raised money from the dances which ended their meetings and their festivals.²

In the eighteenth century almost all the cabildos in Cuba had their own club houses or were attached to various parish churches. Most of the African cabildos were located in the central district of old Havana. But due to the noise and commotion caused by their festivals certain government ordinances in 1792 and 1841 forced the cabildos to move to the edge of Havana near the walls of the city. Some of the cabildos withdrew from Havana

to the countryside or smaller villages where they faced less harassment. The government edict of 1841 specified that the cabildos must celebrate their festivals only on Sundays and feast days. The edicts of 1792 and 1835 also restricted their religious celebrations and dances to certain hours on holy days and Sundays. There were prohibitions against excessive drinking at the festivals and selling liquor. In 1792 the government prohibited the Africans from combining secular activities such as their tribal dances with religious services like funerals or church processions.³

The religious manifestations of the Afro-Cuban cabildos gave clear evidence of religious syncretism. According to Fernando Ortiz "African religion was the soul of the cabildo" and the African tribal dances were central activities. The civil and religious authorities did not approve of the religious syncretism of the cabildo meetings. They tried to regulate their activities by restricting their dances to a limited number of hours. The edict of 1792 permitted dancing from 10 A.M. until 2 P.M. and from 3 P.M. to 8 P.M. Any extension would result in fines. The government officials hoped to restrict the celebrations to reasonable hours and to discourage the excesses which resulted from long celebrations.⁴

The exhibition of African fetishes in public was prohibited early in the colonial period by the religious authorities who saw this as a heretical practice and incompatible with Catholic religious principles. The blacks resolved this problem simply by adopting as a patron some Catholic saint to whom the Africans transmitted all the power of their fetish. A picture of the Catholic saint was painted on the standard or banner of the brotherhood. In the early colonial period the cabildos went out into the street in procession on the festive days with their images, drums and other musical instruments. The Afro-Cuban cabildos were similar to clubs and their processions were like modern day parades.⁵

Besides incurring the ire of the civil authorities for the noise and rowdiness of their dances and festive celebrations, the ecclesiastical officials showed concern over the religious laxity of the African cabildos. One particular Bishop who tried to make the African religious customs conform more closely to Church doctrine was Pedro Agustin Morel de Santa Cruz. In 1755 he condemned the African dances and excesses of the cabildo as "extremely torrid and provocative" and fundamentally sinful. The other clergymen and civil officials in Cuba cautioned him to subdue his criticisms as they regarded the African

cabildos as harmless outlets for the leisure time of the slave population. But the Bishop declared:

"not being satisfied with similar scruples, I attempted the gentle method of going by turns to each of the cabildos, to administer the sacrament of confirmation, and praying the Holy Rosary with those of that gremio, before an image of Our Lady which I carried with me. Concluding this act, I left the image in their houses, charging them to continue with their worship and devotion."⁶

The Bishop tried to inculcate Christian religious principles in the slaves and freed blacks. He decided to gently eradicate African secular practices by sending priests to each of the cabildos to teach Christian doctrine. He chose a particular title of the Virgin as a patroness of each cabildo, giving them her image and appointing a priest for each cabildo. He further recommended that the clergymen who were working with the blacks learn the various African languages so they might better instruct the slaves in the principles of Christianity. The Church in Cuba and elsewhere in Latin America created cofradías to help assimilate the African slaves and to tie them more closely to the Church. Other clergymen did not follow his directions and the cabildos with their syncretistic practices were tolerated by the Church and the state until the nineteenth century.⁷

For the African population in Cuba the feast day

of the Epiphany was the high point of the Church festivals during the Christian liturgical year. Because of the religious tradition that one of the three Wise Men was a black man, the African slaves and freed blacks in Latin America felt a close identification with this religious holiday on January 6th. The traditional Afro-Cuban festivities on the "Dia de Reyes" presented one of the most colorful and enthusiastic scenes of colonial Cuban life.

The Afro-Cuban cabildos under the leadership of the free blacks helped to organize the day's festivities. The Cuban writer Ramon Meza described the enthusiasm generated by the festivals of the day of the kings:

"From the first dawning of the day, the monotonous rhythm of those large drums made of a hollow tree trunk ... can be heard everywhere. The domestic servants leave the houses very early in the morning; and the workers from the surrounding plantations go: some, crowding the rear cars of the railroad: other, piled in the narrow carts which carry the enormous sugar barrels, and not a few on foot. All go to join their respective cabildos which are led by the chief, generally the eldest of the tribe or nation to which they belong."⁸

Although not all the Afro-Cubans joined the cabildos, the festival of the Epiphany was an enthusiastic celebration

by the whole black population who exchanged gifts on that day. The highlight of the festival was the "tango," small groups of people who played drums, horns and sang songs. The dances performed during the festivals of the three Wise Men were called "Los Tangos de Diablitos." This festival captured the interest and attention of foreign travelers to Cuba. The celebration bears great resemblance to the Brazilian festival of the Kings of the Congo organized by the black brotherhoods. For one whole day all the Afro-Cubans celebrated with wild frenzy and fanatical zeal commemorating the feast day of the Epiphany through their African traditional songs and dances. Blacks came from the sugar plantations into Havana or the nearest city to abandon themselves in wild celebrations based on African customs. No other festival was so important to the black population of Cuba.⁹

Fernando Ortiz investigated the origins of the Afro-Cuban religious feast day of the kings. Cuban tradition adopted Melchior as the African-born Magus. There appeared Afro-Cuban associations under the patronage of this legendary figure entitled "Los Congos reales del Santo Rey Melchor." Similar brotherhoods dedicated to one of the wise men were found in the Río de la Plata area. In the gospels and historical tracts some writers refer to the black king

of the Magi as Melchior, others as Balthasar or Gaspar. The legend of the black king only began to appear in the images of the fifteenth century when African slaves were introduced in large numbers into Christian towns in the Iberian peninsula. By making the three Wise Men represent the three important races of mankind -- Caucasian, Negroid and Oriental -- the Magi symbolized the presence of the whole world at the crib of Christ. In Cuban folklore there is a similar legend of the three Johns who were three sailors to whom the Virgen del Cobre appeared. One was an old white man, another a young Indian and the third was a black youth.¹⁰

The day of the Kings was also a time in the Spanish colonies of the New World for tribute to be paid to the Viceroys and Spanish officials. Presents were given to the Kings' representatives on this day. In other Spanish colonies the feast day of the Epiphany was an occasion for the slaves to give gifts to their masters.¹¹

Sociologists have concluded that the Afro-Cuban festivals of the kings and the Brazilian festival of the Congo were derived from African festivals in honor of their tribal kings. On January 6th a masquerade of Negroes imitated the Egungun cult which was presented annually in Havana and the small villages of Cuba. The Egungun cult was danced in Cuba by the Yorubas.

Witchcraft existed among the Afro-Cuban population, and its traces appeared in the religious festivals on the day of the Kings especially in the dances of the Yoruba cult known as Egungun characterized by masquerading devils. The Afro-Cuban cabildos through their participation in public processions revived their most important African festivals.¹²

Negroes always participated in all public festivals and popular ceremonies alongside the whites. The town council of Havana ordered in 1573 all the free blacks to help in the Corpus Christi celebration with "invenciones y juegos," like the craft guilds of tailors, carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths and shipwrights. Masks of the devil appeared in religious processions in Puerto Rico, Cuba and Spain. In Cuba during the Corpus Christi celebrations "diablitos or diablillos" were exhibited in the processions. In the cabildos under the guise of Catholic festivals African rites and idols appeared. According to Fernando Ortiz the Afro-Cubans retained their African fetish practices and hid them behind their Catholic religious practices. The witch always had Catholic saints on her altar and said prayers. She copied the outward practices of Catholicism with African spiritualism at the source. Some of the Cuban brotherhoods were outgrowths of African spiritual sects. The Society of the Congos of

St. Gabriel was nothing more than a degeneration of a "cofradía bruja." These Afro-Cuban cults were very similar to the Brazilian spiritualist cults such as the candomblé or macumba involving dances and prayers which ended with the spiritual possession of the priestess of the cult.

Fernando Ortiz concluded that:

"...The brotherhoods were nothing more than the organization of the faithful subjects of the witchdoctor who by chance assisted at the mass of the white priest, before the same images which he worshipped then in another manner."¹³

The Afro-Cubans had to practice their religious cults in secret because of their fear of possible persecution by the Inquisition. Only the cimarrones had the freedom to practice their cults openly because they lived outside of the jurisdiction of the civil and religious authorities.¹⁴

After 1792 the civil authorities, perhaps instigated by the religious officials, restricted the activities of the black brotherhoods. The abolition of slavery in 1880 marked the decadence of the cabildos. Fernando Ortiz felt that had the cabildos been maintained in their original form as semi-religious organizations (half African and half Catholic) their mutual aid activities would have benefitted the newly freed slaves in the difficult period after emancipation. In a series of government ordinances from 1877 to 1888, the Cuban government tried to impose religious orthodoxy on the

African cabildos. In 1887-1888 the Cuban Governor Rodriguez Batista curbed the secret societies of the Nanigos, since he wanted to regulate the activities of all the cabildos, insisting they adopt a Catholic name and a saint as patron of their societies. He tried to create a new brotherhood network more closely tied to the Church.¹⁵

The government of Cuba in the late nineteenth century forced the cabildos to become secular associations. But it was difficult, almost impossible, for these African brotherhoods to adapt themselves to modern forms of association. The cabildos did not survive in the modern era, but their African fetishes did survive. The government proposal to transform the cabildos into modern societies was a failure. The cabildo disappeared from the Cuban society scene and with it went whatever social services it had performed: the mutual aid, the security against illness and the noisy dance of the drums. Only the cult of African spiritualism and fetishism remained in secret under the disguise of the Catholic cult of the saints.¹⁶

The Cuban cabildos were African social clubs with religious aspects. Through membership in the religious brotherhoods and participation in the religious processions the black masses were provided with a vehicle of social expression and community development. African cult practices

survived in Cuba because of the shortage of priests among the slave population outside of Havana.¹⁷ Since the Catholic Church in many Latin American colonies in the colonial period prohibited the slaves and discouraged the blacks from entering the secular clergy or the religious orders, due to the stigma of slavery and the stain of illegitimacy, the black population was eager to become lay brothers since this was the only position within the Church structure open to religious and devout blacks. Herbert Klein in his study of Cuban slavery suggested that the Church provided mobility for the blacks.¹⁸ This idea has been contested by other authors. Roger Bastide's thesis that the Church utilized the religious brotherhoods as instruments of social control over the black population seems a more plausible explanation than Klein's theory since the Church excluded the blacks from entering the religious orders during most of the colonial period. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was some slackening of this color barrier and bias against black clergymen especially since there was a shortage of priests in many parts of Latin America. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Indies the ecclesiastical authorities permitted non-whites to enter the religious orders.

Among the Spanish-speaking colonies of Latin America

Peru had the most slave confraternities. Even in Peru where Indian culture was dominant slave brotherhoods existed. There were a total of twenty-two black brotherhoods in Peru. Most of the confraternities were located in Lima. Religious brotherhoods were popular institutions among the African population. Undoubtedly they provided their black members with a sense of solidarity and social standing in the larger community. In colonial Peru cofradías were organized for the native Indian and African populations to insure preservation of Catholic religious customs and beliefs. The earliest black sodality dated from the 1540s. It was founded in Lima and was dedicated to the Most Holy Sacrament. Most of the Peruvian brotherhoods were founded by religious orders and the secular clergy.¹⁹

The colonial authorities were suspicious of the black sodalities. In the mid-sixteenth century the town council of Lima complained that the meetings of the black brotherhoods were planning sessions for crimes, rebellions and occasions for excessive drinking on the part of the members. A royal ordinance in 1602 required that local prelates be in attendance at all meetings and religious activities of the brotherhoods to prevent abuses and excesses. However, there is little evidence that the black sodalities of Peru

were engaged in plotting crimes and black rebellions.²⁰

Another royal ordinance in 1603 noted the lack of religious instruction for the growing Negro population of Peru and advised the Jesuits to use feast days when the slaves were not working as occasions for teaching religious dogma to the blacks. They were also encouraged to station three or four priests in the black barrios of Lima to provide religious services for the African slaves. In the early seventeenth century there were about 20,000 slaves in Lima alone and this number grew during the century. There were never enough clergymen to deal with this growing population. The sodalities were vehicles for religious evangelization.²¹

The Catholic Church was one of the strongest organizations of social control in Peru. Its missionary work grew in the seventeenth century among the slaves causing a proliferation of black brotherhoods in all the parishes of Lima. The cofradía appeared clearly as a social institution protecting and guiding the leisure time of the black slaves and allowing them to express their African cultural values in their religious festivals.²²

In 1580s the city council of Lima gave the black and mulatto sodalities permission to perform their traditional dances on feast day of the Holy Sacrament.

In the early 1600s the Jesuits and Dominicans founded black brotherhoods for the slaves of Lima. The first Jesuit confraternity in Lima was made up of 100 members. The purpose of the confraternity was to provide religious instruction for the membership on Sundays and to perform such spiritual and corporal works of mercy as visiting the sick, burying the poor, and feeding needy prisoners in the jails. By 1620 there were fifteen sodalities for blacks and pardos in Lima. There were two brotherhoods for blacks and mulattoes in Callao. Undoubtedly brotherhoods also existed for the black population of Arequipa. Most of the black brotherhoods in Peru were poor and relied on alms and dues as their chief source of income. The brotherhoods of San Bartolome in Santa Ana parish and Los Remedios in San Marcelo parish complained of poor attendance and lack of interest among its members. The Franciscan brotherhood of Los Reyes was famous for the elaborate splendor of its religious ceremonies and was the richest confraternity in Lima.²³

The black confraternities of Lima were often organized along African tribal lines. This was due to the practice of the missionaries in the sixteenth century since it was easier to instruct slaves of the same tribe in the rites and dogma of Catholicism due to the linguistic and

cultural difficulties in converting the Africans. By the seventeenth century most of the confraternities were creolized. Ethnic divisions however persisted in Lima. For example, the Jesuits sponsored confraternity which was open to all blacks and mulattoes in the sixteenth century. By the mid-seventeenth century the confraternity had split into three branches: one for Peruvian-born blacks, another for Peruvian-born mulattoes, and a third for tribal Africans.²⁴

The black sodalities of Lima were urban institutions flourishing among the household servants, free artisans and peddlers who had the leisure time and income to participate in the activities of the confraternity. Membership in the Peruvian black brotherhood was restricted to a black elite and was not possible for all slaves and free blacks.²⁵

Some slaves were helped in gaining their freedom through their ties to the religious brotherhoods. In 1625 a female slave and her son were freed by the officers of the black confraternity of Nuestra Señora de los Reyes.²⁶

Besides religious festivals and freeing slaves, burying the dead was an important service of the black sodalities. Alonso de Sandoval, the Spanish Jesuit who worked among the slaves of Cartagena, described slave

masters who freed their sick and elderly slaves to escape payment of medical and burial expenses. He noted that burial expenses of freedmen often fell on the ex-slave's confraternity.²⁷

In colonial Lima slave funerals were well attended. The colonial authorities complained that in the seventeenth century many free blacks were squandering their money on lavish funerals. In this same period there were examples of white discrimination against blacks in the burial of the dead. In 1614 a Church synod ruled that blacks and mulattoes could not be buried in the cathedral of Lima. In the same year the city council of Lima "prohibited the use of coffins by Africans as a grave affront to the superior status of the Spanish and the Church made no protest."²⁸ In Peru as in Brazil free blacks and mulattoes often willed money, property, furniture and jewelry to their confraternities on their death showing the importance they attached to their black sodalities.²⁹

The mother of the Peruvian Saint Martin de Porras was a member of the Rosary Cofradía of pardos which was established in the Dominican church in Lima. Perhaps influenced by his mother's devotion to this confraternity, Martin took vows as a brother in the Dominican Convent of Nuestra Señora del Rosario in 1603 at the age of 24.³⁰

The black confraternities played an important role in assimilating the African born slaves and in preserving African culture and language. The slave brotherhoods played prominent roles in the public festivals and processions of Lima enhancing the cultural life of colonial times.³¹

Two Venezuelan historians, Juan Pablo Sojo and Miguel Acosta Saignes, have studied the cofradías of Africans in Caracas. In his research Juan Pablo Sojo stressed the communal activities of the brotherhoods, noting their involvement in church building, cooperative agriculture, construction of houses and buying the freedom papers of their slaves brothers.³² Acosta Saignes in 1955 discredited Sojo's thesis for its lack of adequate documentary evidence to support his hypothesis. Slave brotherhoods existed in colonial Caracas and elsewhere in Venezuela but they were not involved in redeeming slaves or constructing homes for their members as Sojo had suggested.

The freepardo brotherhoods took an active part in the festivals of Christmas and Corpus Christi where they appeared with the representatives of their African kings and queens. The black sodalities were involved in funeral processions when they accompanied the bodies of their dead members to the church for the funeral mass and

interment. The black sodalities of Caracas were involved in pious religious practices such as saying the rosary and attending the religious services of the Church. Caracas had ten or more confraternities of slaves, free blacks and mulattoes. Miguel Acosta Saignes studied the documents of these brotherhoods in the Archivo General de la Nacion. He noted that their activities were primarily festive and cultural in nature. Their dances and religious festivals were influenced by their African cultural background especially the famous dance of Los Diablos de Yare which was performed during their processions.³³

To establish a brotherhood in the colonial period and to elect a mayordomo of the confraternity, permission of the bishop was needed. The Council of Trent urged bishops to visit the brotherhoods established in the churches of their diocese looking over their elections and account books. A license was also needed for holding public festivals.³⁴

The Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento was founded in Caracas in 1585 in the Church of San Mauricio. It was composed of free morenos who paid a small entrance fee and had the right to collect alms on every Sunday of the year. This brotherhood was made up of twenty-four brothers who gave alms and participated in the

annual elections of officers. In 1688 in the same church a second black sodality was organized dedicated to St. John the Baptist. This sodality was composed of tribal Africans who were free men of the Tari nation. In their sodality they preserved the cult of Sts. Sebastian and Maurice. In 1688 the Cofradía de Virgen de Guía was installed in the same Church. This devotion to the Virgin grew out of the legendary experiences of a captain on a ship bound from Vera Cruz to Maracaibo. A storm caused the ship to lose its way. While floundering in the stormy sea, the captain of the ship found a chest floating in the water which contained the image of the Virgin. Shortly thereafter the wind led them to the port of Guaira. Since the word "guía" was written on the chest, the statue was given the name La Virgen de Guia and was presented to the Church of St. Maurice where a brotherhood was founded under her patronage.³⁵

The morenos of the Tari nation made up the majority of the membets of the brotherhood of San Juan Bautista founded in 1611 by free blacks and slaves. In colonial times this brotherhood was composed almost entirely of slaves. Some free blacks secured membership in more than one brotherhood in Caracas. Miguel Acosta Saignes gave an example of a black brother who was a mayordomo of the sodalities of San Juan Bautista and La Virgen de Guía.³⁶

There were two classes of black brothers within the Caracas confraternities: tributarios and redimidos, taxpayers and redeemed, depending on the wealth of the members and their status in colonial society. Rich free brothers who were taxpayers paid higher dues than slaves or newly freedmen. Like the Brazilian confraternities, the Venezuelan sodalities were obliged to provide a coffin for indigent dead brothers and to accompany the body to the Church for burial. The cofradías of Africans also offered help in times of sickness. When a brother was found to be dangerously ill, his fellow brothers would watch over him and care for him until he recovered or died.³⁷

During election time the whole brotherhood would assemble in Church and vote secretly for the offices of protectors, mayordomos, procuradores and diputados who would elect a second mayordomo and treasurer in the presence of a ecclesiastical judge and notary.³⁸

By the end of the eighteenth century Miguel Acosta Saignes found that the brotherhoods of Africans had accumulated considerable wealth considering their poor origins. They owned real estate, houses, money and jewelry which pious people had donated to the brotherhoods during their lifetime or in their wills. The

cofradías of San Juan and Nuestra Señora de Guía were among the wealthier brotherhoods of colonial Caracas. However their income was hurt by the royal taxes levied on their wealth in 1798, 1804 and 1808.³⁹

The records of the Cofradía of San Juan Bautista in 1810 indicated that the ecclesiastical authorities attempted to curtail and condemned the noisy African dances and drums which were used by the brotherhoods in the church during the processions of St. John and the Virgin as being out of place in a house of worship during a purely religious festival. Similar religious prohibitions against African religious practices were found in Cuba and Brazil in the colonial era. In Venezuela in 1793 the royal governor, at the insistence of the ecclesiastical tribunal, issued an auto-da-fé as the penalty for those who practiced the custom of dancing and playing drums at religious festivals. The Church tried to root out the African customs of the brotherhoods during the religious processions. However these laws were not always strictly enforced due to the popularity of these African customs among the white population. The dance of Los Diablos of Yare escaped the condemnation of the Governor and was preserved until modern times.⁴⁰

The African cofradías in Venezuela exhibited syncretistic

religious practices in their religious festivals. Some of the sodalities were grouped according to their tribal background. Others were composed of slaves and free blacks without any tribal distinction. Their social function was to maintain black religious solidarity. They performed the principle Christian works of mercy of visiting the sick and burying the dead.⁴¹

African influence on the confraternities was most apparent in the celebrations of Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and Christmas. Their songs and dances owed a great deal to the African cultural background. The blacks in the Venezuelan brotherhoods danced before the statues of their African saints and secretly venerated their gods of thunder, fertility and freedom. Colonial prohibitions against these dances caused them to disappear in Caracas except in the interior of Venezuela where the drums continued to resound during festival times. Some of the modern Venezuelan fiestas of locos and diablos show the survival and maturation of African syncretistic practices since the colonial period.⁴²

The presence of slave and pardo brotherhoods in Venezuela gives an indication of the racial stratification of Spanish American society. White brotherhoods obviously excluded blacks thereby forcing the blacks to organize their own separate religious associations. In the Church

the white people had special cushions to kneel on which could not be used by the black population. Although the privileged casta preserved their special rights, a special feeling toward caste was maintained within the confraternity, allowing all races to join the confraternity, breaking with the caste limitations imposed by the Spanish crown.⁴³ The black sodalities of Venezuela were open to a broader segment of the population than the white brotherhoods and probably included a few poor whites or mulattoes in their membership. Like the Brazilian brotherhoods, the Venezuela confraternity had a more democratic membership than the confraternities of the white elite.

Black confraternities also existed in the Río de la Plata region of South America. The slaves of Argentina and Uruguay organized cofradías and macumbas which showed Brazilian cultural influence due to the Brazilian cultural influence due to the Brazilian slave importations into that area. As was customary elsewhere the slaves in the Río de la Plata region practiced their African dances and songs known as the candombe under the guise of their Catholic saints. The black St. Benedict of Palermo was a popular saint among the slaves and free blacks of the Río de la Plata area. He inspired their dances, brotherhoods and religious cult practices. A statue of St. Benedict was worshipped in the Church of San Francisco

by the Negro porteños. The titular head of the black cofradías was an old man called a padre or tata. Each cofradía had distinct dances, songs and drums according to their tribal origins. The African deity Aguará was worshipped on Sundays during the month of October as the Christian patroness Nuestra Señora de Peña.⁴⁴

In the porteño candombes the Africans were accustomed to electing kings and queens who presided over their festivals, who maintained order, collected alms to bury the dead and to help the sick. The African brotherhoods exhibited their fetishes on their festival days. They were involved in mutual aid by helping needy brothers by advancing loans to start jobs as peddlers of sweet cakes.⁴⁵

The enslavement of the Africans and their forced migration to the New World had destroyed their primitive social organizations. The blacks in South America, subconsciously tried to reconstruct their older African communities. The creation of brotherhoods and other types of associations were organized wherever Africans existed in large numbers and was an attempt to re-establish their traditional social forms of organization. Through the mechanism of brotherhoods the slaves preserved their music, their instruments and the remnants

of their African culture. In the religious brotherhoods their musical instruments had liturgical value and primitive social use. Each cofradía had its characteristic dances and songs according to tribal origin. The Congolese, Mozambiques, the Mandingas and the Minas were important cultural influences in the Río de la Plata area.⁴⁶

The dances of the porteño Negroes were known as the candombe and were similar to the macumba of Rio. They were usually performed on Sundays in colonial Buenos Aires. These dances were also performed during certain festivals especially at carnival time. The Argentine dictator Manuel de Rosas encouraged the candombes which were performed on Sundays and at carnival times during the nineteenth century. The brotherhoods of St. Benedict were also executing African dances during festival time. These dances fell under the suspicion of the colonial authorities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Viceroy in 1806 prohibited the African dances and drums as indecent. Those Negroes who violated this decree were punished with 200 lashes of a whip. In a 1788 complaint by the Attorney General to the cabildo of Buenos Aires the African dances of the brotherhoods were condemned as obscene, indecent and sensual exhibiting offensive gestures to God which would be ruinous to the souls of faithful Christians.⁴⁷

However, despite these pronouncements, the old liturgical dances continued to be displayed on religious and patriotic holidays.

Some historians believe that there was a strong connection between the Río de la Plata candombe, the Brazilian candomblé and the Afro-Cuban cabildos. These African associations had a similar festive purpose, they shared the custom of mutual aid and similar religious organization. There are stronger parallels between the Cuban cabildos and the candombes of the Río de la Plata than with the Brazilian candomblés. It would be an error to derive the rioplatense candombe from the Brazilian candomblé. It would be an error to derive the rioplatense candombe from the Brazilian candomblé. The main difference between these two institutions lies in their different tribal origins. The Sudanese cultural influence was paramount in Bahia while the cultural traits of the Río de la Plata blacks were derived from the Congo.⁴⁸

The saints of greatest devotion among the Río de la Plata blacks were St. Baltazar in Montevideo and St. Benedict of Palermo in Buenos Aires. The cult of St. Benedict was transmitted through Angolan and Congolese fetishes. In the worship of these two black saints religious syncretism was always present. In Buenos Aires

there existed a black brotherhood called the Cofradía de Animas Negra which worshipped at an altar dedicated to San Baltazar in the parish of Piedad. In 1785 this brotherhood petitioned the religious authorities for permission to have their own chapel in order to celebrate their religious festivals.⁴⁹

There were only about 50,000 African slaves in Uruguay. Slaves were introduced into the colony of Sacramento late in the colonial period during the years 1743 until 1791. The majority of these slaves were brought by Portuguese traders. Only a minority of the Afro-Uruguayan population came directly from Africa. The majority were re-exported from Brazilian ports into Sacramento. Since Uruguay did not have a plantation type of economy, the slaves were used mainly as domestic servants, construction workers and artisans. The slave population of Uruguay was predominantly urban. Since most of the African slaves imported into Uruguay were baptized ladinos (a Negro who spoke the language of his master) imported from Brazil or Spanish America, they rarely exhibited fetishes or the Islamic religions of newly enslaved Africans. Religious practices of African origin such as fetishism or magic had little effect on the customs of the Negroes of Uruguay. These were no

African cults or voodoo houses in Montevideo. Superstitions of African origin were rare in the Río de la Plata region. The most popular was that of Mandinga, the black devil. "If there were African people who arrived in the Río de la Plata as adorers of Xango or Ogun, they hid it very well with their fidelity to Catholic devotion." However many of the black colonial dances were inspired by African customs and cultural practices. On January 6, the feast day of the kings, the African brotherhoods of Buenos Aires and Montevideo elected kings and queens and performed their customary tribal dances with great skill. Sundays, Christmas, New Years', Corpus Christi and the feast day of St. Benedict were also important festive days when African dances were exhibited publicly. The feast day of the Epiphany was the occasion for the most brilliant celebrations by the blacks in Montevideo and Buenos Aires. The black Magus was venerated in altar in the churches of both cities. Parades and processions were organized on January 6th. In June during the feast of Corpus Christi cofradías of black bricklayers, tailors and shoemakers marched in the religious processions. In 1807 and 1809 decrees of the colonial cabildo of Montevideo outlawed the African tribal dances commonly

performed on religious holidays, causing them to disappear entirely after the wars of independence.⁵⁰

Caracas, Havana, Lima, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro were thriving centers for the growth of lay religious associations in Latin America. Black brotherhoods existed in the leading urban centers of Ibero-American civilization which had a large African population. Confraternities were a source of spiritual comfort and material aid to slaves and free blacks living in a caste-ridden and hostile colonial society. Sodalities were forms of religious kinship in the parishes of the Latin American cities but they also served as social clubs which provided mutual aid, social welfare and charity programs.⁵¹ They provided a rich and personal ritual life for blacks which allowed them to preserve certain aspects of their African culture. The religious festivals of the sodalities offered a ceremonial expression for the black population which encouraged the development of religious syncretism in their worship of Catholic saints and their African gods and goddesses. Through the religious ceremonies of the black sodalities the slaves and freedmen and women gained badly needed social prestige. Religious festivals provided needed outlets for social life and recreational activity. Black brotherhoods allowed the excluded black population

to actively participate in the religious life of the
Church and the cultural life of colonial Latin America.

CHAPTER II

Footnotes

¹
Fernando Ortiz, "Los Cabildos Afro-Cubanos," Revista Bimestre Cubana, Vol. XVI, No. 1, enero-febrero 1921, pp. 5, 8.

²
Ibid., pp. 15, 19, 16.

³
Ibid., pp. 17, 18, 20, 19.

⁴
Ibid., p. 20.

⁵
Ibid., pp. 18, 19, 20.

⁶
Herbert S. Klein, Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba, (Chicago: 1967), p. 100.

⁷
Ibid., pp. 100-101.

⁸
Fernando Ortiz, La Antigua Fiesta Afro-cubana del "Dia de Reyes", (Havana: 1960), p. 10.

"Desde los primeros albores del dia, oíase por todas partes el monotonó ritmo de aquellos grandes tambores hechos de un tronco ahuecado y cubiertos por un extremo con un parche de cuero de buey que se templaba el fuego. Los criados abandonaban las casas muy de mañana: y de las fincas cercanas a la población acudían las dotaciones: unas, atestando los vagones traseros del ferrocarril: otras, hacinadas en las carretas, que conducían los enormes barriles de azúcar; y no pocos a pie. Todos corrían a incorporarse a sus cabildos respectivos, que tenían por jefe, generalmente, al más anciano de la tribu o nación a que pertenecían."

9
Ibid., pp. 11, 12, 15, 16, 17.

10
Ibid., pp. 21-22.

11
Ibid., pp. 22-23.

12
Ibid., pp. 25, 28.

13
Fernando Ortiz, Hampa Afro-Cubana: Los Negros Brujos: Apuntes para un estudio de etnologia criminal, (Madrid: 1906), p. 305.

"...Las cofradías no fueron sino la organizacion de los fieles sometidos al fetichero, que acaso ayudaba la misa al sacerdote blanco, ante las mismas imagenes que el adoraria luego de otra manera."

14
Ibid., pp. 180, 305.

15
Fernando Ortiz, "Los Cabildos Afro-Cubanos," Ibid., pp. 22-23.

16
Ibid., pp. 29-30.

17
Franklin W. Knight, Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century, (Madison: 1970), pp. 108-110.

18
Herbert Klein, Ibid., p. 103.

19
Frederick P. Bowser, The African Slave in Colonial Peru 1524-1650, (Stanford: 1974), p. 247; cf to Juan Pablo Sojo, "Cofradías Etno-Africanas," I, Cultura Universitaria, Caracas, mayo-junio 1947, p. 100.

20
F.P. Bowser, Ibid., pp. 247-248.

cf to Richard Konetzke, Coleccion de documentos para la historia de la formacion social de Hispano America, vol. 2, tomo I, (Madrid: 1958), document 52, p. 88, "R.C. Que en las Cofradías de los Indios y Negros Asista el Prelado de la Casa u otro Persona Grave, Aranjuez, 15 de mayo de 1602."

21

R. Konetzke, Ibid., document 62, pp. 99-100, "R.C. Que los Negros sean Bien Doctrinados," El Prado, 21 de noviembre de 1603.

22

Rolando Mellafe, La Esclavitud en Hispano-America, (Buenos Aires: 1964), p. 86.

23

F.P. Bowser, Ibid., p. 248, 249.

24

Ibid., pp. 249-250.

25

Ibid., p. 250.

26

Ibid., p. 282.

27

Ibid., pp. 223-224.

28

Ibid., pp. 241, 320, 310.

29

Ibid., p. 318.

30

Ruben Vargas Ugarte, S.J., El Beato Martin de Porras, (Buenos Aires: 1949), pp. 8, 23.

31

Frederick P. Bowser, "The African in Colonial Spanish America, Reflections on Research Achievements and Priorities," Latin American Research Review, Spring 1972, p. 80.

32

Juan Pablo Sojo, "Cofradías Etno-Africanas," I, Cultura Universitaria, Caracas, mayo-junio, 1947, pp. 99, 100.

33

Miguel Acosta Saignes, "Las Cofradías Coloniales y el Folklore," Cultura Universitaria, Vol. XLVII, enero-febrero 1955, Caracas, pp. 82-83.

34

Ibid., pp. 83, 79, 84.

35

Ibid., pp. 86, 87, 88, 89.

36

Ibid., pp. 90-91.

37

Ibid., pp. 91-92.

38

Ibid., p. 92.

39

Ibid., pp. 93-94.

40

Ibid., pp. 96-97.

41

Ibid., pp. 97-98.

42

Ibid., p. 98.

43

Ibid., pp. 97-98.

"...un sentido especial adquieren aquellas en las cuales [cofradías] se establecía que todas las personas podían inscribirse, pues de tal modo, siquiera en el terreno del ceremonial religioso, se rompían las limitaciones de casta que la Corona imponía."

⁴⁴ Bernardo Kordon, Candombe: Contribución al estudio de la raza negra en el Río de la Plata, (Buenos Aires: 1939), pp. 22, 23, 24.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 29.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 24, 25.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 29.

"En 1788 el síndico Procurador General presenta su justa queja al Cabildo de Buenos Aires. 'Se originan de estos mismos Bayles una manifiesta ruina de las almas con las muchas, y graves ofensas que hazen a Dios porque que otra cosa son estos bayles sino unos verdaderos Lupanares donde la concupiscencia tiene el principal lugar haze todo lo agradable de ellos con los indecentes y obscenos movimientos que se executan sin que de otro modo los pueden hazer, pues para ello contribuye el mismo son de sus instrumentos que es el mayor alicitivo para alterar el espiritu haciendo concupiscible y poniendo en movimiento y disposicion de practicar las mismas obscenidades....' Deja barruntar con lo último, lo que en realidad consideraba insoportable el puntilloso funcionario de la colonia. Los habitantes de los arrabales no solo curioseaban sino que hasta copiaban ritmos y contorsiones africanas. Indignacion adelante agrega: 'De aquí también se sigue el escandalo y el mal exemplo que que se da a todos los concurrentes....' Y el Síndico se ve obligado a denunciar este estado de cosas diez y ocho anos despues que el Virrey Don Jose de Vertiz hubo dictado en un bando: 'Que se prohiven los Bayles indecentes que al toque de su tambor acostumbran los negros... tudo vajo de la pena de doscientos azotes, y de un mes de barranca a los que contra....' Las viejas danzas liturgicas seguían siendo cultivadas aprovechando festividades religiosas y patrióticas. Entre tejas rojas y muros blanqueados retumbaban los tamboriles africanos acompansando reminiscencias de la selva, retorciendo de sensualidad a la aldea española trasplantada en un extremo del mundo."

⁴⁸ Paulo de Carvalho-Neto, El Negro Uruguayo (hasta la Abolicion), (Quito: 1965), pp. 68-69; cf to Vicente Rossi, Cosas de Negros Rectificaciones y Revelaciones de Folklore y de Historia, (Cordoba: 1926) pp. 19, 20, 41, 86.

49

Elena F.S. de Studer, La Trata de Negros en el Rio de la Plata durante el Siglo XXIII, (Buenos Aires: 1958), p. 336.

50

Carlos M. Rama, Los Afro-Uruguayos: Libro de Bolsillo, (Montevideo: 1967), pp. 7, 16, 17, 29, 65; cf to Ildefonso Pereda Valdes, El Negro en el Uruguay Pasado y Presente, (Montevideo: 1965), p. 103.

51

See Guillermo Céspedes, Latin America: The Early Years, (New York: 1974), p. 59 for a brief description of similar social and religious services among the Indian confraternities of Spanish America.

CHAPTER III

THE BLACK CONFRATERNITIES OF COLONIAL BRAZIL: THEIR SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS

Black confraternities existed in the major urban centers of colonial Brazil, wherever the black population was large enough to encourage religious devotion to black saints, to support the development of Afro-Brazilian cult houses and the preservation of African customs. The brotherhoods of Brazil were more important than lay confraternities of slaves elsewhere in Latin America because of the larger size of the African population in certain provinces of the Northeast where the non-white population outnumbered the white population. It is no exaggeration to say that practically every parish in colonial Brazil had a slave sodality attached to its churches and convents. The four provinces of Minas Gerais, Bahia, Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro had the largest number of black confraternities and were the greatest centers of African population.

The lay sodalities reflected medieval Portuguese traditions and were an expression of the festive nature of Portuguese Catholicism. The brotherhoods organized by the blacks were protected by the Portuguese Monarchs and encouraged by the church officials. Lay confraternities were actively involved in the social and religious

life of colonial Brazil. In the mining areas of Minas Gerais the most beautiful churches of the cities of gold were built by black, white and mulatto sodalities. In addition to their active participation in the arts through beautifying and building churches, the brotherhoods also staged elaborate religious festivals and funeral processions. They actively and enthusiastically participated in all the major feast days of the Catholic Church and civic celebrations. Besides their religious activities, their social functions were numerous and ranged from caring for the sick and needy, burying the dead, visiting prisoners, granting dowries, helping slaves buy their freedom and protecting slaves from mistreatment by their masters. Some of the black sodalities represented slaves in lawsuits against their masters. Their most important social and economic functions were burying the dead and lending money to slaves to buy their freedom papers.

These religious social clubs so numerous in Brazil were organized and governed by black lay men and women and were an expression of the power of the laity within the Catholic Church. Like modern trade unions and medieval guilds, the black sodalities provided needed social welfare services and protection for the African population in Brazil. In their numerous disputes and petitions to the crown and

the Overseas Council, the slave brotherhoods asserted the basic equality of all Christians before the eyes of God. They struggled for privileges to insure decent Christian burial for poor slaves and freedmen whose bodies were often deposited at the doors of churches or left on the beach to float out on the evening tide.¹ Their burial privileges were often superior to the privileges of the poorer white confraternities. In all their petitions to the governmental and church officials, the black brothers proclaimed their belief that black Catholics were not brute animals but good Christians spiritually equal to the Portuguese and worthy of all the religious consolations of the Catholic Church. Besides demanding black religious equality, the slave confraternities preserved African customs and religious values helping to create a black form of Catholicism.²

The first Jesuit missionaries in Pernambuco started the earliest confrarias for the newly arrived African slaves from Guinea as early as 1552. This first slave confraternity in Brazil was dedicated to the patronage of Our Lady of the Rosary. The brotherhood members heard masses together in the Jesuit Church on Sundays and feast days; religious processions were organized on Sundays during Lent. Pope Gregory XIII permitted the organization of brotherhoods in the late sixteenth century to indoctrinate the newly converted slaves in the customs

and dogmas of the Catholic religion. In 1589 two Jesuit priests who worked in missions on the sugar plantations in the Northeast also created brotherhoods for the African slaves of the engenho. The Jesuits believed the slave sodalities had great spiritual utility because in one year the confessions heard in the engenhos surpassed 8,000. The Portuguese kings encouraged missionary work among the African slaves, since the Christianization of Africans was one justification for the slave trade. The institution of lay brotherhoods was viewed by the king as another important step in the evangelization of slaves. In 1576 the King passed a decree ordering that the tithes collected from the newly converted Africans should be used for their churches, lay brotherhoods and their spiritual affairs in Brazil for a space of six years.³ The church encouraged the organization of slave confraternities to facilitate their religious conversion and instruction. Membership in a confraria obliged the brothers to meet together in the church to say the rosary, attend Mass, receive the sacraments, participate in religious festivals and receive religious instructions.⁴

Jesuit missionaries encountered many problems in converting the African slaves. The Africans arrived in Brazil without knowledge of Portuguese or the spiritual

benefits of baptism. In 1718 the Overseas Council in Lisbon sent a letter advising the Archbishop of Bahia on the necessity of baptizing slaves newly arrived from Angola and the Costa da Mina.⁵ Most of the slaves who were imported into Brazil were not baptized. Those slaves who were baptized in Africa or on the slave ships were nominally Christian for they did not understand the nature of the sacrament nor the words of the priests. The missionaries had to learn the African languages or rely on interpreters. The majority of the slaves worked on the sugar plantations under the control of their masters who often would not allow them the necessary time off from their agricultural labors for religious instruction and worship.⁶ It was not uncommon in colonial Brazil for the masters of the sugar plantations to force their slaves to work on Sundays thereby preventing them from attending church or enjoying the leisure time to rest and cultivate their own fields. In 1703 the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosario of Bahia sent a petition to the Chancellor of the High Court of Salvador in which they complained about the bad treatment which masters gave to their slaves. They demanded that the High Court should enforce the royal decree which had been passed giving one free day a week to the slaves so that they could cultivate food for their sustenance and also that their masters send them to the churches

to fulfill their Christian obligations.⁷

From earliest times in Brazil separate brotherhoods existed for whites, blacks and Indians. With the growth of miscegenation in Brazil confraternities were created for the fourth racial category of mulattoes or pardos. This was an example of the racial segregation and social exclusivism of the brotherhoods in Brazil. The earliest brotherhoods dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary in Bahia were divided into two branches, one for whites and another for blacks. A separate confraternity was later established in Salvador for pardos dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe.⁸ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the lay brotherhoods of Brazil were divided by racial classifications. By the eighteenth century many of the black brotherhoods admitted whites as members although they usually paid higher entrance fees and annual dues and were barred from positions on the governing board of the brotherhoods. It was customary in Brazil to reserve the position of scribe and treasurer for whites. The poverty and illiteracy of the African population was the basis for this rule. However by the end of the eighteenth century there were enough blacks and mulattoes to demand an end to this requirement.

Although the earliest brotherhoods were founded by missionaries and secular clergymen, the confraternities of the late colonial period were organized by pious laymen

and women. They were located in the important cities and provincial capitals of Brazil. These mutual aid societies were often suspected of being hotbeds of heresy and conspiracy. There was little basis for these fears of overt conspiracy in the confraternities. The creole confraternities were quite orthodox and religious. The brotherhoods of tribal Africans had syncretistic religious practices. However the African cults were performed at night in secret outside the churches or on the beaches. Despite the constant complaints by whites, black brotherhoods were essentially innocent mutual aid societies. There is little evidence that they were anything more than religious social clubs. The one exception was the nineteenth century brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Pelourinho whose members were secret Moslems.⁹

There was always a degree of religious syncretism in the religious festivals of the confraternities. Religious fetishes were often exhibited at the processions although these practices were condemned by the church and frowned on by the creole brotherhoods and orthodox blacks. A number of the compromissos of the black brotherhoods expelled members for exhibiting fetishes at religious ceremonies.¹⁰ As Roger Bastide and Pierre Verger have pointed out in their books, the West African cults thrived in the shadows of the brotherhood churches.

For example the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte was composed of Nago-Yoruba Africans of the Ketou nation. The cults of the African gods of this West African tribe were held outside of the church of the Barroquinha where the confraternity held its meetings.¹¹ In Pernambuco the members of the cult houses were the same individuals who joined the black sodalities. Roger Bastide concluded that the black brotherhoods created a form of Catholicism which had special characteristics and showed evidence of religious syncretism.¹² For this reason the brotherhoods of tribal Africans were always suspected of heresy. When the Gege Confraria of Senhor Bom Jesus dos Martyrios of Bahia sent its compromisso to Lisbon in 1765 requesting approval of its statutes by the Mesa de Consciencia e Ordens, a note on the petition within the compromisso warned the Portuguese authorities not to confirm the brotherhood because it was the opinion of the Crown's attorney on the High Court that

"These Gege blacks are derived from the paganism of Africa and there always remains in them a propensity for superstitious things and it is fitting to declare that they be made subject to the discipline of the bishop in their functions and processions as well as in the obligation of giving accounts to the Provedor of Lisbon."¹³

Notwithstanding these reservations of the colonial authorities, most of the compromissos were approved by

the Mesa de Consciencia e Ordens in Lisbon which tended to be more lenient than the Brazilian officials in approving the statutes of the black brotherhoods.

In general the religious authorities encouraged brotherhoods as an attempt to incorporate blacks into Lusitanian society. Through brotherhoods blacks could find a position in the religious social system independent of slavery.¹⁴ Confraternities offered some consolation to the slave in his dismal state of slavery but religion conditioned the slave to accept his plight. Christianity was imposed on the African people. In the eighteenth century the Bishop of Bahia was reprimanded by the crown for forcing slaves to go to church and to join brotherhoods.¹⁵

In 1633 the famous Portuguese Jesuit Antonio Vieira preached a sermon dedicated to the "Mystical Rose" to a branch of the Confraria of Nossa Senhora do Rosario of the slaves on a sugar plantation in Bahia. During his lifetime Vieira preached two other sermons to the Rosary brotherhoods of blacks in Bahia encouraging their religious devotion to the Virgin and to Christianity, criticizing the harsh treatment of slaves by their masters and illustrating the religious equality of the slaves in the eyes of God. The central idea of Vieira's sermon was always that the soul of the black is equal to that of the white man and as free as the soul of the white. He emphasized the redeeming mission of Christ for all men not just for

Europeans. All men are brothers, Vieira pointed out, whether slave or free, united by the same faith and the sacrament of baptism. However the religious doctrine that the souls of the slaves are free and equal did not conform with political and social reality. In his sermons Vieira tried to console the African slaves who were unhappy with their lowly servile position in Brazilian society by reminding them that Christ took the form of a slave and was an example of patient suffering. Vieira praised the religious festivals of the black brothers for being so expressive and lofty that they caused the religious respect and reverence of even the humblest workers and large numbers of whites.¹⁶ This feeling of Vieira was also echoed by the other Jesuit missionaries who found the Africans slaves in Brazil more receptive to Christianity and religious devotion than the Portuguese settlers.

While encouraged by the Church the lay confraternities of the eighteenth century were ordinarily not imposed institutions, but freely organized by pious slaves and free blacks for religious and social reasons. They provided needed social status and mobility for freedmen and slaves. The social services of these black mutual aid societies were their most important functions. They played a vital role in the life of the free blacks who

were barred from the priesthood and higher education until the end of the colonial period. It is extraordinary that blacks joined confraternities and participated in such a wide variety of social activities considering their poverty. The tribal Africans who were nominally baptized, newly arrived in a slavocratic society, joined brotherhoods because all other types of associations were prohibited. The African population in Brazil wanted to belong to confraternities as a form of death insurance, out of feelings of tribal solidarity, to provide protection for their members and to have a meeting place apart from the watchful eyes of their masters.¹⁷ The creole brotherhoods were made up of people of African descent who had lived in Brazil for two or three generations. Thoroughly assimilated and Christianized, they organized brotherhoods which barred certain West African tribes from the governing board. Their compromissos stressed the religious values of joining a brotherhood, noting the masses, graces and indulgences which they gained from membership.¹⁸

The most colorful aspects of the confraternities' activities were their religious festivals. Foreign travelers to colonial Brazil were attracted by their elaborate religious processions. Church pageantry was a characteristic feature of Portuguese Catholicism. Nowhere were the Church festivals more lavish than in Bahia, the colonial capital of Brazil, a city which

boasted of a church for every day in the year. The organization and direction of church festivals was an important function of the lay brothers. In addition to catering to the religious needs of the population, religious processions offered popular entertainment in an era when popular amusements were few.¹⁹ The festivals of the black confraternities equalled the white celebrations in pomp and ceremony. Their funerals were often more elaborate than the funerals of whites. Black confraternities were included in the majority of the religious festivals of the Church.

The most characteristic festivals were the festivals of the King of the Congo which were of African origin and began in Brazil in the early seventeenth century. It consisted of a public procession and the crowning of the King and Queen of the Congo. This festival was a function of the Rosary brotherhoods. It was a very popular celebration among Afro-Brazilians.²⁰

African dances were also traditionally performed by the black brotherhoods on religious feast days. The Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary located in the Pelourinho of Bahia next to the military barracks of Portas do Carmo sent a petition to Dona Maria I in 1786 requesting permission to perform their traditional Angolan songs and dances on the feast day of their patroness Our

Lady of the Rosary. They said in this petition:

"The black devotees of the Glorious Lady of the Rosary of the city of Bahia declare that from olden times it was permitted them for the greater and general applause of the festival of the same woman, masquerades, dances in the language of Angola with instruments concerning spiritual songs and praises and because they are private and in many Christian countries still practiced and only in this exists a loss. They implore your majesty for your high piety and royal grandeur, in service of God and of the same Our Lady, be pleased to concede permission to the petitioners for the said festivals by reason of the very appearance of pleasure of the always glorious Mother of God."

The petitioners asked for permission to perform their traditional dances for eight or three days.²¹

The custom of electing African kings and queens was a very old practice in Recife and Bahia. Their elections date from 1674 and were traditional annual occurrences throughout the eighteenth century. The court of the kings and queens included governors of each tribal nation and a retinue of subdelegates and military officers. They had a certain traditional power and jurisdiction over the black population in the urban centers of Brazil. The coronations of the kings were celebrations of African blacks especially slaves. It was a traditional ceremony during the religious festivals of Our Lady of the Rosary. The coronation took place on the feast day of Our Lady of the Rosary, the crown being placed on the king by the

parish priest.²² The Kings of the Congo provided a system of indirect African government duplicating and preserving the traditional African customs which contributed to the integration and solidarity of the blacks of Recife.²³ Later the creoles also elected their own respective kings. In encouraging these practices the brotherhoods allowed for the emergence of a black elite who provided leadership in the black community.²⁴ The colonial authorities recognized this fact. By the mid-eighteenth century they started to directly interfere in the kings' activities and to control their conduct.²⁵

Crimes were often committed during the public celebrations accompanying the religious festivals of the lay brotherhoods in Brazil. In colonial Bahia in 1752 the criminal judge was ordered to follow the religious processions during Holy Week in order to apprehend criminals and by his mere presence to deter blatant criminal offenses. In addition the Juiz do crime was also obliged to accompany the procession of Passos during the Holy Week Stations of the Cross from the Carmelite Convent to the Cathedral in Salvador because of a dispute over precedence between the white brotherhoods of Santíssimo Sacramento and Nosso Senhor dos Passos.²⁶

The annual reynados were also occasions for crimes by the black population. There were robberies of the altars and black prisoners and slaves escaped from their masters aided by free blacks. Up until 1728 these crimes had been tolerated and overlooked by the colonial authorities. In that year the viceroy of Brazil, Doutor Luis Moreyra, ordered that the annual festivals of the kings during the feast day of Our Lady of the Rosary be stopped since black prisoners entered into these celebrations and caused disorders. The officers of justice in Salvador were ordered to be more vigilant in apprehending criminals on the festival days. Any officer of justice who tolerated abuses would be subject to a six-month prison term for dereliction of duty. The viceroy indicated that the officers of justice in Bahia had been ^{very} lenient in regard to crimes committed during the reynados in the past. He also ordered that the public gatherings of black men and women playing drums and other instruments in various parts of the city be prohibited.²⁷ It is doubtful that these provisions were rigorously enforced. Despite various prohibitions from the white authorities, the festivals of the kings survived until the end of the colonial period in the major cities of Brazil although some of their activities were curtailed.

Tribal Africans relished the opportunity to perform their traditional dances on the festival days. The blacks from the Costa da Mina had dances of a religious character which were incorporated into the brotherhood celebrations. The white elite in Brazil regarded these dances as obscene. They were often toned down to conform more closely to Portuguese religious values. In the compromisso of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Remedy located in Rio de Janeiro which was composed of Africans from the Costa da Mina, the brothers promised not to execute dances with obscene or indecent gestures on the festival of the Rosary during the celebrations of the kings.²⁸ The Africans from Mozambique were well known for the pomp of their funeral ceremonies. The Angolans and Congolese tribes excelled in the ceremonies of the African kings and their courts who had jurisdiction over their vassals. Through these practices the black brotherhoods of Brazil allowed the Afro-Brazilians to preserve their African cults of the dead and their traditions of ancestor worship.²⁹

Because of the existence of many confraternities dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, her feast day in October was the occasion for great celebrations among the people of African descent in Brazil. On that day they performed their national dances with excessive

frenzy especially the maracatú, a popular Brazilian dance of African origin, which was performed around the churches in Pernambuco by the Rosary brothers. The ceremony was accompanied by incessant firing of pistols and rifles.³⁰ The music and dances of the lay religious brotherhoods were part of the black contribution to popular music in Brazil. This was particularly true of the festivals of Bonfim in Bahia and Penha in Rio de Janeiro.³¹

A vital question involved in an analysis of the role of black brotherhoods in Brazilian society was the extent to which they liberated slaves. Of the 165 compromissos studied only eleven brotherhoods made references to granting loans to help slaves buy their freedom. They were eight branches of the brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary, (two in Bahia, four in Rio de Janeiro, and two in Minas Gerais), the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Amparo in Bahia, the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios in Rio de Janeiro and the Brotherhood of São António de Catagerona in Salvador. They were all involved in lending money to slave members who were trying to buy their freedom papers. The Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios in Rio de Janeiro provided legal counsel to slaves who were involved in lawsuits with their white masters over their freedom. This brotherhood gave the greatest aid in lawsuits. Their

members looked to the protection of the confraternity when they were unjustly detained or seized by the law. Their mesa promised to give legal counsel to each brother, consulting two lawyers of good note to see whether the slave brother was being treated unjustly. Legal defense for the brothers was provided at the expense of the brotherhood.³²

The pardo brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Amparo which was located in Jaguaripe, Bahia, promised to lend slave brothers a small quantity of money to help them buy their freedom. The mesa (board of governors) lent money only with the approval of the ecclesiastical chapter of the church. The Rosary Brotherhood located in Bahia in the church of São Pedro Velho also aided slave brothers in gaining their freedom. If a brother or sister of the brotherhood wanted to be free of captivity and lacked enough money to satisfy their price, they turned to the procurator of the brotherhood for aid in their time of need. With the permission of the parish priest, the brotherhood would assemble in the parish church and alms were collected to aid the slave in buying their freedom papers. The slave had to post a guarantee or security in order to borrow the necessary money from the brotherhood. According to the rules of this compromisso requests

from slaves who had gained money through illicit means would not be accepted for loans.³³

The Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict in Rio de Janeiro also helped brothers in lawsuits over their freedom. The brothers and sisters of the confraternity "who through good service deserved to obtain their freedom and lacked money to initiate a lawsuit, would be given all necessary help by the brotherhood to gain the necessary liberty which they had been deprived of through the evil captivity and cruelty of their masters."³⁴

The Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in Sabara helped slaves who had obtained the permission of their masters to buy their freedom but lacked the money to pay the price of their liberty, allowed them to borrow the money from the Brotherhood provided they gave a guarantee and agreed to repay the loan in a designated period of time.³⁵

The Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in the district of Tijuco helped slaves to gain their freedom when they had already obtained their letters of freedom through their long years of faithful service to their owners, but were involved in lawsuits with their masters over their freedom papers. The compromissos cited the

bad captivity and cruelty of white masters in not allowing their slaves to be freed once they had satisfied their price or as a reward for years of good service.³⁶

Most of the black brotherhoods advanced loans to needy slaves and offered help in lawsuits over the slaves' freedom. Usually the brotherhood asked for security or a guarantee that the loans would be repaid. It was not possible to borrow from the treasury of the brotherhoods without the expressed permission of the king or the cabildo.³⁷

The black confraternities did not entirely abandon the slaves to the sad plight of their servitude. They often interceded with white masters on behalf of their slave members. The Brotherhood of the Rosary and Ransom of Rio de Janeiro was founded to help slaves buy their freedom papers. It also sent petitions to the king seeking royal mercy for slaves whose masters would not allow them to buy their freedom or set a price for self-purchase. The slave sodalities could not liberate their slave brothers without a special license from the king. On January 12, 1685 King Pedro II decreed that the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary and Ransom of Rio de Janeiro could not ransom slave brothers without royal

permission. The brothers of this sodality had enough money to free their members but they could not do so without royal permission recommending them.³⁸

The black confraternities were poor. They strained their limited financial resources to the utmost when they built churches or performed their traditional social service activities. They simply did not have the money to liberate large numbers of slaves. Brotherhoods composed of free creoles were not interested in liberating slaves who were a minority of their membership. Once emancipated a freedman of African descent had trouble finding a job in the slavocratic society of Brazil. He often was not in a position to repay the loan granted by the confraternity.

Black brotherhoods were always willing to bring the slaves' complaints of excessive punishment or mistreatment of Africans by their masters to the attention of the king or the High Court of Bahia. In 1709 and 1711 the Rosary Brotherhood in Bahia sent petitions to the High Court and the Governor attesting to the brutal treatment and punishment inflicted on the poor slaves. In 1711 King João V answered a petition of the Rosary Brotherhood in Bahia on the excessive punishment of slaves by their masters. The king ordered the High Court to see

to it that the Judge Conservador, who preserves rights and immunities, hear the cases which the black slaves brought against their masters over the punishment which was used on them.³⁹ In 1709 and 1714 the High Court of Bahia considered other complaints of excessive punishment of slaves. The Chancellor of the High Court recommended to the king that the governors of the states should see to it that the slave owners not punish their slaves rigorously. It was further recommended that the masters should avoid tyrannical punishment and those excesses which gave the slaves occasions for complaints.⁴⁰ This was a problem which the slave brotherhoods would often bring to the attention of the authorities. Mistreatment of slaves by their masters was a common problem in a slavocratic society.

Since many blacks and mulattoes wanted to be members of lay confraternities, the more prestigious brotherhoods were choosy about whom they admitted to membership and elected to office. Public crimes and private vices were commonly cited as grounds for removal from office and expulsion from the confraternity. The compromisso of the Rosary brotherhood in the diocese of Nossa Senhora do Pillar in Igoassu, Rio de Janeiro expelled members who were caught practicing the African cults particularly

the priests of the cult houses. Brothers who had mistresses or engaged in stealing were also expelled unless they repented. The Judge of the brotherhood was in charge of punishing sinners within the membership. Most confraternities warned members of their sins allowing them a chance to repent, giving them three chances to repent. The penalty for these offenses was usually some prayers or pious works of mercy. If they did not repent and continued in their vices they were expelled. Practicing African religions, especially being a feiticeiro or shaman was a serious offense. It was frequently mentioned in the compromissos and was undoubtedly a common secret practice in colonial times.⁴¹

The reasons cited for expulsion and the severity of punishment reflected the orthodoxy of the membership and the moral character of the brothers. The Rosary brotherhoods were the elite of the black confraternities and they were strict and intolerant of the sinful excesses of their members. Like any club or mutual aid society the confraternities expelled members who did not fulfill the religious and social obligations of membership; for example, nonpayment of dues, nonattendance at funerals of dead members, betraying the secrets discussed at the mesa meetings, not working at the religious activities

of the confraternity, nonvoting on important events of the confraternity, disobeying the laws of the compromisso, disturbing the mesa meetings, making unjust and sinister demands of the officers, trying to influence the outcome of elections and defrauding the confraternity of its funds. Vices that caused public scandal were also grounds for expulsion.⁴²

The economic activities of the brotherhoods were important sources of revenue in the black community. The confraternities had several sources of income: entrance fees, annual dues, the required contributions of officers, donations from wills and pious benefactors and rent on property and land were the most common forms of revenue. The financial resources of the black and mulatto confraternities did not equal the revenue of the white third orders or the confraternities of the white elite.⁴³ However the pooling of the money of slaves and freedmen did result in significant social and economic activities. Church building, social welfare programs, impressive religious festivals and lavish funerals were indicative of the ability of the black confraternities to raise money despite individual poverty of the vast majority of the black and mulatto population. Not all of the Afro-Brazilians were unskilled and impoverished. Within this

social class there were many sub-groups. Many slaves and freedmen had skills and talents which could command wages in the marketplace. The tribal background of the African people gave them an amazing ability for strong group action which accomplished economically significant activities despite the poverty and discrimination faced by blacks and mulattoes in colonial Brazil.

The treasuries of the confraternities were primitive banks holding the money of members for charitable and economic activities. The Brotherhood of São Francisco de Paula in Salvador had a well defined program of social welfare, which provided social security for members and their families in case of death or sickness. Their nineteenth century compromisso gave the main details of the program. Each member contributed 25\$000 reis upon entering the brotherhood and 500 reis annually thereafter to a fund known as a Monte Pio which was used to help indigent members, sick brothers and the families of dead members.⁴⁴

For example the Mineiro branch of the Rosary brotherhood in Ouro Preto had sufficient financial resources to sponsor a magnificent religious procession in 1733 to celebrate the building of a new church in the parish of Pilar. In addition to spending a fortune on the festival, they build a road between the old church and the new church

to facilitate the passage of the Eucharistic procession. In 1734 the confraternity published a book entitled Triunfo Eucharistico which described "the baroque extravaganza" which the confraternity organized.⁴⁵

The confraternities attached to the churches and convents of colonial Brazil provided modest sources of income to the parish priests. The stipends paid by the brotherhoods to the priests for masses were part of the church's income. Some of the brotherhoods paid for hundreds of masses per year not including the masses for dead members who died within the year. The confraternities celebrated numerous religious festivals during the year. Most brotherhoods had weekly or monthly services where masses were offered, rosaries were said or benediction was offered by the priests. The documents of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in Recife give itemized lists of the amount of money spent for religious services in the years 1674 to 1714. The clergy in colonial times expected to be recompensed for all activities even for sermons. There were no flat fees covering all the priestly activities involved in the saying of a mass or officiating at a funeral or procession. The secular clergy in colonial Brazil was notoriously avaricious in demanding high fees

for saying masses, giving communion and officiating at baptisms, marriages and the last rites. Clerical salaries were low and failed to keep up with inflation. In some provinces such as Minas Gerais, a frontier mining area in the eighteenth century, priests were not given any money by the crown which made them dependent on their own private funds and the incomes of their congregations. The priest who officiated at the festivals of Our Lady of the Rosary in Recife was paid for saying two masses on that day in addition to preaching a sermon. The acolytes and the sacristan were also given a small sum. There were additional fees for singing at the masses. In 1689 the procurator of the Rosary brotherhood collected the sum of 4\$700 reis for the cost of the bread and wine used in communion. Between 1681 and 1714 the average stipend for a sermon was 10\$000 reis, musical accompaniment cost about 10\$000 reis, and two masses were 6\$000 reis and 2\$000 reis respectively. For about thirty years the fees for religious services remained constant while the total expenditures for the festival rose astronomically. The total amount spent on the festival rose from 13\$640 reis in 1681 to 564\$380 reis in 1707. This increase of approximately 550 mil reis was due to the growing lavishness and extravagance of the festival. Large amounts of money were spent on candles, dancers,

drummers and other forms of musical accompaniment. These lavish expenses caused a heavy financial burden on members. From 1707 to 1714 total expenditure for the festival fell from 550 mil reis to 167\$460 reis. In the same period while the brotherhood was spending so much money on the Rosary festival, the treasury had insufficient funds to cover the cost of the funeral bier for dead members. Lavish festivals drained precious funds away from funerals and other charitable works. The colonial bishops often complained about the excessive spending of the black brothers on lavish funerals and sumptuous festivals. When the brotherhood's funds were exhausted, the brothers paid for religious services by giving food and jewelry to the priests and musicians. In 1721 the preacher at the festival was paid in sweets! In 1725 the dancers were given two pairs of shoes for their services at the festival.⁴⁶

By analyzing the economic data gleamed from the brotherhood compromissos, it is quite clear that membership in a confraternity and the holding of office involved considerable financial outlay for the Afro-Brazilian population. The compromissos of the brotherhoods provide detailed economic figures which allow one to compute an approximate figure of the financial burden of confraternity membership and officership. These financial figures include

the total money contributed by the members during an entire lifetime of membership which were: entrance fees, annual dues, festival contributions required of officers and the cost of masses for the dead. The compromissos which are listed in Appendix I cover the period from 1750 to 1844. The total money invested by the brothers and sisters of the confraternity varied from 1 mil rei to 42,480\$000 reis. The average amount contributed was approximately 10 to 15 mil reis. It is obvious that there are other hidden expenses not mentioned in their compro-missos, for example: the alms collected for needy members, the aid to the sick and the food given to prisoners. These financial contributions represented the savings of a black elite (both free and slave) financially able and willing to pay for the charitable works and social activities of the lay religious brotherhoods. Some brotherhoods required higher entrance fees and dues for pardos. White members were usually from the upper class and were expected to pay more than black members. Slaves and freed blacks were active in the positions of kings and queens in Recife. They were always required to make liberal financial contributions towards the expenses of the festival of Our Lady of the Rosary.

For example the Rosary brotherhood in Recife relied on

the kings and queens of Angola to collect esmollas or alms from their tribal nations on the four main festivals of the year to help the works of the church. The members of the mesa of this confraternity were not slaves but free blacks who had some special skills such as artisans or cooks who invested their precious savings in the religious activities of the church and the confraternity.⁴⁷ Free men and women were probably more numerous as financial backers of the confraternities because of their greater freedom to enjoy the fruits of their labor.

The number of masses said for the souls of dead members varied from two to fifty-two. The number of sufragios or masses said for the souls of dead members are valuable economic indices of the wealth of the confraternities; a greater number of masses and social services were found in the wealthier brotherhoods. In Recife the average cost of masses for the dead rose from 10\$000 reis to 240\$000 reis between 1700 and 1758. In addition to the mass stipends and festival costs, burial fees had to be paid. If the black confraternity did not own its own funeral bier, the members would have had to rent the esquife from the Misericórdia for a fee. There were additional fees for the opening of graves in the church and graveyard. The chaplain of the confraternity was paid monthly or annually. In 1758 the

monthly salary for the chaplain of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in Recife was 4,335 reis; in addition the vicar received 10 mil reis annually for his parish office. By the middle of the eighteenth century this confraternity was composed mainly of free men and women since the officers felt that "there were abundant free men and slaves who were many times impeded by their masters from fulfilling their obligations." The rules of their compromisso allowed them to bury outsiders for a fee. The price of burial depended on wherever the grave was located in the church. The tomb was the most costly at 10 mil reis; for a grave in the sacristy it was 8 mil reis; for a grave in the main body of the church it cost 6 mil reis.⁴⁸

An important source of income for the wealthier brotherhoods was rent on property and land usually received as part of legacies or due to unpaid debts.⁴⁹ It was curious that the black confraternities were able to accumulate land. Land ownership of the brotherhoods was a result of the practice of the town councils in Brazil who granted land to confraternities for the purpose of church building. In the mining regions of Minas Gerais this land was sometimes found to have mineral wealth. The town councils tried to get the land back from the

brotherhood but were unable to do so, since the crown upheld the confraternities' right to possess this land.⁵⁰

The Portuguese kings tended to neglect their religious obligation to build churches in Brazil and relied instead on the local population for the erection of churches.⁵¹

The tithes collected in Brazil in the early colonial period were not sufficient for the expenses of church building.

Many of the lay confraternities built and maintained their own churches or were in charge of special chapels in cathedrals or parish churches, collected mass stipends and provided for the religious needs of the population.⁵²

There was rivalry in Brazil among the lay brotherhoods over church construction. Each lay confraternity competed with one another to see which one could build the most beautiful church. Most of the black lay confraternities were involved in building their own churches due to the problems of sharing churches and convents with other brotherhoods especially white confraternities who were jealous of the privileges of the black brotherhoods.

Despite their poverty and servile condition the Afro-Brazilian population contributed money for the building of churches in Brazil. In 1751 an eleven page list of the Bahian population in the town of Itapicurú who had contributed to the construction of the parish church in the

diocese of Our Lady of the Rosary contained an unusually large number of slaves. Some of the slaves were owned by the parish curate, Reverend Antônio Monis de Oliveira, who owned nineteen slaves. There were 427 slaves listed as contributors to the construction of the church; the list also contained the names of 37 freed blacks and three mulattoes. The Afro-Brazilians listed on this register were exempt from the religious obligation of receiving communion and confession for the year 1751, because of their contributions to the Church.⁵³ A total of 467 people in Bahia in this particular parish contributed from their meager savings to the construction of the parish church. The overwhelming majority of the contributors were slaves who might have used their money to purchase their freedom papers. Like the medieval Christians of Western Europe who contributed to the building of the Gothic cathedrals, the Afro-Brazilians of colonial Bahia helped to build the splendid churches of Salvador, lasting monuments to Portuguese Christian influence in Brazil.⁵⁴

By analyzing the compromissos of the numerous black confraternities it is possible to see which provinces and cities in colonial Brazil had the most brotherhoods. Table H gives a geographic breakdown of 165 black brotherhoods. Obviously the figures expressed in this table only repre-

sent a fraction of the total number of brotherhoods established in colonial Brazil. This chart is based on 158 compromissos of the brotherhoods who remitted their statutes for approval to Lisbon. In the eighteenth century many Brazilian bishops approved the compromissos without sending them to Lisbon for approval by the Mesa da Consciencia e Ordens. This practice of local approval of confraternities caused jurisdictional disputes between the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens and the Brazilian archbishops. As the figures in table H show the principal brotherhood established in colonial Brazil was the confraternity dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Rosario which had branches in practically every parish with black parishioners. Fifty-two per cent of the 165 brotherhoods studied were Rosary brotherhoods. This confraternity was open to whites and mulattoes as well as blacks. As far as can be determined the predominant ethnic composition of the Rosary confraternity was black creole with a strong Angolan influence since most compromissos stipulated that the mesa or governing board be divided between creoles and Angolans. Most of the 158 compromissos analyzed did not mention the ethnic makeup of their membership. Thirty-two per cent of the confraternities were located in the mining cities of Minas Gerais; twenty-seven percent were established in Bahia, 18 per cent were founded in Rio de Janeiro

and twelve per cent were in Pernambuco. The remaining eleven per cent of the confraternities were scattered throughout the Northeastern states plus São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul. Of the nine confraternities with a sizable African membership five were dedicated to the patronage of Our Lady of the Rosary. Six of these African confraternities were located in Bahia, a city with a large African population. The patron saints favored by the African brotherhoods were Our Lady of the Rosary, Senhor Bom Jesus, Nossa Senhora dos Remedios, and Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte. Out of the 165 brotherhoods analyzed, 86 were dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, the patroness most favored by the Afro-Brazilians. The confraternity of Saint Benedict was a popular religious association in Bahia, but only 12 of the brotherhoods were dedicated to this saint, six were founded in Bahia. Of the eight confraternities dedicated to Our Lady of Mercy, six were located in Minas Gerais. The confraternity of Bom Jesus was popular in Bahia. The mulatto brotherhoods were those dedicated to São Gonçalo, Nossa Senhora do Guadalupe, Nossa Senhora do Livramento, Nossa Senhora do Amparo, São Francisco de Paula, Nossa Senhora da Conceição, São Jose and Mãe de Deos.

Of the 165 confraternities researched only 68 mentioned

ethnic origin. The majority of these were creole and mulatto brotherhoods. From an analysis of the compromissos and petitions of 165 brotherhoods it can be seen that the urban centers of colonial Brazil which had the largest black populations were the areas of the growth and proliferation of brotherhoods in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁵⁵

The Afro-Brazilians, as slaves and freedmen and women, constituted the most important social group in colonial times. They contributed valuable skills in building colonial Brazilian society particularly the economy. Without large numbers of black slaves, mulattoes, freedmen and women, colonial Brazil would have been a backward and underdeveloped colony. Black confraternities provided slaves and freedmen with a vehicle for social action. Through their festivals, charitable work and church building, they added an African flavor to the Baroque cities and countryside of colonial Brazil.

CHAPTER III

Footnotes

¹

A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil," Paper presented at AHA Convention, New Orleans, December 28, 1972, p. 26.

²

Roger Bastide, Les Religions Africains au Bresil, (Paris: 1960), pp. 74-75.

³

Serafim Leite, Monumenta Brasiliae, Vol. I, (Roma: 1956), p. 325.

Serafim Leite, Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil,

Tomo III, (Rio de Janeiro: 1938), pp. 323, 324.

⁴

Serafim Leite, Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, Tomo II, (Rio de Janeiro: 1938-1940), pp. 324, 340-341.

⁵

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Registo de cartas, avisos e officios para a Baía, Codice #247, p. 143, 23 de agosto de 1718. "Para o Arcebo da Ba. Dom Joao, etc. Faço saber a vos R^{do} Emxp^o pe Arcebispo da Bahya q se tem noticia que contra a minha recomendação vem m^s escravos de Angolla por baupizar, e q o mesmo s.. e de ato dos os q se trasem da Costa da Mina, o q he em gravissimo do serviço de Deos e bem das almas dos ditos escravos, e qu não somente se consente este abuzo, mas ainda depois de chegarem a esse porto os deixão passar p^a as Minaz e p^a os certoens domesmo estado. E por q convem dar neste particular hua providenciam^{te} e ficar para q se atalle hum dammo de tão danozos consequenciaz e o major q pode haver no mundo, como he a predição da vida eterna destes miseraveiz. Me pareceo emcomendarvos ponhaes todo o cuidado em neg^o detanto porte e que he tanto davossa obrigação e q deveis de dar conta a Deos nosso Snor tendo enttendido que de qual quer Leve descuido q^e houver em neg^o de tam alta ponderação que recebereis disso o mayor desprazer. El Rey nosso Snor o mandou por Joao Tellis da Sylva e Antonio Rois da Costa conselleyros de seu cons^o Ultr^o s se passou por duas vias Manoel Gomez da Sylva a fes em Lisboa occidental a 23 de Agosto de 1718."

⁶

Serafim Leite, Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, Tomo II, (Rio De Janeiro: 1938-1940), p. 357.

⁷

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Registo de cartas, avisos e officios para a Baía, Tomo 246, Livro 2 (1690-1710), p. 176.

"Para o Chanceller da Relação da Bahia. Requerimento do Juis e Irmãos da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario da Bahia. Chanceller da Relacao da Bahia etc. por parte de Juis e Irmãos da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos pretos dessa Cidade se me fez aqui a petição cuja copia se vos envia/ em q^e se queixão do mau tracto q^e os Senhores dão aos seus escravos. E pareceo-me ordenar-vos informeis se com effeito se guarda a lei q^e se passou sobre se dar hum dia na semana livre p^a estes escravos grangeare o seu sustento, e juntam^{te} seus senhores os mandão as Igrejas a cumprir as obrigações de Christãos, como tenho disposto. Scripta em Lx^a a 14 de Maio de 1703./" Rey.

⁸Serafim Leite, Artes e Officios dos Jesuitas no Brasil, (Rio de Janeiro: 1953), p. 30.

⁹Pierre Verger, Flux et Reflux de la Traite des Negres entre Le Golfe de Benin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVII^e au XIX^e siecle, (Paris: 1968), p. 520.

¹⁰Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos homens pretos erecta na freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Conceipção, Villa do Principe da Serra do Frio, Rio de Janeiro, 1767, Lisbon: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancellaria de Ordem de Christo, Livro 283-146, Chapter 21.

¹¹Pierre Verger, Ibid., p. 528.

¹²Roger Bastide, Ibid., pp. 166, 176, 479.

¹³Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus com o soberano titulo de Senhor dos Martirios erecta pelos homens pretos de Nasção Gege neste convento de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo da Villa de Nossa Senhora do Rozario da Cachoeira este anno de 1765, Bahia, Lisbon: Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Codice #1666.

"Não encontro a confirmação ainda q. estou pela opinião q. o Procurador de Coroa da R^{oa} da B^a declara no seu officio, q. esta no fim los Estatutos: Estes pretos geges são tirados do paganissimo de Africa e sempre lhe fica huma propensão para coisas supersticiosas e convinha declarar q. ficão sugeitos a disciplina do ordinario nos funcoens e procissoins assim como na obrigação de dar contas ao Provedor das L^a p^{as}."

¹⁴Rene Ribeiro, "Relations of the Negro with Christianity in Portuguese America," The Americas, Vol. 14, 1958, p. 470.

¹⁵Stuart Schwartz, "The Mocambo: Slave Resistance in Colonial Bahia," Journal of Social History, Summer 1970, p. 317.

¹⁶Serafim Leite, Novas Paginas de Historia do Brasil, (Sao Paulo: 1965), pp. 343, 344, 345.

¹⁷Carlos Ott, "A Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos Pretos do Pelourinho," Afro-Asia, 1968, Nos. 6-7, p. 120.

¹⁸Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Terço erecta no Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos homens pretos da Vila de Santo Antonio do Recife de Pernambuco, 1758, Lisbon: Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Codice #1293, Chapter 14.

¹⁹C.R. Boxer, The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750, (Berkeley: 1962), p. 126.

²⁰R.C. Smith, "Manuscritos da Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos Homens Pretos do Recife," Arquivos, 4/10, 1945-51, footnote p. 55.

²¹Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Document #12.235, 1st series, Bahia, 1786, cf to Pierre Verger, Ibid., p. 527.

"Requerimento dos Pretos devotos da S^a do Rosario da Bahia. Senhora. Dizem os Pretos devotos da Gloriosa Senhora do Rosario da Cidade da Bahia, q̃ antigamente lhes éra permitido para maior e geral aplauzo da festividade da mesma Senhora, mascarar, dançar no idioma de Angola com os instrumentos concernentes Canticos e louvores; e por q̃. se achão privados; e em muitos Paizes da Christandade inda se praticão, e só neste existe a privação: Rogão a V.Mag^e por sua Alta Piedade e Real Grandeza, Serviço de Deos, e da mesma Senhora, se digne conceder licença aos Supp^{es} para os ditos festejos em Razão de parecer muito do agrado da sempre Gloriosa May de Deos. PAV. Mag^e se digne m^{dar} e conceder aos Supp^{es} a Licença pedida por oito ou tres dias; por cuja Graça. Rogará a D^{os} e a Santissima Senhorã pela vida, saude, aumento felicid^e descanso temporal e espirital de V. Mag^e e outro Trono na Gloria ficando para sempre."

²²Rene Ribeiro, Cultos Afro-Brasileiros do Recife, (Recife: 1952), pp. 29-32.
Arthur Ramos, The Negro in Brazil, (Washington, D.C.: 1939,) p. 96.

²³Rene Ribeiro, Ibid., p. 34.

²⁴Roger Bastide, Ibid., p. 161.

²⁵Rene Ribeiro, Ibid., pp. 29-30.

²⁶Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Maço #13 (1720-1768), Bahia, 3rd series, 13 Marco 1752.

"Por ser, como Juiz do crime, obrigado a-acompanhar a procissão dos Passos desta cidade, fieyna Vespóra e dia delles acompanhalla no prezente anno, junto com a Dez^{or} João Rodriguez Campelo, que serve de Ouvidor Geral do Crime nos impedimentos do Dez^{or} Jorge Saltêr de Mendoca se egando ao Convento do Carmo, de donde costume conduzir-se na Vespóra a Sacro-Sancta Imagem do Snr' dos Passos p^a a Cathedrâl em q.' se fôrma a procissão; quizeamos acompanhala Logo atrâz do Andôr, como Lugar competente. Porem foy esta rezolução encontrada pello Provedôr da quella Irmandade, João Dias da Cunha, querendo ir no mesmo Lugar indistincta m^{te}, sem outra algua difirencia, e como esta procissão da Vispora he feyta junto da noato (?), e não vay Palio ao depois do Andor, com q' se pudessem distinguir e disputar então os Lugares; assentes como Ouv^{or} do Cr^e em q' fossemos todos, dando-me o Prov^{or} o Lado direyto e eu ao dito Ministro, como superior. ..."

²⁷Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #39, 2nd series, 25 de Janeiro de 1729.

"Copia do Bando que se publicou sobre não haver reynados nas festas do Rozario dos Pretos. Do Conselho Ultramarino. O V. Rey do Brazil dá Conta do Bano q̃. alis mandou publicar sobre os abuzos q. achou introduzidos a respeito do Reynado dos Negros e seos folguedoz; e vas a copia do Bando q̃. se accuza. Vasco Fernandes Cezar de Menezes do Concelho de sua Magestade que DEOS Guarde V. Rey e Capitam General de mar e terra do Estado do Brazil etc. Por quanto nesta cidade setem introduzido muytos abuzos não so escandallozos e nocivos pello que respeita ao serviço de DEOS mas perjudiciaes ao Socegô publico e sendo o principal de todos os Reynados da gente preta, que para fazerem

a quelle acto com grandesa roubão athé os proprios altares como sevio há poucos tempos alem de entrarem violentamente nas cazas de muytos moradores tirando dellas os escravos que se achão emtroncos ou recluzos em castigo das suas desinvolturas. E porque este estillo ate agora tolerado hê deterriveis consequencias, as quaes deve atalhas applicandolhe o ultimo remedio. Mando que da qui em diante não haja função algua de Reynados podendo sô os Juizes e Juizas de Nossa Senhora do Rosario fazer na Igreja as suas festas; com cominação de que fasendosse o contrario serão os pretos que entrarem na quelle festim presos assoutados a columna servindo nas galles por tempo de hum anno, e as pretas presas a meu arbitrio. E porque não meresse menos attenção asin explicaveis desordens que resultão de viverem os escravos em casebres donde se recolhe criminosos emuytos roubos. Mando outrosy que nenhú senhorio dos ditos casebres possa alugalos aos referidos escravos subpena de-incorerem na pena de prisão por tempo de seis meses, pagando os furtos que constar-se recolherão nelles, e os pretos que os alugarem e se acharem nostaes casebres incorrerão no mesmo castigo que os outros. E da mesma sorte hey prohibido o a juntamente que costumão fazer os pretos e pretas com tabaques e outros instrumentos em varios Lugares desta cidade. E todos os que forem achandose nestas funções serão prezos practicandose com elles as mesmas penas que imponho aos outros. E constandome que os officiaes da Justica os conssentem não os prendendo logo serão suspencos pello tempo que me parecer; e os sargentos pagos desta Graça incorrerão em hua prisão Larga se não fiserem a mesma diligencia. ... 23 Julho 1728. Domingos Luis Moreyra o fis escrever/ Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Meneses.//"

²⁸Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Remedio dos pretos da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro de Nasção Minas cita na Igreja e Capella de Santo Ephigenia, 1788, Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Codice #1300, Chapter 20:

"Como tem introduzido o costume pela Futa do Rozario, vesterem-se varias Nasçoens de Pretos com o seo Chefe particular para que unidos todos contribuição aos louvores da mesma SENHORA com danças, ou aulias, a maneira dos Ethiopes, sem que com tudo se executem gestos indencentos ou obscenos..."

²⁹Rene Ribeiro, Ibid., pp. 33-34.

³⁰Ibid., p. 29.

³¹Jose Ramos Tinhorão, Musica popular de indios, negros e mestiços, (Petropolis: 1972), cf to Book Review by Gerhard Behague, Hispanic American Historical Review, May 1974, pp. 347-348.

32

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Remedio dos pretos de Cidade de Rio de Janeiro de Nasção Minas, 1788, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1300, Chapters 22 and 23.

33

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Amparo cita matris freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Ajuda, Jaguaripe, Bahia, 1767, Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Christo, Livro 297 - 228, Chapter 13.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario cita na Igreja de Sao Pedro Velho, Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Christo, Livro 297 - 168, Chapter 28.

34

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario e S. Benedicto, Rio de Janeiro, Capella de Santa Trindade, Macacu, Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Christo, Livro 297-154, Chapter 17.

35

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario, Sabara, Minas Gerais, Freguesia de Sao Miguel Percecava, Villa Nova da Raynha, Lisbon: AHU, Codice 1282, Chapter 8.

36

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos Pretos, Arrayal do Tijuco, Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Christo, Livro 283, Chapter 21.

37

Compromisso da Irmandade de S. Antonio de Catagero cita na matris de S. Pedro desta cidade da Bahia, 1699, Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, Oliveira Lima Collection, Chapter 13, 1st declaração ao Capitulo 13.

38

Arquivo Nacional de Rio de Janeiro, Codice #952, Vol. 3, folho 202, Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario e Resgate de Rio de Janeiro, January 12, 1685.

"Para o Governador Duarte Teixeira e Chavez. Duarte Teixeira e Chavez Amigo. El Rey vos envio muito saudar. Por parte dos Irmaos da Sra' do Rozario e Resgate dessa Capitania se me representou aqui terem algunos Irmãos Cattivos em algumas casaz com ruim cattiveiro, e por algunos

dellos se achare com baztante resgatte para se libertarem o nao podia fazer a ditta Irmandade sem Licença minha encomindovos que me informeiz com vosso parecer sobre este requerimento ouvindo aos officaos da Câmara dessa Praça. Escritta em Lisboa a 12 de Janeiro de 1685. Rey."

cf to A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Colonial Brazil," Chapter 3 in Cohen & Greene (Eds.), Neither Slave nor Free, p. 91.

39

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Registo de cartas, avisos e officios para a Baía, Codice #246, Livro 2, 1690-1714, p. 302.

"Juiz e Irmaos da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos pretos em a Baía. Para a Chanceller de Relação da Bahia, etc. Por parte do Juiz e maes Irmãos da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dessa cidade se me fez a petição, cuja copia se vos envia, em que pede lhe homee Juiz conservador q' conheça das causas q' os pretos escravos movere a seos Senhores sobre o castigo q' os tractao. E pareceo me ordenarvos q. informeis com vosso parecer sobre este requerimento. Scripta em Lx^a a 16 de Junho 1711. Rey."

40

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Registo de cartas, avisos e officios para a Baía, Codice #246, Livro 2, 1690-1714, pp. 346-347.

"Para o Gov^{or} do Estado do Brazil, p^a se lhe encomendar de a execução a ordem q' se passou p^a se evitarem os tiranos castigos q' os senhores dão a seus escravos. Exp^{de} Dom João etc. Faço saber avos Governador e Capitam Geral do estado do Brazil, que sendo informado pello Chanceller dessa Reclação em carta de 24 de novembro de 1709 a. a ordem que se passou em o anno de 1688 pella qual se emcomenda a os governadores geraes dessa estado tenham especial cuidado de que os Senhores nao castiguem os seus escravos rigurosamente senao observa antes a desimullação de se executar em facilidade o uzo dos ditos Snehores de escravos viarem com elles de castigos tiranos e ser justo se evitem estes excessos por não dar ocasião as queyxas dos mesmos escravos vos emcomendo muito ainfalivel execução da dita ordem. El Rey nosso Senhor. Lisboa ... 17 de Janeiro de 1714."

41

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do Rosario dos pretos de Freguesia de N.Sr^a do Pillar de Agoassu do Bispado de Rio de Janeiro, n.d. Lisboa: ANTT, Chancellaria, Ordem de Christo, Livro 297, folho 205, chapters 16, 19.

Chapter 16: "O Proc^{or} menor terá a cargo saber se ha feiticieiros na Irm^{de} e dar parte ao Juis p^a os expulçar fora saber se ha Irmãos cazados amacebados q' dão ma vida a suas mulheres por esse respeito e reprehendelos e não se enmendando dará parte ao Juis p^a os castigar na forma do Cap. 19 saber se ha algum Irmãos mal procedido evicioso q. de grande escandalo como demaziadem^{te} feijão Ladrão ou papterra q. tão bem reprehenderá e não se enmendando dará parte ao Juis para os castigar na form do Cap. 19 saber de outro qualqr. vicio q. seja necer^o por lhe remedio como melhor parecer será serviço de D^s será obrig^{do} em todas as mezas requerer ao Juis e mais Irmãos della o augmente da Irmandade para a. se lhe deixe em a hu an^o hua pesso de ouro ou prata ou ornam^{to} ou outra cauza se milhante q. figue de exemplo o seus successores cornato a Irm^{de}."

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do Rosario dos homens pretos erecta na Capella da Conceição e S. Bento, na beira da Matta de Pernambuco, em Paramerim, em a freguesia de S. Joze das Itapororoças, 1786, Lisbon: ANTT, Dona Maria I, Chancellaria, Ordem de Christo, Livro 16, folho 80, Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Membership within the brotherhood was open to Cathòlics ... "porem não entrará pessoa alguã que tenha fama de feiticiero ou que era em semelhantes abuzos, e sendo que depois de Irmãos se venha no conhecimento de o ser, será logo expulso e riscado da Irmandade."

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do Rosario e S. Benedicto no bispado do Rio de Janeiro sita na capella da Santa Trindade do Macacu, Rio de Janeiro, 1767, Lisboa: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Christo, Livro 297 - 154, chapter 6.

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do Rosario dos homens pretos erecta na freguesia de N.Sr^a da Conceição, Villa do Principe da Serra do Frio, Rio de Janeiro, 1767, Lisboa: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Christo, Livro 283 - 146, chapter 21.

Chapter 21 states that those members who were feiticeiras (African priestesses) had their names erased from the membership list. Automatic expulsion from the

confraternity was the penalty for a member's devotion to the African Orixás, once these secret practices were discovered.

R.C. Smith, "Decadas do Rosario dos Pretos, Documentos da Irmandade," Recife, Brazil, Documentação e Culture, Diretoria, Arquivos, 4/10, 1945-1951, pp. 154-155.

The records of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in Recife give examples of the disharmony and disputes among the brothers which led to the expulsion of the guilty parties. Civil crimes, thievery, and fights were the principal reasons for expulsion. In 1722 the members of the Rosary confraternity were shocked to discover that one of their members, Manoel Teixeira had pawned the gold crown of Our Lady of the Rosary to buy a skirt for his concubine! During the same year another brother, Pedro Gomes was expelled from the sodality for attacking the Judge of the Mesa with a sword in the sacristy of the church. On April 25, 1727 Joao Dias was expelled for brandishing a sword during a general meeting of the Mesa and threatening to cut off the hands of the scribe who was taking the minutes of the meeting. The sacristan of the confraternity was thrown out of the brotherhood for losing objects of value that belonged to the brotherhood, for overcharging the brotherhood for candles and other services and for being unclean.

42

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do Livramento de Villa de S. Antonio de Recife, Pernambuco, 1765, AHU, Lisbon, Codice #1665, estatuto 13.

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do Rozario, freguesia de Sao Miguel, Ipojuca, Recife, Pernambuco, 1770, AHU, Lisbon, Codice #1667, chapter 15.

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do Rozario dos homens pretos da Villa de S. Antonio do Recife de Pernambuco, 1758, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1293, chapter 11.

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do Rosario, Desterro, Tambe, Pernambuco, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1536, chapter 16.

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do Rosario, em a freguesia de N.Sr^a do Conceição de Mato, Bishopric of Marianna, 1767, Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Cristo, Livro 297-76, chapter 16.

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do
Livramento de homens pardos da freguesia de S^{to} Antonio do
Cabo, Capitania de Pernambuco, 1767, Lisbon: AHU, Codice
#1683, Chapter 19.

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do Rosario dos
pretos de Freguesia de N.Sr^a do Pillar de Agoassu do Bispado
de Rio de Janeiro, n.d., Lisbon: ANTT, Chancelaria de Ordem
de Cristo, Livro 297-205, chapter 19.

Compromisso da Virgem Sanctissima May de Deus
de N.Sr^a do Rosario, dos pretos da Praya, Bahia, Salvador,
1686, chapter XXI, (Xeroxed copy). (I am grateful to A.J.
R. Russell-Wood for lending me his Xeroxed copy of this
compromisso.)

Cap. XXI: "Ordenamos que todos aquelles Irmãos
ou Irmãs assim de parte de Angollas, como da parte de crioulllos,
que forem motinadores, e rebeldes e causarem desconcordias e
desunioens na ditta Irmandade cauzando prejuizo aella
desahimando aos dittos Irmãos que com bom zello estão
servindo manços e pacificos, sômentes por sua devocam:
seram lançados fora da ditta Irmandade sem nella terem
vox nem mando, e em nehum tempo serem chamados, a meza
nem fora della por evictar a ruina que pôde causar nas
dittas mezas, que se fazem na Irmandade sômentes serão
chamados, aquelles que forem de rezão e admitiram amelhorã
da dita Irmandade com toda apãs e união..."

43

A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto
Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil: A Study in Collective
Behavior," Hispanic American Historical Review, vol. 54,
No. 4, November 1974, pp. 586-587.

cf to: A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto
Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil," a paper presented to the
AHA annual convention, New Orleans, December 28, 1972, pp.
16, 17, 18. (With some slight alterations this paper has
been published in the above journal.)

44

Compromisso da Irmandade do Glorioso São
Francisco de Paula filial a Matris de N.Sr^a do Pillar de
Criolos Livres nascidos no Imperiod do Brasil, Bahia, 1844,
chapters 21, 25. (I am indebted to A.J.R. Russell-Wood
for lending me his Xeroxed copy of this compromisso.)

45

A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil: A Study in Collective Behavior," H.A.H.R., Ibid., p. 585.

46

Robert C. Smith, "Manuscritos da Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos homens pretos do Recife," Arquivos, Ibid., pp. 55-85. See Table J in the Appendix for the exact figures.

47

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do Rozário dos homens pretos da Villa de S. António do Recife de Pernambuco, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1293, chapter 9.

"...nesta Meza não se admitirá nella Irmãos captivos pois nesta Irmand^e há bem abundantes Livres de escravidão, e os ditos captivos são muitas vezes impedidos do Senhorio para cumprirem com suas obrigações pela deminuição do tempo de seus serviços, e assim mandamos aos nossos Irmãos não discrepem em nada deste Capitulo."

48

Compromisso da Irmandade de N.Sr^a do Rozário dos homens pretos da Villa de S. António do Recife de Pernambuco, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1293, Chapter 15.

"Cap.^o 15 - Quando falecer d^e qualquer Irmãos filhos, senão de idade te de doze annos a Irmandade he obrigada a lhe fazer tudo quanto se faz por seus paes excepto as Missas, como tão bem seo Irmão for cazado, e falecer, e a mulher não for Irmaá, poderá ficar pagando de annual meia pataca desde o dia de falecimento de seo marido, e com isto ficará feita Irmáa, e sendo se caze com alguã Pessoa que o não for mandamos ao nosso Escrivão logo lhe faça avizo q. assente o marido na Irmandade para poder gozar de todas as honras, e franquezas da Irmandade. Se alguã Pessoa quizer por sua devoção vir se enterrar nesta Igreja nao sendo Irmão, o Tesourero lhe dará o preço da sepultura conforme o lugar que pedirem, sendo no corpo da Igreja seis mil reis, e se quizerem vir na nossa Tumba, então será dez mil reis, sendo na

sacristia a sepultura, na Sacristia pedirá oito mil reis, e sequizerem comprar dagrade da Capella Maior para dentro, e que hajão dequerer para suas Gerações pondo lhe tampa, cem mil reis."

49

A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil: A Study in Collective Behavior," H.A.H.R., Ibid., p. 586.

50

Ibid., pp. 586-589.

51

Ibid., p. 599.

52

Manoel S. Cardozo, "The Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil," The Catholic Historical Review, April 1947, p. 21.

53

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Maço #62, Bahia, 3rd series, October 22, 1751.

"Rol das pessoas desta Capitania de Itapicurú que contribuíram para a factura da Igreja, freguesia de Nossa Senhora do Rosário ... que se obrigando a fature do Igreja no anno de 1751. Esta sam as pessoas declarados neste rol de m^a dezobriga de commanham e comfissam deste present anno e p^a llança me asigno nesta Matris do Rio Itapicurú de N.Sr^a do Rosário a 22 de 8^{bro} de 1751. R^{do} P^e Vigarios Antônio Monis de Oliveira.

54

Manoel Cardozo, "As Irmandades da Antiga Bahia," Revista de Historia, Sao Paulo, Vol. 47, July-Sept. 1973, p. 246.

cf to Carlos Ott, "A Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos Pretos do Pelourinho," Afro-Asia, 1968, Nos. 6-7, p. 122.

55

See Table H in the Appendix for a geographic breakdown of the location of the principal black brotherhoods in colonial Brazil.

CHAPTER IV

THE MEMBERS OF THE BLACK CONFRATERNITIES

The members of the slave confraternities were a representative cross section of the black urban population. Slaves constituted the most important social category among the members and were the majority of the black brothers. No matter how destitute, the overwhelming majority of the blacks and mulattoes who lived in the cities of colonial Brazil aspired to become members and officers of the black confraternities. By joining a brotherhood a slave gained enormous prestige, social status and respectability. The black brotherhoods provided a means of social ascent and mobility for enterprising slaves and freedmen.¹ The confraternities allowed for the emergence of a black elite within the Afro-Brazilian community. The officers of the black brotherhoods were the cream of black society who were willing to use their meager savings and small wages to contribute to church building, to sponsor lavish festivals and funerals and to contribute to the various works of mercy required of their compromissos.

The practice of having separate confraternities for the people of different races and classes in Brazil provided the Afro-Brazilian population with their own ethnic and cultural identity. Blacks were prohibited from joining

white confraternities. All other types of self-help associations were forbidden. Black brotherhoods were the only legitimate associations permitted in colonial times for the non-white population. Confraternities were the urban counterparts to the rural quilombos or fugitive slave communities.²

African kings, chiefs, warriors had all been enslaved and reduced to one level without any consideration for the different social classes within African society. In the rigid class stratification of colonial Brazil, black slaves occupied the lowest level of the social pyramid, but not all the people of African descent were subject peassants toiling on the plantations without any relief from the burdens of slavery. With the help of their confraternities slaves could save enough money to buy their freedom papers or gain legal assistance in lawsuits over their freedom. Since Brazilian slaves lived in an alien and hostile environment, they needed black brotherhoods as a source of protection against the cruelty and excesses of their white masters. Through their confraternities the blacks gained a form of religious equality in the Catholic Church. The vigilant officers of the confraternities saw that indigent members and their families were cared for in times of sickness or death. No matter how poor the members, the black brotherhoods provided their members with a decent Christian funeral

and masses for the dead. Brotherhoods insured that slaves were given a decent burial and thereby protected from the indifference of their white masters who preferred to dump a slave's body in the jungles or beaches not caring to pay the required burial fees. Since the Catholic population of Brazil had to pay both the church tithes and stipends to the priests for the reception of sacraments, the officers of the black brotherhoods initiated lawsuits against the parish priests protesting the inflation of priestly fees which caused a terrible burden on poor blacks and made it very expensive to be religious. Forming their own brotherhoods and building their own churches insured the black members of a meeting place apart from the watchful eyes of their white masters.

The black population of colonial Brazil was not a unified or cohesive social class. There were many divisions within the black community which prevented them from presenting a united front against white society. Linguistic and tribal differences and hostilities between the Brazilian-born and African-born blacks prevented them from organizing a successful slave uprising. Creole informers notified the police of any planned rebellions before they had begun. Within the divisiveness of black society, the confraternities provided a place

where all members of the African nations might be united with the Brazilian-born black creoles. Ethnic differences were often forgotten in the confraternities in light of the common problems of racial and social discrimination suffered by the non-white population during colonial times. Black brotherhoods, unlike their white counterparts, were not discriminatory allowing all people to join without regard for race, class, social condition or sex. The only requirements for membership were baptism and a knowledge of Christian doctrine. Some confraternities required that their prospective members be capable of receiving communion so they could enjoy all the indulgences of membership. Black lay brotherhoods were products of collective religious sentiment which united their members through their common needs and goals. Membership in a confraternity was a vehicle of social assimilation and integration for the alien African population.³

The Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of black men and women was the oldest and most exclusive black confraternity in colonial Brazil. It was the most popular and numerous confraternity in the cities of Brazil. The attachment of Afro-Brazilians to Our Lady of the Rosary might be explained by the fact that the

slaves worshipped her as Yemanjá, the African goddess of the sea. In the Xangôs of Recife Yemanjá was called "Sereia do Mar" (Mermaid of the Sea) or Nossa Senhora do Rosário.⁴

The members of the Rosary confraternities were the elite of black society. It was the richest of all the black confraternities in Brazil. The King had given it the most privileges. Under royal protection it grew and prospered until it had the largest number of branches throughout the cities of colonial Brazil. Membership in any one of the branches of the Rosary confraternity conveyed the most prestige and social status within the black community. Membership could be transferred from one city and province to another allowing the member to enjoy the same privileges and concessions no matter where he lived in Brazil as long as there was a branch of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary of black men in the town to which he moved. This brotherhood took the leadership in challenging the funeral privileges of the white confraternity of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia in Rio de Janeiro and Salvador do Bahia. Two branches of the Rosary brotherhood in Salvador in Portas do Carmo and Conceição da Praia fought adamantly with the pastors over the high taxes that the priests charged for administration

of the sacraments which were known as "conhecenças." The Catholics in Brazil were doubly taxed by the Church. All Christians paid a Church tithe plus priestly stipends for reception of the sacraments. The officers of the Rosary confraternity played an important leadership role in challenging the pastors for jurisdiction over the brotherhood churches and attacking the high costs of the taxes for the reception of the sacraments. The black officers of the Rosary brotherhood were independent-minded laymen who struggled for greater rights for the blacks within the church. The officers of the black brotherhoods were predominantly freemen who enjoyed greater mobility and freedom for confraternity activities, although slaves were the majority of the membership.

Although slaves and free blacks made up the majority of the Rosary confraternity's membership, some branches permitted white and mulatto brothers. Other branches were restrictive in their membership, permitting only people of African descent. Many brotherhoods were like the Rosary branch in Iguarassu, Pernambuco which only permitted blacks to enter the sodality with the sole exception of the one rich white man who held the office of treasurer. The mulattoes generally had their own confraternities dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Livramento, Amparo, Conceição

or Guadelupe which were usually closed to pure Africans and creoles but were open to whites.⁵

All of the blacks in Brazil were eligible for membership in a confraternity. Slaves, and free blacks, Africans, mulattoes and creoles, all could find a confraternity which would meet their needs provided they paid their entry fee, their annual dues and contributed to the festivals.⁶ Members were also required to attend religious services together on special feast days. Many confraternities had weekly or monthly religious duties such as saying the Rosary, going to Communion and Confession and attending mass together. The most important religious duty of the black brothers was attending the funeral processions of dead members. Constant absence from the religious observances and funerals of the confraternity would result in expulsion from the membership rolls.

Women were permitted to join the black sodalities although they were barred from the white confraternities. They were usually wives, sisters or friends of members. Black sisters were not in a majority in the slave confraternities. They probably made up no more than ten per cent of the membership of most black confraternities. However there were some exceptions; the Mineiro confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in Sabara had eleven

women out of a total membership of twenty-four members. Approximately forty-two per cent of this confraternity were female. However most other confraternities had less black sisters. In the Pernambucan confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in Igaressu there were only nine women out of total membership of eighty. The Rosary branch in Recife, Pernambuco had sixteen sisters out of seventy-three members.⁷

A few positions on the governing board of the confraternities were customarily reserved for women of African descent. They usually held the positions of judge (juiza), queen (rainha), procurator (procuradora), and stewardess (mordoma.) They played an important role in the organization of festivals. The pardo brotherhood of Our Lady of Conception in Vallença, Bahia, required that poor girls and orphan members be dressed in white and take vows of chastity on the feast day of their patroness. The vows of the brothers and orphan sisters were annually renewed on the festival of Our Lady of the Conception.⁸ Perhaps this was done in imitation of the white nuns in the convents who excluded women of African descent. The sisters of the black sodalities were also used in nursing sick members.⁹ It was an unusual practice in colonial Brazilian society to allow women to enter lay confraternities but

this custom of the black brotherhoods reflected the important role that African women traditionally played in tribal society.

Each black confraternity in Brazil shared certain common characteristics irrespective of the different ethnic origins of its members. Within each brotherhood there was an unusually large number of officers and an elected chaplain. The four principle officers were: judge (juiz), scribe (escrivão), treasurer (tesoureiro), and procurator (procurador.) It was not an uncommon practice in the larger sodalities to have two juizes (judges), two juizas (judges), two procuradores (procurators), two procuradoras (procurators), and two mordomos (stewards) and mordomas (stewardesses) to be in charge of the myriad duties of collecting alms, rendering social services, running festivals, arranging for masses for the dead and keeping the churches in good order. Until the end of the eighteenth century it was customary practice to have a rich white man in the position of treasurer and a literate white man as scribe. The Rosary brotherhoods always elected a king and queen for the annual reynados. Most brotherhoods had additional officers such as mordomos (stewards), andadores (funeral notifiers), zelladores (zealot), deffinidores (counsellor), and consultores (counsellor) who

acted as stewards and advisors, aiding in the collection of alms to pay for the social services of the sodalities. In addition to these officers each brotherhood had a mesa, a committee or board which was composed of twelve to twenty four members annually elected who helped run brotherhood affairs. In choosing the members of the mesa, the Rosary brotherhoods were conscious of the ethnic divisions within the black community. Therefore it was stipulated that half of the mesa membership would be creoles and the other half would be Angolans. Election to an office in a black brotherhood was a great honor but it carried with it further financial responsibilities beyond the entrance fee and the annual dues. Officers were required to subsidize the religious festivals and the funerals of indigent members. The officers paid a higher fee when they were elected since this money was badly needed by the poor sodalities for their charitable works.

Slaves were permitted to be officers and members of the majority of the black brotherhoods. Some confraternities allowed slaves to be elected to office with the written permission of their masters. The Rio Brotherhood of Our Lady of Mercy of the Redemption of Captives had eight slaves as officers when its compromisso was approved in 1782. They held the positions of judge, scribe and six

were members of the mesa. This sodality was not a typical confraternity. It was an archconfraternity which had a large slave membership. According to its compromisso it was quite selective in whom it admitted to membership. Chapter two described the people who ought to be admitted to the sodality:

"The brotherhood is open to all men and women without scandal or infamy. Of the persons who must be admitted. We admit into this Archconfraternity all types of Christian people, men as well as women, making first a petition with their names, countries and where they are residents in order that informing us of their conduct and [how] they will serve ... [so that we can ascertain whether or not] they will serve with the scandal or infamy of thievery, of being a fugitive slave, sorcerers, usurers, vagabonds, and of rebellious spirit or drundards, and those who they will find with good information which the Brother Procurador will give, he whom the Brother Juiz allowed to enter will be admitted as a brother and every brother who through time in the future incurred the said faults/ which the Mother of God does not permit / [their names] will be erased being first admonished, and his body will be carried to sepulture without pomp."10

The black confraternities could afford to be selective about the people whom they admitted into their midst since many blacks wanted to enter a brotherhood. Henry Koster, the English merchant who resided in the Northeast of Brazil for many years, noted in his travelers' account the popularity and importance of lay brotherhoods among the slaves

of Recife. He said:

"The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these Irmandades and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs."¹¹

The slave's willingness to use part of his limited savings, which he could have used to buy his freedom, to contribute to the brotherhoods' religious activities, indicates the enormous prestige and respect which membership in a confraternity carried in the Afro-Brazilian community.

Black brotherhoods were less exclusive than the white brotherhoods in their membership rules. Most of the black confraternities were open to all baptized Christians without distinction of class, race, sex or servile condition. Minors of at least twelve years of age were also eligible for membership in a sodality. However prospective members were expected to be free of such vices as excessive drinking or practicing witchcraft. Feiticéiras or sorcerers were to be expelled from the brotherhoods without any pardon.

Some brotherhoods only admitted brothers who understood Christian doctrine and were capable of communion so that they could receive all the indulgences of membership.¹²

Although a majority of the black sodalities were open to white members, their role within the brotherhood was restricted to the religious and charitable duties of ordinary membership. Most of the brotherhoods banned whites from participating in elections or holding office except for the positions of scribe and treasurer. In 1788 and 1804 the brotherhoods of St. Benedict in Bahia sought to rescind the rule which stipulated that whites should hold these positions. In its demand for black self-government, the brotherhood reasoned that by the end of the eighteenth century there were sufficient numbers of literate blacks who were eligible to hold these offices. In 1804 the Brotherhood of St. Benedict in the Convent of Sao Francisco gave as the reason for its request for a black scribe and treasurer "the despotic power of the whites" in their exercise of the functions of these offices. Here the whites acted as a trojan horse within the sodality, trying to control the affairs of the sodality. In 1788 the white treasurer and scribe of the Brotherhood of St. Benedict voiced their opposition to the blacks' request for a black scribe and treasurer

on the grounds that most blacks were slaves, only a minority were literate, the majority were unemployed, lacked financial means and were incapable of efficient administration of the affairs of the brotherhood. Finally they argued that white officers were a stabilizing influence on the black sodalities. In 1789 the governor allowed blacks to hold the position of scribe and treasurer provided they were freedmen with sufficient financial resources.¹³

In the beginning of the colonial period the black brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary in Bahia were exclusive in their membership only allowing Angolans to enter the sodality, later creoles were admitted. This practice encouraged the establishment of other black sodalities among the Afro-Brazilian population. Some of the tribal brotherhoods were restrictive in their membership. The Gégé Brotherhood of Bom Jesus in the Carmelite Convent in Cachoeira, Bahia excluded creoles from membership due to controversies between the African-born and Brazilian-born blacks.

The pardo brotherhoods were choosy about their membership as well. The Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Livramento in Recife permitted whites and mulattoes to become brothers but excluded black freedmen and

slaves from membership in order to prevent discord within the sodality. It was felt that the blacks had the Rosary brotherhoods. However not all of the mulatto confraternities were so exclusive. The pardo Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Amparo in Jaguaripe, Bahia admitted all baptized Christians and helped slave members to buy their freedom. Another pardo Brotherhood dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Livramento in Recife prohibited whites from serving as officers of the governing board in order to prevent dissensions.¹⁴

Slaves were eligible for membership in the vast majority of the black brotherhoods. In fact slaves made up the majority of the membership. There were some restrictions on the slaves' right to be elected an officer. Some sodalities allowed slaves to be elected to the governing board of the brotherhood only with the permission of their masters. For example the branches of the brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary in Rio Grande do Sul and Paraíba only permitted slaves to be elected to offices in the brotherhood with the written permission of their masters who were required to pay the annual dues for their slaves. Another branch of the brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in Minas Gerais obliged slave masters to pay for

the masses for the souls of their dead slaves. The Irmandade of Nossa Senhora do Rozario of the black men of the town of Santo Antonio in Recife did not admit slave brothers to the board of governors or the mesa "because the slaves were many times impeded from fulfilling their obligations to the brotherhood by their masters' need for their services." Slaves were excluded from the office of procurator in the Brotherhood of São Benedicto in Minas Gerais due to their servile condition. However slaves could be elected juiz or juiza with a letter of permission from their masters.

Masses for the dead and funeral expenses for dead slaves were to be paid by their masters except in cases where the slave was troublesome. The procurators of the brotherhoods often sought alms from slave owners for masses and funeral expenses. Black brotherhoods often found that dead slaves were buried at brotherhood expense because the slave owners were unfeeling and uncaring. They felt no obligation to their dead slaves. Some white slave owners were too poor to pay these expenses. Most of the brotherhoods sought to elect free men and women to office in the

brotherhood. The Brotherhood of São Vicente Ferreira in Marianna stated in its compromisso that officers could be free or slave without distinction. The old Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in Portas do Carmo in Bahia would not permit slaves or persons of illegitimate birth to be elected to the mesa. The only exceptions were the mordomos of the festivals who could be slaves as long as they fulfilled all their obligations during the year and satisfied the customary debts and alms required of their office and the expenses of the festival.¹⁵

How did slaves, poor free blacks and mulattoes amass sufficient wealth to join a confraternity? In some cases the white owners of slaves paid their entrance fees and annual dues to the confraternity. In the mining regions of Brazil slaves were able to secrete diamonds and gold in their hair and clothing enabling them to amass some savings from contraband sales and illegal activities. Slaves were allowed to work on Sundays and holy days. Many slaves undoubtedly contributed to their brotherhoods some of the money they were saving for their freedom papers.

Who were the members of the brotherhoods? What were their occupations? These are crucial questions

which must be answered about confraternity membership. The soldiers of the black regiments made up a sizeable proportion of the free black members in Salvador do Bahia. Despite the fact that the black regiments had lower pay scales than the soldiers of the white regiments, freed-men gained social status and respectability by joining the black or pardo regiments which helped them to escape the social stigma of slavery. Ethnic rivalries and jealousies were present in the black regiments as well as the black brotherhoods. The creoles hated and distrusted the African people from the Costa da Mina, a West African people of the Yoruba linguistic group, being Gégés or Nágos; the African people from the Costa da Mina were active in preserving the African religious cults in Brazil. These Africans possessed mining skills and were considered the strongest of the slave population, most resistant to diseases and with the magical skill of finding gold. They were numerous in Minas Gerais, particularly Diamantina.¹⁶

In 1756 the creole captains and officers of the Henriques Dias regiment of the musketeers of the Plaza of the city of Bahia sent a petition to the King protesting that an African regiment was established in Pernambuco composed of men from the Costa da Mina. The creoles felt that the Africans of the Costa da Mina were people of an

"infected nation"...lacking faith in God and the king, enemies of the whites against whom each day they plot uprisings and easily could with the use of their arms make some insurrection among the people, accompanied by the black slaves and fugitives," therefore the creole regiments wanted the king to appoint only creoles born in Brazil to the regiments and not blacks of any other nation. The creole soldiers resented the appointment of an African from the Costa da Mina as a "Mestre do Campo" (Colonel of the Infantry) of a black regiment in Pernambuco.¹⁷ The Gégé Brotherhood of Bom Jesus located in the Carmelite Convent of Cachoeira, Bahia excluded creoles from its membership due to controversies between African-born and Brazilian-born blacks.¹⁸

The black brotherhoods had a small minority of whites in their membership. Why did whites join the black confraternities? Slave owners, priests, soldiers, and rich whites joined the black brotherhoods for pious religious reasons, to have a big funeral when they died, and to try to control and dominate the activities of the black members. The offices of treasurer and scribe were usually held by a rich white man due to illiteracy and poverty of the black members. Black confraternities were not discriminatory opening their membership to all

racas, classes and sexes, although the white confraternities were closed to the non-white population. In most Brazilian cities whites and blacks established separate confraternities but in the Rosary branch in Diamantina white brothers were present in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. They were relatively few in number from 1700 until 1775. Most whites joined the confraternities in the nineteenth century out of a desire to integrate the membership. Most of the white brothers were priests and soldiers of the Dragoons and Infantry. The majority of the white brothers were people of distinction within the district. Rarely did the white brothers become officers of the mesa. Their priests were chaplains who tried to defend the confraternity against the interference of the pastors. Rich whites often contributed in their wills money and property to the confraternity. In the brotherhoods whites were always a distinct minority. Out of 510 members of the Rosary brotherhood in Tijuco between 1779 and 1800 only 79 were whites.¹⁹

Free blacks and mulattoes were not the majority of the membership of most black confraternities since membership was predominantly slave. They played an important leadership role in the confraternities.

The free black and mulatto lived in precarious economic circumstances in colonial Brazil. The white population confused the freedmen with slaves. The social and racial discrimination suffered by the freedmen was equal to that suffered by the slaves. In difficult economic times when it was unprofitable to support a slave, many were freed in large numbers by their owners. Few freedmen had a skill which would command a decent wage. Some of the branches of the Rosary brotherhood were dedicated to helping the freed man with food and charity in cases of extreme poverty. In the beginning of the eighteenth century freedmen, slaves and mulattoes were all united in one black confraternity, later in the century the mulattoes created their own confraternities dedicated to Our Lady of Mercy or Amparo or Santa Efigênia.

The freed blacks and pardos were an unruly and rebellious part of the population who resisted subjugation by the whites. Since they were essentially a marginal element in the population, the brotherhoods helped to integrate and assimilate them into the general population. The mulattoes were famous for their cultural achievements. They gained professional competency in the arts and music which gave them social status. They were also artisans as well as

musicians and artists. The greatest mulatto artist was Aleijadinho or António Francisco de Lisboa, the famous sculptor of Ouro Preto, however he was not an exception. Pardos constructed the majority of the churches in Minas Gerais. As Ouro Preto excelled in art and church construction, Diamantina excelled in musical compositions. Francisco Curt Lange, the German musicologist, has described the achievements of these mulatto masters of Baroque music. Brotherhoods were clients of the arts subsidizing church construction, sculptures and musical works enriching the cultural style and development of the captaincy of Minas Gerais. The demand for church construction made the Mineira confraternities the centers of artistic and musical activities.²⁰

Archangelo Benedicto de São Francisco was a typical member of the Rosary brotherhood. He was a leading officer of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Church of Portas do Carmo in Salvador do Bahia. He was a captain major in the Henriques Dias regiment of the plaza of Bahia. In the dispute between Pastor Father Francis Xavier Marques de Rocha and the Rosary brotherhood, Archangelo Benedicto took the leadership in challenging the pastor over the high cost of funerals.

In his letters to Lisbon the pastor singled Archangelo Benedicto out as a rebellious brother who spoke harshly to the priest entering the sacristy of the church protesting against the actions of the priest. He was described as rebellious and a supporter of demands and discords. He probably originated the lawsuit against the pastor. His actions prove that the black brothers were not docile in face of oppression or mistreatment by the Church hierarchy.²¹

Although the confraternities were mainly composed of black lay men and women, there was a small minority of priests on the membership rolls. What percentage of these priests were mulattoes and blacks is an intriguing question which cannot be answered conclusively. Most of the clergy in the Brazilian church in colonial times were whites. The archbishopric of Bahia laid down specific rules for candidates for ordination in the early 1700s which required "purity of blood" (limpeza da sangre) of the parents and grandparents of all seminarians. Slaves, illegitimate sons, physically deformed persons, Jews, Moors, moriscos, mulattoes, heretics and persons of any other contaminated race were excluded from the priesthood. There were of course exceptions to this rule. The Crown or local bishop could grant dispensations allowing aspiring

novices to enter the clergy without satisfying all these rules for ordination. The most famous exception to the purity of blood of the white clergy was Antônio Vieira, a prominent member of the Jesuit order whose maternal grandmother was a mulatto servant. Blacks in the Portuguese possessions were ordained from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. They were never very numerous but they did constitute a majority of the clergy in São Tomé for centuries and a sizeable portion of the priests in Cabo Verde, Angola and the old kingdom of the Congo. Individual non-whites may have become priests in Brazil from the sixteenth century onwards but they were never very numerous until the end of the colonial period when the Jesuits were expelled and the shortage of clergymen caused the church to lift the ban against blacks and mulattoes entering the clergy. It is safe to conclude that most of the priests who were chaplains or members of the black brotherhoods were whites with a few individual exceptions.²²

The festivals of the black brotherhoods were colorful extravagances which fascinated the painters of nineteenth century Brazil. Johan Moritz Rugendas, a nineteenth century German artist whose visit to Brazil in 1821 provided inspiration for his book Picturesque Voyage to Brazil, was intrigued by the brotherhood festival

of the crowning of the African kings and the funeral processions of the blacks. The military artist, Carlos Julião, a captain of an artillery division attached to the Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro, was also fascinated by the confraternity festivals of the black slaves in Rio de Janeiro. His colorful pictures of the Rosary festivals give a beautiful picture of the rich costumes used by the black slaves in their confraternity activities. The dresses of the African women who took part in the festivals of Our Lady of the Rosary and the crowning of the king and queen of the African nations are magnificent examples of nineteenth century costumes. These rich costumes were either donated by the whites to their slaves or were purchased at great price. It is conceivable that slaves spent all their savings and meager wages on their festivals which could have been used to buy their freedom papers. The confraternity's festivals were so colorful and splendid that foreign travelers described them in their books and paintings. Extravagant processions and baroque festivals gave the confraternity members opportunities for displaying their African dances and music thereby preserving a portion of their African culture. During the processions, ceremonies and banquets that were staged on the days of the festivals,

the brothers and sisters of the confraternities had an opportunity to forget the dreadful burden of their servitude and to act like human beings. Participation of black slaves in public processions and religious festivals was a sign of social acceptance and carried great prestige. It was also a sign of the assimilation of the black population within Brazilian society.²³

How large was the membership of the various black confraternities? Brotherhood membership varied from region to region depending on the wealth of the black population and their interest and dedication to confraternity activities. Undoubtedly the largest confraternities were found in Minas Gerais, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco where the black population was large and had sufficient opportunities to amass sufficient savings to invest in lay religious associations. The average brotherhood was small composed of 20 to 30 members. The largest and most popular confraternities had from 80 to 100 members and were well endowed. The Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Church of Santos Cosme and Damião in the town of Igaressu, Pernambuco had 80 members, 6 of whom were priests, 7 were women, 2 were widows of former members. Another Rosary branch in Recife had 72 members, 4 of whom were priests and

16 were women. One of the largest confraternities were the Rosary branches in Diamantina. From 1779 until 1800 the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in Diamantina had 453 members of which 314 were slaves and 139 were freedmen. In the same years the Rosary branch in Tijuco had 510 members made up of 297 slaves, 134 freedmen and 79 whites. How did slaves amass enough money to support such large confraternities with a wide variety of social services? Mainly the members contributed from their own scanty resources with some aid from generous whites who gained social prestige by contributing money to their slaves' confraternities. It was also possible for the slaves to save money by working on their holidays: Sundays, holy days and moonlit nights. Annual dues, and entrance fees were only part of the revenue of the confraternities. The greatest source of revenue were the collections made in the church or at annual meetings where the officers accepted voluntary contributions from the faithful. The black confraternities also owned property which brought in needed revenue in the form of rent. The Rosary confraternities in Diamantina were richer than the mulatto confraternity of Nossa Senhora das Mercês whose members helped to support their treasury by accompanying funeral corteges of

non-members. The Rosary brotherhood in Diamantina owned many houses which they rented and gained a lucrative source of income for their treasury.²⁴

There were regional differences among the confraternities. Some brotherhoods had a majority slave membership while others were predominantly free. The Rosary brotherhood in Tijuco in the diamond mining district of Minas Gerais had a majority slave membership and they owned slaves since free members used slaves and their labor to pay their debts to the confraternity. But this practice was not typical of other urban brotherhoods of blacks elsewhere. The Rosary brothers in Tijuco also leased slaves to the mines to raise needed revenue, however they only hired out a few of their slaves and they never used slave members. The white confraternity of Santíssimo Sacramento also followed this same practice in Diamantina. This was not a common practice of lay confraternities throughout Brazil and was a response to the heavy labor demands of the mining districts.²⁵

African slaves of Sudanese origin organized African cult houses in Recife, Salvador and Rio de Janeiro. Some of the confraternity members were undoubtedly feiticéiras in those cities. Since the

Rosary brotherhood in Diamantina united Africans of different tribal nations together into one confraternity, this practice prevented the emergence of religious syncretism. In general this mixing of the different African tribes caused a lack of African cults in Minas Gerais as a whole.²⁶

The membership of the Rosary Brotherhood in the Pelourinho was more typical of the majority of black confraternities of urban Brazil. Most of the members were creoles or Africans from the Congo and Angola. From 1703 until 1726 they constructed their own church by working on moonlit nights, Sundays and holy days. A white master carpenter helped the black brothers of the Rosary plan and construct their church. Since they had many slave members they used the labor of their slave brothers to perform the necessary work on construction of the church dispensing with the need to pay laborers. The majority of the Rosary brothers in the Pelourinho were of Bantu origin therefore they did not dabble in the African cults or plot rebellions or preserve their African culture. The newly arrived African brothers looked upon their church and confraternity as an African "craal" where they came to listen to their African chiefs while they preserved the outer form of a Catholic church.²⁷

Membership in a black confraternity allowed slaves and newly arrived Africans to be thoroughly Christianized and assimilated into Luso-Brazilian society. The communal life of the brotherhoods duplicated the tribal solidarity and ties of their African culture. The officers of the confraternity protected their members from the extreme abuses of a slavocratic society offering their slave members some protection from the arbitrary will of their white masters and some relief from the cruelties of the slave system. Through the festivals the slaves had an opportunity to forget the hardships of his life and act like any other human being. Lay confraternities were so common in the urban areas of colonial Brazil that any slave, freedman or woman, African, creole or mulatto could find a brotherhood which would cater to his special needs. Black brotherhoods were true societies of nations uniting different African tribes under one social organization. Membership in a black confraternity was a means of Christianization since the African slaves tended to abandon their ancestral beliefs under the scrutiny of the parish priests and the orthodox eyes of the black officers. The organization of a majority of the African peoples in the

Brazilian cities into confraternities was a testimony to the extreme religiosity of the Afro-Brazilian population. The members of the confraternities engaged in many non-religious activities such as ransoming slave members from the bonds of slavery, bringing food to prisoners on the galleys, ministering to the sick, owning slaves, building roads and bridges. Membership in a black confraternity was a vehicle of social mobility and integration. The members of the black brotherhoods were capable of common actions which were able to surmount the ethnic and tribal rivalries ever present in the Afro-Brazilian community. The members of the black brotherhoods were the elite of black society who provided badly needed leadership in the black community.²⁸

CHAPTER IV

Footnotes

- 1 Julia Maria Leonor Scarano, "Devoção e Escravidão: A Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos no Distrito Diamantina do Século XVIII," Ph.D. thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo: 1969, p. 88.
- 2 A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil: A Study in Collective Behavior," Hispanic American Historical Review, Vol. 54, No. 4, November 1974, pp. 573, 599.
- 3 A.J.R. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, Ibid., p. 142.
- 4 Julia M. L. Scarano, Ibid., p. 153.
- 5 Gonçalves Fernandes, Xangôs do Nordeste, Investigações sobre os cultos Negro-fetichistas do Recife, Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, S.A., Editora, 1937, p. 128.
- 6 Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, "Folklore Pernambuco," Revista Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileira, Vol. LXX, parte II, 1908, p. 230.
- 7 A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Colonial Brazil," Chapter 3, in Cohen and Greene (Eds.), Neither Slave nor Free, (Baltimore: 1972), p. 122.
- 8 See Appendix P for a breakdown of confraternity membership. This list was compiled from the names of the members who signed the end of the compromissos. Out of 165 compromissos consulted only 24 listed the number of their members.

8

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Maço #101, Bahia, 3rd series, 1805. Compromisso da Pardo Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Villa de Vallença, Comarca dos Ilheos, Bahia, Third Chapter:

"Não tendo esta Irmandade outro objecto q.' a honra de Deos e o culto, e devoção para com a Senhora da Conceição ella julga do seu principal dever digo julga ser do seu principal dever alem da demonstração que fica dito in honra da pureza e immaculada conceição da Senhora vestir annualmente conforme puderem hua humna menina pobre e donzella conforme sahir por sorte na vespóra da Festa, e convidão a todas os seus Irmãos e Irmans donzellas para que queirão entregar-se por voto de castidade a Maria Santíssima que renovarão em todas as festividades digo solemnidades da Senhora cujos votus terão anatureza de temporal de Festividade a Festividade rezando cada hum quatorze Ave Marias em honra da Senhora, ..."

9

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Bahia da Igreja de S. Pedro Velho, Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Chancellaria Ordem de Christo, Livro 297, folhas 168-178, chapter 29.

10

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Merces da Redempção dos cativos erecta na Capella de Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Arrayal de São Gonçalo do Ryo abaixo, filial da Matris de Santo António Ribeira, Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Cristo de Dona Maria I, compartimento 1, Livro 14, folha 78, chapter 2:

"Das pessoas que devem ser ademetidas. Ademetimos nesta Archiconfraria toda a qualidade de Pessoa Christaa asim homens como mulheres fazendo primeiro pitição com seus nomes Patrias e donde são moradores p^a q^e informandonos do seu procedimento e servicem sem digo e servicem com escandalo ou infamia de Ladrão, calhanbola, feiticéiros, usurarios, vagabundos, e de animo revoltonozos digo revoltosos ou demasiado em bebidas e os q se acharem com boas informações q. dará o Irmão Procurador o quem o Irmão Juiz lhe parecer serem ademetidos a entrar por Irmão Juiz lhe parecer serem ademetidos a entrar por Irmão e todo aquele Irmão q pello tempo adiante encorrer nas dittas culpas/ o que a May de Deos tal não permita/ sera riscado sendo primeiro admoestado, e o seu cadaver será levado a sepultura sem pomp."

11

Henry Koster, Travels in Brazil, Vol. I, (Philadelphia: 1817), pp. 199-200.

12

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário e S. Benedicto no bispado do Rio de Janeiro sita na capella da Santa Trindade do Macacu, Rio de Janeiro, 1767, Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Cristo, Livro 297-154.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos de Desterro do Tambe da Capitania do Paraíba do Norte, 1806, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1536.

13

A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Colonial Brazil," Ibid., pp. 124-125.

Arquivo Nacional Ultramarino, Lisbon, Document #29.154, Bahia, 1st series, 1804. Compromisso da Irmandade de S. Benedicto cita no convento de São Francisco, Bahia.

"Provisão pela qual se fez mercê de permittir ao Juiz e Irmãos da Irmandade de S. Benedicto que elegessem irmãos pretos para os cargos de escrivão e Thesoureiro. No anno de 1803 reformarão ... compromisso emendando principalmente os Capitulos 1 e 2 no qual determinando se pelo antigo compromisso q. o Escrivam e Tezoireiro Possem homens brancos por serem os pretos da qualles tempos ignorantes e não saberem ter escrever e contar a illuminação do século os tem feito intelligentes da escripturação e contadoria por cujo motivo elles admittirão então os brancos os quaes revoltando-se contra os pretos e fazendo-se dispoticos no exercicio dos seus cargos e tratando-os com desprezo se virão estes Obrigdos a reformar o dito capitulo 2 chamando p^a esc^{am} e tezoire homens da sua côr de conhecida intellig^e e pela alternative detriminada no dito capitulo 2 do novo compromisso..."

14

Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus erecta pelos homens pretos de Nasção Gégé neste convento de N.Sr^a do Monte do Carmo da Villa de N.Sr^a do Rozario da Cachoeira este anno de 1765, Bahia, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1666.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Livramento cita na Villa de Serimhaem, Recife, Pernambuco, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1664, Chapter III.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Amparo, Jaguaripe, Bahia, Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Cristo, Livro 297-228.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Livramento cita en S. Antonio de Recife, Pernambuco, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1665.

15

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário da freguesia da Barra do Rio Grande do Sul, 1735, Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, Codice #2613.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Desterro de Tambe, Paraíba do Norte, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1536.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Pinheiro do Somidouro, Minas Gerais, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1530, Chapter 7.

Compromisso da Irmandade de S. Benedicto, Capella de N.^a Sr^a do Rosário, Arrayal de Minas Gerais, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1677, Chapter 2.

Compromisso da Irmandade de S. Vicente Ferreira, Passagem, Marianna, Minas Gerais, n.d. Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1305, Chapter 4.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Igreja de Clinda, Pernambuco, n.d. Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Cristo, Livro 6, folhas 170-178, chapter 9.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Portas do Carmo, Bahia, chapter 16.

16

Julia M.L. Scarano, Ibid., p. 113.

17

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #66, 2nd series, December 8, 1756.

"Dizem os Capitaens, e mais off^{es}. do terço dos Henriques da Guarnição da praça da Cidade da Bahia, q. sendo como foi a quelle regimento estabelecido em Pernambuco com seu mestre de Campo, e mais off^{es}, ficou pella districto quelha da Pernambuco a Bahia repartido a 3^o dos Supp^{es} com hu Capp^{am} mor, e seos off^{es} sub-alternos, observandose sempre o inviolavel, e acerta disso estillo de não ser provido, desde cabo de esquadra athé o posto de Capp^{am}, homem algu, q. não fosse natural da terra, como são todos os off^{es}. crioulos, de q. se compoem a quelle 3^o de Pernambuco como testefica a attetzação do seu dito mestre de Campo, e como porem a quelle estado se vai alterando e adulterando no 3^o de Bahia, em notorio descomodo da Republica, e do Real Servico de V.Mag^{de} provendo se na quelles cargos, e postos homens de differ^e nasção, como sejam da Costa da Mina, q. são pessoas infectas faltos de fé a Deos, e a V.Mage. sedo certo, serem pella mayor parte inimigos capitaes dos brancos, contra os quais cada dia fulimnãõ sublevaçõens, e facilmt^e. poderãõ com o exercicio das armas fazer algu Levantam^{te} nos povos, acompanhados de pretos captivos, e fugidos, rezultando da quelle cazo erros prejudiciaes, e por con seg^a hua grande nota no regimento dos Sup^{es} q. com zello, e fidelidade servem a V. Mag^{de} por cuja razão. PA V. Mag^{de} seja servido mandar q. o V.Rey, e Cappam Genal do Estado do Bahia não prova homem algu nos postos da quelle regimento, senão aos crioulos nascionaes da mesma terra, e não aos de outra nasção, attandidos os inconven^{es}. q. ão contr^o se segue do serviço de V.Mag^{de} e bem da Republica socego e quiet^{ao} de pax da quelles povos."

18

Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus erecta pelos homens pretos de Nasção Gégê neste Convento de N.Sr^a do Monte do Carmo da Villa de N.Sr^a do Rozario da Cachoeira, este anno de 1765, Bahia. Lisbon: Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Codice #1666.

19

Julia Maria Leonor Scarano, Ibid., pp. 140-145, 147-149, 104.

20

Ibid., pp. 123-126, 132-138.

21

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #64, 2nd series, 1753.

Letter from Padre Francisco Xavier Marques
de Rocha to the King, Bahia, March 28, 1751.

"E ainda mais se fiserão pobres e miseraveis, quando alias he a sua confraria rica, e faze elles todos as funções della ainda com mayor pompa, q. os brancos, aos quaes procurão exceder em tudo como se llega no Item 18 desse tal documento. De se justifica pellas suas testas tanta he a ouzadia delles Supp^{es} crescendo esta cada dia mais com as sugestoes de hum delles chamado Archangelo Benedito motor de todos estes pleitos como se contem no Item 21 final, tratando-me elles muito mal de palavras, e açoes quanto podem ser indecorosas, e ao meo sachristão dentro da propria Igreja, quando foi astirar das ditas vellas, não só antes de haver a Sn^{ca} do dito documento C, q. ma julgou, máis tambe depois e me foi necessario alcançar disp^o do mesmo Des^{or} Ouvidor g^l do civil q. adeo para serem pleitos os Upp^{es} quando outra ves quizesse impedir."

"E estando o supp^e e todos os seus Antecessores ha mais de trinta annos a esta parte, e desde q. servio de Matris a Capela dos Supp^{dos} na posse de assistir e presidir nas elevções q. annualmente fas a Irmandade dos Supp^{dos} de Juiz e mais officiaes q. hão de servir nella antes de servir de Matris a mesma Capela assistirão e prezidirão sempre as ditas Eleyções pessoas Ecclesiasticas ha máis de sincoenta, e secenta annos, e desde a sua Erecção e criação sem nunca entrevir nellas Ministro algum secular que alguas vezes se fosse chamado era não para presidir, mas sim para evitar alguas discordias, que costumão haver emtre os Supp^{dos} nestas Eleyções, não obstante esta antiquissima posse do Supp^e, e de todos seus Antecessores Ecclesiasticos introduzirão os Supp^{dos} o D^{or} Juiz de Crime da Cid^e da Ba^a aprezipir na Eleyção, q. se fes no anno de 1749 sem querer consentir nella ao Supp^e privando-o assim da sua posse com o pretexto de ser Prov^{or} das Capellas, deq. tudo procede, e do máis, q. se tem exposto, haverem continuar pleitos, e letigos, q. os Supp^{dos} teimosos, e sem razão alguma sustentão fazendo grandes despesas a custa da Irmandade por haverem nella Irmãos revoltosos, e amigos de demandas e discordias, como he hum preto chamado Archangelo Bendito, e outros fiados em q. não dispendem do seu direito, mas sim da Irmandade obrigando tambem ao Supp^e a fazer concideraveis dispezas nas mesmas demandas para deffender os seus direytos Parochiaes, e a sua juridição pelo dir^{to} q. lhe assiste e em virtude do qual tem conseguido todas as Snn^{as} as seu favor."

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #56, 2nd series, 18 November 1749.

"Diz Arcangelo Benedicto de S. Francisco que o Conde das Galveas V.Rey, e Capp^{am}. General do Estado do Brazil a provão pella Patente junta no posto de Capp^{am}. de hua das Comp^{es} de Terço dos homens pretos da Praça da Cidade da Bahia que vagou por falecimento de Ignacio Xavier Socorro, E por q. necessita de confirmar por V. Mag^{de} act^o Patente.

P.A.V. Mag^{de} lhe faça merce mandar selhe passe Patente de confirmação do dito posto."

E.R.M.

AHU, Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #41 (1739-1778), 2nd series, February 9, 1759.

Letter of request for office of Sargento Mor for Archangelo Benedicto.

22

C.R. Boxer, Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825, (Oxford: 1963), pp. 117-120, and The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825, (Oxford: 1969), pp. 260-261, and "The Problem of the Indigenous Clergy in Portuguese West Africa, 16th-18th Centuries," unpublished paper delivered at Johns Hopkins University, April 1976. (I am grateful to C.R. Boxer for this information.)

23

João Mauricio Rugendas, Viagem Pictoresca atraves do Brazil, (São Paulo: 1940), p. 4/20, 4/19.

Carlos Julião, Riscos illuminados de figurinhos de brancos e negros dos uzos do Rio de Janeiro e Serro do Frio, Aquarellas por Carlos Julião, (Rio de Janeiro: 1960), plates XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX.

See Appendices F, G, K, L, M, N, O for copies of the pictures of Johan Mortiz Rudgendas and Carlos Julião.

24

See Appendix P for the exact figures on the number of brothers in the black confraternities.

Compromisso de Irm^{de} de N.Sr^a do Rozário
cita na Igreja Matris de Stos Cosme e Damião, Igaressu,
Pernambuco, Lisbon: ANTT, Chancelaria de Ordem de Cristo,
Livro 293, folho 259.

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CHAPTER V

THE BLACK BROTHERHOODS AND THE SANTA CASA DA MISERICÓRDIA

The relationship between the black confraternities and the chief brotherhood of the white elite was both close and antagonistic. Paternalistic charity and bitter disputes marred the long association between these confraternities. At the core of the disputes and contentions between the black and white confraternities was the piqued jealousy of the leading white citizens of colonial Brazil who resented the demands of the blacks for equality of privileges and extension of white philanthropy to the black population. Slave confraternities were initially modeled on the compromisso of the Santa Casa. They tended to copy their social services since they were barred from all membership in white confraternities. Since the Afro-Brazilian population lacked the financial means to live independently of white charity, black confraternities were dependent on the Santa Casa for hospital care, dowries and proper burial. In the seventeenth century after the establishment of black confraternities, the Santa Casas da Misericórdia granted funeral biers to the slaves allowing them to be buried free of charge on a simple bier known as the banguê and the free members were buried on a rented esquife or bier.

By the eighteenth century as the black confraternities were able to increase their numbers, build their own churches and provide their own charity, they sought royal permission to own their own esquifes. In Salvador and Rio de Janeiro the Misericórdias fought bitterly and unsuccessfully to preserve their funeral monopoly which brought a rich source of income.¹

The Santa Casa da Misericórdia was the leading white confraternity in colonial Brazil. It was exclusive in its membership excluding New Christians, blacks, mulattoes, Jews, Indians, slaves, persons of mixed blood and poor whites. It only admitted men who were old Christians who could prove purity of blood (limpeza de sangue) in their families and the familial background of their spouses. In addition candidates for membership had to live lives free of scandal, they had to be literate and well-to-do. Men who performed manual labor were obviously not fidalgos (gentlemen) and therefore were not eligible for membership in the Santa Casa. Because of these stipulations most of the brothers of the Misericórdias were old Christians who owned sugar plantations, cattle ranches, gold mines or were rich merchants, prosperous businessmen or held high government office. The colonial elite of Salvador and Rio de Janeiro belonged to this elusive confraternity. The wealth of its members and liberal endowments allowed this privileged white confraternity

to support a wide variety of social services. The role played by this confraternity in Portuguese America was a vital one since the royal government in Lisbon neglected state-sponsored social welfare programs relying instead on private charity.²

The original Santa Casa da Misericórdia was founded in Lisbon in 1498 under royal patronage and received many privileges from the crown which were transferred to its sister institutions in Brazil. From 1550 until 1584 branches of the Santa Casa were established in the principal colonial towns of Brazil. The most vital function performed by the Misericórdia was its sponsoring of public hospitals in the cities and towns of colonial Brazil which treated sick people without discrimination based on race, class or religion. By founding hospitals the Santa Casa fulfilled its chief charitable purpose to aid sick and needy people. Through its hospitals the Misericórdia offered some measure of public health assistance in a colony where tropical diseases often reached epidemic proportions. Serious diseases were annually carried into port cities like Salvador and Rio de Janeiro on the slave ships coming from Africa and the trading ships coming from Asia. The rich treasury of the Misericórdia

allowed its brothers to perform additional social services such as legal assistance and food for prisoners, and granting dowries to orphans. The social philanthropy of the Santa Casa also included the sponsorship of a retirement house for white women and a turning wheel for foundlings. Blacks were included in the charitable works of the Misericórdia. Slaves were treated in their hospitals. Dowries were often granted to black girls. Slaves were buried by the Misericórdia. In the Misericórdia's records of burials there were examples of lavish funerals given by white masters to their black mistresses.³

In 1593 the king gave the Misericórdias in Brazil the privilege of owning funeral biers with which to bury outsiders. One of the Santa Casa's biers was customarily used to bury dead slaves. It was called a banguê and was a bare wooden stretcher used to carry the body of the dead slave to interment. Slave burials were usually free of charge. The king allowed the Misericórdia to lease their funeral biers to other confraternities for a small fee. Since they had a virtual monopoly over the esquifes, the white brothers of the Santa Casa had the right to grant or refuse funeral biers to all other confraternities. In Bahia the Misericórdia allowed three black confraternities and two white sodalities

the right to use its esquife. In Rio de Janeiro this privilege was only extended to two black confraternities. By the end of the seventeenth century most branches of the Rosary confraternities and the brotherhoods of St. Benedict in Rio de Janeiro and Salvador were allowed to rent the esquifes of the Santa Casa. In the long run the poverty of many of these black brotherhoods caused them to abuse the privilege of using the Misericórdia's esquifes. The black brothers often rented the leased esquifes to other confraternities without permission of the Mesa of the Misericórdia. They frequently buried outsiders without permission. This caused the treasury of the Santa Casa to lose needed revenue since often the black confraternities allowed outsiders to be buried free of charge. Many slave confraternities could not afford the cost of renting an esquife from the Misericórdia and were forced to abandon the dead bodies of their members in churches or church yards relying on the local clergy's charity to bury the dead person.⁴

Burial is always a problem in a tropical climate since the bodies decompose quickly. Providing a decent Christian burial for poor slaves and indigent blacks was one of the chief charitable functions of the black confraternities. Only slaves were buried free of charge by the Misericórdia, but even in the case of a slave's burial

their family or their confraternity incurred the costs of the mass, the priest's stipend, the costs of candles and interment. The slave's family was often times too poor to cover the expenses of burial. The white master was responsible for the burial of his slaves, but cruel slave masters often abandoned their bodies at the point of death and refused to give a decent burial to their former laborers. The burden of burial fell unevenly on the black confraternities. The average number of slaves buried each year in Salvador by the Misericórdia was about 600, which was only 5% of the total slave population. The overwhelming majority of slaves in Brazil were buried by the black brotherhoods since most of their members were slaves.⁵

On December 2, 1735 the Confraternity of St. Benedict located in the Franciscan convent of the city of Salvador sent a petition to the king asking for their own funeral bier since their members were so poor they could not afford to pay the fee to rent the tumba (bier) of the Misericórdia. This petition gives a good description of the difficulties faced by poor slave brotherhoods in trying to bury their dead. Due to lack of money in their treasury the Brotherhood of St. Benedict was often forced to abandon the bodies of dead members in church yards hoping that a charitable priest would bury the slave through the love of God. The

confraternity wanted the same privilege of owning their own esquife which was enjoyed by the blacks of Our Lady of the Rosary in all its branches in all the parishes of Salvador. The brothers of St. Benedict pointed out to the King that there were many deaths in the city and the tumbas of the Misericórdia were insufficient to bury all the poor slaves who died daily. Burial of poor brothers was often delayed due to their poverty and unwillingness of the parish priests to bury them without an adequate stipend.

The petition also noted the unwillingness of the slave masters to bury their slaves unless pressure was placed upon them. Even if they were willing to bury their dead slaves, they rarely buried them decently, covering their bodies with a worthless cloth or a loincloth so their bodies were almost nude. The petitioners described the banguê as a small rude stretcher which was composed of unpolished wood made up of three planks of wood, one in front and two behind. Sometimes two or three banguês were joined together and carried two or more dead Negroes. The banguê was covered with a coarse material. It was so ludicrous and ridiculous looking that it caused public derision and mockery among the young boys along the streets whom the funeral procession passed on its way to interment in the suburbs. The slave masters

frequently threw the bodies of their dead slaves into the church yards expecting the religious to bury them, lacking the humanity and Christian decency to bury their own slaves. The brotherhood pointed out that the banguê was not sufficient to bury all the slaves who died daily. The confraternity estimated that more than a thousand slaves died annually. The brotherhood further pointed out to the King that concession of their own tumba or esquife would not result in profit to the brotherhood since their members were so poor and were mostly slaves. The Brotherhood of St. Benedict sensibly indicated to his Majesty that the privilege conceded to the Misericórdia should be extended to other confraternities since the Misericórdia could not bury all the dead slaves of Salvador. They also noted that the banguê was rarely given gratuitously to the slaves. The complaints of the Brotherhood of St. Benedict were typical problems and were duplicated in the other confraternities of slaves and free blacks in Brazil who struggled against overwhelming odds to fulfill their charitable function of providing a decent Christian burial for poor blacks.⁶

On January 8, 1736 the King conceded the privilege of owning an esquife to the Brotherhood of St. Benedict located in the Franciscan Convent in Salvador. The

confraternity was willing to placate the Santa Casa which had the original royal monopoly by notifying the scribe of the Misericórdia each time a brother died and showing the scribe that the person was indeed a member of the brotherhood since the confraternity was not interested in making a profit from this privilege. In conceding these privileges to the black brotherhoods over the opposition of the Santa Casa, the King showed evidence of royal concern and sympathy for the poor slaves. The King also recognized that it was physically impossible for the Misericórdia to bury all the slaves who died in Brazil.⁷

After the Brotherhood of St. Benedict had secured its own esquife in 1736, another petition was sent to the King in 1739 asking for royal permission to use their esquife to bury the black brothers of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary who were accustomed to renting the Santa Casa's esquife. Since the majority of the members of this confraternity were slaves who were too poor to pay for the rent of the Santa Casa's esquife, they offered to share their esquife with less fortunate brotherhoods. The petitioners noted that slave masters would not pay for the costs of burial of their dead slaves preferring to wrap them in a blanket or crude piece of

cloth and throw them in the fields or in the church yards. The Brotherhood of St. Benedict wanted the same privilege as the Santa Casa -- control of their own funeral bier and the right to bury outsiders on it. They wanted to be allowed to bury slaves and free blacks who were not members of their confraternity without recourse to the Santa Casa's more expensive esquife. It is unclear how the King ruled in this case but clearly the Brotherhood of St. Benedict located in the beautiful Franciscan convent of Salvador, one of the architectural monuments of colonial Bahia, wanted equality of privilege with the leading white confraternity of Brazil.⁸

In 1698 another dispute raised the same question of the sovereignty of the Santa Casa over its funeral biers. For fifty years the Santa Casa had allowed the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict located in Sé Cathedral in Rio de Janeiro to rent their esquife to bury their dead. In 1698 the officers of the Misericórdia brought a lawsuit against this black brotherhood for using the esquife of the Santa Casa to bury a white woman without the permission of the Mesa. They used a bier which was only intended for the burial of blacks. The Santa Casa wanted the King to take the privilege

of renting their bier away from the black brotherhood for the crime of violating the privileges of the Santa Casa by burying a white woman on their esquife without authorization or reimbursement to the Santa Casa. Furthermore the Santa Casa wanted the Rosary Brotherhood to pay 400 reis or 1 cruzada to the Santa Casa's treasury for the burial of this white woman, Angella de Ameida de Sacramento, who died violently from a blow on the head with a stick. Thereafter the Santa Casa wanted the Rosary Brotherhood to pay one cruzada for the use of their bier using it only for their black members.⁹

The officers of the Santa Casa were outraged that their funeral monopoly had been abused. The burial of a white woman on the bier of the blacks by the brotherhood was tantamount to usurpation or robbery of the Santa Casa's funeral bier since the blacks did not repay the officers of the Misericórdia for their actions. The scribe of the Santa Casa, Bento Luis de Almeida used strong language in the lawsuit referring to the officers of the Rosary Brotherhood as common criminals. This legal action was brought by the Santa Casa against the scribe, treasurer and procurator of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict in Rio de Janeiro.¹⁰

In the documents outlining the case of the Santa Casa against the black brotherhood, the white officers of the Mesa noted that they had already informed the blacks in 1687 that they had to notify the Mesa of the Santa Casa whenever they wanted to use their esquife and they had to pay one cruzada for the rental of the esquife. The funeral bier they were using was not to be used to bury outsiders and was only for blacks not whites. The white brotherhood of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia demanded restitution from the black brotherhood. The outcome of the dispute was a judgement in favor of the Santa Casa of Rio de Janeiro. In a similar dispute involving the Rosary Brotherhood and the Santa Casa of Bahia the penalty for the Rosary brotherhood's burial of non-members on the Santa Casa's esquife resulted in the blacks' loss of the bier for one year 1694-1695.¹¹ As a result of these lawsuits and disputes over the biers a spirit of contention and bitter rivalry developed between the white confraternity of the Santa Casa and the black brotherhoods. Although the local authorities tended to favor the whites in these disputes, the King was sympathetic to the problems of the black confraternities.

In the 1640s and 1650s permission was granted to allow certain black brotherhoods to rent the esquife of the Santa

Casa. In 1690 the black brotherhood of the Rosary in Rio and Salvador petitioned the King for permission to own their own funeral biers and to build their own cemeteries. The King permitted the Rosary brotherhoods the right to possess funeral biers for the use of their members and their families but not to bury outsiders. By the middle of the next century the privilege of owning esquifes was extended to other black and mulatto brotherhoods since it was clear to the King, despite the protests of loss of privilege and revenue by the Santa Casa, that the Misericórdia esquifes could not possibly bury all the slaves and blacks who died each year in Brazil. The King extended the privileges of owning biers to the black confraternities because he knew how the slaves were treated in their lives and how they were abandoned at death. The way a person is buried is a reflection of his social class and the conditions of his life. That slaves were abandoned at the point of death by their masters was a reflection of the low social esteem in which they were held by the whites and another example of the inhumanity of the masters towards their slaves. The white masters were only interested in the labor of their slaves. The whites generally regarded the slaves as inferior

to whites and as savages or sub-human beings. Just as the white owners ignored a slaves' human needs for adequate clothing, food and shelter during his lifetime, the slaves' bodies were dumped on the beaches, or thrown into the jungles or left in the churches or church yards. The parish priests often buried the slaves in the fields or jungles next to the churches hoping to extend the church's land.¹²

Dom Pedro II outlined royal policy on the slaves owners' religious obligations towards their slaves and the right of owning funeral biers in a letter to the Governor of Brazil dated February 4, 1695. Specifically the King wanted the Governor Jose Ruiz de Carvalho Albuquerque to remedy the situation in Brazil so that slaves would be buried with all the decency of Christians. He strongly felt that the slaves should not lack the sacrament of Extreme Unction at the moment of death. He also did not want to hear that there was a population in Brazil without a parish church or a sugar mill without a chaplain. The King was a conscious of his religious duty to his slaves. The Christianization of the African slaves was the one great justification for the slave trade. It was a way to allay the royal conscience for engaging in such as inhuman traffic as the slave trade. The King

was concerned with the greed of the parish priests who charged high prices for the sacraments and refused to accompany the bodies of the dead to burial or commend their bodies to graves without the payment of a stipend. The King wanted the names of these parish priests so he could settle this matter with the Archbishop. The King also noted that there were many slaves who died in Brazil and that their masters should not betray them at the moment of death but pay 400 reis for their burial. The King encouraged the white masters to have Masses said for the souls of their dead slaves who were their brothers in Christ even though their slaves in life.

In regard to the matter of owning funeral biers, the King had already overruled the wishes of the Misericórdia in 1690 when he allowed the ownership of funeral biers to be extended to other brotherhoods even though it meant a loss of revenue for the Santa Casa. In 1695 the King ruled that confraternities who had their own esquifes should only bury their own members and not use it to bury outsiders since this practice was the sole prerogative of the Santa Casa. Before burying their dead on the esquifes, the black brotherhoods had to get a certificate from the scribe of the Santa Casa. Answering the Santa Casa's complaint that it alone was

entitled to have a monopoly over funeral biers, the King pointed out that this practice would be harmful to the poorer confraternities who could not afford the price of renting the Misericórdia's esquife. This letter gives a good summary of pious royal intentions towards the slaves in Portuguese America. The King showed his clear sympathy for the plight of the poor slaves in Brazil whose Christianization was largely ignored due to the smallness of the clergy, their lack of knowledge of the African languages, the indifference of their white owners and the venality of the secular clergy.¹³

In another royal letter on the matter of a dispute between the Misericórdia and a black brotherhood over their ownership of a funeral bier, the King ruled in favor of the blacks. The Brotherhood of Our Lady of Guadalupe of the blacks of Bahia had the right to bury their dead brothers in their own esquife, however the provedor and brothers of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia prevented them from using their own bier and required them to use the bier of the Santa Casa. The King indicated that the esquife of the Misericórdia was for slaves whose masters refused to bury them with

Christian decency. This power of the black brotherhoods of owning a bier was a prerogative which they had enjoyed for a long time. The King ruled in favor of the black brotherhood recognizing that the poor blacks could not afford to pay for the rent of the Misericórdia's bier and excusing the blacks from all the expenses and costs incurred in the court case.¹⁴

In another dispute between the Misericórdia and the black brotherhoods of the city of Bahia, Dom Pedro II ruled in favor of the blacks. The Misericórdia sought to raise the fees for the burial of slaves from 400 reis to 680 reis. The black brotherhoods were required to bury slaves who were not members of a confraternity on the esquife of the Santa Casa, but the blacks offered to accompany the slaves' bodies to interment for a small fee. The King did not see any reason to alter the contract and price for the burial of slaves and ruled in favor of the current lower price of 400 reis.¹⁵

A more serious problem which confronted the black confraternities were disputes with the parish priests over burial fees and ecclesiastical jurisdiction which caused rows between the parishes and the lay brotherhoods. One such dispute which dragged on for years was the quarrel between the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary located

in Salvador in the Church of Portas do Carmo and the parish of Santíssimo Sacramento. The officers of the confraternity felt that they alone had sovereignty and control over their Church and sacristy which they had built. They wanted the brotherhood church under the Bishop's jurisdiction but not under the jurisdiction of the pastor Father Francisco Xavier Marques da Rocha. In their original petition the brothers requested that the King grant them their own bier and the right to bury dead brothers in their church without any dependence on the parish churches since they had to pay 480 reis to the parish priests for the burial of slave brothers. This fee included the priests saying prayers for the souls of the dead and accompanying the body to interment and celebrating a sung mass for the souls of the dead. The Brotherhood preferred that their own elected chaplain from their church officiate at funerals and not the parish priests who were constantly raising the fees.

At the core of this dispute was the problem of the inflationary escalation of priestly stipends and the thorny question of who held ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the brotherhood churches - the pastors of the parishes or the bishops. Eventually the question was settled in

favor of the bishop. This quarrel was long and bitter. It caused considerable rancor on the part of the pastor who refused to bury dead brothers who were parishoners of another parish claiming that they should be buried in their own respective parishes and not in the brotherhood church. These disputes dragged on for hours. On two occasions the bodies of the dead brothers began to decompose while the stubborn pastor and the Brotherhood haggled over where he was to be buried. Eventually another priest took pity on the family of the deceased and buried him without permission from the pastor. The Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in Portas do Carmo had so many problem with this particular pastor that they began to bury their brothers secretly at night opening the graves without ecclesiastical approval which further angered Father Rocha. At the center of this dispute was the question of the brotherhoø's right over its church and a dispute over fees. The pastor wanted sovereignty over their church and insisted on his priests' charging 970 reis as a burial stipend. The parish priests resented the sovereignty and independence of the confraternity. They did not favor the elected chaplain of the brotherhood officiating at burials since it meant a loss of revenue to the parishes.¹⁶

The Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary located in Portas do Carmo had differences with the mesa of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia once they secured their own funeral bier. Their most serious disputes however were with the parishes over the priestly fees for the accompanying funeral processions and burying the dead. The Brotherhood was often too poor to pay the stipends that the parish priests demanded. This particular branch of the Rosary confraternity had been erected because the parishes lacked the Christian charity to bury black slaves decently preferring instead to bury them in the jungles next to their churches hoping to join this land to the church yards. The Brotherhood fought against parish jurisdiction over their church because they felt strongly that the parish priests were trying to exact excessive offerings from poor slaves. The officers of the Brotherhood in their numerous petitions to the King asked the court to reduce the priestly fees for accompaniment of funeral processions and for burial. This problem had caused great discord between the Brotherhood and the parish of Santíssimo Sacramento which dated from 1736. In their lengthy petitions to the King the brotherhood outlined their case. They explained that the pastors' demands for excessive stipends resulted in the

brotherhood's practice of burying their dead without a priest. The Brotherhood asked the King to free their church of parochial jurisdiction allowing them the ancient power of using their chaplain to bury dead members without dependence on the parish priests who demanded 480 reis for the funerals of slaves. Their petition requested the King to declare his patronage over their church according to his right of Padroado Real so the parishes would not have any jurisdiction over the Brotherhood Church of Nossa Senhora do Remedio das Portas do Carmo in Bahia.¹⁷

This dispute between the pastor and the Rosary brotherhood was a cause célèbre and a milestone in the lay confraternities' struggle for independence. The lawsuit dated from 1736 and appeals caused the dispute to drag on until 1753 when it was referred to the King for his final decision. The case had been tried in several local ecclesiastical and civil courts including the high court or Relação of Bahia until the brotherhood finally appealed to Lisbon for royal support. Administration of justice was slow in the Portuguese empire. Overlapping and conflicting jurisdictions within the empire caused the case to be referred to higher authorities. Both sides in the dispute could cite examples from canon law to support their case.

The Rosary Brotherhood located in Portas do Carmo had a reputation in Salvador for being a rebellious and independent-minded confraternity. The pastor of the parish felt it was a rich confraternity because its festivals were always more lavish than any of the festivals of the white brotherhoods therefore he felt justified in charging the brothers high fees for burial services and the opening of graves. The Archbishop of Bahia, Jose Ruis Carvalho de Albuquerque, sent a letter to the king in 1747 supporting the pastor and expressing outrage that the black brothers of the Rosary brotherhood were asking for greater privileges than those enjoyed by the white confraternities. He felt that the blacks had no rights to the privilege of the Padroado like that enjoyed by the Roman confraternities whose members were Cardinals and high Church officials and not humble black slaves led by a simple parish priest. The officers of the brotherhood clearly resented the pastor's attempt to control their confraternity. Their demand for control over their own church without the pastor's interference was a bid for greater power for the laity within the church. In his letter to the King the Archbishop vigorously defended the pastor and attacked the blacks for disturbing the peace within the diocese with their

unjust lawsuits trying to exempt their church from ecclesiastical jurisdiction and usurp priestly power. He said this branch of the Rosary brotherhood caused him the most trouble within his diocese. Their elections were marked by such violent disagreements and fights that the Judge of crime (Juiz de Crime) of Bahia had to attend all confraternity elections to keep the peace. The Archbishop was totally unsympathetic to the petitions of the Rosary Brotherhood since he regarded the members as unruly rebels. He staunchly defended the pastor since he felt that the black brothers wanted not only to be equal to the white confraternities but considered themselves better than the whites and asked for greater privileges. The Rosary Brotherhood in Portas do Carmo had a long history of struggles with the white elite of Bahia. The Archbishop said the black brothers of the Rosary were always in continuous dissent with whites engaging in disputes with the pastor, the Archbishop, the Santa Casa, and the white confraternity of Santíssimo Sacramento. The Archbishop concluded his letter to the King by saying that the black brothers of the Rosary caused more trouble than all the white confraternities combined. He felt that the King should excommunicate the black brothers from the Church for their violation of canon law. However

the King was much more sympathetic to the blacks than the Archbishop although he did not entirely rule in their favor.¹⁸

The white elite of Bahia resented the privileges conceded to the black confraternities. In 1774 the white confraternity of Santíssimo Sacramento located in Itapagipe, Bahia sent a petition to Lisbon requesting their own funeral bier like the one enjoyed by the brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary. They cited the high costs of burial as the main reason for their request. They complained that the whites in the parish of Nossa Senhora da Penha de França were buried with less decency than the blacks of the Rosary brotherhood in the same parish.¹⁹

The many disputes between the Rosary brotherhoods in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia and the Santa Casa were never as bitter as the black brothers' disputes with the clergy. The whites of the Santa Casa revealed a social disdain for the black confraternities, complaining to the King in a petition in 1749 that other confraternities were imitating their privileges and charity works. The Misericórdia's officers argued that their confraternity alone of all the confraternities in Rio had the right to possess an esquife because it was the oldest confraternity in

the city. In this case the attitude of the Santa Casa toward the black brotherhoods in Rio was one of haughty contempt that humble blacks, many of whom were slaves, should dare to demand the same rights and privileges in their confraternities as those privileges enjoyed by the white elite of colonial Rio de Janeiro. The Santa Casa fought vigilantly against the extension of its privileges to the black confraternities. In a petition in 1746 the Santa Casa reminded the King that their confraternity had served the city of Rio for more than 125 years helping the sick in their hospital, giving aid to needy prisoners and dowries for orphans. At least 600 people of all races and nationalities were treated annually in their hospital including foreigners, soldiers, sailors and the poor of Rio. They asked the King to reconfirm their privileges which had been granted in 1605 especially their right to bury the dead. The Misericórdia of Rio had three tumbas and one esquife in which they buried dead clergymen, natives and foreigners. Their funeral biers were made at great expense. The white provedor (purveyor) of the Santa Casa told the King that granting greater burial privileges to the Rosary brothers would be prejudicial to the Misericórdia's rights and interests.²⁰

In their petitions on this question the Rosary brothers of Rio reminded the King of their achievements. They built and decorated their own church where they held religious services for the improvement of the souls of confused pagans who continuously came from Africa, instructing them in the Catholic faith after they were baptized so they could become members of the confraternity. They told the King of their poverty which had not inhibited their religious zeal. Since the blacks could always count on the sympathy of the Portuguese kings, they asked for royal mercy and a favorable decision in their disputes with the Santa Casa over the use of their funeral biers. Even after the Rosary brothers had been conceded the privilege of owning a funeral bier, the Santa Casa in Rio impeded them from using it freely to bury their dead members. The whites insisted that poor slaves be buried on the Santa Casa's esquife at the cost of one cruzada (400 reis). The Rosary brotherhood in Rio sought royal permission to bury all their members, slave and free in their own church on their funeral bier without the conditional approval of the Santa Casa. They asked the King to grant their petition in honor of Our Lady of the Rosary who was "the pious protector of slaves and the poor."

They concluded their petition by noting that they were only asking for the same privilege as enjoyed by all the branches of the Rosary brotherhood in Bahia. They asked the King to extend the same privilege to the Brotherhood of St. Benedict in Rio since the Rosary brothers had allowed the members of St. Benedict's confraternity to use their esquite without any difficulties for years.²¹

Black confraternities which were created in towns in Brazil where there was no Santa Casa had a greater need to request their own funeral biers. In 1758 the Brotherhood of St. Benedict in the Franciscan convent in Alagoas asked for royal permission to create their own tumba in order to bury their dead brothers. They promised not to extend the bier to outsiders. They asked for the same privilege as had already been conceded to the Brotherhood of St. Benedict in Recife since their town did not have a Santa Casa.²²

The Crown had given permission for ownership of funeral biers to the black confraternities of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict, however the poorer mulatto confraternities felt left out in the granting of royal privileges. They also faced the problem of rising funeral costs and the escalation of priestly stipends. In 1760s the free mulattoes of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Conception located in the Carmelite Convent of

Salvador asked the King for permission to own an esquife since the Santa Casa rarely buried free mulattoes. They reminded the Crown that most of the black confraternities in the city of Salvador had their own esquife, which they used to bury slaves, blacks and free mulattoes who were members. Due to the poverty of the mulatto brothers of Our Lady of Conception they could not afford to pay for burial in the esquifes of the Santa Casa. Generally the mulatto confraternities had less privileges than the black confraternities whose members were mostly slaves. The mulatto Brotherhood of Our Lady of Conception sent two petitions to the King in 1761 and 1763 asked for royal permission for the same burial privileges as the Rosary brotherhoods.²³

Some confraternities had a more difficult time in gaining royal concessions to own a funeral bier. For example the black Brotherhood of Santa Efigênia located in the Franciscan convent of the city of Salvador had more difficulties in securing burial privileges than the black Brotherhood of St. Benedict located in the same convent who gained their own funeral esquife in 1736. The Brotherhood of Saint Efigênia sent three petitions to the King during the second half of the eighteenth century asking for the same burial privileges as those

enjoyed by the Rosary brothers and the members of the confraternity of St. Benedict. In a series of petitions dated during 1764, 1778 and 1783 the black brothers of Santa Efigênia described the poverty of their slave confraternity and asked for burial privileges. The members of this confraternity described themselves as composed of a majority of slaves with a small minority of ingenious freedmen. Their brothers who were subject to slavery found themselves indigent at the end of their life, too poor even to afford a modest funeral "so they could enjoy the immortality of their souls and the future resurrection of their bodies." In order to provide a devout, honest and humble funeral for their members they wanted a "perpetuo esquite" similar to that enjoyed by the Brotherhood of St. Benedict with whom they shared the church of the convent of São Francisco. Since both confraternities had similar needs, they asked for the same privilege which the confraternity of St. Benedict had gained in 1736. The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia vigorously fought against these royal concessions to the black confraternities. In light of the King's readiness to help the poorer black confraternities, the white officers of the Santa Casa sent a letter to the King in 1764

opposing any royal concessions of funeral biers to Santa Efigênia, complaining of the proliferation of esquifes in Bahia and the vulgarization of their privileges due to the use of funeral biers by poorer confraternities.

By the second half of the eighteenth century three confraternities of black slaves and mulattoes in Bahia enjoyed the same burial privilege as the Santa Casa. They were the black brothers of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict and the pardo men of the confraternity of Nossa Senhora do Amparo. The white brothers of the Santa Casa justified their opposition by pointing out that they were always prompt in burying the dead, therefore the brothers of Santa Efigênia should rely on them for burial. According to them, the proliferation of funeral biers was quite unnecessary. They claimed that the Brotherhood of Santa Efigênia was not a poor confraternity and could well afford to pay for the Misericórdia's bier. The strenuous and continuous opposition of the Santa Casa against any erosion of her burial monopoly in Bahia had an effect on the King and the white authorities since the black brothers of Santa Efigênia had to wait more than twenty years for their own funeral bier. The

King, the ministers of the Overseas Council and the Relação of Bahia turned down the request of the confraternity of Santa Efigênia. In this case the Portuguese monarch sided with the white brotherhood feeling that a multiplicity of tumbas would be prejudicial to the interests of the Santa Casa. The King said: "The vulgarization of these privileges is opposed to the true ecclesiastical disciple of his Majesty." The Chancellor of the Relação of Bahia also turned down their request for a funeral bier since he felt that slave members could be buried free in the tumba of the Santa Casa. Since the Brotherhood of St. Benedict in the Franciscan convent already had their own bier, the two brotherhoods could have shared one esquife, however the Brotherhood of Santa Efigênia fought with the Brotherhood of St. Benedict. By the end of the century the Crown granted a funeral bier to the mulatto brothers of the confraternity of Santa Efigênia.²⁴

The burial of the wives and children of the brothers of the black confraternities was often a problem since some confraternities did not extend burial privileges to relatives. In 1720 João de Santos Ana, Maestre do Campo (Colonel of the Infantry) of the new black militia

of the city of Salvador do Bahia sent a petition to the King asking permission for burying the wives and children of the soldiers on the esquife of the confraternity of the Santa Casa since the white confraternity prohibited the relatives of soldiers from being buried on the esquife of the soldiers. He was a member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary located in the Church of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda. By 1720 this confraternity had their own esquife but the families of the black militia brothers could not be buried on this bier or the bier of the Santa Casa. This black officer described the poverty of the soldiers of the black militias who had lower pay scales than the white soldiers of the regiments in Bahia. In this particular branch of the Rosary confraternity soldiers may have been a sizeable majority of the members.²⁵

Despite the protests of the Santa Casa the Portuguese Kings had extended funeral biers to the majority of the black and mulatto confraternities in Salvador by 1790. The Crown's sympathy for the black confraternities resulted in the gradual erosion of the burial monopoly of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia throughout the course of the eighteenth century. Once the King extended the

privilege of owning a tumba or esquife to one black confraternity, he tended to extend this privilege to other brotherhoods. The majority of the slaves and freedmen of African descent in the cities of colonial Brazil could not afford to pay for renting a bier from the Santa Casa since priestly stipends were so high, they looked to their confraternities for some relief from the expenses of burial. In the 1790s the black Brotherhood of Jesus, Mary and Joseph located in the Carmelite convent of Salvador do Bahia sent a number of petitions to the King asking for their own esquife citing their poverty and describing their feeble effort to provide a decent Christian burial for their poor members. Like the Brotherhood of St. Benedict in the Franciscan convent, this confraternity was often forced to abandon indigent slaves and members' bodies in the church yards of Bahia hoping some merciful priest would bury the body decently. Leaving the dead bodies of indigent members at the doors of churches was testimony to the real poverty of many of the black confraternities in Bahia, except for the wealthier Rosary brotherhoods. Abandoning the dead bodies of poor brothers was a desperate move by poorer confraternities but violated the spirit of their compromissos which promised to provide a decent Christian burial to all members no matter how poor they were.

In 1790 the Overseas Council of Lisbon approved the right of the Brotherhood of Jesus, Mary and Joseph to use their uncovered esquife as their own tumba for the burial of their members.²⁶

The majority of the disputes between the Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Salvador do Bahia and Rio de Janeiro involved the burial of poor slaves and indigent freemen who could not afford the cost of the bier of the Misericórdia. Other disputes arose because of the independent spirit of the black and mulatto confraternities who tried to overcome the poverty of their members by abusing the burial monopoly of the Santa Casa by burying outsiders without paying the white confraternity's legal fee. The rivalries and contentions between the confraternity of the white elite and the poorer black confraternities reflected the social animosity between upper class whites and lower class blacks in colonial Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. The racial segregation of blacks and whites into rival brotherhoods was a reflection of the extreme social class distinctions in the slavocratic society of colonial Brazil. Black slaves and poorer freedmen sought the protection of brotherhoods to ameliorate their poor social condition within Brazilian society. The struggle for equal burial privileges was an attempt to gain religious equality within the church by the religious gremios of black laymen and women.²⁷

CHAPTER V

Footnotes

1

A.J.R. Russell Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia 1550-1755, (Berkeley: 1968), pp. 93-94.

2

Ibid., pp. 124, 144.

3

Ibid., pp. xi, 39-40, 86-87, 168, 171, 173, 281.

4

Ibid., pp. 93-94, 216. cf to Petition of the Brotherhood of St. Benedict located in the Convent of São Francisco in Bahia, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Maço #30, 3rd series, 1735.

5

Ibid., pp. 227-228.

6

Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Maço #30, 3rd series, 2 December 1735.

"O Juiz e mais Irmãos Pretos da Irmandade de S.Benedito estabelecidos em o Convento de S. Francisco da Cidade da Bahia fizeram a V. Mag^{de}. petição por este conc^o em q^o direga dita Irmandade consta de Irmãos Livres, e cativos, e são muito pobres, por cuja razão, quando morre algu', não pode enterrar-se na tumba da Misericórdia, por não ter com q' a pagar, e por isso sucede exporem alguas defuntos nos adros das Igrejas para os enterrarem pelo amor de Deos; e para acodir a este incomodo necessitam os Sup^{es}. de que V. Mag^e. lhe faça merçe conceder ter tumba propria, em que comodamente possam enterrar os seus Irmãos defuntos na mesma forma, q' Logrão os Irmãos pretos de N.Sr'a do Rozario de todas as freguezias da dita Cidade, como consta das certidões que juntarão.

Pede a V.Mag^e em attenção do referido, seja servido por sua Real clemencia, e piedade de lhe fazer merçe conceder, q' tenham tumba propria, em que comodam^e possam enterrar os seus Irmãos defuntos.

E ordenandose por provizão de 6 de Outr^o. de 1733 ao Ouvidor geral da Comarca da mesma Cid^e da B^a. informasse com seu parecer, ouvindo os Irmãos da Misericórdia, e declarando se esta tem esquite para enterrar os Irmãos pobres; satisfez, dizendo que V.Mag^e lhe decretara pela dita ordem que por se implorar da sua real grandeza

na referidas por parte de Juiz, e Irmãos da Irmandade de S. Benedicto dos pretos da quella cid^e, establecida no Convento de S. Francisco da mesma, a concessão determ tumba propria em que comodamente possão ir a enterrar os seus Irmãos defuntos informasse como seu parecer ouvindo primr^o a Meza da Miser^{dia}, e declarando, se esta tem esquife para enterrar os Irmãos pobres, emandando em sua observ^a, ouvir a Meza da Santa Caza, respondeo --? se manifesta de sua reposta q' com esta sobre as reaes mãos de V.Mag^e, em que prolixam^e de duzos fundamentos, que encontrão opretendida concessão, os quaes todos em suma consistem na allegação dos Breves, e indultos Apostolicos, concedidos a mesma Santa Caza, para so uzar de tumbas, e do prejuizo, que considera na ampliação deste privilegio em outras Irmandades, por desta sorte lhe rezultar consideravel dano pela falta das esmolas dos q' vão asepultar em outra tumba cujo rendim^o lhe ajuda as despesas que sustenta, e applicações de varias obras pias, que exercita. A vista do que informandose de pessoas graves, e fidedignas, assim seculares, como eclesiasticas, averiguara por muito certo, q' esta matr^a não pode rezultar prejuizo attendivel a Santa Caza, assim pela quantidade de pessôas, que pelo discurso do anno fallecem na quella Cid^e para cujos enterros pele sua multiplicid^e decada dia, se faz impossivel a sufficiencia das tumbas, q' ha na Miz^{dia} como pela suma inopia dos m^{tos} fallecidos por cuja cauza, se tem concedido esta faculd^e a varias Irm^{des} da q^{la} terra q' com tumbas, ou esquifes proprios enterrao a seus Irmãos como _____ as dos Pretos de Rozario, e outras. Que he tambem verdade q. a Misericordia; tem tres tumbas; sendo duas de mayor aceyo, e esmola que se concedem apessoas com as qualidades expressadas na mesma reposta, servindo a terceyra para os mais pobres, porem não com a caridade, e dez interesse que se aponta poiz a rarissimos chega esta gratuita piedade pelas exactissimas averiguações, que si fazem inda acerca dos maiz indigentes, cujos cadaveres ficão muitas vezes demorados pela grande repugnancia q. ha de se enterrarem sem estipendio, para cujo enterro não ha outro remedio maiz, que pedir esmolas, e valerse do devoto concurso dellas quando chega para dar sepultura a o defunto sendo Levado na d^a tumba; e se a cazo esta ultima, em fimase concede para algu escravo, sempre he pelo interesse da esmolla, co que a estimação, ou caridade de seus Senhores concorre, e nunca graciozam^e sendo levados a sepultura, cobertos todos de hu pano desprezivel, e para servir ordinariamente para enterros de pretos cativos não ha maiz, q^e hum chamado esquife fabricado rudemente de hus tozcos com tres varaes, hu para diante, e dous para traz, o qual confrone os corpos, que lhe meter dentro, q' succede as vezes serem dous, ou tres juntos, carregão dous, outres negros, quazi totalmente nus, sem mais vestido, q. hua tanga na cintura, servindo a o mesmo esquife de cobertura hum pano muy vil, ao qual esquife ou padiolla, lhe chamão Banguê, tão Ludribriozo, e ridiculo, que serve deirrezão e galhofa publica aos rapazes, e tem sucedido alguas vezes pelos Longos das ruas, assim da quella Cid^e como dos suburbios della, Largarem os Cadaveres no chão no meyo do Cam^e e retiraremse, donde rezulta virem as tumbas, ou esquifes de algumas Irmandades para os Levarem conforme a carid^e.

dos compassivos, e da mesma sorte a contece frequentemente Lancarem os defuntos corpos nos adros das Igrejas principalmente de religiosos os quaes sevem precizados adar lhe sepultura, poiz tem os senhores por mais barato esta inhumanide do q' experimentar as demoras, e embaracos das averiguações da sua pobreza, com q. m^{tas} vezes, alem de se corromper primeiro o cadaver, fica totalmente dificultada a sepultura; cujos desconcertos e dezordes são publicas, enotorias na quella cidade; nem he possivel que o ref^o Banguê possa bastar a infinide de escravos, que quotidiana, e annualm^e morrem na quella cidade por passarem muito alem de mil.

Pelo que parece aelle Ouvidor Geral que sendo V. Mag^{de} servido a tender a esta suplica, por ser Irm^{de} mais pobre de a' não pode rezultar prejuizo nem esperarse Lucro na concessão de hum esquife para enterrar os seus Irmãos seja com declaração de q. so possão levar nelle a enterrar os Irmãos da mesma confraria sobpena, de q^e fazendo o contr^a perção este privilegio para o q. serão obrigados, antes de os enterrasem a faselo a saber a Santa Casa da Misericórdia, com certidão de escrivão da mesma confraria, para q' a mesma Santa Caza conste q. são Irmãos da quella Irmandade, na forma, q. a favor dos Pretos já se decretou em hua carta para o governo da quelle Estado, firmade pela regia mão do ... Snr Rey D. Pedro 2 e senta em 3 de Fevr^o de 1695, e outra de 4 de dita mez e anno, que por copiar sabem os esta a real presença de V. Mag^{de} Lisboa Occidental, 2 de Dezembro de mil sete centos trinta e cinco."

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #45, 2nd series, 26 de Abril de 1732.

"P.A. V. Real Mag^{de} em Louvar do mesmo Glorioso S. Benedito lhe queira fazer merce, e esmola conceder por seo Real decreto Licença para poderem os Supp^{tes} uzar do dito seo esquife e com elle enterrarem os seos Irmãos, que quizerem ir sepultarce na dita sua Capella entendendose ella graça somente para os que forem Irmãos, e elegerem sepultura na mesma sua capella, e não para outra qualquer pessoa q. não for Irmão."

E.R.M.

"Fr. Alvaro da Conceyção Preg^{dor} Ex-diffinidor e Gam^{am} actual do Convento de N.S. Francisco desta Cidade da Bahia, ... Certifico q. na Igreja deste mesmo Convento todos os Annos festuão ao Glorioso S. Benedito os pretos, assim do mesmo Convento como alguns forros e outros escravos de pessoas seculares cuja Irmandade tem sua Cappella no corpo da mesma Igreja e tem sepulturas proprias para todos os Irmãos tudo com muito asseyo e perfeição e não obstante serem pretos pobres e captivos, acodem com muito devoção, e zelo aos louvarer do seo Santo Passo na verdade e o juro in verbo sacerdotis e para constar mandei passar a presente sella da com o sello do Convento assignada por minha ma S.^Ba 27 de Julho de 1731. Fr. Alvaro da Conceição G^{am}."

7

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #50, 1740, 2nd series.

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Catalogued Document
Codice #13.582, Bahia, 1st series, 8 January 1736. "Provisão regia
pela qual se concedeu aos Irmãos da Irmandade de S. Benedicto estab-
elecida no Convento de S. Francisco da Bahia, o poderem ter tumba,
em que conduzissem a sepultura os seus irmãos defuntos."

A.J.R. Russell Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 142,
222.

8

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Caixa#50, 1740,
Bahia, 2nd series.

9

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Catalogued Document,
Codice # 13.589, Rio de Janeiro, 1st series. "Certidão estrahida
do processo judicial pendente entre as Irmandades da Misericordia
e de N.Sr^a do Rosario do Rio de Janeiro."

10

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Catalogued Document,
Codice #14.604, Rio de Janeiro, 1st series. "Francisco Mendes, Escrivam
actual da Santa Caza da Misericordia passe por Certidam a ope desta
resolucam que se tomou em Meza sobre o Esquife de que uzavam os pretos
das Irmandades de Sam Benedicto e N.S. do Rozario, Rio de Janeiro,
26 de Setembro de 1746."

11

A.J.R. Russell Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, p. 216.

12

A.J.R. Russell Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in
Colonial Brazil: A Study in Collective Behavior," Hispanic American
Historical Review, vol. 54, No. 4, November 1974, p. 596.

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #64, 1747-
1750, 2nd series.

13

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #14
(1721-1807), 2nd series, copy of royal letter of February 4, 1695:

"Governador, e Capitaõ Geral do Estado do Brazil,
Amigo, Eo El Rey vos e niso muito sauda. Por outra carta vossa de
sinco de Julho do anno passado se ficou intendendo que sevinha dado
remedio para que os escravos fossem enterrados com adescencia de
Christnos e que anenhum se faltasse com os sacramentos e que não

tinheis noticia que couresse povoacao sem Parocho nem Engenho sem capelão, alem das Ermitas particulares quetinhão as pessoas de mayor cabidal: o Arcebispo me deu tambem couda desta material, aercuntando e participandome a duvida que se movera na Misericórdia sobre os Confrades das Irmandades que tem esquifes, querendo estes consensasse na posse em que estavam e amizericordia no dereyto denão haver tumbas ou esquifes particulares, tambem me fes presente os sitios, e terras que necessitavão de Igrejas ou de Parochos que assistissem nellas, para que os moradores que ficão na mayor distancia das Parrochias erectas nenhão com mayor facilidade a daministração dos sacramentos como lhe coavem, e necessitao sobre estas noticias me disou a de quererem os Padres das freguesias acompanhar o esquife da Misericordia e emcomendar os defuntos, não tendo antes, nem agora o cuidado de os enterrar: e desejando eu que todos estes pontos se concluão entre vos, e Arcebispo de maneira que possão cessar todas as duvidas que fetum offerecido, e poderem offerecer por qual quer differencia, de opinioens ou jurisdições, sou servido de vos ordenar e aella, como o faço por outra carta; Quanto ao enterro dos escravos que se execute juta forma que se assentou com a Misericordia e que os clerigos das freguesias se não intrometão a querer acompanhar, e encomendar os escravos defuntos, salvo o quizerem faser por caridade, e amor de Deos, por ser esta aforma, que se observa nesta Corte e aque so pode ter duração, pela grande quantidade de escravos de Brazil, que assim como são muitos, são muitos os que morrem, e não poderem os Senhores com mayor dispeza daquese traixou, e arbitrou de quatro centos reis; e quanto aos que forme Irmãos de Confrarias que tiverem esquifes proprios, e particulares, que será rasão se conservem na posse em que estavam de se enterrarem nellas, com declaração porem que não enterrarão cretros (?) que não forem Irmãos das deos confrarias, e que antes de os enterrarem o fação arabir na Misericórdia com certidão do escrivão das ditas confrarias para que a Misericórdia conste de que são Irmãos dellas. E pelo que toca as Igrejas e Parochias, que se devem erigir de novo, como na sua ereção se hajão defaser despesas mayores de minha fazenda, que se acha com grandes empenhos das suas consignações, escrevo a dito Arcebispo, que confira com vosco, e vas Ordeno a vos, que confiraes com ello, ovindo o Procurador de minha fazenda os meynos de se poderem sustentar, e quaes são ao presente mais necessarias, pam que com esta deligencia carriguação de que espeso me dis reis, e que me torne a avizar o dito Arcebispo, poder tomar neste particular a resolução que for mais conveniente ao servico de DEOS nos co Senhor, e bem das almas. De veis porem advertir que a quella ordem para que os clerigos das freguesias não acompanhem o esquife da Misericórdia hade ser do Arcebispo, e não vossa, e que avos toca somente procurar que elle a passe, e faca dar a execcução, e que a duvida da Misericordia com as confrarias que se dis estar ja em Juizo eo atenciozo a de reis a justa por meyo de composição por sua dindo ao Provedor, e Irmãos da Misericórdia a que intervenhão nella por ser obra de caridade, e de justica, sobre o que também lhe mando escrever, e significar o contentamento que teres de que não protigão esta e outenda, que pode resultar em mayor escandalo dos fisis, pois estas pobres confrades a custa do seu trabalho, e com esmolos procurarão

a remedio que os mais nao tinham para se enterrarem; e no caso contrario de senão querer com por com elles o Misericordia, o que não espero, viareis de outra Carta que com esta fever en via, pela qual vos ordeno que facaes resistuir as ditas confrarias a sua posse, Ministerio, e facto simplex de usarem dos seus Esquife para comos Irmãos que o forem das mesmas confrarias, e não com outras pessoas, ou do fim prejuizo algum do direyto da Misericordia que o poderão tratar sobre a propriedade pelos meyor quelle parecer; ultimamente vos encomendo, e ao dito Arcebispo que podendo junciativse aos senhores dos Escravos quelle mandem diser algumas Missas por suas almas, o proverareis faser, per sua tindo os sem coacção emcramente pela caridade que devem ter para com as almas da quelles defuntos, que sendo seus Irmãos para com Deos, os servição por escravos na sua vida. Escritta em Lisboa a quatro de Fevreyro de seiscentos e noventa e sinco/Rey/Para o Governador do Brazil/... Joze Gaos de Carv. Albuq."

14

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Caixa #64, Bahia, 2nd series, 1753.

"Governador, e Capitao Geral do Estado do Brasil, Amigo, E.V. El Rey vos envio muito saudar. Os Juis e Irmãos da Confrarias de Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe dos pretos da Cidade Da Bahia e seu termo, me representarão por nas petições que estando elles em posse de enterrarem os defuntos seus Confrados em os Esquifes que tem cada hua das Irmandades. O Provedor e Irmãos da Misericórdia dessa Cidade da Bahya os impedem uzar da dita sua posse obrigando-os a que se enterrem no Esquife da dita Mizericórdia; sendo que este se ordenou proximamente por ordem minha para se enterrarem os escravos cujos Senhores lhe davão sepultura, faltando por este modo a obrigação de Christãos de que os esquifes das ditas Irmandades forão muito anteriores, e de tempo immemorial a esta parta a vista, e face da mesma Misericórdia, e por consentimento de ambos as jurisdições Ecclesiastica, e secular e mandando eu conciderar esta materia com toda attenção da justica que pode ter a Misericórdia no direyto de impedir os ditos Esquifes das Confrarias, e da que tem os ditos confrados para serem conservados na sua posse. Sou servido ordinarios que os facaes conservar na dita posse, substituir ao ministerio e facto della, sem prejuizo do direyto que sobre a mesmo posse e propriedade competir, e quizer procurar a Mizericórdia, o qual tambem fareis que na Rellação se sentence breve, e summariamente para se escusarem os gastos, e despesas que pelo curso ordinario das causas se costumão faser, e podem succeder tanto em fano (?) dos Pobres pelo que pertence a Mizericórdia como dos pretos das ditas Irmandades que não poderão ter o que lhes baste para sustentar os emcargos de hua demanda. Esta carta valera como Alvara os V.Rey passada pela Chancellaria e fazendo a Alvará na Rellação a mandareis juntar aos autos, e dar a execução sem admittir embargos sobre ella, de qual quer qualidade e condição que sejam sem embargo de quaes quelly, os Regimentos em contrario, ainda da quellas que para seu derrogacho requerem expressa e declarada

menção. Escrip^{ta} em Lisboa a 3 de Fev^{er}eyro de 1695. Rey/Para o Governador e Capitão Geral do Estado do Brazil. Jose Ruis de Carv^o Albuq^{ue}."

15

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Caixa #64, Bahia, 2nd series, 1753.

"Governador e Capitão Geral do Estado do Brazil Amigo. E.V.E. Rey vos envio muito saudar. Pela vossa carta de 4 de Julho do anno passado fico entendendo, que tendes, composto toda a duvida, e discordia, que ouve, e se moveo entre o Provedor e Irmãos da Meza da Misericórdia dessa Cidade com as confrarias dos pretos, sobre o enterro dos escravos, e o Arcebispo me deu conta tambem, que ficaria composta, a pertença que os Parrocos podião ter das suas offertas das quais tinham desistido, porem que o dito Provedor, e Irmãos da Misericórdia procuravão alterar o presso de quatro centos r's que tinham ajustado para enterrarem os ditos escravos, querendo que os Senhores lhe dessem seis centos e oitentas para a Caza e satisfação dos pretos que carregão o Esquife, alem dos trezentos reis da sepultura, e decente e vinte reis, e hua vella para o Cappellão que acompanha o dito Esquife; sendo que os pretos das Irmandades se offerecirão a conduzir a sepultura todos os escravos que não fossem seus Irmãos pela dita esmolla de quatro centos reis; e que falando com o mesmo Provedor, e Irmãos da Miz^a nesta materia, os não pdera reduzir ao conhecimento da obrigação que tinham des observarem o contrato que com elles se tinha celebrado, não podendo levar beneces das suas o velhas. E me pareceo diservos, que sendome de grande contentamente a noticia que me destes dese haverem com postas a quellas discordias, e a que me deu o Arcebispo de haverem deristido os Parrocos das suas offertas: devo estranhar muito mais noticia que me da o Arcebispo da quella alteração do presso, que intentão, ou executão o dito Provedor e Irmãos da Meza da Misericórdia tanto a respeito de faltarem a o conta tudo com vosco, e como vosco antecessor, como pelo e exemplo que se pode seguir as Capitanias do Ryo de Janeiro, e Pernambuco as quais mandey a copia do dito contrato, que primr^o se havia celebrado nessa cidade e se aceitou no mesmo forma no Ryo de Janr^o e ficava para se aceitar e praticar em Pernambuco. Encomendo-vos que Logo procureis evitar esta lateração do presso do que me deu conta Arcebispo, e que o primr^o contrato se tenha inteira observancia, porque não sobre veyo causa justa para se querer alterar, nem se podia fazer sem me darem conta, e sem que su ordenasse outra cauza, nem me persuado a que vos o tenhaes consentido, por que o vosso zello procura aumentar sempre o que he de meu servico e pode ser para mayor bem de meus vassallos. Escrita em Lisboa 23 de Fev^{er}eyro de 1696. /Rey/Para o Gov^{or} geral do estado do Brazil.// "

Joze Ruis de Carv^o Albuq^{ue}

16

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Caixa #57, Bahia, 2nd series, 1750 and Caixa #64, Bahia, 2nd series, 1753.

17
Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #64,
2nd series, 1753.

18
Ibid., This dispute will be discussed in greater detail
in Chapter V.

19
Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Maço #106
(1771-1779), 3rd series, May 6, 1774.

20
Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro,
Codice #13.584 - 13.586, 1st series, catalogued documents, October 9,
1746. Rio de Janeiro, Codice #14.599-14.604, Caixa 30, 1st series,
catalogued documents, 1749.

21
Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro,
Codice #13.578 - 13.579, Caixa #28, 1st series, catalogued documents,
July 19, 1745.

22
Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Codice
#16.924, 1st series, catalogued document, March 4, 1758.

23
Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Maço #58
(1747-1765), 3rd series, Sept. 10, 1761. Bahia, Maco #82 (1760-
1785), June 25, 1763.

24
Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Maço #32,
3rd series (1735-1823), November 24, 1764.

Sn'r

"Dizem o Juiz, emais Irmãos da Confraria de Santa Efigênia de homens pretos erecta na Igreja do Conv^{to}. dos Religiosas de S. Francisco da Bahia, que compondo-se a mesma Irm^{de} na menor parte de pretos ingenuous, ena parte mayor dos que vivem sujeitos a servidão, e dos mais que della sechegão aremir, succede, que no fim da vida se achão m^{tos}. delles indigentes, e miseraveis que não tem com que por morte sejam sepultados com modestia, e competente decencia, e como pede afé com q'se devem cr'er os artigos da immortalidade de suas almas, e da futura ressurreyção de seos corpos, por cuja razão de sejam os Sup^{es}. fazer lhes acto de enterro com guião, e crus em corpo de comunidade, e com este devoto, honesto e humilde funeral os conduzir a Igreja do mesmo convento, en ella dar sepultura a seos corpos com piedade Christaa, e charidade fraternal."

"E porque p^a. este effeito he necessr^o haver na Irmande. Ataude ou Esquife perpetuo, o qual se contentão os Sup^{es}. seja em tudo semelhante ao de que uzão os Irm^s., tambem pretos, da Irm^{de}. de S. Benedito, sita na mesma Igreja, a quem a Real piedade de V.Mag^e. foy servido conceder lhe pela Provizão, que junto offerece, de cuja graça se fazem os Sup^{es}. igualm^{te}. dignos, por com ellez militar a mesma razão de pobreza, e necessidade, e se acharem estes nos mesmos, e identicos termos q. se achão aquelles, porisso P.AV. Mag^e. se digne p^{lo}. amor de Deos, e por sua Real clemencia e piedade, conceder lhe, agraca de poderem ordenar, e uzar p^a. sempre de seo Ataude, ou Esquife assim, e do mesmo modo q. o tem e uza delle amencionada Irm^{de}. de S. Benedito; ou ao menos permittir lhes q. possam uzar do mesmo Esquife p^a. nelle conduzirem os Sup^{es} os seos Irm^s. a sepultura, tudo debayxo das clauzulas, e condições insertas na Provizão junta, sem q. nisso hajão de sentirem os Irm^s. de q^{la} Irm^{de}. o minimo detrimento na precisa despesa para o ornato do mesmo esquife p^a. a qual em taes --os se offerecem os Sup^{es}."

ER. M."

Caixa #21, 2nd series, July 17, 1778, Bahia.

"Dizem o Juiz, e mais Irmãos pretos da Irm^{de}. de Sta. Efigênia sita no convento de S. Fr^{co}. da Cid^e. da Bahia, q. a dita Irmande. Secompoem de Irmãos forros, e captivos, sendo todas muito pobres, e miseraveis, e por esta razão militão p^a com ellas as mesmas rezões e necessidades, q. militão para com os Irmãos do confraria de S. Benedicto estabileycida no sobre dito convento aos quaes foy V.Mag^e servida conceder a graça de poderem ter tumba, em q' possam levar a enterrar os seus Irmãos defuntos, plas. vezes expressadas na Provizão, q' os Sup^{es}. offerecem tirada dos Livros de registo da Secret^a. deste Tribunal, e porq^e. os Sup^{es} de achar em iguaes termes, e na mesma necessidade.

P.A.V.Mag^e. p^{lo}. amor de D^s. lhes faça m^{ce}. o por esmola conceder a mesma Graça de tirem Tumba ou esquife, p^a. Levarem a enterrar Som^{te} os Irmãos da dita Irm^{de} de baixe das mesmas clauzulas, e na mesma forma em q. seacha concedido na Provizão junta aos Irmãos de S. Benedicto erecta no V. Const. ou q. estes sejam obrig^{des}. a conceder-lhe o seu esquife, sem deterim^{to}. da despeza prejusa para o seu ornato, para os Sup^{es} poderem nella conduzir os seus Irmãos visto estar em todas no este Convento."

E.R.M.

Caixa 52, Bahia, 2nd series, (1740-1798), 15 Nov. 1764.

"Ill^{mo} Sr Chancellor Gov^{or}: 'O privilegio que ainstancia de nossos Fidellissimos soberanos observe a Irmandade da Casa da Santa Misericórdia para soella uzar de Esquife, e não algua outra mais, como consta da copia junta, se acha tam vulgarizado nesta Cidade, que não ha Freguesia em que deixem deter Esquife proprio os pretos da confraria de Nossa S^{ra}. do Rosario os homens pardos de Nossa S^{ra}. do Amparo na Se, e por ultimo os de S. Benedicto na Igreja de S. Francisco dos Religiosos Capuchos desta Provincia, onde os Sup^{es} pertendem outro com o titulo de Santa Efigênia, em que

convento e não tenho duvida porque não selle concedendo este ou aquelle mesmo, como S. Mag^{de}. foi servido com facilidade se acistão por Irmãos em qualquer das ditos confrarias em que o tem certo não por necessidade. si não por ufanidade, porque a Irmandade da Misericórdia esta, e estive sempre prompessa para enterrar a qualquer cadaver tanto que por festidão dessos Parrochos consta que he pobre como se publico, e notorio entrada esta Cidade.

He o que posso informar a V.R^d Bahia, quinze de Novembro de 1764, Provedor da Caza da Misericórdia, Rodrigo da Costa de Almeida Joze Ignacio do Alvares, Abreu de Lima."

Bahia, Maço #32, 3rd series, (1735-1823), Nov. 24, 1764.

"Não me parece se deve permittir q^r. com pretexto de devoção cheque ate a sepultura a vaidade, e e mutação com qⁿ. os Sup^{tes}, sem mais autto fim, tendo prompta p^a. todos a tumba da Casa da Misericórdia pertendem acrescentar o numero dos Esquifes, q^r demecpariam^{tes}. (?) ha na Bahia, com o q^r. agora pedem selhe conceda p^a. a Irmandade de Stos. Ifigênia erecta no convento de S. Francisco da quella cidade aonde já se acha outro concedido para a Irmandade de S. Benedicto estabelecida tambem na Igreja do S^{to}. Convento Avulgaridade destes privilegios, atentamente observada he oposta averdadeira disciplina Ecleziasitica de q^r. S. Mag^{de}. he mais zeloso Protector. Sem a sua concepção podem bem venerar a Sup^{tes}. a Glorioza S^{tos}. Ifigênia, a quem sem essa vaidosa dependencia, ficara mais aceita a Sinceridade dos seus cultos. Por tudo concluo q^r. se devem escusar este, e quais quer outros requerimentos de semelhantes natureza, não se permittindo q^r. passe da Irmandade da Caza da Misericórdia p^{as}. outras, o q^r. so aquella, pelos justificados motivos do seu INstituto, tem immediatamentes concedido as Reaes determinações de S. Mag^{de}"

"Esta multiplicidade de tumbas ou esquifes o de q. serve he de prejudicar a Caza da Misericórdia, q.' he hum estabescimento pio, e util ainda politicamente, e de fazer m^{te}. pequeno beneficio a estas Irmandades eregidas muito vezes por huma piedade mal entendida e sempre sem utilidade publica: e serve tambem as ditos tumbas de fazer demandas e Litigios inextingueveis excitadas com animosidade entre asuas Irmandades requeiro, q' se esentem semelhantes requerimentos."

O Chanceller da Rellação da Bahia
Joze Carvalho de Andrade

Caixa #73 (1781-1799), 2nd series, Bahia, April 2, 1783.

25

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #26, May 2, 1720, 2nd series.

"Diz João dos S^{tos}. Ana (Alla?) M^e de Campo do 3^o Novo da Cidade da Bahia e mais officiais e sold^{os}. do dito 3^o, como Juiz e Irmãos da Confraria de N.Sr^a do Rosario sita no Igreja de Nossa S. da Ajuda na dita Cidade do Bahia que V.Mag^e foi servido conceder lhes o privilegio deterem esquife te para dita Irmandade e Mag^e se enterrassem os soldados e officiais do dito 3^o Irmãos da dita Irmandade e como muitos destes sao homens pobres q^e so dos soldos de V. Mag^{de} sealimentão e delles sustentão a dita confraria e muitos dos ditos tem mulher e filhos e lhes prohibe a S.Casa da Misericordia q. sejam enterrados no esquife dos soldados seus maridos e Pais sendo de rezão e justa que sustentando estes a dita confraria com parte dos soldos q. V. Mag^{de} lhes da tambem suas mulheres ef^{os} gozasem do m^o privilegio de se emterrarem no do esquife ainda q^{do}. os maridos não tem com q. paguem atumba da Miz^a mais q^e dos m^{os}. soldos com q^e apenas sealimentão portanto.

E.Pa V.Mag^{de} lhes fasa graça e esmolla atendendo ao referido conceder lhes o privilegio de q. as mulheres ef^{os} dos Sold^{os}. e officiais Irmãos pobres possam ser enterrados no m^o esquife em q^e enterrão seus maridos e Pais Irmãos da dita confraria vistar as rezois q. alegão."

E.R.M^e

26

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Codices #16.920-16.923, 1st series, catalogued documents, 1790-1796.

Codice #16.920. "Requerimento dos Irmãos pretos da Irmandade de Jesus, Maria, Jose estabelecida no Convento do Carmo da Bahia, em que pedem autorisação para usarem esquife proprio nos enterros dos irmãos pobres."

Codice #16.921. "Informação do Ouvidor da Comarca Joaquim Manuel de Campos, sobre o requerimento anterior, Bahia, 9 de fevereiro de 1792."

Codice #16.922. "Provisão do Conselho Ultramarino pela qual ordenou que o Ouvidor da Bahia informasse com o seu parecer a referida petição da Irmandade de Jesus, Maria, Jose, Lisboa, 2 de Junho de 1790."

Codice #16.923. "Requerimento dos Irmãos pretos da Irmandade de Jesus, Maria, Jose emque pedema seguinte certidão."

27

See Fritz Teixeira de Salles 's work Associações Religiosas no Ciclo do Ouro, (Belo Horizonte: 1963), for a discussion of the social class rivalries among the Mineiro confraternities.

CHAPTER VI

THE DISPUTES OF THE BLACK CONFRATERNITIES: ALLIANCES AND CONTROVERSIES WITH THE CLERGY

The juridical battles between churchmen and the lay confraternities pitted the local church authorities against organized gremios of laymen who struggled for autonomy and control over the brotherhood churches. Jurisdictional disputes between lay confraternities and local pastors were common problems in colonial church relations. Overlapping jurisdiction within the Portuguese empire and confusion over local church powers led to these struggles between laymen and clergymen. In all their disputes with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities the black confraternities displayed an independent spirit. Particularly in their struggles with the parish priests over the question of jurisdictional control over their churches and in their valiant fight to reduce the fees for burials, the black brotherhoods were expressing democratic aspirations and trying to make the Brazilian Catholic Church more responsive to the needs of the laity. In their local disputes the black laymen of the Rosary confraternities displayed feelings which could not be expressed in public without incurring the public

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censure and displeasure of the authorities. The black and mulatto brotherhoods were not submissive to civil and ecclesiastical authority complained the Viceroy Martinho de Mello e Castro in 1794, commenting that the worse rebels were the black and pardo confraternities in Minas Gerais making this captaincy a center of discord.¹ Through their lay confraternities the Afro-Brazilians displayed a desire for liberty, a spirit of independence, and feelings of pride and arrogance. This was especially apparent in their dealings with the local clergy. The black officers of the lay confraternities fought against prejudice and racial inferiority in their dealings with white confraternities and the church authorities constantly asserting the basic equality of all Christians in the eyes of God. For this reason the king closely watched and controlled these black religious associations because he feared they would become centers of rebellion.²

The main disputes between the black brothers and the pastors involved noisy battles over the priestly fees for the sacraments, particularly the stipends charged for burials and masses for the dead. The Rosary confraternities in the churches of Portas do Carmo and Conceição da Praia in the city of Salvador

were involved in two lengthy disputes over the payment of burial fees and the parish priest's failure to accompany the bodies of dead members to interment without payment of excessive conhecenças. Other issues involved in these colorful and noisy battles were disputes over ecclesiastical jurisdiction, precedence in processions, rivalry with other confraternities over festivals and problems with the ecclesiastical chapters over church construction.

The black lay brotherhoods sought to obtain the most complete liberty possible without the pastor's interference. Their chaplains were expected to defend and protect the confraternity against the pastor's interference and meddling in confraternity activities.³ The Rosary confraternity in the church of Conceição da Praia played an active and vocal role in fighting for independence from parochical jurisdiction. In the decade of the 1750s this confraternity was involved in a dispute with the pastor Custodio Roiz Landin over burial rights, since the priests refused to accompany the bodies of dead brothers to burial without the payment of increased fees. This legal battle began in 1735 when the Rosary brothers presented their first petition to the civil judge of the Relação (High Court) of Bahia. The petition

argued that the pastor despotically violated the Rosary brotherhoods' burial rights particularly their right to bury their dead in the customary place in the church. The confraternity was outraged that the pastor was usurping rights and privileges which the confraternity had enjoyed for more than eighty years.⁴

Other complaints involved the high fees charged by the priests to accompany the bodies of the dead. In the above mentioned dispute the pastor was charging the black brothers 1\$060 reis to accompany the bodies of the dead. In 1755 the Rosary officers pointed out to the civil authorities that the parish had in essence deprived the brotherhood of its legitimate rights and power in regard to masses, burial rights and funerals. They indicated to the Crown that corrupt priests were accepting fees but were refusing to accompany the bodies of dead members without receiving a higher fee.⁵

In these disputes over funeral rights the black brothers struggled to make the slaves' life easier under the institution of slavery. Legal battles over burial were crucial to black brotherhoods like Our Lady of the Rosary because the black brothers were fighting to prevent blacks from being buried in unconsecrated ground like brute animals. Christianized African

slaves in other parts of the Portuguese empire, especially in Africa, were often buried in unconsecrated ground if their confraternities were unable to pay for the costs of burial. However the Rosary brotherhoods in colonial Bahia made heroic efforts to bury all their members, including indigent slaves, in the confraternity churches, even if it meant breaking local church laws, such as burying poor members at night without the accompaniement of the parish priests. The richer lay confraternities were able to pay the church fees but were especially incensed when the priests raised their fees and pocketed the money without fulfilling their contractual agreement to accompany the bodies to the church graves. The Rosary brothers of Conceição da Praia asked the Crown to force the parish priests to accompany the bodies of dead members to interment without charging excessive stipends for funerals.⁶

The Rosary confraternities were extremely self-protective and jealous of their prerogatives. Many of their disputes with the parish priests involved usurpation of confraternity privileges. The Rosary brothers of Conceição da Praia were furious with the pastor, Custodio Reis Landim, for interfering in their funerals and robbing the laity of privileges which they had enjoyed for over

eighty years. In this particular dispute which took place on February 2, 1719 the pastor refused to allow one of the officers of the confraternity to accompany the bodies of dead members to interment. It was customary for prominent brothers, usually the judge, to preside over funerals carrying his silver staff, the symbol of his authority. For over eighty years the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary located in the matrix church of Conceição da Praia had enjoyed this privilege. In 1719 the Brotherhood and the pastor started a dispute which would last until the 1750s over parish jurisdiction and brotherhood prerogatives on the question of funerals. This local dispute was brought before the local magistrate in Salvador and was appealed by the Rosary brothers to the King's court in Lisbon. According to Portuguese law both parties had legal precedents and rights, however the Crown alone was vested with the rights of the "Real Padroado" which gave him the power to rule in church matters, superseding the archbishop's authority. In this particular case the local pastor wanted to control the lay confraternities within his parish. His constant interference in the brotherhood funerals may have been an attempt to collect additional parish revenues from the Rosary brothers. In the funeral procession the pastor

wanted to replace the judge with the sacristan who demanded a fee of 1\$500 reis for his services.⁷

In 1728 the King ruled in favor of the black brothers by sending a decree to the Archbishop of Bahia, Dom Luis Alvarez de Figueyredo, ordering him to oblige the pastor to accompany the dead brothers to interment in the traditional manner with all due respect for the ancient privileges of the Rosary confraternity.⁸

In the majority of these disputes the Portuguese kings were sympathetic to the problems of the black lay brotherhoods and generally ruled in their favor. Ordinarily the Bahian archbishops favored the pastors in their decisions and tried to defend parochial rights. The archbishops were rarely sympathetic to the plight of the laity. In a similar dispute between the pastor and the Rosary brotherhood of the Church of Portas do Carmo in Salvador, the Bahian Archbishop Jose Ruis Carvalho de Albuquerque was particularly hostile to the petitions of the Rosary brothers, staunchly supporting the pastor and describing in his petitions to the King, the black brothers as "unruly rebels and trouble-makers" who caused more disturbances than all the white lay confraternities in the city of Salvador do Bahia.

He felt that the black brothers were not asking for equality of privileges but greater privileges than those enjoyed by white confraternities! The Archbishop demanded the penalty of excommunication as a suitable punishment for the black rebels of the Rosary confraternity. It is unlikely that such a severe penalty was ever carried out for such a small offense. So bitter were the hostile feelings between the pastor and the Rosary brothers that the pastor, anxious to show his power and superiority, removed the candles used by the brotherhood during festivals and burials from the church altar hoping to prevent them from holding church services without his express permission.⁹

The black lay confraternities arranged elaborate rituals and funeral processions for the burial of dead brothers. The officers and wealthy brothers were given elaborate funeral processions which were a sign of the prestige and status they had enjoyed during their life in the black community. Tribal chiefs who were members of the confraternity were also entitled to lavish funerals on account of their rank even though they were slaves. Whenever a member of the brotherhood died the parish priest or sacristan was responsible for saying

the masses of the dead and accompanying the funeral cortège to interment. These priestly services were expensive since they included payment for candles for the priests and chief mourners, priestly stipends for the mass and blessing at the grave, parochical fees, and burial fees for opening the graves in the churches. Sometimes more than one priest accompanied the bodies of the dead to burial thereby raising the funeral costs. The Rosary branch in Salvador in the church of Portas do Carmo in 1729 paid the following expenses for each funeral: the sacristan received 1\$280 reis, plus the priests and the parish received 320 reis each for funeral services. The escalation of priestly stipends and funeral expenses depleted the treasury of the confraternity.

In their disputes with the pastors and parish priests over this question, the black officers of the Rosary sent petitions to the Crown pleading with him to ask the Archbishop of Bahia to reduce priestly fees since confraternities made of slaves could neither provide Christian burial for indigent members nor afford to pay the priest's expenses. There were ways of circumventing priestly stipends by burying poor slaves at night and opening graves without the priest's permission. However these actions provoked violent disputes between

the brotherhood and the parish priests which led to long legal battles in the local courts. Since the Rosary confraternity of Portas do Carmo had built their own church with their own labor at their own expense, they regarded the church as their private domain and sanctuary. This dispute with the pastor of Santíssimo Sacramento was an attempt to have the brotherhood church declared free of parochical jurisdiction. In their letters to the King in 1750 and 1751, they asked for royal patronage over their chapel which would exempt them from local ecclesiastical jurisdiction and allow them total independence from the parishes in all their religious functions and festivals. The officers specified all the powers and privileges which they wanted the King to grant them, including sole jurisdiction over the church, keys to the chapel and sacristy, free use of the graves and chapel and control over the sacristy and house where the church vestments and statues were kept.

The pastor and archbishop were furious that a black confraternity was behaving in such an independent way and was challenging their authority by asking for the privilege of the "padroado" and daring to demand the same powers as the priests. In these disputes the black officers displayed a knowledge of canon law and the history of the privileges

of lay confraternities throughout the Catholic world. These black brothers of the Rosary wanted the same privileges as those enjoyed by white confraternities in Rome. The pastor, Francisco Xavier Marques da Rocha, insisted that the demands of the lay brothers were expressly prohibited by the constitution of the Archbishop and Roman ritual since laymen were incapable of the right of burial and the privilege of opening graves.¹⁰ The actual outcome of this dispute is unclear from the documentation but it is clear that the crown did not accede to the black brothers' demands for the right of the "padroado," although he probably criticized the priests for raising their stipends. Independent-minded and democratic lay brotherhoods like the Rosary confraternity of Portas do Carmo sought to elect sympathetic clergymen as their chaplains to avoid clerical greed and to keep priestly fees at a low rate.

The disputes of the lay brotherhoods can be divided into three types: lawsuits between the lay brothers and the ecclesiastical authorities, legal disputes between lay confraternities over the use of churches and precedence in processions and disputes within the confraternities themselves between different social groups.¹¹ Since the

eighteenth century was heyday of lay confraternities, therefore it was not unusual that the most serious disputes and demands for independence of the brotherhoods took place during the mid-eighteenth century. The most famous juridical battles over canon law on the question of lay confraternities took place in Minas Gerais in the period from 1730 until 1780. In the early period of the 1730s the Mineiro branches of the Rosary confraternity had mixed racial membership, however soon the black and white members were fighting for control of the confraternity. In the Rosary Brotherhood of Alto da Cruz the white brothers split away from the black membership and formed a new branch called Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Padre Faria which was solely for whites.¹² There were also similar disputes between the creoles born in Brazil and the African-born members. By the 1740s creoles had formed separate confraternities dedicated to Nossa Senhora das Mercês in Ouro Preto, proving that the black population in Minas Gerais differentiated amongst themselves and associated with those brothers of the same ethnic background.

In the frontier mining province of Minas Gerais, the growth and increase of third orders and confraternities

caused a decline in the parish matizes since the laymen built their own churches. Perceiving a loss of power and jurisdiction, the pastors of the parishes protested against the third orders and confraternities alleging that they were constantly usurping their more legitimate rights. In the case of the black brotherhoods the majority of which were not third orders, the pastors were jealous of a loss of power to laymen who were capable of building churches and organizing lavish festivals which did little to benefit the coffers of the secular clergy. Minas Gerais, a pioneer mining frontier composed of boom towns, did not benefit from the evangelizing zeal of the regular clergy such as the Jesuits, therefore the lay brotherhoods and the third orders took the place of the regular clergy, barred from Minas by royal decree.¹³

Most of the third orders were composed of white members, however the devotion of the black brotherhoods caused the King to elevate some of them to the prestigious position of a third order. The most famous example was the pardo brotherhood of the Archconfraternity of the Cord of St. Francis. The Mineiro white third order of St. Francis was furious that the Crown had given a

mulatto confraternity equal status and privileges. The white third order did not like to see mulattoes organized in a religious gremio with the same patron. The mulatto archconfraternity was founded in the church of São Jose by the pastor Matias Antonio Salgado in the Mineiro town of São João del Rei in 1761. When the confraternity made a procession with the insignias of St. Francis, the white third order protested to the authorities that the mulattoes were robbing them of their exclusive privileges. They began a lawsuit over this issue which lasted fifteen years; the white third order claimed the mulatto third order was copying their customs and practices in their processions. Ultimately the whites lost the dispute when it was appealed to Lisbon. The Archconfraternity of the Cord of St. Francis was persecuted by the white third orders and the local clergy on account of the racial composition of its membership. Racial and class antagonisms were at the heart of this dispute. For example the white third order of St. Francis was angry that the Archconfraternity of the Cord of St. Francis in Sabará had buried a mulatto woman with the habit of St. Francis which the whites regarded as their exclusive privilege.¹⁴ The elevation of a mulatto confraternity

to the status of a third order was an indication of the social ascendancy and importance of the pardos in Mineiro society.

During the colonial period in Minas Gerais and elsewhere in Brazil, religious festivals and ceremonies had a seductive and impressionistic influence on the popular spirit. The religious festivals staged by the brotherhoods had the exceptional power to seduce and attract the faithful and to instruct the unlearned in the religious principles of Catholicism. One of the most absorbing activities of the lay confraternities was the enacting of religious festivals. Since more than one brotherhood took part in these religious extravaganzas, violent conflicts took place over the question of privilege and precedence. In cases of dispute over the place of precedence in processions, canon law was clear and explicit, however the lay brotherhoods ignored canon law in their efforts to establish the rights and prerogatives of the lay brotherhoods.¹⁵

Salvador do Bahia was no stranger to disputes among the lay confraternities over rival processions. One of the most interesting debates over this question took place

in that city in 1757. The lawsuit was initiated by the white confraternity of Santos Passos against the black brothers of the church of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Pelourinho and the mulatto brothers of the Confraternity of Santa Cruz for using the same cloaks as the whites and imitating the processions of the whites. In their lengthy petition to the Crown, the white elite of Santos Passos complained that it was customary in Brazil for the most humble and servile people, such as blacks and mulattoes, to copy the elite and compete with them in the processions of the lay confraternities. The chief religious observances of the white brothers were solemn public processions on November 1st, All Saints Day and the Fridays of lent, in which the whites paraded with their staffs and banners through the streets of Salvador in honor of Santos Passos, the Holy Steps of Christ on the road to Calvary. The white brothers had enjoyed this privilege for more than one hundred years without any other confraternity daring to imitate their procession or competing with them until 1756 when two black and mulatto brotherhoods staged a similar procession wearing the same robes and marching through the same streets as the whites. Apparently the black and mulatto brothers had no fear of punishment by the ecclesiastical authorities since they marched by the door of the pastor ignoring his order to desist from continuing the procession

and showing their independence of the clergy. For part of their route they were joined by an Augustinian priest from the hospital where the mulatto confraternity was located which further outraged the white confraternity. Not only were the mulattoes going to organize a rival procession in 1757 but they created a separate confraternity called the Holy Cross which intended to make the procession an annual event. The whites were furious at the rival procession especially the copying of their robes and insignias. They complained to the Crown that the mulatto and black brothers were subject people who had a passion to imitate and compete with their social betters! In 1756 the white brothers of Santos Passos were surprised by this rival procession and lacked the necessary time to stop it. When the mulatto brothers showed every indication that they intended to parade each year in imitation of the whites, the officers of the Brotherhood of Santos Passos wrote to the King charging the pardo brothers with robbery and usurpation of their exclusive privileges which had been granted by Pope Pius X in 1588 and guaranteed by his Papal successors. Canon law prohibited lay confraternities and religious congregations from using the same exact robes and insignias. In their petition to the King

the white brothers accused the mulattoes of forming rival processions, robbing them of their privileges and going against the laws and styles of the whole Catholic world.¹⁶

The rival procession of the mulatto brothers was an assertion of their religious equality and their desire to celebrate the same religious festivals as the white elite of Salvador. The confraternity of Santos Passos barred blacks and mulattoes from their membership. They regarded these rival processions as a social affront and a blow to their prestige and privileged position. In this dispute, as in many others, there was no indication of how the King ruled on this matter. It is probable that he did not allow the mulattoes to wear the same robes as the whites but may have allowed them to join in the procession. In this dispute class antagonism and racial animosity were evident. To a modern mind such disputes seem very trivial and petty. However in that era religious processions were social occurrences of great significance for the local population. The white elite showed their social ascendancy by parading first in all public processions, since canon law decreed that the white third orders marched first. When blacks and mulattoes organized a rival procession or tried to march

first in a procession they challenged the social order of colonial society.¹⁷

This case had already been brought before the Judge of the Relação (High Court) of Bahia. The Archbishop's scribe sent written testimony to Lisbon that the rival procession of the pardo brotherhood had begun on the 1st of April of 1757 at 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon and lasted until 8:00 o'clock in the evening when the marchers reached the Hospicio de Nossa Senhora da Palma, the site of the pardo Brotherhood of Santa Cruz. The pardo brothers were clothed in the beautiful purple cloaks used by the white brothers of Santos Passos and marched bravely through the winding streets of Bahia despite repeated attempts to stop the procession by the whites. In their final petitions to the King the Brotherhood of Santos Passos asked that the pardo brotherhood be penalized with the punishment of imprisonment of the chief officers and fine the confraternity 60 mil reis for their disobedience.¹⁸ Such disputes over rival processions and the imitation by the pardos of older white religious functions give the modern observer valuable insights into the more colorful aspects of the social life of colonial Brazil.

Another series of disputes involved rivalries

over brotherhood churches by the parishes. One such dispute took place in Salvador during the years 1723 until 1750. At the core of this dispute was the independent-minded Rosary brotherhood in the church of Portas do Carmo which played a leading role in challenging the authority of the pastors over confraternity churches. The special feeling that the Rosary brothers had for their churches was based on their heroic efforts at church construction. In their enumerable petitions to the Crown they described the hardships and laborious steps taken by slaves and freemen to construct and establish their own churches. Like the medieval communities in Western Europe who constructed the magnificent Gothic cathedrals of the high Middle Ages, the black brotherhoods founded churches throughout the cities of colonial Brazil at their own expense, paying for the cost of building material and donating their own labor at night to build religious houses of worship where slaves would be free from their masters' watchful eyes. The Portuguese monarchs occasionally donated money and ornaments to these churches. Rich people sometimes donated statues and chalices to the confraternity churches. Since these brotherhood

churches were constructed at their own expense, the confraternities regarded these chapels as their own private churches and were unwilling to share it with the parish priests.

In 1723 the Church of Our Lady of Portas do Carmo was completed. The Archbishop of Bahia, Dom Sebastião Monteyro da Vida asked the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary to share its church with a nearby parish since the Archbishop planned to build a new matriz church. The confraternity soon found itself deprived of its power over its church, losing the key and administration of the church to the pastor. The black brothers of the Rosary regarded this action of the pastor and archbishop as tantamount to usurpation of their rightful power and privilege to hold festivals and bury their dead in the church. The black brothers wrote to the king asking him to restore their lost power. In legal terms the brothers asked the Crown for the right of padroeiros (patrons) since they were the founders and builders of the church. They wanted the key to the church and sacristy, free use of the graves and jurisdiction over the house where they kept their ornaments. The Rosary brotherhood of Portas do

Carmo was one of the leading confraternities of Salvador. They had sufficient funds to build their church and to enlarge it. They were outraged that the pastor took over the church and deprived them of their privileges. The most serious charge leveled against the parish involved the inability of the brotherhood to bury slave brothers due to their difficulties with the parish priest. The brothers complained that they were forced to bury slave brothers in the fields and jungles since they could not pay the higher parish fees, and their owners would not pay for the parish burial expenses. The Rosary brotherhood did not want their church to be a branch of the parish of Santíssimo Sacramento. They complained of the greed of the parish since the pastor refused to bury brothers from other parishes without a burial service even if the dead body had already been blessed by their own parish priest.

As their disputes with the pastor grew more heated, the brotherhood adopted the practice of not having funeral services for poor brothers, opening the graves themselves without parochial permission and asking their chaplain to officiate at these funerals. The pastor

was greedier than the chaplain since he demanded 960 reis for each funeral service. If the family of the dead brother or sister could not pay, the pastor refused to bury the dead person. In two instances the disputes between the brotherhood and the pastor were so long that the bodies of the dead began to decompose. The brotherhood asked the Crown to reduce the burial fees from 960 reis to 480 reis. They wanted their chaplain to have jurisdiction over non-parochial functions such as opening graves, celebrating masses and blessing candles since the parishes were charging too much money for these services.¹⁹

In the early eighteenth century the Rosary brotherhood in Rio de Janeiro decided to build a cathedral which would unite all the smaller black confraternities with the Rosary brothers in one common church. It took the Rosary brothers over fifty years to build this cathedral which was named the church of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict. The Rosary brotherhood wanted to unite the confraternity in one place since their members were scattered in different chapels throughout the city of Rio de Janeiro. In 1746 and 1774 the brotherhood asked the Crown to help them with the construction of their cathedral. In 1746 the Judge and brothers of the Rosary

confraternity complained to the Crown that the ecclesiastical chapter (cabido) of the cathedral was uncooperative since they had not chosen the site for the new cathedral nor had they sent the plans for the new church to the Overseas Council for their approval. In March of 1746 the King ordered the cabido to send the plan for the new cathedral to Lisbon along with a configuration of the terrain chosen to the Overseas Council for its approval. Another petition dated May 26, 1774 asked the Crown and Overseas Council to send money to the brotherhood so they could finish the high altar of the new church. The black brothers pointed out to the Lisbon authorities that the enslavement, poverty and misery of the black population made the completion of the construction of the new Cathedral a giant undertaking. They told the Crown that the slave brothers, due to their great poverty were "tiny forces" for such a great undertaking as the construction of a new cathedral for the city of Rio de Janeiro. They described the difficulties they had had with the construction of the church. In 1721 the church was unfinished and the building was suspended due to a lack of alms, high salaries and the expensive cost of construction.

They pointed out to the Crown that the various black brotherhoods in Rio de Janeiro were located in tiny, unworthy and indecent chapels. As the black population of Rio de Janeiro grew in the eighteenth century, the original chapels and churches were not sufficient for the religious observances of the black brotherhoods. Many of the smaller chapels used by the brotherhoods had been demolished to make room for cemeteries. The black officers pointed out that many slaves were buried without the benefit of a Christian funeral and a new cathedral would provide an opportunity for slaves to be buried with Christian decency.

The Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary had originally been located in a chapel in the old Sé Cathedral in Rio, but they were expelled from the chapel after they had difficulties with the ecclesiastical chapter. In July of 1700 the Rosary brothers had been ordered to move from the Cathedral of Sé to the Church of Santa Cruz by the bishop of Rio. Since the church of Santa Cruz was in decrepit condition the Rosary brothers refused to move, begging the bishop to be allowed to stay at the cathedral. In August of 1700 a company of soldiers forcibly entered

the church and took the keys away from the confraternity and expelled the brotherhood in order to make room for the ecclesiastical chapter. This brotherhood was deprived of the church that had cost them 80 mil cruzados and were in danger of being destroyed as a social organization since many brothers were frightened away by the violence of the bishop and the ecclesiastical chapter. The Rosary brothers begged the King for royal mercy and gained permission to begin construction on a new cathedral.²⁰ In this case the Portuguese monarchs were very sympathetic to the plight of the Rosary brotherhood. Their cathedral was built at the end of the eighteenth century and lasted until a fire destroyed the interior of the church in 1970. In modern times a tiny slave museum has been built adjacent to the main church which gave witness to the tragic life of the slave brothers who built and worshipped in the Cathedral of Nossa Senhora do Rosário e S. Benedicto.

A curious dispute arose in the 1760s and 1770s over confirmation of the compromissos of the lay confraternities between the Archbishop of Bahia and the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens. Each Brazilian lay confraternity was required to remit their statutes to Lisbon for royal approval by the Mesa, the keeper of the King's conscience. In the

eighteenth century with the growth and proliferation of lay confraternities, it became customary practice for the bishop to approve the statutes of the confraternities without recourse to the Mesa. When the officers of the Mesa found out that confraternities were being created without royal approval, they demanded that all Brazilian brotherhoods send their compromissos to Lisbon for royal confirmation; many black brotherhood had been created by the bishops without royal approval. Some of their powers and privileges were checked in the 1760s and 1770s when they sent their statutes to Lisbon for royal confirmation.

In all their disputes with the white authorities, the black lay brotherhoods proved that they were not tools of the white elite. They showed their independent spirit which caused them to try to create socio-religious institutions which sometimes acted apart from the official church.

Chapter VI

Footnotes

1

Julia Maria Leonor Scarano, "Devoção e Escravidão: A Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos Pretos no Districto Diamantina do Seculo XVIII," Ph.D. Thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 1969, pp. 33, 157, 20.

cf to Daniel de Carvalho, "Formação Histórica das Minas Gerais," in Primeiro Seminário de Estudos Mineiros, (Belo Horizonte: Imprensa da Universidad de Minas Gerais, 1957), p. 23.

2

Ibid., p. 157.

3

Ibid., pp. 143-144.

4

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Caixa 30, Bahia, 1735, 2nd series.

5

A.H.U., Lisbon, Caixa 65, Bahia, (1754-1755), 2nd series, Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dispute with the Pastor of the parish of Conceição da Praia, Salvador da Bahia.

6

Ibid., Caixa 65, Bahia, 2nd series.

7

Ibid., Caixa 65, Bahia, 2nd series.

8

A.H.U., Lisbon, Caixa 63, Bahia, 2nd series, 26 de October de 1752.

"Dizem o Juiz, procuradores, e mais Irmãos da Irmandade dos homes pretos de Nossa Senhora do Rozário da Igreja matris de nossa Senhora da Conceipção da praya da Cid^e. da Bahya, q. para bem de sua just^a lhe hê nesessr^o, q. na Secretr^a do Conselho Ultramar^o se lhe passe huã certidão da ordem q. V.Mag^e foy servido mandar expedir no anno de 1728, ao Arcebispo da Bahia Dom Luis Alz de Figueyredo, para obrigar ao Vigr^o da dita Matris, a

acompanhar os enterros da Irmand^e dos Supp^{es}, na forma da sua antiga posse, e também a outra ordem de sete de Julho de 1728, q. foy remetida ao Chanceler da dita Cidade Luis Mac hado de Barros, declarando em como dos refferidos annos, em q. se passarão as ditas ordê^s, té o prez^e não ouve outras incontrario; e por q. se lhe não pode passar sem desp^o."

9

See Chapter III pages 143-149 for further details on this dispute.

A.H.U., Lisbon, Caixa 64, Bahia, 2nd series, 1753.

10

A.H.U., Lisbon, Caixa 64, Bahia, 2nd series, 1753.

"Dizem o Juiz e mais Irmãos da Irmandade de N.Sra do Rosario dos Pretos da Cid^e da Bahya, citta na sua Igreja junto das portas do Carmo, q.' tendo os Supp^{es} feito a mesma Igreja com incancavel disvello, trabalho e despesa; pois a seos hombros carregarão todos os materiaes precizos p^a ella movidos da grande devoção; q.' tem com a May de Deos, ajudado o seo trabalho, e zello com as esmollas de alguns fieis, se poserão na posse de Levarem na sua propria tumba a enterrar na mesma Igreja os seos Irmãos defuntos não obstante as duvidas com q.' assim se oppos. a Caza da Misericórdia da mesma Cid^e e taobém oz clerigos e Parochos das freguezias..."

11

Fritz Teixeira de Salles, Associações Religiosas no Ciclo do Ouro, Estudos 1, Belo Horizonte: 1963, pp. 95,96.

12

Ibid., pp. 99-100.

13

J.M.L. Scarano, Ibid., pp. 1, 29.

14

Fritz Teixeira de Salles, Ibid., pp. 104-105.

15

Ibid., pp. 101, 105, 107.

16

A.H.U., Lisbon, Caixa #70 (1758-1795), Bahia, 2nd series, 1 de Mayo de 1757.

"Em todos os tempos foi a dissimilhanca dos sugeitos, foi a que servio de obstaculo a executarem se muitos projectos, de que

resultarão graves consequências, seos não embarcassem a desigualdade da condição, porem neste Brazil, onde mais q. em outra qualquer parte reyna a falta de conhecimento proprio nem a dissimilhança incita a conter-se cada hu na sua esphera, nem a desigualdade os convida a absterem se de incompetencias, porque o mais humilde quer imitar ao grande e com este quer tão bem compettir o mais abjecto de Sorte q. aquelles mesmos aquem anatureza dotou de servil condição são os que mais se empenhão nestas imitações eos g. mais procurão estas compettencias, eo máis he, que não ha impreza que não levem ao fim nem projecto que não executem e para que seveu fique melhor este asserto.

Expoem a V. Magde o Prov^{or} e máis officiais da Meza da Irmandade dos Santos Passos da cidade da Bahia, que sendo estabelecido no seo compromisso assim como em todos os máis no Reyno, e conquistas, que os Irmãos da dita Irmandade, uzem de vestes com capa e capello roxo nas suas acções, especialmente nalouvavel de vezitarem annualmente em procissão solemnd. e publica os Santos Passos pelas ruas da dita cidade e lugares onde seachão erigidos na 2^a 6^a Fr^a da Quaresma; principiãrão a uzar das dita vestes, capa, e capello imprimindo no peito da parte esquerda do capello, varas e mais insignias de q. uzão na dita procissão, huma cruz desde a creação da dita Irmandade athé o prez^{te} que ha máis de cem annos se conservarão sempre na posse das ditas vestes e insignias, sem que outra alguã Irmandade os imitasse, nem procurasse competir com a dos exponentes nações, e uzo dellas.

Namesma Cidade costumavão os homens pretos, e mulatos vezuas todas as 6^{as} Feiras da Quaresma os mesmos Santos Passos sahindo em duas procissoens distinctas a q. chamarão a Fortaleza e nellas uzavão de vestes brancas desde a cabeça aos pes mas não de varas, sahindo os pretos da sua Igreja de N.^{ra} do Rozario; eos mulatos da de Nossa S^{ra} da Palma, enom (?) se conservarão muito annos the que selhes prohibirão as ditas Fortalezas pellas perniciozas consequências que rezultavão em offensa de Deos em cujo silencio, estiverão alguns annos athé que a titulo, ou comp o pretexto de zelo e devoção conseguição do R^{do} ordinario Faculdade para continuarem no mesmo exercicio e com effeito tornazão a sahir huns, e outros com a sua procissão vestidos de branco e levando nella a Santa imagem de Jesus christo crucificado.

Porem como nestes sugeitos predomina apaxão de quererem compettir a todos, ea falta de conhecimento proprio, lhes influe, que com a imitação se fazem semelhantes não contentes com aquelle seo instituto da Fortaleza erigirão Irmandade a quederão onomede Santa Cruz, e sem que o ella tivessem os exponentes noticia sahirão na Quaresma de 1756, assim os pretos como os mullatos

com a sua procissão pelos mesmos Passos, e todos com vestes brancas, capas, e capellos roxos com crux nos peitos, e nas varas a imitação emaneira da Irmandade dos Exponentes, e uzando da mesma visitidura e insignia, que só se permite a Irmandade dos Passos e a nenhua outra, e desta forma fizerão o seu acto, porque não houve tempo para selhe embaracar o projecto: porem pertendendo a Irmandade dos mulatos seguir os mesmos termos na Quaresma do presente anno de 1757, lhes obstarão os mesmos termos na Quaresma do presente anno de 1757, lhes obstarão os mesmos Exponentes fazendo os noteficar para não uzarem na dita sua procissão das taes vestes, e insignias, e depois de precederem varios desp^{os}. de hua, e outra parte, em Fim por virtude de hum aggr^o q.' se interpoz se determinou que não sahinem com astaes vestes, e insignias, e para isso forão noteficados a tempo, que estavam já para sahirem com a dicta procissão, como consta do documento incluzo.

Desta noteficação abuzarão, pois que sem temor as penas nem respeito as justicas pozerão em execução o projecto sahindo com a dita procissão, e uzando nella das mesmas capas e capellos roxos, e das mesmas insignias, e o máis he, que fizerão caminho pela porta do D^{or}. Vigario G^l a cuja ordem forão noteficados, não tendo sido esse o costume nos annos antecedentes, em que sahirão vestidos de branco; sem receyo, de que se tomasse contra elles algum procedimento, porque se conciderão independentes e se capacitão, que com respeitos particulares des vanecem q^l q^r acção que se intente, e de facto se portão tão absolutos, q' sendo outrosi noteficado o sacerdote; que levará a Santa Imagem para que quando fossem horas de Ave Maria se achasse a dicta Santa Imagem recolhida na suppozição de que sahirão com as suas vestiduras brancas, precaverão isso porque seguindo aprocição hu religioso Agost^o do mesmo Hospicio, tanto que vio, que se chegavão as dictas horas, e que os officiais. Ecclziasticos pertendião que se executasse a dicta ordem, fazendo recolher a dita Santa Imagem, pegou nella o dito Religiozo, estando a procissão em pouco máis de meya carreya; e forão continuando com ella até a fim, segundo tão bem consta do documento incluzo de sorte que ao recolher se fez a deligencia por serem prezos, mas nada se concluhio, porque ficaram homiziados no dito Hospicio.

Nestes termos, e nos de ser irremediavel o cazo por meyo judiciais; pois que as demoras dos termos fazem e termos os pleitos. Recorrem os Exponentes a V. Mag^de para a providencia, por que alem do escandalo, que occasionarão os ditos mulattos na falta de obediencia os ordens da just^a; de q' não lhes rezultou molestia alguma, foy tão bem sensivel a animozidade da imitação, e competta, e com disgosto grande de toda a Irmandade dos Exponentes na uzurpação das suas vestes, e insignias a nenhua outra permittidas até agora nem ainda nessa corte, onde tendo havido gravissimas compettas sempre se deferirão a favor da mesma Irmandade dos Passos, decretandose, que so esta pode uzar da dicta capa com

capello roxo, e das tais insignias nos seos actos, e com justa cauza porque alem de serem estas so permittidas as Irmandades dos Santos Passos pela sensivel acção, que representam já os S^{mos} P.P. Pio 5^o, e Sixto 5^o no anno de 1588 decretarão que nas congregações houvesse differença das vestiduras não uzando huas das de outras, e diversificandose nellas para se evitarem as confuzões e outros inconvenientes, que rezultão das semilhanças e os S^{mo} P.P. Innocencio 4^o, Gregorio 11, Gregorio 14, Clemente 8^o, e Urbano 2, alem deprohibirem entre as dictas congregações, e confraternidades o uzo de vestiduras semelhantes decretarão, que os q. tivessem uzo de certas vestiduras, e insignias as prohibissem a qual quer outra congregação, ou confraternidade que quizesse tomar as mesmas e pela congregação da Sagrada Rot. se tem determinado, que não haja mais, que hua procissão de Passos, e de facto assim se tem praticado em toda parte, menos nesta cidade da Bahia, onde os duos homens pretos, e mulatos querem formar suas procissões contra a dita determinação e estylo de todo o orbe Catholico.

E como so a V.Magde. compete fazer observar os decretos Pontificios, e conservar aos Exponentes na sua antiquissima e justissima posse porisso mesmo, e para evitarem algua des ordem sem duvida extranhavel pela des igualdade dos sugeitos, poem na Prez^{ca} de V.Magde este requerimento para lhe das a provida que foi servido. Bahia em Meza e Caza do Consistorio ao primeiro de Mayo de 1757."

17

Fritz Teixeira de Salles, Ibid., pp. 105, 107.

18

A.H.U., Lisbon, Caixa #70 (1758-1795), Bahia,

2nd series, 1 de Mayo de 1757.

19

A.H.U., Lisbon, Bahia, 1st series, Codice
#18.718.

A.H.U., Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #48, 1733.

A.H.U., Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #57, 1750.

20

Arquivo Nacional de Rio de Janeiro, Codice
#952, vol. 44, folhas 94-95, vol. 33, folha 48, vol. 20,
folha 242, vol. 21, folha 186, vol. 29, p. 303.

A.H.U., Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, 1st series,
consultas #13.043-50.

EPILOGUE

Black lay confraternities were vehicles of Christianization for an African population which was insufficiently tutored in Catholic religious principles. The growth and proliferation of these lay religious associations was a testimony to the extreme religiosity of the black population in Brazil who dazzled colonial times with the splendor of their baroque churches, their festivals, processions and funerals. Membership in a black confraternity provided slaves and free blacks with opportunities for cultural self-expression and an outlet for recreational and self-help activities.

From medieval to early modern times lay confraternities were voluntary associations in which laymen and women were grouped for mutual aid, material as well as spiritual. Whereas in the middle ages people of the same profession or trade were grouped together in the same confraternity, in colonial Brazil lay sodalities were divided by color and social class. While the Brazilian white associations were elitist and discriminatory towards non-whites, women and the poor, black confraternities were open to both rich and

poor, men and women, all races and both freeman and slave. They were the only fully integrated colonial social associations open to all races, classes and sexes. They were dominated by blacks and mulattoes. Creoles and slaves made up the majority of the membership with a minority of rich whites, priests, slave-owners, women and freedmen. Freed blacks and mulattoes played an important role in the direction of the confraternity since they were the officers of the associations. It was in the interest of rich white slave-owners to join these religious self-help organizations, to be on good terms with their slaves and to show benevolence toward the poor in order to prevent these associations from being used against the interests of the white colonial elite, especially to prevent the confraternities from becoming centers of slave rebellion. The black brothers welcomed some whites into their midst, particularly priests and rich whites to further their religious and social ends and to help finance the treasury in time of need. Despite the fact that these black associations were religious in origin and had a minority of whites in their membership, they were not

white tools to keep blacks in their place.

Black lay brotherhoods always fought to further the social and religious interests of the black urban community. Unlike the quilombos (fugitive slave communities) they did not fight against the institution of slavery as such, but rather helped to free some of their members by pooling their financial resources and advancing loans to help slave brothers and sisters buy their freedom papers. They were primarily interested in ameliorating the conditions of the slave's life, making his life more bearable in a slavocratic society. They were adamant in fighting against injustices in church practices against slaves and free blacks. They fought for religious equality within the church. They offered a forum for blacks to protest against mistreatment and injustice against slaves by cruel white owners. They were not revolutionary institutions but were willing to use the vehicles offered by the slavocratic society of colonial Brazil to ameliorate the slave's life, to Christianize slavery by introducing humane and Catholic values into Brazilian slave society.

Although this study has focused on the comparative aspects of slave confraternities, it should be mentioned

that in a large colony like Brazil, lay confraternities exhibited regional variations and were dependent on different urban economies. In regard to the confraternities' role in the development of African religious syncretism within Catholicism, here too the lay confraternities exhibited regional variation. In Bahia, Recife and Rio de Janeiro the association of the black urban population into brotherhoods did not inhibit the growth of African cults. The urban blacks in Salvador, Rio de Janeiro and Recife openly joined religious brotherhoods and secretly organized African cult houses where the candomblé, Xango or macumba rites were performed. African religious beliefs were practiced on the beaches of these three coastal cities or in the shadows of the brotherhood churches at night when the whites were asleep. Brazilian blacks saw no contradiction or inconsistency in organizing a black confraternity, practicing Catholic religious beliefs, while secretly participating in the African cults. Despite the legal prohibitions against the survival of African religious practices, they thrived in these three coastal cities because of the influx of African slaves from West Africa who provided colonial Brazil with a continuous source of African religious inspiration

until the end of the slave trade. The Portuguese Inquisition which had no permanent establishment in colonial Brazil was not terribly concerned with black spiritualism and tended to prosecute rich whites and root out new Christians who had properties and businesses worth confiscating.¹

The power and influence of the lay confraternities in Minas Gerais suffocated and smothered the growth of African religious cults. However the captaincy of Minas Gerais was not typical of the coastal urban areas. In the mining cities creole blacks were numerous and tribal Africans were in a minority, making it difficult for the West African Yorubas to preserve their religious cults. The coastal cities of Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife were near the centers of of the plantation economy, tribal Africans were in a majority and were not so thoroughly mixed with assimilated creoles.

These black self-help associations were intimately involved in the religious, social and economic life of colonial Brazil. The leading black figures of Brazil joined black brotherhoods as a testimony to their popularity. Antônio Francisco de Lisboa, the most famous colonial sculptor, was a member of two mulatto confraternities. He was buried in the parish church of Antônio

Dias in the cova (grave) of the confraternity of Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte dos pardos. He was also a member of the mulatto confraternity of Nossa Senhora das Mercês.² Henriques Dias and the members of the black regiments were active in the black confraternities. The members of the black lay brotherhoods were the elite of Afro-Brazilian society who joined confraternities for economic, social and religious reasons. Membership in a black sodality gave the slave and freeman an opportunity to borrow money and to protect himself in times of economic hardship. Despite their limited financial holdings, black confraternities had the ability to pool their resources to perform charitable works of mercy and mutual aid activities.

In colonial Brazil, as in all of Latin America, Catholicism was an integral part of every individual's life. Religion was not confined to Sundays and holy days. All the most solemn occasions of life, birth, death and marriage were solemnized by the church. The religious activities of the confraternity such as processions, novenas, litanies, benedictions, burials were social responsibilities which provided participation in the life of the community. Lay confraternities played a positive role in the society. These religious

associations gave poor and humble people in Brazilian society a means of protecting group interests and fighting against injustice; as such they played a vital role in the life of slaves. Since colonial Brazil lacked an adequate educational system, the brotherhoods educated great numbers of workers and slaves by means of their social discipline, religious services, priestly sermons and by direct contact with the priests, members of the educated elite of colonial times. Black lay brotherhoods showed the oppressed slaves that solutions for their problems could be found in the organized structure of Brazilian society and not in revolutions or anarchy.³

Brotherhoods were complex associations in spite of their religious foundation. They had the cooperative spirit of a recreational club yet they were also cultural and artistic associations.⁴ They most closely resembled the medieval guilds, yet they also had some of the aspects of trade unions and modern clubs in their social welfare services. Lay confraternities were socio-religious groups which many times functioned independently of the official church. Their festivals were deep expressions of popular religious beliefs and Afro-Brazilian culture. In the black lay brotherhoods of colonial Brazil, Latin and African cultures, so foreign to each other in other ways, have enthusiastically embraced the processions and

festas as expressions of their religious faith.⁵

This thesis does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of the role of black lay confraternities. Further research in churches and ecclesiastical archives in Brazil must be done to find more information on the membership of the confraternities, especially the occupations of the members. Regional studies of the local confraternities will give insight into the life and activities of the local black population. More study and research is needed on the economic resources and functions of the black brotherhoods. Since the African cults have had such a pervasive influence on Brazilian culture which has lasted until modern times, it is possible that some of the confraternities composed of newly arrived tribal Africans may have used these associations as a front for the secret preservation of African religion. Further research is needed on this subject. Since there is such scant documentary evidence on blacks, insight into the history of Afro-Brazilian society can be gained from a study of the limited sources available on lay confraternities.

These religious institutions are valuable to study since they were the only legal organizations permitted for slaves. Further research is needed to answer the following questions: What type of organizations were

they? Were they only limited special interests groups or did they represent the wider interests of the black population? What percentage of the black population belonged to these religious associations? What role did the black lay brotherhoods play in the nineteenth century, particularly during the abolitionist controversy? Due to the destruction of many documents on slavery when the Brazilian government abolished slavery in 1898, historians need to search for alternate sources in order to understand the important role of blacks in colonial society.

The tribe, the quilombos (fugitive slave communities), African cult houses, black regiments and black confraternities were the only social institutions for Afro-Brazilians in colonial times. Tribal allegiances broke down after a few generations once the black was separated from his tribal brothers and he became assimilated into the society. The quilombos and cult houses were illegal social institutions, although they flourished in colonial Brazil because of the smallness of the white population and the weakness of the local law enforcement officers. The regiments and confraternities were the only socially acceptable institutions organized for the local black population. Through membership in a religious brother-

hood and participation in religious processions the Afro-Brazilian population found a vehicle for social expression and community development. No other forms of association were legally permitted for the blacks. These socio-religious associations founded on religious piety grew out of the common social needs of the black urban population.

Lay confraternities offered the slave some consolation during an often "nasty, brutish and short" life. Through the mechanism of lay brotherhoods, white society allowed slaves to retain some part of their African heritage and culture. Confraternities played an important role in ameliorating the conditions of a slave's life.

EPILOGUE

Footnotes

1

Patricia Aufderheide, "True Confessions: The Inquisition and Social Attitudes in Brazil at the Turn of the XVI Century," Luso-Brazilian Review, vol. 10: 2, December 1973, p. 218.

2

Fernando Jorge, O Aleijadinho: sua vida, sua obra, seu genio, (Rio de Janeiro: 1967), p. 210.

3

Fritz Teixeira de Salles, Associações Religiosas no Ciclo do Ouro, Estudos 1, (Belo Horizonte: 1963), pp. 119.

4

Ibid., pp. 120.

5

Father Louis Dineen, "Fiesta: Processions and Fiestas on outdated myths or deep expressions of a people's culture," Columban Mission, February 1976, pp. 6-9.

See this article for an interesting discussion of a missionary's interpretation of the modern lay confraternities in Peru.

APPENDIX A

THE ORDINANCES OF A 15TH-CENTURY

CATALAN BROTHERHOOD OF BLACKS¹

Ordenanzas de la Cofradia de los Cristianos
Negros de Barcelona, 20 Marzo 1455

"Nos Johannes etc. Caritatis zelus et ingens devocio quos nec sine cordis puritate vigere comprehendimus in vos christianos nigros libertate donatos et qui in civitate Barchinone habitatis instituendi seu faciendi confratriam inter vos et alios christianos ex gente vestra nigra libertate donatos et qui in futurum ipsa libertate donabuntur sub invocacione et in ecclesia parrochiali beati Jacobi dicte civitatis Barchinone quo ex cultu ejusdem confratrie discatis dominum Deum et ipsum beatum Jacobum apostolum suum quem maxima devotione colitis et utique ecclesiam sanctam catholicam rectius perfectiusque agnoscere et venerari et inquam valeatis in proximos ejusdem gentis vestre ipsius caritatis et misericordie opera facilius continuare et exercere visitando et juvando infirmos et indigentibus in eorum necessitatibus succurrendo: vos dignos faciunt et benemeritos ut ad ipsam confratriam vobis benigniter concedendam liberali animo accedamus: inest enim in confratrius quoddam latens necessitatis vinculum quo illarum confratres devinciuntur et tenentur sibi ad invicem in operibus caritatis prohomens hi demanaran e si algu o alguna de aquells qui seran tenguts de anarhi no seran al soterrar de dit cors pus just impediment no hagen del qual sien creguts segons dit es que pach aquell per cascuna begada que hi fallira sis diners. Item que cascun confrare o confratressa haja et dega dir et aco prometre com entrara en la dita confraria XXX vegades la oracio del paternoster et altris XXX la oracio de la avemaria per anima dels confreres morts e aco sia en carrech de la sua anima: e si dir nols volra o no sabra o no pora que hage a donar dos diners per anima dels morts o aquella almoyna ques volra. Item que dels diners del acapte o de la caixa de la confraria sia dita una missa per anima de cascun defunt de la dita confraria lo dia de la sua mort o lo dia que diran les misses de aquell en aquella esglesia on aquell tal cors jaura a la qual missa sien presents tots aquells qui esser hi poran et los prohomens de la dita

¹P. de Bofarull y Mascaro, Coleccion de documentos ineditos del archivo general de la Corona de Aragon, Vol. VIII (Barcelona: 1851), No. CIX, pp. 463-471.

confraria hi demanaran. Item sia ordinacio de la confraria que si algun confrare o confraressa vendra a pobresa o fretura per malalties o perdues o en altra qualsevol manera que los prohoms de la dita confraria e caxa de aquella dequen soccorrer et ajudar dels diners de la dita caxa segons llur bon vijares a aquella que la dita fretura sostendra axi en provisio de son menjar com en necessitats de metges et de medecines com en totes altres coses a ell o a ella necessaries. Item que si algun confrare norra lo qual sia pobre a conexenca delo dits prohoms que dels diners de la dita caxa sien pagades messions de la dita sepultura a coneguda de aquells prohoms. Item sien pagats daquells diners ciris lanties draps et altres coses que la dita confraria te o volra tenir o haver o fer fer. Item que per tant que sapien a present quines coses hauran a fer tots anys per la dita confraria et la despesa que sen havra a seguir que sia ordinacio entre los confrares que tots anys una vegada co es en la festa del cors precios de Jeshu-Christ facen XII ciris blanchs de pes cascu de cinch o VI liures e un altre ciri gros lo qual ja acostumem de fer de pes de XX lliures o mes ab llur senyal ab los quals ells tots de la confraria acompanyen et sian tenguts acompanyar lo dit Cors precios de Jhesu-Christ segons que los altres confrares et officis fan o acostumem lo dit dia: e que apres aquells ciris sien posats e stojats en la eglesia de mossen sent Jaume et que servesquen a totes les festes anyals del any. Item que per bon stament llur axi mateix sia ordonat entre ells que si alguna persona de la dita confraria sera opresa o detenguda de malaltia per la qual li convendra combregar axi com cascu christia es tengut fer e obligat que en aquell cars tots aquells de la dita confraria los quals per los dits prohoms hi seran appellats hagen esser al dit combregar al qual servesquen los dits XII ciris: e si per ventura los dits confrares appellats esser no hi volran que en tal cars hagen a pagar e paguen del llur propri per cascuna vegada que contrafaran VI diners a la caxa de la dita confraria aplicadors. E per co que les coses dessus dites e altres en apres deidores mils pusquen venir a bon acabament et perfeccio suppliquen los dits negres a elles esser atorgat que cascu any en lo dia de mossen sent Jaume apostol tots los dits negres et altres que sien o seran de la dita confraria se pusquen et hagen aplegar en un loch aquell quis volran e aqui elegesquen et dequen elegir dos homens que sien de la dita confraria los quals sien per tot un any continuu appellats prohoms los quals tinguen les claus de la dita caxa de la dita confraria et los quals hagen carrech per tot aquell any en dar compliment a totes les coses dessus dites et pertanyents fer a la dita confraria segons serie et forma de la present ordinacio. Item que apres al cap del altre any et axi successivament feta la dita eleccio dels dits prohoms que aquells que seran stats prohoms lany passat hagen e dequen liurar les claus de la dita caxa a aquells que novelament entraran et retre comte a ells daco que administrat hauran et que sia posat en scrits entre ells tantost

com seran elegits. Item que si cars sera que algu dels dita prohomens sera malalt o absent o sera mort o abdosos seran morts o malalts que en tals casos o cascun de aqueles dins lany sia licit a ells tots de la dita confraria de ajustarse a fer altres dos prohomens o ferne hu lo qual ensemps ab laltre que hi sera regesquen per aquele any en et per absencia o defalliment dels altre o altres prohomens defuncts. Item que si per ventura en la present confraria haura algun confrare qui sera revolter bandaler inobedient en seguir les coses rehonables de la dita confraria que sia licit et permes als dits prohomens de expellir et foragitar aquell tal de la dita confraria en tal manera que la dita confraria no sia tenguda a subvenir en aquell tal axi en sanitat com en malaltia et axi en mort com en vida de ningunes coses de la dita confraria. Item que los dits dos prohomens hagan a callir totes setmanes los deutes del acapte en aquella millor manera que poran en carrech de llur consciencia de aquells que seran de la dita confraria co es los dos diners de cascuna setmana. Et si los dits confrares no los volran pagar axi com dit es aquel batle o sotsbatle de Barchionona puxa aquells tota hora que per los prohomens ne sera request compellir et forcar en pagar los dits diners de cascuna setmana et totes encara les penes en que los dits confrares serien cayguts segons damunt es largament specificat. Entes empero que si algu de la dita confraria sera pobre et miserable et no pora pagar en sa vida los dits dos diners de cascuna setmana que en tal cars aquell tal de tota sa vida no puxa esser constret a pagar aquells: apres empero obit seu los prohomens de la dita confraria compellesquen los hereus de aquell a pagar tot lo que degut hi sera fins a la hora de la sua mort si bens hi houra et si no ni haura que vaja tot per amor de Deu. Item que per co com moltes vegades per les rahons dessus dites et per moltes altres ques poran esdevenir sera necessari los dits prohomens haver consell dels confrares de la dita confraria: per co placia a vos senyor que los dits prohomens totes aytantes vegadas com a elles sera ben vist fahedor puxen appellar los confrares de la dita confraria a fer congregacio en aquell bon loch que a ells parra o aquells quels plaura per haver consell lur e tractar de aquelles coses que per profit de la dita confraria los para esser tractadores: pero que en la dita congregacio e tractaments haja esser et sia present un dels notaris o scrivans de la cort del batle de la dita ciutat e que en aquella tan solament se tracte o puxa tractar dels negocis de la dita confraria e no daltres e que cascun appellat hi degua esser la hora assignada e qui noy sera que pach per cascuna vegada mija liura de cera o XII diners guanyadors al ciri de la dita confraria o a la dita caxa. Et licet, etc. Altissimus, etc. Fuit eidem majestati nostre dicta pro parte humiliter supplicatum ut capitulu ipsa superius inscripta et omnia et singula in eis contenta et expressata vobis laudare approbare ratificare et confirmare de benignitate nostra dignaremur in eisdemque nostram auctoritatem interponere pariter et decretum. Nos vero dictum

capitulorum tenore inspecto que honorem Dei et serenissimi dicti domini regis continere videntur et inquam consideratis ipsis devocione et zelo caritatis vestris et quod licet nigros vos esse voluerit ipse Deus et dominus noster homines tamen nec seu doctrine expertes sed capaces vos creavit et reddidit vosque quoniam vitam in simplicitate ducitis renatique ex aqua et spiritu sancto christianorum nomem colitis debetis in similibus amplecti et benignius coadjuvari: tenore presentis de nostra certa sciencia et consulte ipsa preinserta capitula et omnia et singular in eisdem contenta juxta illorum pleniores seriem et tenorem vobis tam illis scilicet qui novissime confratres ipsius confratrie ex nostro hujusmodi indulto seu concessione eritis quam illis qui abinde et seu in futurum confratres ejusdem confratrie fuerint laudamus approbamus ratificamus et confirmamus atque concedimus et indulgemus eisdemque auctoritatem nostram in interponimus pariter et decretum. Mandantes serie cum presenti gerenti vices nostri officii generalis gubernatoris in Cathalonie principatu vicario et bajulo Barchinone subvicarioque et subbajulo ac capitibus subajuliarum dicte civiltatis aliisque universis et singulis officialibus dicti domini regis et nostris tam presentibus quam futuris et illorum locatenentibus sub incursu ire et indignacionis dicti domini regis penaque mille florenorum auri de bonis cujuslibet contrafacientis irremisibiliter exigendorum regioque applicandorum erario quatenus capitula ipsa preinserta et omnia et singula in eis contenta vobis et dicte confratrie perpetuo teneant et inviolabiliter observent et in aliquo non contrafaciant vel veniant aut aliquem contrafacere vel venire permittant aliqua ratione. Pro presenti vero concessione dedistis et solvistis quinquaginta quinque salidos barchinenses quos recepit dilectus consiliarius et locumtenens thesaurarii generalis dicti domini regis. In cujus rei testimonium presentem fieri jussimus regio sigillo in pendenti munitam. Data Barchinone vicesima die marcii anno a nativitate Domini MCCCCLV regnique dicti domini regis Sicilie citra farum anno XXI aliorum vero regnorum quadragessimo. --El Rey Johan.--Dominus rex locumtenens mandavit michi Petro Sames visa per Andream Cathala locumtenentem thesaurarii generalis." (Reg. N. 3298, fol. 3, 20 mar. 1455.)

APPENDIX B

Compromisso of the Brotherhood of Our Lady
of the Rosary of Black Men, Lisbon,
Located in the Monastery
of S. Domingos¹

Apêndice

COMPRI / MISSO DA IRMAN / DADE D. N. S.
DO ROSARIO DOS HOMENS PRETOS

Prólogo

Depois que os nossos primeiros paes por culpa de seu peccado foraõ lancados da gloria em este vale de lagrimas sobgeitos as miserias e trabalhos do Mundo e obrigatorios a morte, vendo a Sanctissima Trindade o homem sem graca para merecer, o Demonio señr da criatura que Elle fizera a sua imagem e semelhança, determinou que a pessoa do Filho viesse tomar humana carne em as devinas entranhas da mais purissima virgem e intemerata Sancta que no mundo ouvesse para que em sua humanidade recebese o castigo de nossas culpas e em lugar daquela arvore em que pecou Adam, levace as costas elle a Arvore da veras Cruz e sepozece embatalha com o Demonio para nos tirar de sua sujeição recebem as avexações e duestos de sua prizão e os tramentos dos açoutes, e lança que lhe abrio o seu deuino costado e as cinco chagas insignias de sua victoria e nosso remedio, sobio aos Ceos deixando compridas e declaradas as figuras de seu testamento velho e de sua devina ley dagraca posta em a Sancta madre Igreja pera Doctrina denossa Salvação, e conhesendo que o Homẽ hera tão fraco, e debil que si só não podia resistir ao Demonio nem merecer agloria, deulhe hua valedora, hua entercesora ornada de todos os dons do Spto Sancto previligiada de tanta graca e merecimento que quem se pegace as abas da sua misericordia fosse socorrido, perdoado, e remediado em suas tribulações, e esta he a sua gloriosa madre a quem elle chamou rosa prantada em overgel de sua devina vontade ao qual todas as gerações do mundo honrrão, louvão, adorão, servem, e por este respeito os Mosteiros da S. crdem dos

¹P. Antonio do Rosario de Sousa Carvalho, O.P., "Das Confrarias do Rosario," De Primordiis Cultus Mariani, Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani in Lusitania anno 1967 Celebrati, Vol. VI, Rome: Pontificia Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1970, pp. 366-373.

pregadores tem sempre a Capela de N. S. do Rosario a quem servem e celebrão a sua festa. E por que os Homens pretos vindo das longes terras e partes de N. S. do Rosario e dos seus grandes milagres e movidos de Catolica devação forão os primeiros edificadores e prencipiantes e sustentadores da muy S. Capela e confraria que hora esta edificada e residente em o Most.ro de S. Domingos desta mui nobre e leal Cidade de Lx.a aqual Capela e confraria e devação floreceo no anno de mil quatro centos e secenta.

Capitulo I

Por quão nos pareceo cousa conviniente e necessaria pera bem eprol desta Sancta Confraria por muitos respeitos que nos a isso movem e pelo que cumpre pera nossas concien-
cias como pera aditta Sancta Confraria sera per nos e pelos que adiante forem melhor servida e aproveitada; e em crescimento, e nos sempre permanecamos empaz e amor conformidade segundo aquella parabula de N. S. E Saluador IESU XPO que disse este he meu mandamento que vos ameis huns aos outros, e noutra parte dise nisto conhecera o mundo que sois meus discipolos na paz e amor e comcordia com que vos amardes tratares e viveres. Porem nos querendo tomar este espelho e uzar deste Sancto conselho metidos de baixo da correição, e emparo de nossa Sancta Madre Igreja confiando na graça do Spto Sancto que nos ajudara em tão Sancta obra sendo todos chamados segundo nosso bom e vertuoso costume dentro no Mus-
teiro do bem aventurado S. Domingos onde ora esta situada a dita Confraria de N. S. do ROSARIO dos Homens pretos os aqui nomeados e outros cada dia que adiante vierem. O lencen-
ciado Ruy daluim procurador geral da ditta jrmandade e confraria E Diogo lopes escrivão della o presente ano de mil e quinhentos e secenta e cinco, e P.o Cabr.a e Antonio cardoso mordomos e Ioão gonsalves Juiz e Ioão de oliveira Gaspar Lopez e Manoel peixoto Bastião frz Ioão daluim e P.o aluim Paulo de faria Pedro da Costa Manoel Ribeiro e Ioão do Rego Bertholameu da fonseca e Francisco pacheco Domingos Rz e Francisco de mesquita Manoel fz e Manoel fz bordador Ioão diaz alfaiate e Antonio Voga Pero pardo calafate e seu Pay morador na Rua dos Cavides e Vicente dias preto trabalhador e Antonio mz Mareante e G.lo aluim e Miguel ros Mareante Pero jorge trabalhador, e Antonio afonço trabalhador, e Mar-
tim Glz pedreiro, e Francisco Lopez e Ioão darguim trabalha-
dor Antonio Afonço trabalhado rno terreiro e Sousa marido de Catherina Dias mareante, e Simão velho e Sebestião Lopez f.o de Diogo Lopez. Todos em hũa conformidade e com hum Coração e vontade quanto a elles possivel for ordenarão a sobredita Confraria e jrmandade na maneira seguinte.

Capitulo 2

Acordarão que afa nadita confraria e jrmandade hum juiz, e dous mordomos e hum escrivão o qual sera branco e hum homem nobre e pessoa de que se tenha respeito que chame os jrmãos quando se ouver de fazer alguma cousa e ajuntarseão para emlegerem os dittos officiais por dia de N. S. do ROSARIO que vem no mes de julho pela visitaçãõ de Sancta Isabel; e logo ao Domingo seguinte depois da visitaçãõ, os quais officiais tantoque elegidos forem assi os jrmãos como os mordomos e juiz, e escrivão e andador servirão na mesa da dita Confraria o seu ano de dia a dia e darão ao escrivão dous mil rs. e lhe guardarão respeito e o que for desobediante o Poder aprender, e depor da Confr.a.

Capitulo 3

Ordenamos que na ditte Confraria e jrmandade se diga hua missa cantada pela manha cedo todos os Domingos do anno, e se ascenderão quatro Capuchos e toda a cera que sepuder ascender ao Evangelho, e ao levantar do SENR e sedarão cirios de mao aos Confrades e a s que estiverem a missa o melhor que se puder fazer e se pora hu pano de defuntos com suas tochas ou cirios acesos enquanto durar o sacrificio da missa e responso pelos confrades, jrmaos, vivos e defuntos por qm a missa se dira e se pagara em cada hum anno aos P.es doditto Convento a esmola que os jrmaos Confrades por seu contrato são obrigados, e ao responso da ditte missa se acendera acera, que odepois searecadara.

Capitulo 4

Acordarão que na dita jrmandade e confraria aja hua arca das esmolas a qual tera tres chaves, ua tera o Juiz outra hũ mordomo, outra o escrivão segundo aforma da Jrmandade da Mz.a e não se abraira para setirar o dinheiro nem se serrara a despeza senão pelos dittos officiais juntos que o presente anno servire' na mesa, e fazendose sem o juiz, mordomos e escrivão que naquelle ano forem senão leve em conta a tal despeza, a qual sera asinada per hũm dos mordomos e escrivão, e avera hum livro pera esta receita e despeza que se guardara na arca da confraria, e se não emprestará d.ro sem penhores de ouro e prata equivalentes a segurança.

Capitulo 5

Acordarão que ao Domingo que vem logo pasado dia de todos os Santos em cada um anno os mordomos terão ao cuidado deconcertar hua esa no lugar conveniente na Igreja e com toda a cera e mais ornato mandarão dizer as besporas cantadas e ao dia seguinte se dira a missa cantada com Lainhas,

e se dara de oferta quatro alqueires de pão cosido e tres almudes de vinho e quatro duzias de pescadas ou o valor dellas a dinheiro como o mais que parecer e se contratarem os officiais da meza.

Capitulo 6

Ordenamos que por aver alguns jrmãos que são mordomos e acabando de servir o anno na outra eleição tornão a ficar mordomos e não querem dar conta. Por evitar estes convi-nientes [sic] que se faz empreuizo da confraria, fara os officiais que são a festa dia de Nossa Senhora da Visitação e acabada a festa aquelle dia os officiais velhos entregarão a Capela aos officiais novos e a tarde tomarão os officiais novos ao procurador da Confraria conta com entrega sem entrevirem outras pessoas na conta excepto jrmãos que enten-dam bem della e não querendo dar conta os podera o seu escrivão, e o P. Prior prender.

Capitulo 7

Acordarão que nenhum escravo cativo possa ser official nem ter mando na confraria nem mourisco branco, nem mulato, nem indio.

Capitulo 8

Ordenamos que por aver alguns jrmaos que são preiudi-cias na confraria de nossa Senhora quando alguma vez for mor-domo em o dar da conta remisso se lhe não tomem votos na emleição nem seja official no confraria nem tenha mando algum sem em tudo aver dado boa conta. O que tudo dispора o escrivão com o P. Prior ou prez.te.

Capitulo 9

Acordarão que na confraria não aja deputados nem nomes emcertos pera officiaes senão sejam por votos todos eleitos prez.te o Escrivão.

Capitulo 10

Acordarão que falecendo qualquer confrade ou jrmão da dita confraria, ou suas mulheres posto que não estejam acen-tadas no livro da ditta confraria, todos os jrmãos e confrades que forem requeridos serão obrigados a hirem por seu corpo com os sacerdotes e o trarão a ditta Igreja, onde quer que se mandarem enterrar, com os Cirios acesos e os apagarão tanto que o corpo estiver na Igreja, e se darão duas tochas

com capuchos pera a missa do defunto, e ao responsso estara acesa até o corpo ser cuberto, e sendo que se enterrem em outras igrejas os acompanharão os jrmãos com a cera deixando alguma esmola pera a confraria.

Capitulo 11

E sendo cazo que o jrmão ou confrade falecer sendo tão pobre que não tenha com que se enterrar nem mandar dizer missa a confraria a sua custa o fara enterrar enterrando e lhe mandara dizer uma missa rezada, e a oferta que puderem e virem que he bem.

Capitulo 12

Acordarão que sendo cazo que qualquer jrmao ou confrade venha a entrevecer ou cahir em doenca ou em estreita necessidade sendo os mordomos e officiaes informados que não tem donde lhe venha remedio pera o necessario senão por esmolas, os jrmãos lhe darão a que puderem pois tendo saude ajudou a confraria.

Capitulo 13

Acordarão que tanto que os mordomos acabarem o seu anno e forem elegidos outros, o juiz da dita confraria assignara os mordomos passados dez dias para que dentro neles entregarão tudo o que sobre elles for carregado em receita aos outros novos officiaes que forem Élegidos.

Capitulo 14

Acordarão que este comprimisso se leia em cada um anno, cada vez que sairem os ditos officiaes e entrarem outros de novo sendo juntos os dittos officiais e jrmãos.

Capitulo 15

Acordarão os officiais e jrmaos comuniquem hus aos outros as cousas da Confraria mança e pacificamente, e com muita humildade e silencio, cortesia, e o que o contrario fizer o juiz os podera condenar em hum arratel de cera presente o escrivão a que obedecerão.

Capitulo 16

Acordarão os dittos jrmaos que quando vier o dia de nossa Senhora do Rosario que he a nossa festa principal que

vem cada hu anno no mes de julho os officiaes terão a sua cera feita e acabada e a porão em lugar donde convier melhor, e posta em hũa mesa com todo o ornato, a Jrmandade toda ordenara huma procissão ao Convento donde esta nossa Jrmandade esta instituida a qual procissão se fara ao Domingo à tarde depois de passado o dia de Santa Izabel, pera cujo effeito se buscarão clerigos a que os jrmaos darão sua esmolla como se concertarem, e virão todos os jrmãos e confrades com cirios acezos nesta procissão muito devotamente rezando o Rosario pera virem sem nenhum rumor e assim sera nas emleições que fizerem, e sera castigado o que for perturbador.

Capitulo 17

E sendo cazo que chamados todos os jrmãos e confrades para fazerem a emleyção e se não poderem ajuntar todos, então se fara com doze jrmãos e alguns confrades e os officiaes que este anno forem e desta maneira sera a emlejção valiosa.

Capitulo 18

Acordarão que os officiaes que ande servir e o procurador da Confraria, em cada hũ ano emlegerão uma pessoa que tire para o azeite e outra pera as missas, e outra pera acera, a qual sera de idade de quarenta anos para cima, e casado, e homem de bom viver, e boa consciencia, sendo éleyto fazendo o que não deve o possão tirar e dar a caixa a outrem com estas condições.

Capitulo 19

Acordarão que o que for official hũ anno o não possa ser dahĩ a três annos como se faz na Sancta misericordia excepto o escrivão sendo pessoa nobre podera por mais annos querendo servir a N. S.

Capitulo 20

Acordarão que tanto que for feita a emleição dos officiais que ande servir tomarão conta aos mordomos que forão ante elles, e achando que por encerramento de contas ficam devendo cousa alguma, se carregara o que assi ficarem devendo em receita por lembrança sobre os mordomos que socederem os quais serão obrigados ao arrecadar, e darão dele como do mais que em seu ano receberem conta com entrega aos officiais que lhes succederem, e pela dita maneira se tera a dita ordem cada anno.

Capitulo 21

Acordarão que o juiz e mordomos que servirem serão muito diligentes em seu cargo, e todas os Domingos e dias Santos terão cuidado devir pela menha a meza e aisi às tardes e se acentara cada hum em seu lugar e terão vestido suas capas brancas pera autorizarem seus cargos e por tais conhecidos porque não parece bem estarem com capas pretas, e sendo necessario hir ao altar vão com as ditas capas brancas, e que provoquem a gente a devação assim na humildade com [sic] na limpeza. E samos contentes que o nosso escrivão nos mande e emcaminhe, ao que lhe obedeceremos en tudo que nos ordenar e ao Rev.º P. Prior de S. Domingos a quem estamos sугeitos.

Capitulo 22

Acordarão que nenhum dos officiaes da meza possa por sy sòmente receber dinheiro algum de fora que lhe decem algum escravo pera sua liberdade sem primeiro ser praticado em meza pelos officiaes della pera ver se he bem acceitalo, e achando que he bem se carregara por lembrança, em receita, e se pora em parte segura. E fazendo qualquer official o contrario somente por isso sera provado, e não servira mais e emlegerão outro que sirva.

Capitulo 23

Acordarão que os jrmaos desta confraria são muito importunados de muitos escravos que ficão meio forros, e assim escravas que lhe dem pera se acabarem de forrar, em tal caso a Confraria não sera obrigada a mais que a favorecer os ditos escravos e falar por eles, e não a demandas, salvo alguma pessoa a que a Confraria tiver muyta obrigação, e quizerem tirar pelos jrmaos algumas esmolas pera isso, mas a custa da Confraria querendo lhe fazer alguma esmola sera até a contia de quinhentos rs. e isto porque a Confraria não fique desfraudada.

Capitulo 24

Acordarão que dia de N. S. da Purificacao que vem aos dous dias de fevereiro, se diga no altar de N. Senhora missa da propria festa, a qual missa se benzerão os Cirios que he costume darem aos Navios que vão pera fora do Reyno e assi p.a os officiaes da meza que então forem se dara a cada hũ seu Cirio de meio arratal como se costa fazer na dita Confraria.

Capitulo 25

Acordarão que os mordomos que pelo tempo forem serão obrigados a armarem muito bem a Capela no dia da festa da Confraria, e se confeçarão e commungarão, e tatando da limpeza da alma, tratarão com todo o cuidado do ornato da Capela e de por em arecadacão tudo o que nella estiver pera darem de tudo boa conta.

Capitulo 26

Acordarão que quando algum jrmão quizer por sua devação ser mordomo, Principe, Reys, Duque, Condes, Marqueses, Cardeal e qualquer outras dignidades, se farão os ditos cargos a votos e niguem podera ter os cargos mais que em sua vida, e se estiver auzente, em seu lugar se pora outra pessoa e tanto que o ausente vier, podera exercitar o seu cargo.

Capitulo 27

Acordarão que quando se acabar o anno, dois jrmaos tomarao conta aos mordomos que antão acabarem, do que rendeo a Confraria e dos gastos que se fizerão, e os gastos que foram licitos pera se levar em conta se levarão, e toda a esmolla que derem a N.S. se lançara em livro e se carregara sobre os mordomos e tizoureiro, o qual sera homem de satisfação e verdade.

Capitulo 28

Assi acordarão e ouverao por bẽ pera serviço de N.S. e aumento desta Confraria os Capitulos atras escritos que querem em seus nomes e dos jrmaos vindouros se guardem como neles se contem pera o que se assinarão, pera os comprir e guardar e sugeitão ao Señr Conservador das Causas da dita Confraria por provisão del Rey nosso Señr que assi lho confirme e ponha sua authoridade pera sempre inteiramente se guardar como nelle se contem e pedem ao Rev.do P. Prior de S. Domingos lhes faça comprir e guardar na forma que dito he.

(Aprovação)

O Dr Bartholameu Pires do Avellar do Dezemb.o dell Rey nosso Señr seu corrg.or dos feitos e causas civeis em esta corte e caza da Suplicação da Irmandade dos Homens pretos de Nossa Senhora do Rosario sita em São Domingos desta cidade faco saber que a mim me foy apresentado o Cumprimisso atras cujos capitulos confirmo o hei por confirmados e para que valhão e tenham sua força e vigor intreponho minha

authoridade judicial.

Lisboa dous de Dezembro de mill quinhentos sessenta e sinco annos e eu Bernardo Nunes o escrevi.

(Outro assento)

Asentamos hoie em Menza aos 14 de Dezbr de 1700, sendo Juiz Ignacio fr.a juiz pasado, outro juiz pasado Benedito Perim, Procurador (nome riscado), Procurador outro Ventura de Matos. Tisorero (nome riscado) Misquita. Concordamos com todos os nosos como Jrmãos, e oficiais da Snr.a do Rosario que estavam obrigados os Jrmãos, e Jrmãs entre Maridos e molheres de darẽ cada anno de sua esmolla a dita Snr.a entre Maridos e Molher seis tostoens; e o solteiro, e solteira hua moeda nova, cada pegoa fazemos isso e asentamos, per que dizem entre alguns Jrmãos que queixãose que ha m.tos defuntos, e como somos obrigados a concordancia de nossos Jrmãos p.a não haver entre pendencias fazemos este asento dado nesta Menza Com os ditos oficiais em mes, e hera ut supra eu como Capelão, escrivão desta Menza fis este asento por concintam.to da menza.

O Pe Manel Bras Cord.ro
(Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Ms. ilum. 151),

APPENDIX C

1

A BRAZILIAN COMPROMISSO

Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus
dos Martirios erecta no convento de Nossa
Senhora do Monte do Carmo da Villa
da Cachoeira, Bahia (1765)

Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus com o soberano titulo de Senhor dos Martirios erecta pelos Homens pretos de nasção Gege neste convento de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo da Villa de Nossa Senhora do Rosario da Cachoeira este anno de 1765.

Sequentia

Sancti Evangelij

fecundum Lucam

In illo tempore: Postquam confummati funt dies ohto, ut circumcideretur puer: vocatum eft nomen ejus Jefus, quod vocatum eft ab Angelo priufquam in utero conciperetur.

Cap. I Da vocação desta Santa Irmandade e ordem a que se derige

A vocação, e ordem desta Irmandade [de baixo da qual confia sempre crescer procedendo em augmento grande, gozo, e riqueza das Almas de seus Irmaons com beneplacito de todos os que estabelecem neste convento de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo da Villa de Nossa Senhora do Rosario do Porto da Cachoeira os homens pretos de Nasção Gege] he ado Senhor Bom JESUS com o soberano titulo do Senhor dos Martirios, em aqual he todo o seu intento Louvar ao mesmo Senhor ca na terra pela obra da redempção do mundo, e merecerem por este meyo que se faça nelles [e em todos os que se achão reduzidos ao gremio da Igreja Catolica] efficaz a mesma redempção: para o que uzará esta Irmandade de capas deta feta branco com sua murça curta por sima dos hombes de tafetâ roxo, e nellas da parte esquerda sobre o Lâdo huã tarja feita de letros, ou pintada, e dentro desta gravada a crus do Senhor com todas as insignias dos Martirios que padeceu

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Compromisso #1666, Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon.

pelo genero humano, e consequentemente hua vara preta para o Presidente levar na mao nas funcoens da Irmandade com os mesmos Martirios pintados, ou esculpidos, que he a insignia de que deve uzar esta Irmandade.

Cap. II Da Entrada dos Irmaons

Toda a pessoa de qualquer qualidade, e condicao que seja de hum, e outro sexo que quizer ser Irmao nesta Irmandade; se asseite reconhecido por pessoa capaz, de bons costumes, e pocibilidades com as quaes possa sustentar os cargos que selhe dez na mesma Irmandade sem desprezo delles: e pagara das sua entrada duas patacas, e de annual meya pataca, elhes serao lidos os capitulos deste compromisso pelo Escrivao da Irmandade, para que nao ignore a sua obrigacao, o qual logo fara termo da entrada do tal Irmao no livro que para isso havera; com de Saracao que nao se admittirao nesta Irmandade os homens pretos. Nascionaez desta terra aque vulgarmente chamao crioulllos se nao dando cada hum de entrada dez mil reis com condicao de que nenhum exercera em Meza cargo algum emque haja de ter voto pellas controvercias que custumao ter semelhantes homens comos de nascacao Gege que estabalecem esta Irmandade como se tem expriamentado, de sorte que querendo algum delles servir algum seja Logo riscado da Irmandade pelo Irmao Escrivao sem preceder outro algum motivo, e nesta prohibicao senao entende as Irmans Crioullas, que essas poderao servir todos os cargos, e gozar todos os privilegios da Irmandade sem rezerva de algum delles, etc.

Cap. III De Como se tomarao os votos para a eleicao

Serao obrigados todos os Irmaons com os officiaez da Mesa que estiver para acabar, acharem-se na Igreja do Convento de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo na Vespera, ou dia da festa do Senhor para nella se fazer a eleicao por todos, na qual se elegerao os officiaez novos que hao de servir nesta Irmandade no anno vindouro; e pelos mais votos que ouverem a cada hum dos propostos se elejerao todos os officiaes, e consultores Juizes que servirao o tal anno; e nesta eleicao presidira o Irmao Presidente, que sempre tera em tudo o voto superior e dessivo, nao so na eleicao, mas em todas as materias que respeitarem aesta Santa Irmandade, assim como tambem para dezempate havendo igualdade de votos; porque para onde votar o Irmao Presidente ficara de solvida a duvida que ouver, esse cumprira o que elle determinar: e as eleicoens sempre se farao pela pluralidade de votos dos Irmaons, que sera decedido havendo empates pelo voto do Irmao Presidente: com declaracao que nenhum Irmao ficara reeleito em cargo algum da Irmandade, se nao porbene placito de toda a Meza, que sendo necessario se convocara para isso,

ejuntamente nao servirao cargo algum senao de pois de pas-
sados trez annos salvo havendo algum justo motivo, que se
proponha em Meza, e combeneplacito dos Irmaons della se fara
o que detreminarem, etc.

Cap. IIII Dos officiais q. servirao annualmente nesta
Irmandade

Esta Irmandade constituira hum corpo composto de hum
Presidente que sempre sera homem preto que nao seja nascio-
nal do Pais: hum Escrivao da Meza que nao havendo preto que
saiba ler, escrever, sera homem branco, ou pardo de boa
conta: hu Thezoureyro e hum Procurador que sejam pretos nao
nascionaes, e que bem possam servir os mesmos cargos sem
vexame, nem descredito da Irmandade: Oyto Irmaons consul-
tores que servirao em Meza da Irmandade: duas Juizas, e
oito Irmams Mordomas, que estas serao de toda aqualidade de
Irmans que ouverna Irmandade, assim brancas, como pardas, e
pretas sem preferencia alguma de pessoas, que cada hua sera
obrigada a saptisfazer aes por tula taxada neste compromisso
para os gastos da festa, e procissao: e havendo alguma pes-
soa particullar, que por sua devocao queira ser mordoma, ou
Juiza se fara della mencao na eleicao com consstimento dos
Irmaons da Meza, se fara mencao della na eleicao, depois de
lancados nella os Irmaons desta Irmandade, etc.

Cap. V Do Cargo de Prezidente, e suas obrigacoens

Para Prezidente se elegera sempre hum homem preto, e
sera sempre o mais conspicuo, tanto no seu procedimento,
como no trato, e posses; porque he quem com mao mais larga,
e abundancia deve servir o tal cargo nesta Irmandade: e o
que ouver de servir prezidira em todos os actos da Meza, e
ainda fora della em tudo o que for abem, ou contra a Irman-
dade, para com o seo parecer, ou voto suprior a todos se
decidir qual quer negocio, e sem a sua assistencia, ou de
outro por sua faculdade por algum justo motivo, se nao fara
acto algum de Meza que vallido seja, nem outra qualquer dis-
pocicao: o qual prezidira tambem em o dia da nossa procicao
no lugar mais nobre della que sera atras do Rdo. pe. que
levar o Santo Lenho: hira composto, e decente mente ornado
com capa branca, emurssa roixa, e sua vara na mao das que
uzar a Irmandade; e podera como Prezidente mandar sahir, ou
recolher a tal procissao, assim como tambem podera mandar e
dessolver qual quer duvida que sobre ella ouver, ainda entre
os Irmaons sobre algum lugar, ou incidente q. ouver, porque
so se observara o que elle determinar: sera obrigado logo
no dia que tomar posse a dar de esmolla dez mil reis para os
gastos da procissao, e festa do senhor, que se ha de fazer
no seo anno, cuja esmolla se entregara ao Thezoureyro, para
arecolher no cofre com as de mais esmollas, etc.

Cap. VI Das obrigacoens do Escrivao, e quem fera

Nesta Irmandade havera sempre hum Escrivao que seja Irmao nella, alias nao: e se ouver preto que tenha capacidade podera exercer o tal cargo, e nao havendo sera homem branco, ou pardo, o qual ha deser sempre Irmao, para que seja obrigado a assistir em todos os actos da Meza, e da Irmandade: e na procissao hira junto com o Prezidente, e tambem composto com capa da que uza a Irmandade. Tem obrigacao de fazer todos os termos das entradas dos Irmaons, e lancallos por alfabeto no livro dos annuaes, escrever areceyta e despeza do Thezoureiro, e tomar-lhe as contas na Meza quando entrar a servir: escrever nos Livros da Irmandade tudo o que for precizo com fidelidade, para o que se ha de escolher entre os Irmaons o mais constante, e benemerito para officio de tanta emportancia, e ao mesmo pertence fazer a eleicao dos Irmaons que hao de servir, e propor para os cargos aquelles a quem directamente tocar para pela pluralidade de votos que ouver fazer-se o que mais tiver, tendo abaixo do Prezidente tambem o Escrivao seu voto emtudo e nao propora Irmao algum para os cargos da Meza, se nao depois de passa dos tres annos acadehum: e o dito Excrivao no dia em que tomar posse dara de esmolla para aprocicao, e festa do Senhor dous mil reis, etc.

Cap. VII Das obrigacoens do Thezoureiro e quem fera

O cargo de thezoureiro he de muyta emportancia, e por isso sempre se deve elejer entre os Irmaons pretos hum de melhor graduacao que saiba ler, escrever, e contar, e que tenha posses para exercer o tal cargo, sendo igualmente verdadeyro, e do boa conta; o qual sera obrigado a receber, e ter boa goarda todos os benz da Irmandade assim dinheiro como ouro, prata, alfayas, moveis, e o mais que se lhe entregar, para de tudo dar conta quando acabar o seo anno, sera obrigado a assistir em todos os actos da Meza, efora dela etera sempre seo voto, estudo o que ouver de receber, e despender mandara lancar no livro da receyta, e despeza pelo Irmao Escrivao, accudira com algua esmolla que premittirem os Irmaom da Meza, do Thezouro da Irmandade a algum Irmao doente que for neceditado, para que nao padeca: hira composto com sua capa com os de mais Irmaons acompanhar os defuntos que falecerem, e for avizado pello procurador, e tera grande cuidado de mandar dizer por alma dos Irmaons defuntos as Missas da obrigacao da Irmandade, e em todos as séstas-feiras do anno a missa semanaria, e dara dous milreis no dia emque tomar posse, para afesta eprocicao do Senhor, etc.

Cap. VIII Da obrigacao do Procurador, e quem fera

O cargo de procurador he de grande concideracao pelo muyto que delle depende o bem da Irmandade, e por isso deve ser homem preto, o qual ha de ter cuidado de se achar em todas as Mezas que ouver, e nella tera sempre o seo voto, que em todo o cazo sera attendido como fiscal desta Irmandade, e sera obrigado a requerer tudo o que for abem della, procurar, e cobrar todas as suas dividas, e bens, ou esmollas que lhe pertencerem; propondo accoens judiciais, e defendendo as que se lhe puzerem a Irmandade com procuracao que para ifso havera da Meza, e tudo quanto cobrar entregara ao Irmão Thezoureiro para se recolher ao cofre: tera cuidado de vizitar os irmaons enfermos, e fazer com elles aque se confecem, e tomem os sacramentos e havendo alguma necessidade fara como Thezoureiro que logo as socorra com dinheiro da Irmandade, e juntam^{te}. fara o mais que se lhe detremina no Cap. 14 a respeito do enterro dos Irmaons e dos que o nao forem e assistira composto com sua capa na Missa semanal que a Irmandade ha de mandar dizer por tencao dos Irmaons [vivos, e defuntos nassestas feyras do anno junto com o Thezoureiro, e no dia da festa tambem assistira para tudo o que for pocivel, e na procissao fara com que va decentemente ornada e sem defeito, e tudo o que viz mal ordenado dara parte ao Prezidente para compor qual quer discordia e ao Ir. Procurador fica encorrendo todo o augmento desta Irmandade fazendo como o seo zelo q. senao perca couza alguma, e no acto das contas que se tomarem aos officiaes velhos tambem assistira, e assignara nellas, e havendo de achar alguma despeza superflua a nao levava emconta, antes requeira Logo a sua saptisfacao e sera obrigado avizar aos Irmaons eleitos na pauta para procissao para cada hum contribuir com oque se lhe empuzer: e dara de esmolla para a mesma dous mil reis, etc.

Cap. IX Do modo com q. fefara a festa do Senhor

A festa que esta Irm^e ha defazer annualmente ao Senhor Bom JESUS, com o soberano titulo do Senhor do Martirios he a 15 de Janeiro de cada hum anno, essera feita com toda a solemnidade, e decendia divida ao divino culto, com o SS^{mo}. Sacramento exposto, missa cantada, Sermao, Muzica, ea Igreja decentemente ornada; e havera da porta da Igreja para fora luminarias roqueras, tambor, trombetas, eo mais que se pratica em qual funcao: assistirao na Igreja no dia da festa os Irmaons compostos com suas capas das que uza a Irmandade, e nesse dia se confecarao, e comungarao todos os que puderem ou quizerem por sua devocao para mayor augmento, e bem espiritual de suas almas, que he ofim a que se derige esta Irmandade: e comafesta se nao despendera mais que aquantia de cincoenta mil reis, e excedenco adespeza, se nao levava emconta ao Thezoureiro antes sera obrigado asap-tisfazela por sesus bens: e nesta dia semandara dizer no

Altar do Senhor hua Missa deverco por tencao dos Irmaons vivos e defuntos da Irmandade estando o altar ornado, e com a sera que precisa for: e na banquetta do altar mor se porao seis vellas da Livra, e duas no nicho de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo, as quais vellas da banquetta, e nicho ficarao para assa christia do convento, e nao outras alguas que ficao pertencendo a Irmandade, e a Missa que se cantar na festa sera applicada pellos Irmaons vivos, e defuntos da Irmandade que saptisfarao asua emportancia, etc.

Cap. X De Como sefara aprociassao do Senhor dos Martirios

Em cada hum anno na Dominga de Ramos fara a nossa Irmandade hua procissao solemne a Nosso Senhor dos Martirios com todo adescencia, e devocao pocivel em a qual hira em seo Andor a Imagem do dito Senhor decentmente ornada a companhia de quatro toxeiros acezos alem das mais luzes que ouver, e alguns Anjos com turibulos, e incenso acorrer os passos emque semanifestao os principaes martiros que padeceu em sua Sacratissima paixao por amor dos homens [havendo pri-meyro licenca para isso] e em cada passo cantara a Muzica seo versso como se custuma. Tambem nella hira acrus de Santo Lenho debaixo do pallio, que sahira do Convento do Carmo, elevado pelo P. Sachristao mor, ou Religiozo que nomear o R.P. Prior, a quem sedara de esmolla mil duzentos e oitenta reis, e o paleo sera levado pelos nossos Irmaons pretos da melhor graduacao, que sempre serao os que tiverem exercido o cargo de Prezidente, todos compostos com suas capas, para o que se fara pauta, para os que ouverem deter alguma occupacao na procissao cuja pauta sera feito pelo Escrivao, e serao avizados pelo Procurador, para cada hum contribuir com o que lhe tocar, e todos os Irmaons serao obrigados a acompanhar adita procissao com suas vellas na mao, excepto os que ouverem de ser nomeados na pauta para algu servicio e nella tambem hira a comunidade dos religio-zos deste convento, dandoselhe seis milreis de acompanhamento, e vella de meya livra a cada hum e todos debaixo da Cruz da Irmandade, que depois seseguir a da Comunidade, com os Irmaons della, que hirao todos com modestia cada hu em sua fileira: eo Ir. Prezidente como escrevao atras do pallo por ser o lugar mais nobre que elles devem ter nesta funcao; e todo o gasto que nesta procissao se ouver defazer, ha deser a custa do Prezidente, Escrivao, Thezoureiro, Procura-dor, Juizas, Mordomos, e Mordomas, etc.

Cap. XI Do modo com q. se goardarao os ben da Irm^e eo dr^o e havendo-o, como-se dara a juro

Todos os Bens Moveis que possuir a Irmandade se goardarao em hum cayxao que sempre estara dentro deste convento, cuja chave tera o Irmão Thezoureiro, e tudo lhe sera entre-gue pello Inventario, que deve ser feito pello Irmão

Escrivao com assistencia do Irmão Presidente, e Procurador, em o qual todos os sobre ditos neste Cap. assignarao, e havendo de sobefar algum dinheiro de pois desaptisfeitas as despesas da festa do Senhor, e da procissao que esta Irmandade ha demandar fazer annualmente na Dominga sexta da quaresma, sufragios pello Irmaons defuntos, a quese deve Logo acudir, e mais despesas que occorrerem, se recolhera o tal dinheiro em hum cofre que para isso havera com trez chaves, hua das quaes tera o Irmão Presidente, outra o Escrivao, ea ultima o Thezoureiro, eso com asistencia de todos tres, e por seus votos setirara dinheiro abrindose o tal cofre para algua despesa muyto necessaria, como he ados sufragios dos Irmaons defuntos, que por nenhu cazo se retardarao, soccorrer aos Irmaons vivos que forem enfermos, ou cahirem em pobreza que a Irmandade deva socorre: e havendo dinheiro que se possa dar a juro aquem o quizer tomar, dando benz livres, e dezembargados, sem dollo, ou m llicia com hypotheca expecial delles, e com clauzula De nonalienando fazendo escriptura publica comos juros na forma da Ley do Reyno, e confiadores aos juros que vencer a sorte principal e que sejam estes abonados, fazendo primeyro peticao a Meza depois de informada da seguranca da divida, dizem baracao dos benz da epotheca, na sobre dita forma e abonacao dos fiadores, se mandara dar aquantia pedida com beneplacito dos Irmaons da Meza, que para isso se convocarao pelo Irmão Procurador que tera essa obrigacao, e de outra sorte se nao dara dinheiro algum da Irm^{de}, e os q' obrarem o contrario ficarao obrigados aressarcir a Irmand^e. outra tanta quantia pello seus bens, e pessoas, e nesta forma sempre prefirirao todos os Irm^s. desta Irm^e q' sendo captivos carecerem de dinheyro para suas Liberdades, etc.

Cap. XII Das contas q se hao de tomar pelos novos officiais q. acabarem

Ao depois de feyta afesta do Senhor Bom JESUS dos Martirios, serao avizados os Officiaiz novamente eleitos pelo Procurador para tomarem posse de seus cargos, e tanto que ativerem tomarao conta ao Thezoureyro que acabar, do que cobrou, e despendeo, para averiguacao do que fica devendo, que sera obrigado a repor e entregar tudo o que deve e pertencer a Irmandade ao novo Thezoureyro, a quem se entregara tudo o mais que ouver, por Inventario que se fara pelo escrivao da Irmandade e se fara termo emque asignarao o Irmão Presidente, Escrivao, Thezoureyros velho, e novo, e Procuradores, e com areferida entrega por termo ficarao desobrigados os sobre ditos officiais que acabarem, etc.

Cap. XIII Do modo com q. sevisitarao os Irmaons enfermos e dos q cahirem em pobreza e se au-sentarem

Havendo algum Irmão enfermo tera o Irmão Procurador cuidado deo visitar e admoestar que se confesse, e sacramente e faça seo testamento tendo de que fazer, e tudo o mais que emportante for para sua salvacao esendo que o Irmão enfermo chegue a exprimentar alguma nececidade o dito Procurador dara Parte ao Irmão Thezoureyro para do Thezouro da Irmandade o soccorrer com alguma esmolla com que se possa sustenar na enfermidade, e remedialla de sorte que nao podesa por falta de soccorro, no alimento, e curativo: e havendo algum Irmão que caya em conhecida pobreza fara peticao a Meza para que oizentem dos cargos da Irmandade ao que sera attendido e se mandara pelo Escrivao declarar atal izencao, nao ficando excluido dos sufragios e augentados-se algum Irmão sem primeyro remir-se depois de cinco annos passados senao fara della mencao e havendo noticia de ser falecido antes dos ditos annos se lhe mandarao fazer os sufragios attendendo-se aos cargos que tiver occupado e dispendio que tiver feito na Irmandade sobre o que se consultara em Meza, e se fara entao o que esta detreminar, e passados os ditos cinco annos que se auzentar e senao remir, nao se farao sufragios alguns para o que quando algum entrar lhe sera lido este capitulo principal e muyto particularmente, para ficarem entendendo a sua detreminacao, etc.

Cap. XIV Do enterro dos Irmaons, e dos que o nao forem

Falecendo algum Irmão sera o Procurador obrigado a dar parte aos Irmaons da Irmandade, e principalmente aos da Meza, que sao Presidente, Escrivao, Thezoureyro, e consultores, para acompanharem em corpo de Irmandade com crus na forma que sepratica, compostos com suas vellas ou tochas, e com suas capas, ao Irmão deffunto para a Igreja em que se ouver de sepultar, e o Irmão Procurador levará acrus: eo mesmo se fara aos Filhos dos Irmaons ate aidade de doze annos e nao mais, sem que poreste acompanhamentos Levem couza alguma; e querendo o Irmão ou Irmaa ser enterrados neste convento, serao recebidos aporta principal da Igreja pelo R.P. Prior, e comunidade, que fica obrigado a assistir, e emcomendar, por ajuste que fizemos com o dito R.P. Prior, dando-lhe a Irmandade pelo recebimento, e emcomendacao dous mil reis, por tambem nos haver dado o dito R.P. Prior quatro Sepulturas gratuitamente, as quais sao do Altar do Senhor para baixo para se sepultarem os nossos Irmaons defuntos; e os que nao forem Irmaons e quizerem ser acompanhados desta Irmandade, darao de esmolla para ella dous mil reis, que logo se entregarao ao Thezoureyro, e sem elles nao se fara o tal acompanhamento com declaracao que alem das quatro sepulturas que nos concedeo o M.R.P.^e Prior, para o enterro dos nossos Irmaons do Altar do Senhor dos Martirios para baixos, havendo precisao de mais sepulturas para o

enterro dos nossos Irmaons em cazo de necessidade, fica o mesmo R.P. Prior, e seus successores obrigados adar todas as Sepulturas que precizas forme para o enterramento dos Irmaons desta Irmandade, etc.

Cap. XV Dos Sufragios dos Irmaons Defuntos, e da Missa Semanaria pr tencao de todos

O Irmão Thezoureyro tera grande cuidado em mandar dizer logo que fallecer qualquer Irmão vinte e cinco Missas de esmola de duzentos e quarenta reis cada hua ditas por qual quer religioso deste Convento por alma de Irmão falecido, das quais ditas que sejam cobrara certidao do R^{do}. Sacerdote que as dicer jurada inverbo Sacerdotes - no Livro que para isso havera: e outro sy em todas as sextas feyras do anno mandara dizer hua Missa semanal no Altar desta Irmandade com a esmolla de trezentos e vinte reis portencao de todos os Irmaos vivos, e defuntos desta Irmandade para o que tera cuidado de ornar o altar do Senhor e sera a dita com incensso e descencia devida: e se algum Irmão que fallecer ficar devendo quantia mayor do que emportao os sufragios, se detremine em Meza os que se lhe devem fazer por sua alma, etc.

Cap. XVI Dos Livros que havera nesta Irmandade

Nesta Irmandade haverao seis livros, hum que he este do compromisso, e estatutos com que a mesma se deve reger e governar = Outro para os termos das entradas do Irmaons. Outro para por alfabeto se assentarem por lembranca todos os Irmaons que ha para se cobrar os annuaes. Outro para se lancarem as eleicoens, e no mesmo as quitacoens das Missas que se disserem portencao dos Irmaons deffuntos. Outro para se lancar por Inventrario todos os bens que possuhir a Irmandades. Outro finalmente para servir de receyta, e despeza que tiver o Irmão Thezoureyro que sera lancada pelo escrivao, para no fim do anno se tomare contas ao Thezoureyro, que acabar, e se darem ao que do novo entrar.

Finis

Laus Deo, Virginique Matri

APPENDIX D

COMPROMISSO - DOS IRMÃOS PRETOS DA IRMANDADE
DE NOSSA SENHORA DO ROSARIO E ADORAÇÃO -
DOS SANTOS REIS MAGOS

Located in the Royal Convent of
the Religious of Santa Joana¹

O seu principio foi na era e ano do nascimento de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo de 1732 a 1733. E declaramos que de novo se vai reabilitar esta Irmandade, por termos requerido a Sua Eminência o Cardeal Patriarca Guilherme I, para nos conceder a devida licença e mercê. --Cuja erecção e hoje no real convento das religiosas de Santa Joana desta cidade de Lisboa.

Teve principio esta Irmandade de novo no ano de 1852, aos 10 de Dezembro, sendo priora Soror D. Margarita Maria de Jesus.

Amantissima e Divinissima Santissima Trindade, que é Padre, Filho, e Espirito Santo, tres pessoas distintas em um só Deus verdadeiro. Pai eterno sem principio nem fim, que antes que houvesse mundo, já ereis Deus todo poderoso, que com uma só palavra, fabricasteis esta maquina universal, e nela creasteis diversos coros de Anjos e Profetas que annunciasssem a vinda de uma tão admiravel Creatura, que e a Mãe de Deus; Senhor dos Homens; donde conhecemos o seu nascimento e adoração dos Santos Reis Magos; e a vinda desta Divina Pessoa nos mostrou os Discipulos e Apóstolos Evangelistas, Cardeais e Patriarcas; para nos admirar o modo do cristianismo; e recebermos todos os dotes e mercês que e Santa Madre Igreja nos ensina a venerar a Santissima Virgem e o seu amado Filho. À sua Santissima Mãe entregamos o Mistério do Santissimo Rosário do nosso Patriarca S. Domingos para ele nos encaminhar a viver nesta fé e conseguirmos por este meio o prémio final que nos está prometido por Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo, e sua Santissima Mãe seja connosco Irmãos. Amen.

¹Isaias da Rosa Pereira, Dois Compromissos de Irmandades de Homens Pretos, [Separata de] Arquelogia e Historia, 9ª serie das publicações, volume IV, Lisboa: 1972, pp. 32-43.

Prologo

Maravilhoso é Deus com os seus Santos -- Mirabilis Deus in Sanctis suis -- e Santo em todas as suas obras, disse David o Profeta, mas contudo ostenta as suas maravilhas mais em uns santos do que em outros; porque como árbitro universal e absoluto da natureza e graça as reparte e divide como quer, dando uma graça a um, outra a outro, a outros muitas, e a outros mais, como a Santíssima Virgem as deu juntas. Porque ela é a advogada dos aflitos e desamparados, tanto na vida como na morte, e é o amparo para nossa defesa nas atribulações desta vida. Como ela é santa de nossa devoção, rogamos por intermédio de seu amado Filho e Jesus Cristo Nosso Senhor nos perdoe nossas culpas. Aos santos e santas de nossa devoção como amigos de Deus rogamos pelos seus devotos e principalmente à Santíssima Virgem como nossa protectora lhe entregamos esta petição para o seu amado Filho que o trouxe nos braços; e também prometemos ser seus devotos e escravos, professando o maior amor, e não cessando dia e noite em serviço do seu Santíssimo Rosário; como disse a Santa Mãe e Doutora Teresa de Jesus "Em nenhum tempo pedirão à Santíssima, que lhe não outorgue a petição" para alcançarmos o seu patrocínio como Mãe dos pecadores, por Gloria eterna. Amen.

Capitulo I: Do modo que se ha de ter no tomar de irmãos

Primeiramente ordenamos que os irmãos que se houverem de aceitar nesta Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário sejam homens pretos, e este capítulo a não poderá revogar, mas porque pode suceder que entre nós não haja quem saiba escrever para servir o cargo de escrivão, para o qual queremos se possa eleger outra pessoa branca, com declaração que será nosso irmão, e não poderá servir outro cargo algum, e será tão somente por um ano.

Também poderemos aceitar até seis irmãos brancos, e não passarão deste número, nem eles poderão servir outro cargo algum, porém passados estes seis todos os mais serão pretos, os quais pedirão os aceitem e os oficiais da mesa constando-lhe primeiro que são de boa vida e que servirão bem a confraria os poderão aceitar, e darão de esmola quattrocentos e oitenta reis; e se os oficiais da mesa lhe parecer que é pessoa com que a confraria receba algum aumento, os aceitarão como lhe parecer.

Em quanto às irmãs, não entrarão menos de seis tostões e estas serão pretas, ou brancas que também serão aceites pelo juiz e mais oficiais, e declaramos que as mulheres dos nossos irmãos ficam logo irmãs e gozam de tudo aquilo que pertence a seus maridos, e concorrerão com todas as obrigações como qualquer outro irmão.

Capitulo II: Da festa que ha de fazer a Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário

Antigamente os nossos antepassados faziam o seu festejo em setembro e o seu dia do Santissimo Nome de Maria, e porque pode cair em dia de semana, a sua festa será transferida para o domingo com toda a solenidade; com missa cantada de tres padres, e Senhor exposto e seu sermão; esta festa serão obrigados a fazê-la o juiz e mais oficiais da mesa conforme as suas posses; para o que mandarão pelo procurador a todos os irmãos e irmãs para que se achem presentes a esta festa, e juntamente mandarão renovar todas as coisas da irmandade para este dia à custa da mesma mesa e do que houver em cofre e entre todos para serviço da Santissima Virgem.

Capitulo III: Da eleição dos nossos oficiais

Ordenamos que a eleição dos oficiais se faça na véspera da festa do Santissimo Rosário para que possa estar patente no dia da solenidade; para o que se fara estando a maior parte da irmandade junta e o nosso reverendo Padre Capelão que servir na mesma Irmandade, e nunca se fará mesa sem que ele se ache presente para melhor direcção e serviço de Deus. E também assistirá o escrivão que então servir para tomar os votos, e no caso que o tal escrivão não se ache presente em seu lugar servirá o que tinha sido na mesa passada; e juntamente assistirá a todos os actos da mesa o reverendo Padre Capelão para evitar a menor divergência.

Também assistirá o juiz e mordomos e irão votando sendo sempre o juiz primeiro a fazê-lo e depois sucessivamente os mais irmãos que na mesa se acharem, e aqueles que tiverem mais votos ficarão eleitos para a mesa, os quais se não poderão excusar sem causa legítima sob pena de serem riscados da irmandade. Declaramos que o primeiro em que se há de votar será no juiz, e logo no escrivão e mais mordomos, tesoureiro, procuradores e mais oficiais, com condição que todos serão pretos. E havendo algum que seja preto para servir o cargo de escrivão será o preferido, e não havendo será algum dos seis irmãos brancos. E sendo caso que algum irmão por sua devoção queira servir algum cargo nesta confraria, o pedirá publicamente e irá a votos dos mais irmãos para ver se ficam contentes. E o irmão que servir qualquer cargo um ano não poderá tornar a servi-lo dentro de dois anos, para que assim vá correndo o serviço dos Santos por todos, salvo se parecer que é grande proveito para a confraria e serviço de Deus.

No que toca a eleição do juiz, sendo como fica dito, sempre o poderão eleger (se parecer aos mais irmaos) sem que seja irmão no tal tempo da eleição, com condição que aceitando o dito cargo logo fica assentado como irmão no livro da irmandade; porem os outros cargos não poderão eleger para eles senão irmãos que actualmente o sejam. Este capitulo se lera sempre na mesa aos irmãos todas as vezes que for

preciso haver eleição antes de se tomar os votos, e sendo caso que alguma irmã queira servir de juiza, a poderão eleger, mas sempre será por votos de todos.

Capitulo IV: Da obrigação dos oficiais

O juiz será obrigado todos os domingos e dias santos a assistir à mesa, e sendo necessário tratar alguma coisa conveniente à confraria o fará saber aos outros oficiais e com os seus pareceres se farão os acórdãos de sorte que sejam assinados por todos da mesa; e sendo coisa grave em que haja diferença de votos, chamarão a irmandade e com os seus pareceres se ordenará o que melhor for para serviço de Deus.

O escrivão será muito activo para coisas necessárias pois dele depende o peso da confraria por isso terá um livro para os assentos somente dos irmãos e irmãs; e em cada assento estara assinado o juiz, escrivão e irmãos, e declarará o assento em que tempo foi tomado, quanto deu de entrada, e a quem foi entregue. Terá mais um livro dos acórdãos que se fizerem, outro da receita e despesa do tesoureiro. Terá também em seu poder o Compromisso, assim mais outro livro para o assento dos confrades; e no livro dos acórdãos assentará as pessoas que a confraria tiver em um termo ao pé feito e assinado pelo tesoureiro, de como as tem em seu poder, o qual termo será todos os anos renovado pelo escrivão que entrar de novo. Juntamente fará termo de como recebe os livros, assim como da entrega ao escrivão que entrar de novo. Os mordomos serão obrigados a servirem com cuidado, não faltando e acompanhando todos os domingos e dias santos a sua missa que se disser na sua capela.

O tesoureiro será obrigado a comparecer em todas as festas na igreja para o que for necessário e acudir ao que for preciso e terá debaixo de chaves tudo aquilo que pertence à Irmandade, com declaração que não poderá emprestar cousa alguma para fora da igreja sem licença da mesa; e logo que elegerem outro tesoureiro lhe entregará todas as peças que houverem, ficando descarregado por termo de como as entregou.

O procurador também assistirá pessoalmente e terá cuidado de ornar a capela todos os domingos e dias santos, assistindo à sua missa, e terá obrigação de chamar a Irmandade todas as vezes que for preciso, e terá cuidado de pedir as esmolas pelas casas dos irmãos como no adro da igreja com uma bolsa que haverá da Irmandade. Também haverá outra para pedir por fora, a qual trará o irmão que lhe couber por sorte e será uma semana para cada um. No domingo entregará à mesa e assentará no livro a receita da esmola assim como do irmão que tem a bolsa a quem se encomenda muito esta diligência com que há de merecer os agrados e prémios da Senhora do Rosario.

Capitulo V: Dos sufrágios que se hão
de fazer pelos irmãos defuntos

Primeiramente será obrigada a mesa a mandar dizer trinta missas por cada um dos irmãos ou irmãs que falecerem de esmola de duzentos reis cada uma e os gastos destas missas se levará em conta ao irmão tesoureiro e se lançará em despesa; mas será ele obrigado a não fazer nada disso sem dar conta aos oficiais da mesa. E o dinheiro dos annuaes servirá para se mandarem dizer com brevidade as missas dos defuntos pelo Padre Capelão, passando certidão. Falecendo algum irmão desamparado nesta cidade e tendo prestado serviços à confraria se fará a diligência de cuidar no seu enterro à custa da Irmandade, porem não terá todas as missas. Quando algum irmão faleça, que não esteja corrente no livro da presidência, não serão obrigados a acompanhar nem se dirão as missas sem que se satisfaça o seu débito.

Capitulo VI: De como se há
de acudir aos irmãos pobres

Sendo caso que algum dos nossos irmãos esteja em tanta pobreza que não tenha com que se sustente, os oficiais da mesa lhe acudirão com o que puderem à custa da confraria, e não havendo dinheiro nela se pedirá pela irmandade. E o mesmo se fará se algum irmão for preso por dividas (não sendo por roubo) até à quantia de tres mil reis, pois não é bem que padeça por tão pouca quantia, e nisso fazemos uma das obras de misericórdia em acudirmos aos nossos irmãos.

Capitulo VII: Da amizade com
que devem viver os irmãos

Sendo caso, que Deus não permita, que alguns irmãos estejam em ódio uns com os outros, o juiz os chamará ate tres vezes e com palavras brandas conseguirá congraçá-los, porem quando isto não conseguir os poderá riscar da Irmandade e não poderão ser outra vez admitidos sem passarem tres anos, e mesmo assim se não poderão tomar sem que toda a Irmandade vote nisso, e mostrando grande arrependimento e estando já amigo com os outros o poderão aceitar na confraria sem que se faça novo assento.

Capitulo VIII: Da conta que
são obrigados a dar os oficiais

Ordenamos que os oficiais que de novo entrarem terão obrigação dentro de vinte dias, de tomar contas aos passados, os quais as darão de maneira que fiquem satisfeitos logo com a entrega; e não as tomando dentro do dito tempo, ficarão carregadas todas as dividas que se acharem ao tesoureiro que então for.

Capitulo IX: Da conta que há de
dar o tesoureiro aos oficiais da
mesa quando fizeram a entrega

Ordenamos que o tesoureiro, procurador e escrivão que acabarem de servir o seu cargo um ano na confraria sejam obrigados a dar contas dele estando presentes o capelão e o juiz que entrar assim como o escrivão. E ficando devendo algum dinheiro e não satisfazendo logo à confraria serão constrangidos a que paguem e entreguem tudo aos oficiais que novamente tomarem posse e entram a servir os ditos cargos, para o que serão admoestados tres vezes para o pagamento, e não o fazendo serão executados sem mais demora alguma. Assim o declaramos porque é da nossa vontade livre servir o Santo Rosário e os Reis Magos, para ornarmos a sua capela com as peças e ornatos que pudermos. Queremos que em nenhum tempo se possa emprestar coisa alguma para fora da igreja, pelo que ficará responsável o tesoureiro perdendo por isso o seu lugar, reunindo-se a mesa para se lhe tomar as contas. Ordenamos que quando se assentar pelo juiz e oficiais da mesa que convem alguma coisa para bem da Irmandade não hajam disturbios, e para esse efeito darão recado ao procurador para chamar a Irmandade e dar o seu parecer naquilo que lhe propuserem, e qualquer dos irmãos que sendo chamado para a reunião faltar, pagará um arratel de cera para a capela.

Capitulo X: Da obrigação
que ha de ter o tesoureiro

Queremos que o tesoureiro tenha cuidado em mandar fazer duas bolsas e dois mealheiros para dar na mesa a quem tocar para receber as esmolas das pessoas que forem devotas da Senhora do Rosário e Santos Reis para aumento e serviço da mesma Irmandade. Ordenamos que sendo necessário acrescentar mais alguns capítulos neste compromisso desta Irmandade, o poderemos fazer chamando todos os irmãos para se assentar no que deve fazer.

Capitulo XI: Da obrigação
que hão de ter os eleitos

Ordenamos e havemos por bem que sejam obrigados todos os irmãos e cada um em particular a sustentar quanto em si couber esta Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário erecta no convento das Religiosas da Princesa Santa Joana, que os nossos antepassados já veneraram desde o ano de mil setecentos cinquenta e cinco, que pela escassez do tempo tinham parado. Todos os irmãos se devem unir em tudo a esta Irmandade para que ela não pereça à mingua e fazer-se todos os anos a sua festa.

Capitulo XII: Do modo como se há
de fazer um rol para a eleição

Ordenamos e mandamos aos oficiais que todas as vezes que se fizer eleição se faça um rol das pessoas que são bastantes para servir para os irmãos saberem bem em quem hão de votar e sair uma boa escolha para evitar diferenças e desordens. E para remediar isto farão os oficiais um rol em segredo em que irão pondo aqueles que servirem para oficiais; porão também o nome de dois para juiz e ficará o mais votado assim como dois nomes também para o escrivão e ficará também o que mais votos alcançar; porão quatro nomes para os mordomos e os dois mais votados serão. E os mais cargos serão eleitos desta sorte, lendo-se estes rois quando estiver junta a mesa, o presidente, o capelão que servir esta Irmandade, sem o que não será válida a eleição por não ter quem a confirme, o qual capelão será acompanhado em todos os seus actos todas as vezes que sair e se lhe pagarão as missas dos domingos, dias santos, e que nunca deixe de dizer missa na nossa capela, tanto pelos vivos como pelos mortos.

Capitulo XIII: Do modo como se há
de fazer a festa aos Santos Reis

Ordenamos que a festa dos nossos padroeiros Santos Reis seja feita com toda a solenidade e reverência neste Real Convento das Religiosas da Princesa Santa Joana desta cidade de Lisboa. E quando se não possa fazer no seu próprio dia o será no domingo seguinte. A esta festa também é encarregada toda a nossa corporação de fazer tudo aquilo que possa, como o que diz a capítulo segundo, para o que se fará aviso disso aos oficiais que entrarem de novo. Assim também será obrigada a Irmandade em todas as festas que se fizerem neste Convento das Religiosas da Princesa Santa Joana a ter a nossa capela com a alampada do altar acesa para o que estará a cargo do juiz este serviço e será acompanhado dum irmão para o ajudar, em cujo serviço é Deus que lho há de pagar.

Capitulo XIV: Das condições
e obrigações

Esta Irmandade será obrigada a mandar dizer trinta missas por cada irmão ou irmã que falecer, e sendo da mesa ou que tenha servido algum cargo se mandarão dizer trinta e tres missas, de esmola que se puder ajustar com o capelão. E serão ditas na nossa capela e ele passará certidão para constar a todos os irmãos que se não falta com sufragios das almas.

Também se mandarão dizer no oitavário dos Santos doze missas pelas almas dos nossos irmãos falecidos desta irmandade. E recomendamos que não haja descuido ou esquecimento

dos oficiais que entrarem de novo que não vejam no livro lançadas as missas dos nossos defuntos o façam cumprir e dar conta a cargo de quem esteve em cumprimento.

Capitulo XV: Dos depositos

Se acontecer alguma ocasião que algum irmão queira ajuntar algum dinheiro no nosso cofre em depósito por sair para fora da capital ou fazer alguma viagem fora do Reino, fará um requerimento à mesa para o dito depósito com grande segredo e entregará a mesa o que depositar, para assim se lhe passar recibo do tesoureiro, assinado pelos irmãos da mesa, em que conste o tempo que fez o depósito, e logo que o irmão o peça se lhe entregará pelo mesmo recibo que recebeu da mesa para se rasgar.

Capitulo XVI: Obras de caridade

Sendo esta irmandade de homens e mulheres de cor preta, pode acontecer que algum embarcadigo regresse a esta capital trazendo na sua companhia algum homem ou mulher que queira transportar para fora do Reino, o juiz e mais oficiais farão todas as diligencias de o conseguirem recorrendo as leis de Sua Magestade, e tudo mais que for necessário, porque é da nossa obrigação ajudar-nos uns aos outros porque nisso fazemos um grande serviço ao Santissimo Rosário e nossos Santos Reis que decerto não deixarão sem prémio todas as obras que fizermos de misericórdia a todos os nossos irmãos.

Capitulo XVII: De algumas advertências para o bom regime desta irmandade

Ordenamos e pedimos a todos os irmaos em veneração de Nossa Senhora do Rosário e Santos Reis que tenham segredo e não declarem a pessoa alguma o que se passa na mesa, e aquele que o contrario fizer a ela será chamado e repreendido até segunda vez porque a terceira será sem remissão expulso da irmandade como indigno. O mesmo se fará aos que forem desobedientes e menos fieis aos seus superiores ou tiverem o vício da embriaguez, faltarem ao respeito para com os irmãos da mesa, ou constar que dizem coisas injuriosas desta irmandade, pondo-lhe alguma infâmia ou mau nome.

Advertimos também que no cofre se não receba dinheiro algum da qualquer irmão como depósito sem primeiro constar como o adquiriu, e sabendo-se que foi pelo trabalho e indústria sem prejuizo de terceiro se lhe aceitará de modo que trata o capitulo 15º pondo-se em verba no Livro dos Acórdos e Segredos da irmandade, com toda a clareza, com o nome de quem é o depositante, se é casado ou solteiro, e o emprego que tem e o ano, mes e dia do depósito.

Se acaso morrer sem dispor do dinheiro depositado, determinamos que primeiro se reparta o dinheiro em tres

partes, a primeira se mandará dizer de missas por sua alma, a segunda será para as obras e ornatos da nossa capela e sufrágio da irmandade, e a terceira se dará em mesa a sua mulher, ou não a tendo ao parente mais chegado do falecido, e não os tendo se aplicará também em missas pela sua alma. E esta declaração se lerá antes que no cofre se receba o dinheiro.

Ordenamos também que os irmãos que servirem os cargos desta irmandade se constarem que no seu tempo aumentaram e não destruíram a mesma, se lhe dirão mais por cada ano cinco missas além das que lhe competem, para o que quando fizerem a entrega trarão as suas patentes para nas costas delas se fazer esta advertência que assinará toda a mesa nova.

Advertimos também que assim que falecer algum dos nossos juizes perpétuos se dirá pela sua alma 70 missas; declaramos também que falecendo algum capelão se mandarão dizer dez missas de esmola que se convencionar.

Ordenamos mais que do cofre se não empresta dinheiro a pessoa alguma ainda que seja irmão, sem primeiro depositar no mesmo valores em dobro do dinheiro emprestado. E os irmãos da mesa que fizerem o contrário ficarão responsáveis por todo o prejuízo que aconteça e não serão mais eleitos para tais cargos como menos zelosos do aumento da irmandade.

Recomendamos muito isto tudo a todos os irmãos presentes e futuros e que tenham sempre em vista o engrandecimento da nossa irmandade, lembrando-se que é um serviço do Santíssimo Rosário e dos Santos Reis, que lhe fazemos estas advertências, assim como em serviço de Deus.

Irmãos! Neste Real Convento das Religiosas da Princesa Santa Joana desta cidade de Lisboa costuma haver no ano vários festejos, por isso muito recomendamos que devemos ter no altar a Nossa Sagrada Imagem acesa e ornada para serviço de Deus e dos Santos.

Advertimos mais ao nosso irmão juiz que quando se fizer a festa na nossa capela mandará por escrito avisar o procurador para fazer o mesmo à irmandade de Jesus Maria José, para assistir a ela, fazendo o mesmo na festa dela, e que se praticará o mesmo com a confraria da Senhora do Rosario da Via Sacra, neste Real Convento, tudo na maior harmonia e serviço de Deus a quem rogamos tenha todos os nossos irmãos em paz e sossego. Amen.

F I M

João Anastacio Nação de Congo
João Antonio Pereira Nação de Congo
Antonio Joaquim Da Costa Nação de Congo
Domingos Pinto Da mesma nação de Congo
Antonio (?) Cipriano da mesma nação
Paulino Jose da Conceição naturar da Bahia
Todos de côr preta

José Maria de Sousa Couceiro secretário da Camara Patriarcal de Lisboa pelo Eminentissimo Senhor Cardeal Patriarca de Lisboa.

Certifico que este livro vai por mim numerado e rubricado com o apelido -- Couceiro -- em quatro folhas, nas quais vai impresso o Compromisso da Irmandade de N. Senhora do Rosario e Adoração dos Santos Reis Majos dividido em 17 capitulos, e por ser verdade o referido passei a presente por mim assinada em Lisboa a 6 de Setembro de 1853.

José Maria de Sousa Couceiro

(Arquivo da Curia Patriarcal de Lisboa -- Livraria, n.º 11)

APPENDIX E

BLACK BROTHERHOODS IN EUROPE, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA

I. Spain:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1400	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles	Seville		black slaves
1455	Cofradía de los Cristianos Negros de Barcelona	Barcelona	Church of St. James	free blacks
1472	Cofradía de los Negros libertos de la ciudad de Valencia	Valencia	Monastery of St. Augustine	free blacks
1554	Cofradía de los Negritos	Seville		black slaves
1527	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Reyes	Jerez de la Frontera	Real Convento de Predicadores	black slaves
1590	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario de los hermanos morenos	Cadiz	Church of the Hospital of the Santa Misericordia	black slaves
1593	Congregación de Nuestra Señora de la Salud, San Benito de Palermo y Santa Efigenia	Cadiz	Church of the Rosary	black slaves
Late 1500s	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario y San Benito de Palermo	Gibraltar		black slaves

I. Spain:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1645	Cofradía del Santísimo Nombre de Jesus	Medinia Sidonia	Major Church of Coronado	black slaves
1747	Cofradía de San Benito de Palermo de Negros de Madrid	Madrid	Convento de Regulares Observantes de San Francisco	black slaves
1650s	Cofradía de mulatos del Santísimo Ecce Homo	Cadiz	Women's Hospital	black slaves

II. Portugal:

1460	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Lisbon	Mosteiro/Convento de São Domingos	black slaves, freedmen and women
1518	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário dos homens pretos	Evora	Church of São Francisco	black slaves freed blacks
1518	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário	Cascais		freed blacks and slaves
1562	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário	Moura	Convento das Dominicás Capela de Nossa Senhora da Assunção	freed blacks and slaves
1571	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário	Leiria	Dominican Convent	freed blacks and slaves
1500s	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário	Mugem	Dominican Convent	freed blacks and slaves
1555	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário	Lagos		freed blacks and slaves
1584	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário	Elvas	Mosteiro de São Domingos	freed blacks and slaves
1584	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário	Setubal	Mosteiro de São Joao Baptista	freed blacks and slaves

II. Portugal:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1588	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Alcacer-do-Sol	Dominican Convent	freed blacks and slaves
1711	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário dos homens pretos	Lisbon	Convento da Graca	freed blacks and slaves
1700s	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário	Lisbon	Convento da Santíssima Trindade	blacks
1722	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário	Lisbon	Convento de São Salvador	blacks
1754	Slave brotherhood	Lisbon	Church of Penha de Franca	black slaves
1732 & 1852	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário e Adoração dos Santos Reis Magos	Lisbon	Hospicio da Patriarcha de Sao Domingos & Convento de Santa Joana	blacks

III. Portuguese Africa:

1526	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário	São Tomé		blacks
1577	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosário	Sena, Mozambique	Church of Santa Catarina	black slaves
1662	Confraria da Virgem Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Mozambique	Convento do Patriarcha S. Domingos	blacks
1778	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Conceipção	Mozambique	Igreja da Nossa Senhora dos Remedios da Cabaceira	blacks

IV. Latin America:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
A. <u>Argentina</u>:				
1785	Cofradía de San Baltasar, Animas Negras	Buenos Aires	Piedad Parish	Blacks
B. <u>Colombia</u>:				
17th Century	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora do Rosário	Cartagena		black slaves
C. <u>Cuba</u>:				
1598	Cabildo de Nuestra Señora de Los Remedios	Havana	Iglesia de Santo Domingo	free blacks
1700s	Cabildo Arara	Havana		tribal Africans
1700s	Cabildo Apapa	Havana		"
1700s	El Congo Real	Havana		"
1700s	El Mandingo	Havana		"
1700s	El Oro	Havana		"
D. <u>Peru</u>:				
1540s	Brotherhood of the Most Holy Sacrament	Lima		blacks
1600s	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Antiga	Lima	Cathedral	blacks and mulattoes
1600s	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario (Dominicans)	Lima	Santo Domingo	blacks from the Congo
1600s	Cofradía de Santa Justa y Rufina (Mercedarians)	Lima	La Merced	blacks and mulattoes
1600s	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Reyes (Franciscan)	Lima	San Francisco	blacks

D. Peru:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1619	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Socorro	Lima	San Francisco de Paula	Angolans (Malambas)
1600s	Cofradía de San Anton	Lima	San Marcelo parish	blacks & mulattoes
1600s	Cofradía de San Bartolome	Lima	Santa Ana parish	blacks & mulattoes
1600s	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Victoria	Lima	San Sebastian parish	blacks & mulattoes
1600s	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Augustinians)	Lima	Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe	blacks only
1600s	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Agua Santa	Lima	La Merced	blacks only
1600s	Cofradía del Rosario de los Mulatos (Dominicans)	Lima	Santo Domingo	mulattoes only
1600s	Cofradía de San Juan de Buenaventura (Franciscans)	Lima	Buenaventura	mulattoes only
1600s	Cofradía de Loreto (Mercedarians)	Lima	La Merced	blacks only
1600s	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Prado	Lima	Prado	
1600s	Cofradía de San Salvador	Lima	Jesuita Compania	blacks only
1600s	Cofradía de San Juan Baptista	Lima	Santa Ana	mulattoes only
1600s	Cofradía de los criollos de Panama	Lima	La Merced	criollos
1600s	Cofradía de los Remedios	Lima	La Merced San Marcelo Parish	blacks & mulattoes

D. Peru:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1600s	Cofradía de Santos Angeles	Lima	La Merced	
1619	Dominican confraternity	Callao		mulattoes & blacks
1619	Franciscan confraternity	Callao		"

E. Uruguay:

1740	Cofradía de San Benito de Palermo	Montevideo		
1760	Cofradía de Mulatos de los Gremios de Sastres y Zapateros	Montevideo	Corpus Christi Procession	

F. Venezuela:

1585	La Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento	Caracas	St. Maurice	
1611	La Cofradía de San Juan Bautista	Caracas	San Mauricio	
1688	Cofradía de Virgen de Guia	Caracas	San Mauricio	
1816	Cofradía de Santa Rosalia y Santisimo Sacramento	Caracas	Santa Rosalia	
1816	Cofradía de Santo Sepulcro	Caracas	Iglesia Metropolitana	
1816	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Guia y San Juan	Caracas	San Mauricio	
1816	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Dolores y San Juan Evangelista	Caracas	Altagracia	

F. Venezuela:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1816	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria	Caracas	Candelaria	
1816	Cofradía de Santísimo Sacramento y Santísima Trinidad	Caracas	San Paulo	
1816	Cofradía de Divina Pastora y San Judas Tadeo	Caracas	Pastora	
1816	Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios	Caracas	Trinidad	

G. Brazil:

1552	Confraria do Rosario dos pretos	Pernambuco		
1590	Confraria do Nossa Senhora do Rosario	Recife	São Vicente	
1627	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Guadalupe	Olinda		
1633	Irmandade dos Pretos de hum Engenho	Bahia		
1654	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos pretos	Recife	Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Angolans & Creoles
1685	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario	Bahia	Igreja da Sé	Angolans
1686	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos Pretos	Bahia	Nossa Senhora da Conceipção da Praia	Angolans & Creoles

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1698	Irmandade dos Pardos e Mulatos	Rio de Janeiro		
1699	Irmandade de Santo António de Catagerone	Bahia	St. Peter	
1708	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	São Joao del Rei	Nossa Senhora do Rosário	blacks
1711	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Olinda		
1711	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	São Paulo	Nossa Senhora do Rosário	
1713	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Sabará	Nossa Senhora do Rosário (1767) & Benção (1781)	blacks
1715	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Marianna	Nossa Senhora do Rosário	blacks
1715	Irmandade de São Benedicto e Santa Efigênia	Marianna	Benção	blacks
1715	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário da freguesia do Pilar	Ouro Preto	Nossa Senhora do Rosário	blacks
1719	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Alto da Cruz	Ouro Preto	Nossa Senhora do Rosário	blacks
1700s	Irmandade de São Gonçalo dos pardos	Salvador, Bahia	Convento de Desterro	mulattoes
1722	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Bahia	Immaculate Conception	blacks

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1722	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe	Bahia		mulattoes
1725	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Recife	Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Santo Antonio	
1728	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Diamantina	Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	
1730	Irmandade de São Jose dos Bem-Casados	Ouro Preto	São Jose	mulattoes
1733	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Padre Faria	Ouro Preto	Capella do Nossa Senhora do Rosário freguesia de N.Senhora da Conceipção	whites & blacks
1735	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Bahia Itapagipe	Nossa Senhora da Penha de França	
1742	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Rio de Janeiro	Nossa Senhora da Lampadoza	
1743	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora das Mercês e Perdoes	Ouro Preto	Nossa Senhora das Mercês de baixo - Perdoes	blacks
1748	Irmandade De Santo Rei Balthazar	Rio de Janeiro	Nossa Senhora da Lampadosa	
1749	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora das Mercês da Redempção dos Cativos	Marianna	Nossa Senhora das Mercês	blacks
1750	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Vila Rica		

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1752	Irmandade de Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção dos homens pretos	Bahia	Corpo Santo	Dahomian Gege blacks
1753	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte	Maranhao		
1754	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora das Mercês	Ouro Preto	Mercês	blacks and creoles
1757	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario	Sabara		
1751	Irmandade do Bom Jesus da Cruz	Bahia	Capela da Ajuda/ Hospicio da Palma	mulattoes
1758	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Terço	Recife	Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosario	
1759- 1760	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario e Sao Benedicto dos homens pretos	Rio de Janeiro	Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosario e Sao Benedicto	
1760	Arquiconfraria dos Minimos do Cordão de Sao Francisco	Marianna	Sao Francisco	mulattoes
1761	Arquiconfraria de Sao Francisco dos pardos do Cordão	Sabara	Nossa Senhora das Mercês	mulattoes
1764	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Livramento dos homens pretos	Recife	Freguesia de Santo Antonio do Cabo	mulattoes
1765	Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus, Senhor dos Martirios dos homens pretos de nasção Gege	Cachoeira Bahia	Convento de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo	blacks of the Gege nation

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1769	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	Minas Gerais Ouro Preto	Nossa Senhora do Pilar de Vila Rica	
1770	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Recife	freguesia de Sao Miguel de Ipojuca	
1773	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Amparo	Diamantina	Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Amparo	
1777	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Goias	Nossa Senhora da Conceição das Minas de Goyaz	
1779	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário e das Mercês	Diamantina		
1780	Ordem Terceira de Sao Francisco de Paula	Ouro Preto	Sao Francisco de Paula	mulattoes
1764	Irmandade do Senhor dos Martirios	Bahia	Capela do Rosario dos homens pretos/ Capela da Barroquinha	blacks
1780	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora dos Passos	Bahia	Senhor do Bonfim	
1781	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora das Mercês (Passou a Arquiconfraria)	Sabara	Nossa Senhora das Mercês	blacks & creoles
1782	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Minas Gerais	São Antonio de Tapera	
1782	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Recife		
1783	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	Recife	Villa de Goyanna	

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1785	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos at the summit of the Cross	Ouro Preto		
1786	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Paraíba	Capella de Nossa Senhora da Guia na Igreja do Logar dos pretos	blacks
1787	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Gouveia no Serro do Frio	Marianna		
1790	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Paraíba do Norte		
1791	Irmandade de São Benedicto	Villa da Valença, Ilheos, Bahia	Igreja Parochial	blacks
1792	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte e Assumpção dos pardos	Rio de Janeiro		
1793	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos libertos e captivos	Rio das Mortes Minas Gerais	Freguesia da Lagoa Doirada	
1794	Irmandade de São Vicente Ferrer dos homens pretos	Marianna Minas Gerais	Passagem Freguesia do Curato	
1795	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Tiradentes Minas Gerais		
1796	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário da Vila de Iguarassu	Olinda		
1800	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	Marianna	Rio das Mortes	

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1800	Irmandade de São Benedicto dos homens creoulos e pretos naturaes da Barra	Itapagipe de baixo, Bahia	Capella de Nossa Senhora da Penha de França	blacks & creoles
1801	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Sabara Vila Nova da Rainha	Freguesia de S.S. Miguel da Parcicava	
1803	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Conceição dos pardos	Goyanna		pardos mulattoes
1803	Irmandade de Glorioso Padre São Benedicto	Minas Gerais	Chapel de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	
1803	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário e de Santo Amaro da Purificação			
1804	Irmandade de São Benedicto	Goyaz	Capella de Nossa Senhora do Carmo de Villa Boa	
1804	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Marianna	Capella de Santo Antonio do Rio de peixe	
1804	Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção	Ilha de Itaparica Bahia	Capella de São Lourenco	
1807	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Sabará	Freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem	
1807	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Taibate São Paulo	Freguesia de São Francisco das Chagas	blacks

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1818	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Marianna	Capella do Senhor Bom Jesus de Matozinhos	
1807	Arquiconfraria de Nossa Senhora das Mercês	São Joao del Rei	Nossa Senhora das Mercês	mulattoes
1832	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Soledade Amparo dos Desvalidos	Bahia	Capella dos Quinze Misterios	free blacks
1844	Irmandade de São Francisco de Paula	Bahia	Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Pilar	free creoles
1735	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Rio Grande do Sul	Freguesia da Barra Sé Cathedral/	creoles & Angolans
1604 1703- 1704	Ordem Terceira do Rosário de Nossa Senhora das Portas do Carmo	Bahia	Nossa Senhora do Rosario do Pelourinho	Angolans
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte	Bahia	Church of the Barroquinha	Nago-Yoruba of the ketou nation
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Conceição	Rio de Janeiro	Hospicio dos pardos	mulattoes
	Irmandade de São Domingos	Rio de Janeiro		blacks
	Irmandade de São Benedicto	Rio de Janeiro	Santo Antonio	blacks
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora das Mercês	Rio de Janeiro		"
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Assumpção	Rio de Janeiro		"
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Lampadoza	Rio de Janeiro	Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosario	

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos pretos	Arrayal do Pinheiro, Minas Gerais	Freguesia do Somidouro	blacks
	Irmandade do Glorioso Santo Antonio de Mouraria	Rio de Janeiro	Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosario	
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora das Mercês	Ouro Preto	Capella de Sao Jose	
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Livramento	Serinhaem Recife		
	Irmandade de Senhor Bom Jesus dos Martirios	Goiana	Capella de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos homens pretos	blacks
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Boa Morte dos homens pardos	Sao Joao del Rei		mulattoes
1766	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario	Itabira Marianna	Freguesia de Santo Antonio	
1806	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario do Desterro de Tambe	Tambe Paraiba do Norte		
1785	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora Mae de Deos e dos homens pardos	Paraiba do Norte		mulattoes
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora dos Remedios dos pretos de Minas de Nação Mangium	Rio de Janeiro	Capella de Santa Ephigenia	tribal Africans
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte dos homens pardos	Sao Paulo	Sao Francisco das Chagas da villa de Taubate	mulattoes

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1700s	Irmandade de São Benedito	Bahia	Igreja de Convento de São Francisco	blacks
	Irmandade de Santa Efigênia	Bahia	Igreja de Convento de São Francisco	blacks
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Bahia	Igreja de Convento de São Francisco	blacks
1795	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Conceição dos homens pardos	Bahia Cachoeira	Matriz da Senhora Santa Anna do Camizão	mulattoes
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Amparo dos homens pardos	Bahia	Nossa Senhora do Amparo	pardos
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário e S.S. Trindade	Bahia	Capella da Agua de Meninos filial Matriz de Nossa Senhora do Pilar	
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	Bahia	Matriz de Santo Antonio Alem do Carmo	
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Bahia	freguesia de Santíssima Sacramento	
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Bahia	Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Ajuda	
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Conceição	Bahia Ilheos	Villa da Valença	mulattoes
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Bahia	Igreja de São Pedro Velho	
1746	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Amparo	Minas de Paracabu Bispado de Pernambuco	Arrayal de S. Luis e S. Anna	free mulattoes

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Amparo	Jugaripe Bahia	Matris de Nossa Senhora da Ajuda	
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Amparo	Recôncavo Bahia	Igreja de S. Bartholomeu de Maragogipe	
1805	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Amparo	Bahia	Matris de S. Gonçalo da villa de S. Francisco de Sergipe	
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe	Recôncavo Bahia	freguesia de S. Bartholomeu de Maragogipe	
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Livramento	Iguracu Pernambuco		mulattoes
	Irmandade da Merces da Redempção dos cativos		Capella de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	
1783	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	Goyanna Paraíba do Norte		
1794	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Marianna Serro do Frio	Capella do Senhor Bom Jesus de Matozinhos	blacks
1788	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Bahia Vila do Camumu	Igreja matris de Nossa Senhora da Asumpção	blacks
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Bahia Recôncavo	Igreja de S. Bartholomeu de Maragogipe	blacks
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	Marianna	Freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Conceipção do Mato	

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	Rio de Janeiro	Freguesia do Amparo de Marica	blacks
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Bahia	Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Vitoria	blacks
1789	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Minas Gerais Sabara	Freguesia de Santo Antônio de Rio das Vellas	blacks
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	Rio de Janeiro	Freguesia de S. Nicolas	blacks
1766	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Rio de Janeiro	Freguesia de S. João Baptiste	blacks
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Rio de Janeiro	Freguesia de Santo Antonio dos Anjos	blacks
1768	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Rio de Janeiro	Freguesia de Nossa Senhora dos Remedios	blacks
1769	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Goyas	Freguesia de Nossa Senhora do Pillar do Papoam das Minas	blacks
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	Rio de Janeiro	Freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Conceipção, Villa do Principe da Serra do Frio	blacks
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	Pernambuco	Freguesia de Santo Antonio	

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1766	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Marianna	Igreja Matris de Nossa Senhora do Pillar de Villa de Pitangui	blacks
1773	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Marianna Sabará	Igreja das Congonas	blacks
1773	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos	Marianna	Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Conceipção do Rio das Pedras	
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Marianna	Freguesia do Senhor Bom Jesus do Monte	
1767	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário e São Benedicto	Rio de Janeiro	Capella da Santa Trindade do Macacu	
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Sergipe	Freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Victoria	
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	Ouro Preto	Freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Nazaret	
1786	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos	Pernambuco	Capella da Conceipcao e S. Bento na beira da Matta, Pararexim	
1771	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos	Bahia	Freguesia de Nossa Senhora de Piedade	
1766	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Rio de Janeiro	Freguesia de Nossa Senhora do Loreto	
1784	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Alto do Cruz	Ouro Preto	Freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Conceipção de Antonio Dias	

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1766	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Sabara Santa Luíza	Freguesia de Santo Antonio	
1766	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Marianna Guarop ^a .	Freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Conceipção	
1763	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Sabara Santa Rita	Freguesia de Santo António	
1682	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Bahia	Freguesia do Cairu	
1770	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	Pernambuco Villa de Igaressu	Matris de Santos Cosme e Damião	
1788	Irmandade de Senhor Bom Jesus de Matorinhos	Marianna	Freguesia de Guarapiranga	
1783	Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus da Ressur- reição dos pretos naturais de Barra	Bahia	Igreja de Santo Inacio	creoles
1767	Irmandade de São Benedicto	Bahia	Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Concei- pção da Praia	
1767	Irmandade de São Benedicto	Bahia Jaguaripe	Matris de Nossa Senhora da Ajuda	
1767	Irmandade de São Benedicto	Pernambuco Vila de Ipojuca	Convento de Santo António	
1755	Irmandade de São Benedicto	Marianna	Freguesia de Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Sumidouro	

G. Brazil:

Dates	Brotherhoods	Location	Chapel	Brothers
1772	Irmandade de São Benedicto	Rio de Janeiro	Villa de Sao Salvador dos Campos dos Goytacases	
1778	Irmandade de São Benedicto	Bahia Sergipe del Rei	Convento do Bom Jesus	
1767	Irmandade Patriarcha de S. Domingos dos homens pretos	Recife	Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário	
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário		Arrayal do Tijuco	blacks
	Irmandade de São Fillippe	Rio de Janeiro		
	Irmandade de São Tiago	Rio de Janeiro		
	Irmandade de Menino Jesus	Rio de Janeiro		
	Irmandade da Santa Efigênia	Rio de Janeiro		
	Irmandade de São Elisabão	Rio de Janeiro		
	Irmandade de São Matheus	Rio de Janeiro		
	Irmandade do Senhor Jesus do Calix	Rio de Janeiro		
	Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Bellem	Rio de Janeiro		

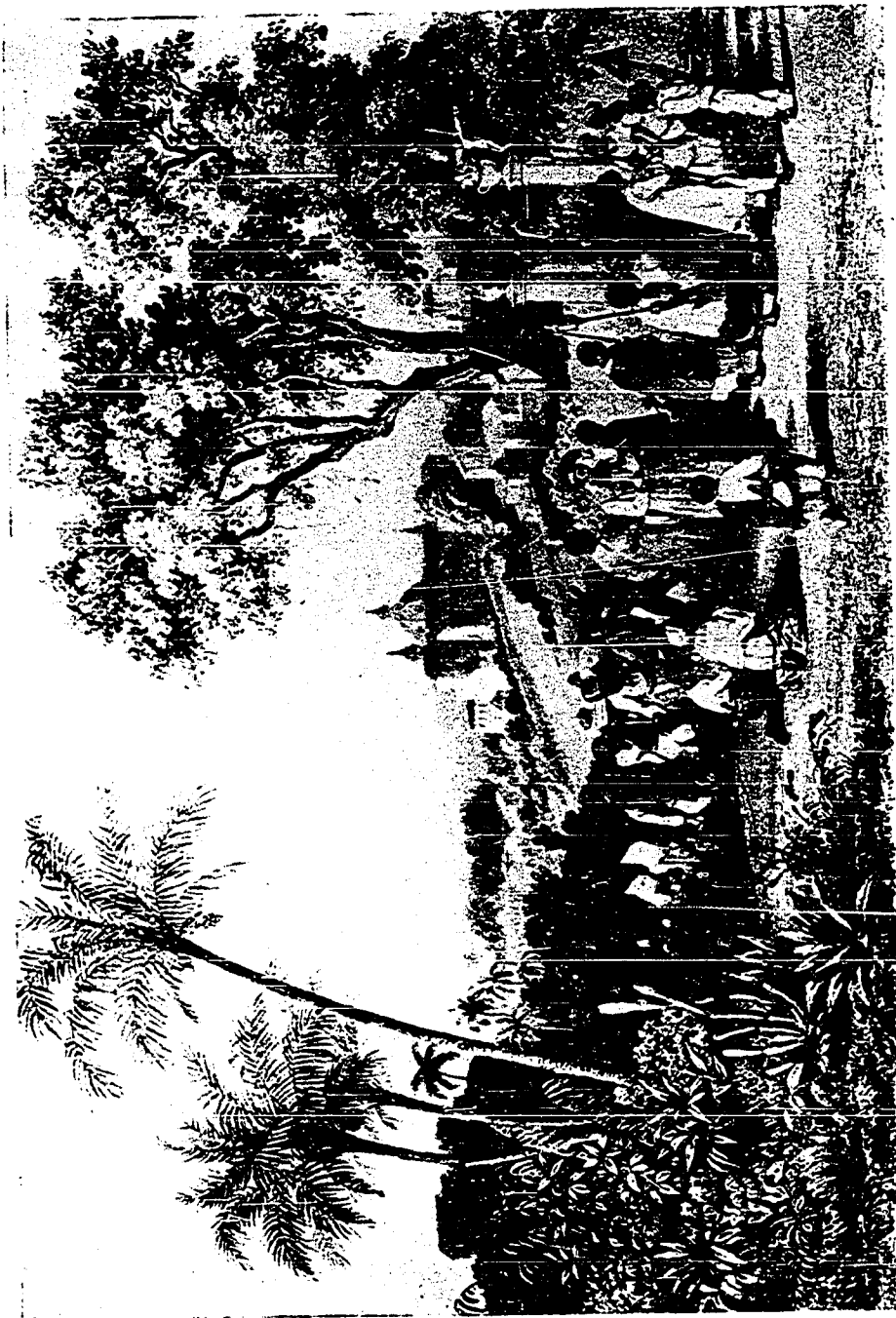
SUMMARY TOTAL
of
Slave Confraternities

Spain	11
Portugal	15
Portuguese Africa	4
Argentina	1
Colombia	1
Cuba	6
Peru	22
Uruguay	2
Venezuela	11
Brazil	16 5
Bahia	44
Goyaz	5
Minas Gerais	52
Pernambuco	20
Paraíba	5
São Paulo	3
Sergipe	1
Rio de Janeiro	31
Rio Grande do Sul	1
Maranhão.....	1
Unknown	3
GRAND TOTAL	23 8

APPENDIX F

A 19th Century Picture of the Burial of a Negro¹

4/20

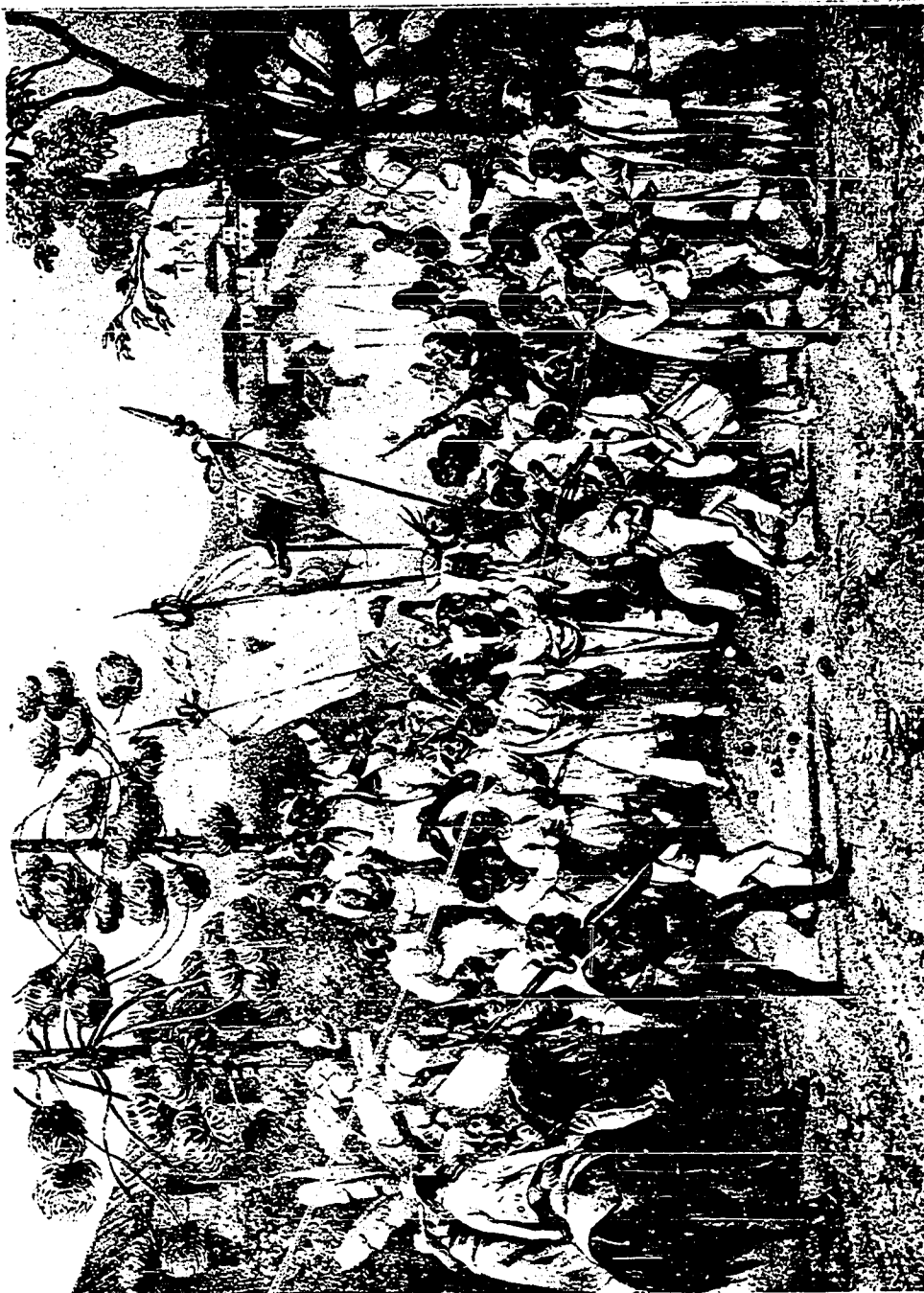


ENTERRO DE UM NEGRO

1. João Mauricio Rugendas, Viagem Pitoresca através do Brasil, São Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1940, No. 4/20.

APPENDIX G

A 19th Century Painting of the Festival of Our Lady of the Rosary,¹
Patroness of the Negroes¹



FESTA DE N. S. DO ROSÁRIO, PADROEIRA DOS NEGROS

¹ João Mauricio Rugendas, Viagem Pitoresca através do Brasil, São Paulo:
Livraria Martins, 1940, No. 4/19.

TABLE H
BLACK CONFRATERNITIES IN BRAZIL ACCORDING TO

CONFRARIAS	UNKNOWN	BAHIA	MINAS GERAIS	PERNAMBUCO	PARAIBA	RIO
1. Nossa Senhora do Rosário	1	15	35	12	4	
N.Sr ^a do Rosário e São						
Benedicto						
N.Sr ^a do Rosário e das						
Merces			1			
N.Sr ^a do Rosário e						
S.S. Trindade		1				
N.Sr ^a do Rosário e						
Santo Amaro da						
Purificação	1					
2. São Benedicto		6	1	1		
S. Benedicto e St ^a Efigênia			1			
3. Santo Rei Balthazar						
4. Santo António		1				
5. São Gonçalo		1				
6. Nossa Senhora do Guadalupe		2		1		
7. Nossa Senhora das Mérces	1		6			
8. Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte		1	1			
9. Bom Jesus		5	1			
10. Nossa Senhora do Terço				1		
11. Cordão do São Francisco			2			
12. Nossa Senhora do Livramento				3		

TABLE H

S IN BRAZIL ACCORDING TO PROVINCE AND RACIAL COMPOSITION

PERNAMBUCO	PARAIBA	RIO DE JANEIRO	SAO PAULO	RIO GRANDE DO SUL	GOIAS	MARANHAO	SERGIPE	TO
12	4	8	2	1	2		1	8
		2						
1		2			1			1
		1						
		1						
1								
		1						
		1	1			1		
					1			
1								
3								

COMPOSITION

SAO PAULO	RIO GRANDE DO SUL	GOIAS	MARANHAO	SERGIPE	TOTALS	RACIAL COMPOSITION			
						MIXED	BLACK CREOLES	MULATTOES	TRIBAL AFRICANS
1		2		1	81	1	24		5
					2				
					1				
					1				
					1				
		1			11		4		
					1				
					1				
					2				
					1			1	
					3			1	
					8		4	1	
			1		5			2	1
		1			7		2	1	2
					1				
					2			2	
					3			2	

CONFRARIAS	UNKNOWN	BAHIA	MINAS GERAIS	PERNAMBUCO	PARAIBA	RIO D
13. Nossa Senhora do Amparo		4	1	1		
14. São Francisco de Paula		1	1			
15. Senhor dos Martirios		1				
16. Nossa Senhora dos Passos		1				
17. São Jose dos Bem-Casados			1			
18. São Vicente Ferrer			1			
19. Nossa Senhora da Conceição		2				
20. São Domingos				1		
21. Nossa Senhora dos Remedios						
22. Santa Efigênia		1				
23. Nossa Senhora da Assumpção						
24. Nossa Senhora da Lampadoza						
25. Mãe de Deos						1
26. Irm ^{de} dos Pretos em um Engenho		1				
27. Irm ^{de} dos Pardos e Mulatos						
28. Nossa Senhora da Soledade		1				
29. Nossa Senhora de Bellem						
30. Senhor Jesus do Calix						
31. São Fillippe						
32. São Tiago						

PERNAMBUCO PARAIBA RIO DE JANEIRO SAO PAULO RIO GRANDE DO SUL GOIAS MARANHAO SERGI

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

RIO GRANDE DO SUL	GOIAS	MARANHÃO	SERGIPE	TOTALS	RACIAL COMPOSITION			TRIBAL AFRICANS
					MIXED	BLACK CREOLES	MULATTOES	
				6			2	
				2		1	1	
				1		1		
				1				
				1			1	
				1				
	1			4			4	
				2				
				1				1
				2		2		
				1				
				1				
				1			1	
				1				
				1			1	
				1		1		
				1				
				1				
				1				
				1				

CONFRARIAS	UNKNOWN	BAHIA	MINAS GERAIS	PERNAMBUCO	~~PARAIBA~~	RIO D
33. Menino Jesus						
34. São Elisabão						
35. São Matheus						
TOTALS BY PROVINCE	3	44	52	20	5	30

MINAS GERAIS	PERNAMBUCO	PARAÍBA	RIO DE JANEIRO	SÃO PAULO	RIO GRANDE DO SUL	GOIAS	MARANHÃO

1

1

1

52

20

5

30

3

1

5

1

					RACIAL COMPOSITION				
						BLACK		TRIBAL	
RIO GRANDE	DO SUL	GOIAS	MARANHAO	SERGIPE	TOTALS	MIXED	CREOLES	MULATTOS	AFRICANS
					1				
					1				
					1				
1		5	1	1	165	1	39	20	9

APPENDIX I

Economic Data on Black Confraternities¹⁾

Brotherhoods	Dates	Entrance Fees	Annual Dues	No. of Masses for the Dead	Festival Cont Charitable Do
Irm ^{de} de N.Sr ^a do Rosario e S. Bento, Pernambuco	1786	640 mil reis	160 mil reis	20	240 mil rei
Irm ^{de} de S. Benedicto, em Convento de Bom Jesus, Comarca Sergipe del Rey, Bahia	1778	whites 480 reis blacks & pardos 320 reis	160 reis	6 (at 240 reis each)	white offic black offic
Irm ^{de} de N.Sr ^a do Rosario, Villa do Goyanna, Paraiba do Norte	1783	pardos & whites 2 mil reis blacks 320 rs.	160 reis		Kings of th 4 mil re
Irm ^{de} do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempcao da Ilha da Itaparica, Bahia	1804	4 patacas or 320 reis	100 reis		
Irm ^{de} do N.Sr ^a da Conceição da Valenca, Comarca de Ilheos, Bahia	1805	10 tostoens or 1 mil rei	160 reis	8 ⁽²⁾ or 16	Jewelry or
Irm ^{de} da N.Sr ^a do Rosario e S. Benedicto, Rio de Janeiro	1759- 1760	1,600 reis	480 reis	12 ⁽³⁾ or 24	Juizes - 38
Irm ^{de} do Glorioso Sao Francisco de Paula, Bahia	1844	2,400 reis	160 reis	52	Provedor... Vice Proved Scribe..... Provedor Ge Consultores Provedoras. Mordomos (a

APPENDIX I

Economic Data on Black Confraternities⁽¹⁾

Entrance Fees	Annual Dues	No. of Masses for the Dead	Festival Contributions & Charitable Donations	Total Outlay
0 mil reis	160 mil reis	20	240 mil reis	1040 mil reis
whites 0 reis blacks & pardos 0 reis	160 reis	6 (at 240 reis each)	white officers - 8 mil reis black officers - 4 ml.rs.	whites 10,080 reis blacks & pardos 5920 reis
pardos & whites mil reis blacks 320 rs.	160 reis		Kings of the Congo 4 mil reis	pardos & whites 2,160 reis blacks 5,440 reis
patacas or 0 reis	100 reis			1,380 reis
costoens 1 mil rei	160 reis	8 ⁽²⁾ or 16	Jewelry or 8 mil reis	9,160 reis
600 reis	480 reis	12 ⁽³⁾ or 24	Juizes - 38,400 reis	Juizes - 42,480 reis
400 reis	160 reis	52	Provedor.....12,800 reis Vice Provedor..10,000 reis Scribe..... 8,000 reis Provedor Geral. 6,000 reis Consultores.... 4,000 reis Provedoras.....12,000 reis Mordomos (as).. 2,400 reis	15,360 reis 12,560 reis 10,560 reis 8,560 reis 6,560 reis 14,560 reis 4,960 reis

Appendix I (continued)

Brotherhoods	Dates	Entrance Fee	Annual Dues	No. of Masses for the Dead	Festival Contrib Charitable Donat
Irm ^{de} de N.Sr ^a do Rosario e Sao Benedicto dos ^a homens pretos da Freg de Santo Antonio de Saa da Villa de Macaca do bispado do Rio de Janeiro	1769	1280 reis cost of esquife 4000 reis	<u>480 reis</u> 240 to N.Sr ^a 240 to S.B ^{to}	2 Masses (after death) 12 Masses (annual-ly) to N.Sr ^a 24 Masses (annual-ly to S.B ^{to}	Juizes Escrivao Treasurer Procurador Bros. of Meza..
Irm ^{de} de Sao Benedicto em Convento de Sao Francisco Salvador, Bahia	1770	2 cruzados	1 tostao	8 Masses (after death) 52 Masses (annually)	Officers contri the festival of Benedicto
Irm ^{de} do Rozario, Arrayal Freguesia de Sao Miguel, Vila Nova de Raynha, Sabara, Minas Gerais		$\frac{1}{2}$ oitava de ouro	$\frac{1}{2}$ pataca		Juizes &)... 8 Officers) Escrivao &) Thezoir ^e)... 3 Bros of Meza 1
Irm ^{de} de N.Sr ^a do Rosario dos homens pretos da V de S. Antonio do Recife de Pernambuco	1758	Blacks... 5 patacas Pardos & Whites ... 2 mil reis		10 Masses ⁽⁴⁾ Juiz...16 Masses Escribe 12 " Mesarios 11 " (at 240 reis each)	Andador Juiz Escrivao Mordomos Rey & Rainha
Irm ^{de} de N.Sr ^a do Rosario em Pelourinho, Bahia	1820	2 mil reis	100 reis		President 16\$ Scribe 8\$ Treasurer 4\$ Procurador 6\$ Consultor 4\$

FOOTNOTES:

1. These figures are compiled from the compromissos of the brotherhoods. The figures in do not include the cost of Masses.
2. The Brotherhood of N.Sr^a da Conceicao said 8 masses for the souls of dead brothers and 16 masses were said.
3. This brotherhood said 24 Masses for the souls of dead Juizes and 12 Masses for dead B
4. This Brotherhood said 10 Masses for dead brothers who held ordinary membership and we

Appendix I (continued)

Entrance Fee	Annual Pres	No. of Masses for the Dead	Festival Contributions & Charitable Donations	Total Outlay
1280 reis	<u>480 reis</u>	2 Masses	Juizes 4 mil reis	9,760 reis
	240 to N.Sr ^a	(after death)	Escrivao 2 mil reis	7,760 reis
cost of esquife	240 to S.B ^{to}	12 Masses (annual-	Treasurer 2 mil reis	7,760 reis
4000 reis		ly) to N.Sr ^a	Procurador 1 mil reis	6,760 reis
		24 Masses (annual-	Bros. of Meza.. 900 reis	6,660 reis
		ly to S.B ^{to}		
2 cruzados	1 tostao	8 Masses	Officers contributed for	
		(after death)	the festival of Sao	
		52 Masses	Benedicto 8 mil reis	
		(annually)		
$\frac{1}{2}$ oitava de ouro	$\frac{1}{2}$ pataca		Juizes &)... 8 oitavas	
			Officers) de ouro	
			Escrivao &)... 3 oitavas de	
			Thezoir ^e) ouro	
			Bros of Meza 1 oitava de	
			ouro	
Blacks...		10 Masses ⁽⁴⁾	Andador 8 ml.rs.	12,249 reis
5 patacas		Juiz...16 Masses	Juiz 6 ml.rs.	11,440 reis
Pardos &		Escribe 12 "	Escrivao 3 mil rs.	7,880 reis
Whites ...		Mesarios 11 "	Mordomos 1,200 reis	5,840 reis
2 mil reis		(at 240 reis	Rey & Rainha 4 ml rs	8,000 reis
		each)		
2 mil reis	100 reis		President 16\$000 reis	18\$100 reis
			Scribe 8\$000 reis	10\$100 reis
			Treasurer 4\$000 reis	6\$100 reis
			Procurador 6\$400 reis	8\$500 reis
			Consultor 4\$000 reis	6\$100 reis

compiled from the compromissos of the brotherhoods. The figures in the final column "Total outlay" are the total cost of Masses.

Sr^a da Conceicao said 8 masses for the souls of dead brothers and if there was enough money

24 Masses for the souls of dead Juizes and 12 Masses for dead Brothers of the Meza.

10 Masses for dead brothers who held ordinary membership and were not officers.

APPENDIX J¹

Annual Expenses for the Festival of Our Lady of the Rosary Organized by the Brotherhood of N.Sr^a do Rosário in Recife, Pernambuco 1674 to 1714

Years

1674-1675	32\$460 reis
1676-1677	120\$000 reis
1677-1681	19\$920 reis
1681	13\$640 reis
1682	30\$320 reis
1683	30\$640 reis
1684-1685	33\$000 reis
1686	39\$000 reis
1687	55\$040 reis
1688	41\$000 reis
1689	46\$980 reis
1690	62\$000 reis
1691	67\$600 reis
1692	77\$430 reis
1693	83\$080 reis
1695	79\$590 reis
1697	169\$740 reis
1698	129\$860 reis
1699	144\$715 reis
1700	465\$510 reis
1701	364\$650 reis
1702	464\$920 reis
1703	412\$520 reis
1704	276\$060 reis
1705	527\$560 reis
1706	325\$200 reis
1707	564\$380 reis
1708	548\$760 reis
1709	381\$680 reis
1710	310\$165 reis
1711	122\$200 reis
1712	190\$920 reis
1713	160\$920 reis
1714	167\$460 reis

¹These figures are taken from Robert C. Smith, "Decadas do
Rosario dos Pretos, Documentos da Irmandade," Arquivo, 4/10, 1945/51,
pp. 53 - 120, 142, 143 to 170.

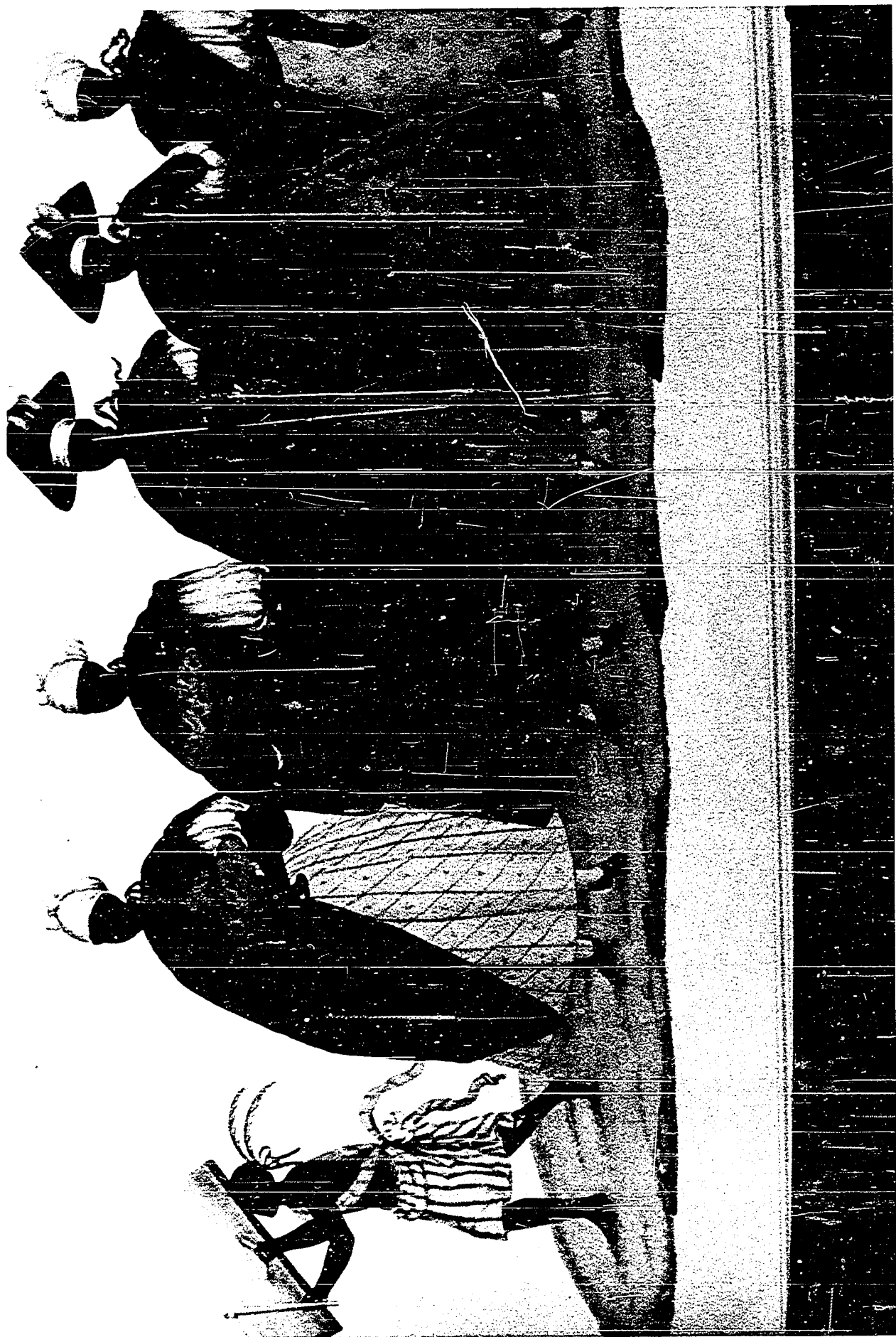
APPENDIX K

A Painting of Slave Women Celebrating
the Festival of Our Lady of the Rosary
Painted by Carlos Julião¹

Plate XXXV - "Vestimentas de escravas pedintes na festa do Rosário - As mulheres, ricamente vestidas com saias estampadas, tem o corpo envolvido em grandes capas pretas e a cabeça enrolada em turbantes; sapatos de salto com fivelas, colares, brincos pulseiras. Duas trazem grandes bandejas de prata, onde se veem moedas; as outras, dois longos bastões, e se distinguem pela aba de chapéu que usam sobre o turbante. Acompanha o grupo um menino, com roupagem colorida e enfeitado com penas, que leva uma tábua e machadinha."

¹Carlos Julião, Riscos iluminados de figurinhos de brancos e negros dos uzos do Rio de Janeiro e Serro do Frio, Aquarellas por Carlos Julião, (Brazil, Bibliotheca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro: 1960), plate XXXV.

Carlos Julião was a "Capitão de Mineiros da Artilharia da Corte." He painted during the early 19th Century.



APPENDIX L

A Picture of the Procession of the Black Queen
in the Festival of the Kings¹
Painted by Carlos Julião

Plate XXXVI - "Cortejo da Rainha Negra na festa de Reis - A rainha coroada, vestida de estampado, sapatos de salto alto com fivelas, meias brancas, empunha o cetro e um leque. Seu manto é carregado por um pajem, também ricamente vestido; vem protegida por um grande guarda-sol vermelho que uma mulher carrega. Sete figuras femininas, trajadas com luxo, empunham diversos instrumentos musicais e formam o cortejo, ensaiando passos de dança. A frente, duas outras figuras, também vestidas com requinte, tocam flauta e corneta."

¹Carlos Julião, Ibid., Plate XXXVI.



APPENDIX M

A Painting of the Coronation
of a Black Queen¹
in the Festival of the Kings¹
Painted by Carlos Julião

Plate XXXVII - "Coroação de uma rainha negra na festa de Reis - A rainha vestida de brocado, ataviada de joias empunha o cetro e traz na cabeça a coroa. Seu manto vermelho, recamado de estrelas, e sustentado por uma escrava; outra carrega um guarda-sol para protege-la. Mais cinco figuras de escravas, com roupagens coloridas e enfeitadas de penas são vistas empunhando diversos instrumentos musicais e dançando."

¹Carlos Julião, Ibid., Plate XXXVII.



APPENDIX N

A Painting of the Black King and Queen
in the Festival of the Kings¹
Painted by Carlos Julião

Plate XXXVIII. -"Rei e Rainha Negros da Festa de Reis -
Ricamente vestidos e coroados, empunham
cetros; dois meninos seguram a cauda da
roupagem da rainha; um escravo protege-
os com grande guarda-sol bordado. A
esquerda, duas crianças com roupas coloridas
tocam trombetas e, a direita, um menino
empunha estandarte amarelo."

¹Carlos Julião, Ibid., Plate XXXVIII.



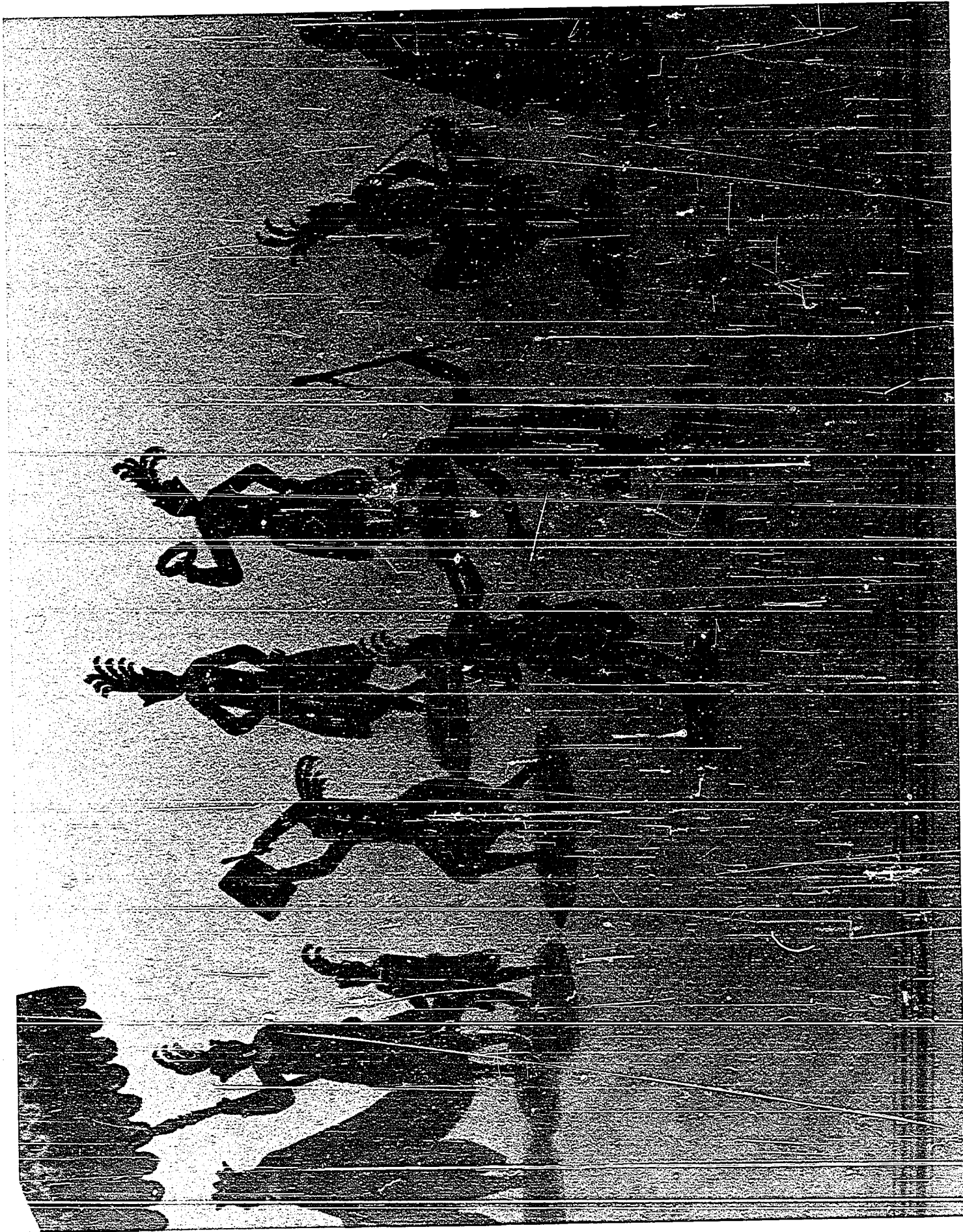
APPENDIX O

A Painting of the Coronation
of a King during the Festival
of the Kings¹

Painted by Carlos Julião

Plate XXXIX. - "Coroação de um Rei nos Festejos de Reis"
"-O Rei, vestido de negro, traz um sobre-
saia vermelha, empunha o cetro e tem a
cabeça a coroa. Seu mano vermelho."

¹Carlos Julião, Ibid., Plate XXXIX.



APPENDIX P

Confraternity Membership

(Based on the Names of the Members which were Signed at the
End of the Compromissos)

Irmandades	Members	Priests	Sisters	Widows	Ofcrrs
1. Nossa Senhora do Rosário Matris de Santos Cosme e Damião, Igaressu, Pernambuco	80	6	7	2	
2. Sao Benedicto, Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Conceipção da Praia, Bahia	40				
3. Nossa Senhora do Rosário Freguesia da Barra, Rio Grande do Sul	8				
4. Nossa Senhora do Remedio dos Pretos, Nasção de Minas, Rio de Janeiro	12				
5. Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte Villa de S. João del Rei Minas Gerais	5				
6. Nossa Senhora do Rosário na Capella de Nossa Senhora da Guia, Espinharas, Paraíba	27				
7. Sao Benedicto, Goyazes	23				
8. Nossa Senhora da Conceição Goyanna	27				17
9. Nossa Senhora do Livramento Pernambuco	7				
10. Nossa Senhora do Rosário Recife, Pernambuco	73	4	16		
11. Nossa Senhora da Mercês da Redempção, Rio de Janeiro	22	1			8 Slaves
12. Nossa Senhora do Rosário Villa de Recife, Pernambuco	18	1			
13. Senhor Bom Jesus da Resurreição, Barra, Bahia Jesuit Collegio	11		1		

APPENDIX P
(continued)

Irmandades	Members	Priests	Sisters
14. Nossa Senhora Mãe dos Homens Pardos Paraíba	16		
15. Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Arrayal de Santa Rita freguesia de Santo Antônio do Rio Assima, Sabará	24		11
16. Nossa Senhora do Rosário freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Princepe, Serro do Frio, Minas Gerais	8		
17. Sao Francisco de Paula Bahia	22		1
18. Nossa Senhora do Rozário Villa de Santo Antônio Recife, Pernambuco	28		
19. Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Villa da Vallença, Ilheos, Bahia	17		
20. S. Benedicto, Minas Gerais	15	1	
21. Nossa Senhora do Rosário Villa de Goyanna, Paraíba de Norte	16		
22. Nossa Senhora do Rosário Catedral de Sé, Bahia	27	1	
23. Santo Antônio de Catagero Salvador da Bahia	14		
24. Nossa Senhora do Rosário Desterro de Tambe Paraíba de Norte	16		

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B.N. - Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon
A.N.R.J. - Arquivo Nacional de Rio de Janeiro

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