**ROTA DO
ROMÂNICO
DO VALE
DO SOUSA**

ROTA DO
ROMÂNICO
DO VALE
DO SOUSA

ROMANESQUE IN THE SOUSA VALLEY

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Porto

Sousa Valley

PORTUGAL
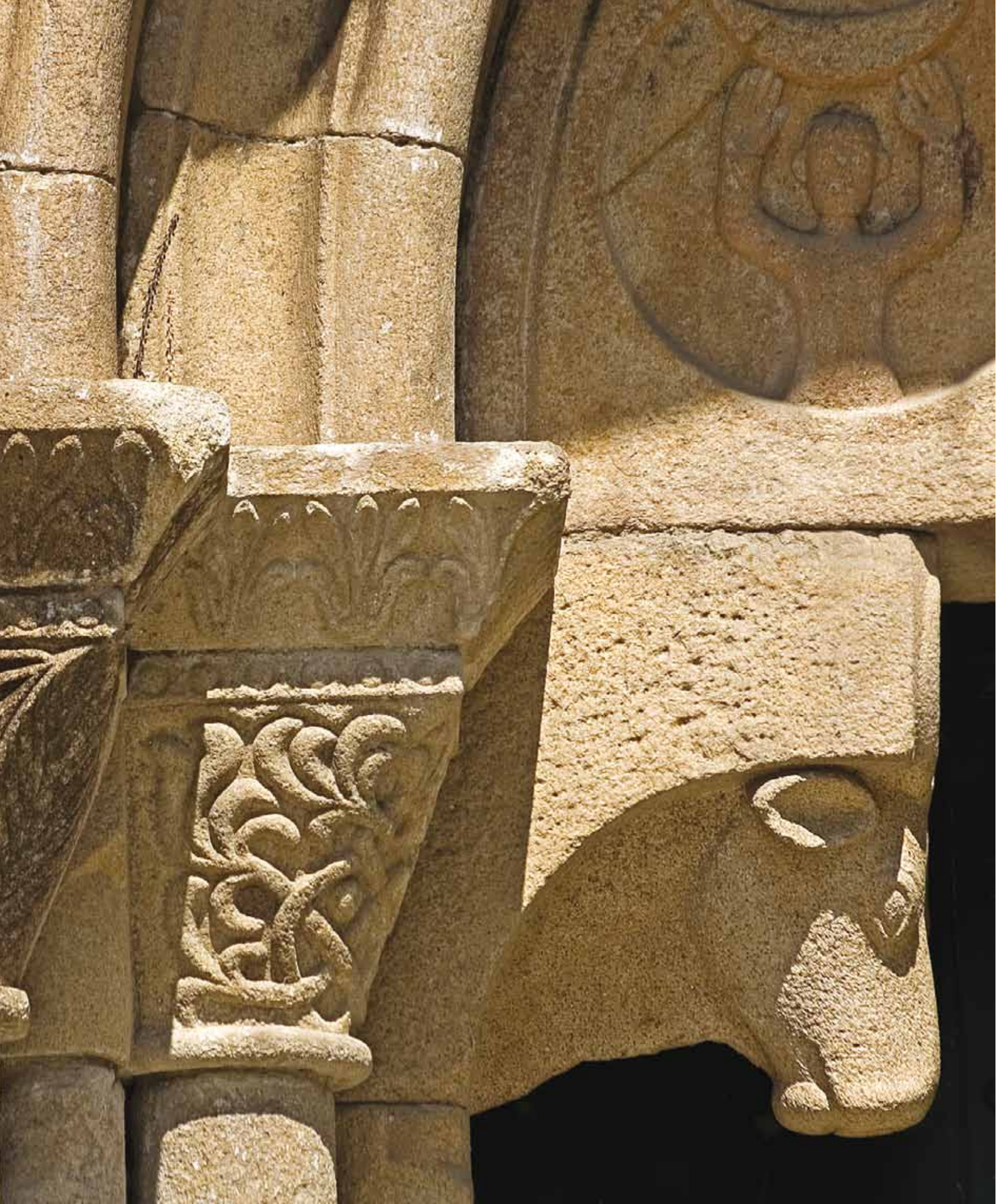
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Prefaces

The Importance of the RRSV
to the Sousa Valley Region

Heritage is increasingly becoming a differentiating factor in the competition between regions. Asides from emulating and reconciling the forthcoming generations with history, it is also an ethical obligation in good public management to place it at the service of the community.

In the Sousa Valley, we sought to explore that way. Sometimes we felt it is a rough path upon facing our territory's difficulties, particularly the diffuse territorial organization and the – yet – persistent insensitivity towards the subject.

However, even though the RRSV is not exactly the goose that found in the Sousa Valley the ideal place to lay its golden eggs, it is certainly a powerful instrument to help us turn the image of the Region around and endow it with a top quality touristic product, well matured and structured, with the world's best in this particular area.

Let us all – politicians, public and (especially) private entities – know how to take its reins so that it will not fade after the first rainfall.

At the time of its birth, it is also fair to remember all of those who dreamt, idealized, worked, left, embraced and still give their souls for this project. They are many and therefore would not fit this page.

Alberto Santos
President of Valsousa – The Sousa Valley's Urban Community

The Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley and Regional Development

The diagnosis elaborated in recent years for the Sousa Valley has shown how urgent it is to create an integrated development strategy for this space, providing for its self-support, the organization and balance of the territory, the concern with human resources and the exploration of its endogenous, socio-cultural and environmental potential.

The development of the region depends, therefore, of the integration, articulation and strengthening/consistency of all these vectors. It is up to the local entities and agents, in an initial intervention stage, to insure the necessary conditions to let that process occur.

In this sense, the still significant and valuable patrimony of the Sousa Valley – particularly its Romanesque buildings – should be a milestone in the promotion of the cultural/patrimonial tourism. Its growing demand opens new perspectives in the diversification of economical activities, promoting a possible income and job source in the local communities and spiking up the traditional trade.

Thus, the promotion of cultural tourism is an indispensable element to create synergies that will allow us to draw public and private investment, increase the profit from the local touristic clusters, grant a general quality to the image of the touristic destinations and compensate the public investment in the recuperation, improvement and maintenance of specific patrimonial objects or in the restoration of cultural equipments.

The Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley (RRSV), planed for an implementation in several steps articulated in time and in space, has the intention of becoming a factor of progress and of socio-cultural qualification for the local communities and, ultimately, contributing to the region's development.

Initiated with works affecting the infrastructures, which allowed to improve its 21 monuments, the Route will gain life, identity and sustainability through the process of promoting, spreading the word and activities around this patrimony.

The conducted works are already visible, and those that are being carried out and programmed for the upcoming years provide a frankly optimistic perspective of this pilot-project's future and its impact in the region. As it progresses, we observe a growing adherence and enthusiasm by the countless intervenients in its construction process, simultaneously with the progressive consolidation of its support and management structure.

In fact, the RRSV has come to conquer, from its start, an increasingly determinant part and its own space as a project of collaboration and partnership between entities, technical teams, local agents, residents and visitors, which should motivate us to add new contributes and competences to the project, expanding its effects in the valuing of the patrimony and its surrounding territory.

Cristina de Azevedo
Vice-President of the Committee of Regional Coordination and Development of the North

Patrimony as an Element
of the Territory's Identity

In our days, man experiences the need to know, to see and to feel where he came from in order to decide his future course. This need leads us to preserve, according to scientific and updated criteria, the remaining testimonies of the life, art and culture of the past, thus embodying an aspiration of the contemporary society of fighting the loss of its roots.

Just like a landscape can materialize the memory of an event, the physical patrimony, in order to maintain its cultural interest, cannot be dissociated from certain environmental and existential characteristics that compose the survival of the collective conscience of the communities that built, lived and inhabit it. Protecting, preserving and using the heritage with social, scientific and didactic purposes brings stability to the development of the cultures, and it will lead an active role in the life of the society.

Therefore, the RRSV (Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley) project was first outlined in 1998, with the ground study of the heritage in the Sousa Valley's territorial area that allowed the structuring of a theme route around the chronologically identifiable patrimonial objects.

After consolidating the Route's project, the CCDR-N (Committee of Regional Coordination and Development of the North) in partnership with the North Region Board for the DGEMN (General Board of the National Buildings and Monuments) initiated a negotiation process aimed at creating an involvement of the local, regional and national entities, public and private, that might, directly or indirectly, carry out the construction and the implementation of the project, as well as its posterior management and dynamization as touristic and cultural product, creating extra possibilities in the satisfaction of their goals, but fundamentally contributing to the maintenance, protection and safekeeping of the heritage that is condensed in the theme nucleus.

In April 2003, the collaboration protocol for the "Implementation and touristic and cultural dynamization of the RRSV" is signed, granting the DGEMN / DREMN with responsibilities in planning, organizing and conducting improvement, recovery and conservation works in the classified (or in the process of being classified) heritage not under the IPPAR (Portuguese Institute of the Architectonic Patrimony).

In parallel, a project on "The survey for improvement and maintenance of the surrounding areas of the RRSV's monuments" was conducted. This survey intended to define the projects that could provide a sustainable framework for the surrounding areas, not just qualifying the visual limits of the patrimonial heritage that integrates the Route but also its approximation courses.

In conclusion, the patrimony's maintenance and improvement is a question of citizenship that begins to be understood as factor of progress and strategic development, that is, as a sign of quality and well-being. Therefore, it is a fundamental responsibility of the State to "(...) protect and value the cultural heritage as a primary instrument for the fulfilment of the dignity of the individual, object of fundamental rights, a means for the democratization of culture and a support for independence and national identity (...)", according to Law no. 107/2001 of September 8th that defines "The bases for the policy and regime of Cultural Heritage protection and improvement".

Augusto José Marques da Costa
North Region Director of the National Buildings and Monuments

Heritage and Memory

Do you travel to know your past? – was now Khan's question, which could have also been put this way:
– Do you travel to find your future?

Invisible Cities – Ítalo Calvino

The Cultural, Historic, Architectonic and Artistic Heritage is the key element of our collective Memory, and this in turn leads to the conscience of our Identity.

The Identity issue is essential to the affirmation and survival of the civilizations and it currently acquires a crucial importance in the emerging globalization and internationalization.

Hence the need to preserve the testimonies of the past, the documents, whether written in parchment or in stone.

Because the Heritage is composed not only of monuments but of all the testimonies from the past, including what today does not have a particular character or a specific meaning, but may very well have in the future.

The Monument has the capacity of being related to the power of perpetuating, voluntarily or not, the historic societies, and of reporting back to the testimonies that are rarely written.

In fact, what remains is not the whole of what existed in the past, but a choice made either by the forces that operate in the temporal evolution of the world and mankind, or by those who are devoted to the science of the past and of the passing time.

The difficulty and the challenge lie in the way preservation can be accomplished.

Since the mid 19th century, this issue has been the focus of strong discussion and theoretical debate in Europe.

The Churches of the Sousa Valley, affluent of the Douro by its rivermouth, are among the most ancient testimonies of our historical, geographical, social and political identity.

The Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley, recently created and growing roots it intends to solidify, has gathered a group of monuments which, for their cohesion in time and in space, constitute a sign of that region's identity.

Centered in the Northwest rectangle of the Peninsula, the History of Portugal starts to be written here. It is natural therefore that the Romanesque Architecture has a great set of buildings of high architectonic value there.

It is up to us, as a prioritary task and a social responsibility, to leave to the forthcoming generations the Patrimony which our ancestors have left us, offsetting the emerging imposition of the technological and utilitarian values, the devastating homogenization of usages and traditions we are currently facing.

…Charlemagne – and what do you think of the memory now…?
Alcuin – What more can I say but repeat the words of Marcus Tullius? The memory is the treasury and guardian of all things...

De Rethorica – Alcuin

Paula Araújo da Silva
Porto Regional Director
Portuguese Institute of the Architectonic Patrimony

The importance of the Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley to the Portugese Tourism Market

The touristic attractiveness of a region is determined not only by the abundance of patrimonial heritagebut also and above all by the capacity to value them, in other words, to systematically study them and develop contexts that are likely to provide the recognition of their value by the local communities and the visitors alike.

The initiative developed in the Sousa Valley, whose results are now published, follows this concept of touristic valuing. It provides an integrated reading of the several material legacies from the Romanesque and creates the possibility of building touristic offers that answer to a vocational yearning for knowledge and a desire to enjoy the Region.

The creation of Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley follows the guidelines specified in the National Strategic Plan for Tourism that points Portugal as one of Europe's fastest growing Tourist Destinations, through the development based on qualified and competitive offer.

The subsequent Study contributes decisively to the recognition of distinctive contents, associated with the local history and culture, offering suggestions fit for the Cultural Touring market, one of the strategic products that should support the tourism growth in Portugal for the following decade.

This work is also relevant for its integrated approach to development, which has carefully considered the awareness of the population and local agents and the training of the human resources needed to materialize the vision of sustained development projected by the Route of the Romanesque.
For all these reasons, it is with pleasure that the Tourism of Portugal, I.P. is associated with this initiative and reconizes its merits.

Luís Manuel Patrão
Chairman of the Directive Board of the Tourism of Portugal, I.P.

Religious Tourism

Promises, limits and ambiguities

Cultural religious tourism or simply religious tourism. This is a new expression and it corresponds to a contemporary reality. It fits into a broader context and is related to a social and cultural characteristic, certainly sprung by the spirit of knowledge (or of curiosity!), but conditioned by the swift media we have and that draw us closer to each other. The modern societies (safe for a few exceptions) are open, attracted to difference, they exchange views, criticism and, at the same time (in spite of easy and reducing syncretisms), they are eager for cultural contributes and complements, perhaps following suit of the utopia of the *homo universalis*. The tourism that means movement (etym. from the French *tour*) may have or has, above all, a cultural tendency. To know (in a more experienced than rational sense, which one could translate as to commune with) lands, landscapes, people, institutions, associations, monuments, objects, customs and practices is an enriching activity, it opens new horizons to life and creates a new way of being and dealing with the world.

The religious is a fact that no theory can contradict or deny. It has several configurations and, within these, different versions and expressions. It either forms various cultures or is configured by them. In this perspective, there is always something cultural in the religious, in the sense that the founding kernel, in order to exist, should be expressed in a given space and time. It is, therefore, connatural to man who, being the same, is configured in time and in space in a multiplicity of expressions without changing his nature. It would thereby be vain or even an illusion to eliminate the religious from the cultural space. (One should ascertain if any anti-religious phenomenon is not a by-product of a false or deficient religious that would create a sort of "religious substitute"). Anyway, tourism (which does not have to be qualified as religious) is presently so open it will find the most diverse incidental or structural manifestations.

Nevertheless, when speaking of the Romanesque, one refers to a variant of the Christian religiousness that was configured in a given space (Europe) and time (about 400 years). It is a cultural expression that received the contribution of several cultural manifestations and became an agglutinating and unifying element of that time and space. True culture should always avoid two sorts of "diseases": forgetfulness and fixedness. In reality, neither the Western European, nor Christianism are "Romanesque", nor can they

erase their Romanesque origin. Furthermore, considering the distance of, at least, eight hundred years, the spirituality of these expressions (as of others) continues to draw not only the Europeans, but women and men from all over the world, because there is something very profound that remains in the transitory expressions after all… And that is what cannot be explained, what draws people and that tourism cannot resist to! I naturally do not mean a certain folklore or a certain type of historic reconstitution that looks fake because it is a sort of "make believe". I am definitely talking about a quality of communion that is established, in the sense that the current testimonies can evoke the best that was left by the Romanesque culture: the visual arts, the music, the dancing, the clothing, the gastronomy… things that are perhaps already lost to us, but that other people cultivate, preserve and cherish to this day.

In these times of mobility, the Church cannot steer from tourism, for it should be present, with responsibility and quality, where men are. It has a face to show to these men, young or old, women or children, of which it should not be ashamed: that of Christ. This means it is its place to enlighten the appearances, with simplicity, without eliminating them, considering that they are an effectively eloquent element. Thus, the Church, through the voice of the last Popes, has insisted so in the appreciation and in the promotion of its cultural property as an important means of evangelization. In the sense of luring and leading the masses, tourism can have and does have a relevant part.

Father Manuel Amorim
Diocese of Porto

The Route of the Romanesque
of the Sousa Valley Project

The physical, cultural and human Heritage is one of the Sousa Valley's greatest legacies. The greatness and the diversity of the Romanesque heritage in the Sousa Valley bears witness to and materializes the history of the region itself and of its people.

One of the missions of those in charge of the region's Sustainable Development is to identify the "strengths" and the "weaknesses" of a territory in order to capitalize and minimize them, respectively, so as to seize the opportunities, to stand against eventual threats and to define an integrated and cohesive strategy. However, the composite and heterogeneous nature of the tourist industry makes this mission yet more complex.

The existence of favorable institutional factors – a strong and useful partnership between a set of entities from the areas of regional development, heritage and tourism – has been around for about a decade, when this project took its first steps, and today it is still the great lever that allows us to accomplish this challenge that is the tourist, cultural, economic and social development of the Sousa Valley.

An adequate preservation and valorization, the production of knowledge, the optimization and promotion of the most representative examples of this physical heritage is fundamental for the integrated development of the Sousa Valley.

It is curious to notice this… The path that has been followed takes us back to a symbolic but relevant comparison: that of the construction of a Romanesque church. Stone by stone, as if it were a sculpture, with the method and craft of the master artists in granite carving, initiated in the transept and finished in the catharsis of the portico.

This work assumes a relevant role in the Route of the Romanesque, for, besides an important academic document that gathers information on its 21 patrimonial elements, it clearly demonstrates the transformation that they underwent through the several preservation and safeguard campaigns, culminating with the works that were carried out within the scope of this project.

May this publication convey and highlight the beauty of the monuments it *portrays*, may it have the supreme capacity of creating the sense of appropriation in those that will benefit from them, producing sensations, emotions and knowledge. Above all, may it make them more eternal…

Rosário Correia Machado
Director of the RRSV

The Value of the Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley's Heritage

The creation of a cultural itinerary is one of the reasons behind the maintenance of the heritage. The *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* reflects the evolution of the concept of artistic heritage, which has extended from the cult of the isolated monument to the appreciation of its territorial context.

The heritage is a group of estate that a generation feels it should pass on to the next one, like a talisman. It is, and will always be, the conjugation between the objects and their users, turning heritage into a concept in constant mutation. Nowadays, it is increasingly more understood as that which provides quality to the life of the populations. In a Europe that seeks in its globality the specificity of the regions, heritage is, more than ever, synonymous with identity. However, it should not be seen as a guardian of the past, but as a contemporary and dynamic value capable of contributing to society's qualitative development.

The Romanesque architecture of the Sousa Valley has very unique characteristics which make it singular in the context of the Portuguese Romanesque. More than any other architecture, it is truly understood only when it is appreciated within the territory's parish network. Contemporary with the formation of Portugal and its first kings, it expresses the period in a particularly significant way.

The *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* includes old monasteries, parish churches, stately towers, devotional chapels and funerary monuments that, throughout the Middle Ages, have formed the region's landscape. These constructions are not just mere monuments. They are poles that generated farming exploration and the parish's organization. They consecrate places of passage that man has always felt the need to symbolize, and they bear witness to the very deep and complex roots of the religious phenomenon, which largely surpasses the institutional aspects of Christianism.

To visit the monuments, enjoy the landscape, understand the relation between the land's orography and the constructions from the Romanesque period, foresee the physical and symbolical motivations behind

the location of towers and castles, and understand the depth of the historic sedimentation of the population is the stimulating challenge offered by the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley*.

Lúcia Maria Cardoso Rosas
Department of Patrimony Sciences and Techniques
Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto

Abbreviations

ADB – Braga District's Archive

c. – Circa

Cf. – Confer; compare with

D. – Dom

Dec. – Decree

DGEMN – General Board of National Building and Monuments

DREMN – Regional Board of National Building and Monuments

Ed. – Edition

FLUP – Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto

Fr. – Friar

IAN/TT – Torre do Tombo National Archive Institute

ibidem – In the same place

IDEM – The same

IPPAR – Portuguese Institute of the Architectonic Patrimony

Ltd. – Limited

No. – Number

Op. Cit. – In the work cited

p. – Page

passim – Following pages

pp. – Pages

Prof. – Professor

RRSV – Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley

St. – Saint

Vol. – Volume

Vols. – Volumes

Chapter I

THE ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE AND
THE SCENERY

Romanesque Architecture

Between the late 10th century and the early 11th century, Western Europe accuses a slow renovation accompanied by a remarkable building surge. In this period, the regional differences concerning architecture are still much accentuated. While the South witnesses the development of the so-called *first meridional Romanesque art*, in the North of France and in the territory of the Otonian Empire the large wood-covered constructions of Carolingian tradition prevail.

However, it is throughout the second half of the 11th century and the early 12th century that a series of political, social, economical and religious transformations will lead to the appearance and expansion of the Romanesque style.

A greater political stability is then followed by a slow but significant demographic growth. In the 11th century, progress in the farming techniques will provide better crops and a visible improvement in the population's eating habits and life conditions.

At the same time, two phenomena evolve in Europe that are fundamental to the understanding of the appearance, development and expansion of Romanesque architecture: the monasticism and the cult of the relics.

11th century monasticism features very different traits from the Eastern monasticism, more ancient and focused in ascetic and isolation practices. The Rule of Saint Benedict joined contemplative life and manual labor, distributing the monk's daily life between prayer and work.

Saint Benedict (c. 480 – c. 547), founder and abbot of the Monastery of Mount Cassino, created his homonymous Rule. Although the influence of this *Regula Monachorum* is already visible in Carolingian monasticism, it is from the Romanesque period on that it becomes the fundamental document of the monastic life, serving as a model to a large number of religious orders that adopt it or are inspired in it.

The foundation of the Cluny monastery in Burgundy by William I of Aquitaine sets a turning point in the history of Western monasticism. The Cluny abbots group the different monasteries of the Cluniac order under

their jurisdiction, incorporating some aspects of the feudal juridical organization in the monastic life. The charter of the abbey's foundation, from 910, expresses that the monastery would have to adopt the Rule of Saint Benedict, following suit of the reform promoted by Saint Benedict of Anian (c. 750 – 821), the first to try to unite all Western monasteries under the Benedictine Rule. This unification system explains the predominant part performed by Cluny in the promotion of the Church reform offset by Pope Gregory VII (1073 – 1085), usually known as *Gregorian Reform*. With the support of the Order of Cluny, Pope Gregory VII will impose the Roman liturgy over the regional liturgies, like the Mozarab liturgy used in the Iberian Peninsula. Cluny reaches its peak in the mid 12th century, when it has 1184 monasteries under its guard, submitted to the same monastic observance and customs. With is own peculiarities, in spite of following the Rule of Saint Benedict, the Order of Cluny develops a very diversified liturgy, sustained by the immense amount of performed liturgical celebrations, full of symbolism and magnificence. According to the Cluniac spirit, no endeavor was too beautiful to honor God, which will favor an aesthetic of wealth and ornamental profusion.

The power of the Cluny Abbey represents a factor that transcends feudal structure and the diversity and focus it commands. It has contributed to the consolidation of a pattern for Romanesque and of a few principles of unity underlying the artistic language that was then common in Europe, i.e., Romanesque art.

The cult of the relics and the pilgrimages are so powerful that they span beyond the religious and devotional phenomenon of the time. They propitiate exchange and synthesis, composing one of the most important traits of the medieval mentality, as well as one of the key motors of artistic creation.

If the taking on relics is a very ancient phenomenon in the context of Christianism, is it undoubtedly from the 11th century on that the great relic centers acquire an extraordinary importance and notoriety. Confidence in the effectiveness of the indulgences and other religious practices to obtain forgiveness for one's sins grows rapidly in this period, pilgrimage being one of the most effective means of achieving forgiveness. There are several places for pilgrimage providing direct contact with the divine power manifested through miracles. There are local sanctuaries throughout Christian Europe, but pilgrimages to distant places become more and more valued. Santiago de Compostela, Rome and Jerusalem are the ultimate pilgrimage centers.

Charity and the roads have favored architecture in an extraordinary way.

In fact, it was the religious factor, more than any other, that contributed to the Europeanization and the diffusion of the elements that define the Romanesque concept, although there are constructions of civil, profane and military character that are greatly important for the evolution and affirmation of Romanesque architecture. However, the latter was born and evolved from religious models and archetypes, and this is the realm that produces its most characteristic manifestations.

In parts of Western Europe, the 10th and the early 11th centuries signal the construction of buildings whose features define a type of architecture that became commonly known as *first meridional Romanesque art*. This architecture has multiple examples in Northern and Central Italy, in the Lower Languedoc, Provence, Catalonia and in the Rhône valley. It is, however, in Italy and in Catalonia that the most ancient and numerous monuments are found. Built in small but regular apparel, the walls are embellished with Lombard banners, initially only in the transepts and, later on, in the naves and towers.

This architecture recovered the traditional use of the barrel vault, in contrast with the great wood-covers of the constructions in the regions of the Otonian Empire and the North of France.

Figurative sculpture reappears then, albeit timidly, in relieves that top the church portals, in capitals or as the relics' anthropomorphic enclosures.

The typologies and the building system that characterize Romanesque architecture become defined little before the mid 11th century. It is in the regions of Burgundy, Languedoc, Auvergne and the Southeast of France, and in the peninsular kingdoms of Navarre and Castile that the true originality of Western artistic creation in found in this period.

Over the nave and the transept, the barrel and cross vaults are supported in cruciform pillars, and the walls become increasingly richer through the use of arcades, pilasters and colonnettes. The discontinued surfaces are preferred, that is, the articulated walls that combine the straight batter with the perfect arch, using blind arcatures which, in turn, alternate with illumination spans.

Between 1060 and 1080, Romanesque architecture knows its plenitude in the volumes' complex balance, in numerous technical improvements and in a wide array of approaches to the transept's planimetric. The deambulatory, a corridor that surrounds the transept and that has existed since the 10th century, will see a great development after the intention of favoring the circulation of the followers and of the processional ceremonies. If the amount of pilgrims lead to a need to ease circulation, truth is that the designated churches of pilgrimage, like Santiago de Compostela, are integrated in a more general evolution, since the existence of a deambulatory is not solely confined to the churches meant to receive pilgrims.

The towers incorporated in the church façades and another tower that covers the crossing of the transept, the different height of the naves and of the several elements of the transept result in diverse platforms of articulated volumes subordinate to each other.

The Cluny Abbey, in Burgundy, was an illustration of this principle. Having been founded in the 10th century, its architectonic structures begin being greatly renovated in 1088. In 1091, the main altar is consecrated; in 1100, the transept was finished; the sanctuary was complete in 1121. It is important to note that the Cluny Abbey, the largest complex built in Europe until the French Revolution, when its demolition began, was a highly admired and quoted example, although it was not the only model. The churches of Saint-Philibert de Tournous and of Madeleine de Vezelay present different features from Cluny's, namely in the construction of the vaults, and their influence has equally crossed the borders of the Burgundy region.

The most basic design of a Romanesque church features three naves, the main nave being higher and covered with barrel vault. The lateral naves are covered by cross vaults, resulting from the crossing of two barrel vaults. The transept is transversal to the naves, also barrel vaulted, the crossing covered by a dome structure. It is from the transept that the main aisle is originated with a planimetric of many variations. It can be composed of an apse and two apsioles whose relation is highly variable, and it may also feature a deambulatory with or without radiating chapels. This description corresponds to an archetypal church, although there is a wide array of approaches.

Romanesque architecture did not derive from great guidelines nor was it a result of elaborate theories. Diversity is one of the most characteristic and important traits for its understanding.

Between 1060/1080 and the mid 12th century, Romanesque architecture has fully evolved into a more elaborate and articulate current, systematically featuring architectonic sculpture.

The architectonic sculpture developed by the Romanesque, especially in capitals and portals, is essentially an invention and a novelty from this period.

In the centuries comprehended by the High Middle Ages, sculpture was almost gone, especially figurative sculpture which was then highly connoted with idolatry and paganism. Very slowly, it reappears in

the medieval West in places of pilgrimage as a casing for relics, or in the early 11th century, in pieces of architecture like capitals and span frames.

Figurative Romanesque sculpture is born from the Corinthian capital. The multiplication of columns implied with the use of the cruciform pillar, a support element that arises and evolves after the stone vaulting of several parts of the church, results in the existence of a great amount of capitals. In Romanesque architecture, the renovation of the Corinthian capital inherited from the Roman tradition will result in the adaptation of the figures to the capital's shape.

One of Romanesque sculpture's key features lies precisely in the fact that it is the *canvas*, the space that is there to be sculpted, that firstly determines the organization of the composition. Therefore, there is a tendency in Romanesque sculpture to show morphological deformations, acrobatic or unusual positions, small figures in short spaces and stretched figures in thin spaces.

It is known that the *law of the canvas* corresponds to solutions adopted in other periods, as for instance in Greek and Roman sculptures, but, in the case of a classic front, the figures never lose their canonical proportions. The triangular shape of the front determines that the figures in the central part, which is the highest, must stand, and that the figures close to the edges must lie down. The singularity of Romanesque art is that it shrinks, extends, bends or stretches the figures, that is, it deforms them so that they can adjust to the space they are meant to occupy.

Examples of this are the tympanums and the archivolts of the Romanesque portals, whose semicircular shape imposes a composition adapted to that configuration.

Outside, the sculpture of the Romanesque Church focuses on portals, illumination spans, particularly the transept's crevice or crevices, corbels which usually sustain the cornices, and on the capitals and bases of adjacent columns. Inside, it is equally on the capitals, especially the capitals of the triumph arch, and also on the bases that sculpture is focused.

As C. A. Ferreira de Almeida wrote, it is important to know the anthropology of the Romanesque church's main portal, for it is there that a great part of the sculpture is concentrated.

The West portal of the churches, generally canonically oriented (i.e., having the transept facing the East and the main façade turned to the West), was conceived as the *Gate of Heaven* or as the *Portico of Glory*. The desire to protect the church entrance is what might have lead to the representation of figures or sacred programs including sculptures of frightening animals and apotropaic signs, that is, sculpture motives like crosses and sun wheels, capable of defending the entrances and protecting the church.

1. The religious Orders are among the main commissioners of Romanesque architecture.

The Romanesque in Portugal

The Romanesque style arrives in Portugal in the late 11th century within a broader phenomenon of cultural Europeanization, which brought the Cluniac monastic reform and the Roman liturgy to the Iberian Peninsula. The arrival of the religious orders of Cluny, Cister, the Clerics Regular of Saint Augustine and the Military Orders of the Templars and Hospitalaries should also be seen within the process of the Reconquest and of the territory's organization.

The conquest of Coimbra (1064) to the Moors by Fernando Magno of León brought greater safety to the northern regions, propitiating important social and economical transformations. This period is marked by a demographic growth, a clustered occupation of the territory and a more structured *habitat*.

The expansion of Romanesque architecture in Portugal coincides with the reign of D. Afonso Henriques. It was during this period that the Sees of Lisbon, Coimbra and Porto were initiated, and that the Monastery of the Holy Cross of Coimbra of Clerics Regular of Saint Augustine was built, incorporating in its tower-portico the pantheon of the 1st dynasty. This order, of French origin and favored by D. Afonso Henriques, was established in the city of Mondego in 1131, having soon spread its foundations North and South of the territory, and settled its presence in Lisbon soon after the conquest of this city to the Moors, in the Monastery of Saint Vincent of Fora.

Being a predominantly religious architecture, the Romanesque is much associated with the diocese and parish's ecclesiastic organization and with the monasteries of the several monastic orders founded or rebuilt in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The main commissioners of Romanesque architecture were the bishops of the then restored dioceses – Braga, Coimbra, Porto, Lamego, Viseu, Lisbon and Évora - and the priors and abbots of the monasteries. The Romanesque period is contemporaneous in Portugal with the structuralization of its *habitat*, with the parishes and an entire religious and neighboring organization of villages. In fact, the expansion of the Romanesque style does not exactly correspond to the Reconquest, but to the territory's organization. The dioceses are divided into parishes which have, between the Douro and Minho rivers, a very dense network. In the 12th and 13th centuries, new parishes arise, not only in this region, but also in Trás-os-Montes, Alentejo and the Algarve, following the strong lines of medieval demographics.

In the second half of the 11th century, the region between the Lima and Ave rivers featured 576 parishes, adding the 90 from the lands of Guimarães and Montelongo. The territory between the Lima and Minho presented a density that was close to that of the parish network, which was scarcer South of the Ave and North of the basin of the Douro. However, in the 13th century, the borders of Porto, divided into 7 jurisdictions and 173 parishes, including the jurisdictions of Penafiel and Aguiar, already showed a dense population.

Generally speaking, the parish between the Douro and Minho rivers is confined by the peaks of the surrounding elevations, by old roads and the most important river courses. Its area is relatively small. When organized in the 12th and 13th centuries, the parishes required an average of 15 to 20 farmers, necessary to insure an ecclesial village economically and religiously. By then, the parish is already a well defined space, encompassing an area (contiguous or not) destined for farming, the *ager*, other areas occupied by *orchards* of oaks and chestnut trees for breeding swine, fundamental for the economy and for survival, and another of *hills*, that is, bush areas destined to graze and breed livestock.

The rural communities are organized around a church, with its cemetery space. The church is the consecrating pole of the entire parish. Symbolically, it is a citadel against evil, because it shelters the saints with their invincible, triumphant and glorious relics. This is where the ceremonies beckoning the protection of God and the saints are concentrated.

As C. A. Ferreira de Almeida as stated, Portuguese Romanesque architecture, more than any other, has to be appreciated *in situ*. Only appreciated in its surrounding landscape and local *habitat* can it truly become understood and full of lessons.

Concerning the churches of the High Middle Ages, the Romanesque church shows a different organization from the architectonic massifs, a more continuous inner space and a model suiting the new Roman liturgy. Roman liturgy had more theatrical aspects than the Mozarab liturgy, and therefore required wider and

2. In spite of the changes suffered through time, the scattered *habitat* of the Sousa Valley region is structured in the Romanesque period.

3, 4 e 5. The parish, in the Romanesque period, is delimited by the peaks of surrounding elevations, by old roads and by the main river courses.

more open spaces. Nevertheless, this differentiation does not imply that the Romanesque church is presented as a diaphanous space, without visual barriers between the church's different parts. It is certain that the churches of the peninsular High Middle Ages, particularly those of the Visigoth and Mozarab periods, established compartments and hierarchies between their internal spaces, impossibilitating, especially in the case of the Mozarab temples, the visualization of the cult performance.

The Romanesque church, with its very systematical use of the longitudinal plant composed of three naves, transept and main aisle or simply a single nave and transept, builds a more open and communicating space than the church of yore, which does not mean that the visualization of the main altar is possible from every end of the naves or nave. The churches of the sees and of good part of the monasteries occupied a part of the central nave with the choir, destined to the clergy and to the monastic community respectively.

In Portugal, Romanesque architecture is essentially concentrated in the Northwest and in the Center, clustering in the banks of the most important rivers. The Portuguese Romanesque architecture does not present a large variety of features, whether regarding planimetric or concerning the play of volumes. Nonetheless, sculpture shows such a diverse and rich array of solutions that it is worthy of the regional and chronological classification of Portuguese Romanesque. This diversity is one of its most characteristic and singular traits.

Portuguese Romanesque sculpture has many different solutions in the Portuguese territory. If, on one hand, we notice the similarities in regionally close churches, on the other, there are visible differences from region to region, and there are also differences within one same region, explained by chronological reasons.

An example of that is the Romanesque sculpture of the churches located between the rivers Lima and Minho. The political border between Portugal and Galicia, materialized by the Minho, did not correspond to an ecclesiastical border, since this part of the territory belonged to the Diocese of Tui until 1381.

In the churches of the former monasteries of the Savior of Ganfei, Sanfins de Friestas and Saint John of Longos Vales, the architectonic sculpture clearly follows models from the transept of the See of Tui, as well as other typologies very common in Galicia, particularly in the province of Pontevedra during the middle and the second half of the 12th century.

In Sanfins de Friestas (Valença), the church of the former Benedictine monastery is an excellent way to say that a Romanesque church should be judged not only for its architecture, but also for its chosen location. The one-nave church rises over a platform, much higher than its width would suggest, with great building quality, rich and exuberant decoration – particulars that make this church one of the best specimens of the Portuguese Romanesque. Outside, the cornices of the nave and transept are punctuated by corbels and capitals of powerful sculpture volumetric and with remarkable variety of themes.

Still in the left bank of the Minho, in its easternmost part, is a group of Romanesque churches with Galician influences, among which the church of the Savior of Paderne and the Chapel of Our Lady of Orada, both in the municipality of Melgaço. However, these temples feature a very different sculpture from the previous ones. If, on one hand, these constructions are not as ancient, reporting to the mid 13th century, on the other hand, the influxes from Galicia in the typology of the piece and the sculpture motives were profusely adopted in the province of Orense. The sculpture features of these Portuguese churches also find parallels with those followed in the Cistercian churches of Galicia.

Located in the left bank of the Lima, in the territory of the Diocese of Braga, the church of the Savior of Bravães (Ponte da Barca) shows well how the *dialects* of the Romanesque Portuguese sculpture are sometimes associated in one same construction. This church, which was part of a monastery of Clerics Regular, is very celebrated in the historiography of the Portuguese Romanesque art due to the profusion of its volumous sculpture and its axial portal's unusual program. Formally, this portal's capitals and bases are very close to the models from the See of Tui, from the mid 12th century.

The portal of Bravães is, in the context of Portuguese Romanesque art, the most eloquent testimony of a portal as the *Gate of Heaven* or the *Gate of Salvation*. In this sense, the tympanum shows a *Maiestas Domini*, i.e., Christ in the Glory of Heaven, inside a mandorla held by two characters. In one of the archivolts is the apostolate and, following that, there are two column-statues with the Annunciation. In the left frustum is represented Our Lady with the left hand on her womb which is, iconographically, reported to Our Lady of Conception (or Saint Mary of Pre-Natal), a recurring motive in Hispanic medieval sculpture. In the frustum on the right side of the observer is a bearded Angel Gabriel. These elements are associated with frustums featuring entwining serpents, others with climbing quadrupeds and others still with birds serving as voussoirs, this ensemble working as a *Gate of Salvation* symbolized by the Annunciation.

The transept, which seems to be the oldest portion of the church, traceable to the mid 12th century, while the portal should be from a date no older than the mid 13th century, shows decorative elements in the capitals that are similar to models derived from the See of Braga.

6. Church of the Savior of Bravães (Ponte da Barca).

The See of Braga and the church of the former Benedictine monastery of Saint Peter of Rates (Póvoa de Varzim) correspond to Romanesque workshops that forged and from whence came the formal models and themes that will spread to several churches of the region of Braga and Guimarães and of the basin of the Ave.

7. Church of the Savior of Bravães (Ponte da Barca). Detail of the West portal.

8. Church of Saint Peter of Rates (Póvoa de Varzim).

9. Church of Saint Peter of Rates
(Póvoa de Varzim). West portal.

10. Church of Saint Peter of Rates
(Póvoa de Varzim). South portal.

The current Romanesque building of the See of Braga suffered consecutive changes in time. It should have been started in the 1130s, as demonstrated by the bases and the capitals of the older portions. The axial portal, partially altered in the early 16ᵗʰ century, features a sculpture program from the second half of the 12ᵗʰ century, with very original capitals concerning the shape of the echinus and the botanical decoration. The See of Braga also has capitals influenced by Provence and Burgundy, as seen in Saint Peter of Rates.

The Church of Rates suffered a convoluted and lengthy construction, showing well the modifications to its initial program. The capitals of the portions corresponding to the mid 12ᵗʰ century, where quadrupeds and facing birds are represented in the corner, correspond to French models, maybe from Burgundy.

The models for capitals, bases, voussoirs, impost blocks and friezes, as well as the sculpture of the tympanums seen in the See of Braga and in Saint Peter of Rates were widely spread in the areas surrounding these two workshops, which worked as promoters of much repeated and regionalized models in several examples of Romanesque churches of already late Romanesque expression.

In the left bank of the Douro, especially in the rim of the city of Lamego, the Romanesque architecture exemplified by the churches of São Martinho de Mouros and of Saint Peter of the Eagles, although featuring a somewhat particular language in the disposition of portals and projections, has elements that render it closer to the Romanesque from Braga.

In the municipality of Cinfães, the monastery of Tarouquela stands out for its highly elaborate and profusely ornamented main chapel. In the municipality of Resende, the church of São Martinho de Mouros is a singular building accusing a defensive character in the inclusion of a tower massif that serves as a West façade and that forms a vaulted portico on the inside. In the Hermitage of Paiva, in Castro Daire, the decorative themes have parallels in the Romanesque of the basins of the Sousa and Tâmega rivers. In the High-Douro and in the dioceses of Viseu and Guarda, there is a vast series of churches whose late solutions evince a resistance Romanesque. Many of them, like Our Lady of Fresta (Trancoso) or of Póvoa de Mileu (Guarda), although usually classified as Romanesque, correspond to the Gothic period.

If the spread of the Romanesque art is very dense in the region between the Douro and Minho rivers, always very populated, in the region of Trás-os-Montes it is much scarcer, corresponding to a condensed *habitat* and a weak concentration of the population. The Romanesque churches of Trás-os-Montes correspond, in the majority, to much later constructions, many of them already considered Proto-Gothic or even Gothic. The church of Our Lady of the Oak of Outeiro Seco (Chaves) features a very simplified portal where one already senses that the capitals result from a long repetition of models. The mother church of Chaves, which is only partially from the Romanesque period, denotes influences from the Galician, Leonese and Castilian Romanesque. As for the remaining transept of the former Benedictine monastery of Castro de Avelãs (Bragança), it is clearly of Leonese influence. Built in brick, a very singular case in Portuguese Romanesque which has survived to our time, it should be classified within the Mudéjar expression of the Romanesque architecture.

Still in the region of Trás-os-Montes, notice the sculpture program of the small church of the Savior of Ansiães (Carrazeda de Ansiães), where the representation of the *Pantocrator* (*Christ in Majesty*) surrounded by the *Tetramorphus* stands out. The archivolts feature an apostolate and the theme of the beak heads points to influences of the Romanesque from Braga.

The foreign influences, often regionalized, are a constant in Portuguese Romanesque sculpture and their origin is much diversified. The See of Porto is an example. In spite of the great alterations suffered in the

Modern Period and the profound restoration from the mid 20th century, the See of Porto presents influences from the French area of Limousin, both in architectonic program and in sculpture. The crevices always show diedric toruses and the capitals are devoid of abacus, which is a trait from that region of the French Midwest. However, there are also capitals that report to the Old See of Coimbra. The intense commercial rapport between the cities of Porto and La Rochelle, already in the Romanesque period, explains the arrival of French masters. Master Soeiro, from the workshop of the Old See of Coimbra, also worked in the Cathedral of Porto.

Coimbra is a focus of remarkable examples of Romanesque architecture. For historic reasons, it was early granted with cultured influences from France, mixed with repertoires and techniques from Mozarab arts, which had deeply rooted influences in the region, creating a very original decorative language, to which the existence of countless limestone quarries also contributed.

The church of the Holy Cross, renovated in the Manueline period, also lets the influences from Burgundy shine through both in the architecture and in the decorative features of the capitals. The Old See, one of the best Portuguese Romanesque buildings, develops a sense of space reminiscent of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. The galleries for circulation are very similar to those used in the Churches of Normandy. This solution should be credited to Master Roberto who, having worked in the See of Lisbon, often traveled to Coimbra to supervise the works of the See.

The church of the Savior, on the other hand, features spatial solutions from the South of the Iberian Peninsula. The Romanesque from Coimbra will exert a remarkable influence in constructions from the Center and North of Portugal.

The See of Lisbon, deeply altered due to natural disasters and turbulent restorations, is still a testimony of the Romanesque influxes from Northern Europe. Master Roberto, mentioned a propos the Old See of Coimbra, was the responsible for the Cathedral of Lisbon. According to C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, the See of Lisbon represents a major breakthrough in Portuguese architectonic and decorative approaches. Its projections, the tower-lantern, the luminosity and the arrangement of the façade with two towers make this church the most European and the southernmost of Portuguese Romanesque constructions.

In the context of Portuguese Romanesque architecture, we should also refer the Corridor of the Convent of Christ, in Tomar, a sophisticated exemplar of the religious architecture of the Templars, in centralized plant, following the Temple of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.

The Cistercian Romanesque, exemplified by the magnificent church of the Monastery of Saint John of Tarouca, clearly portrays the sobriety and functionality imprinted to the architecture of the Order by Saint Bernard. Practically bare in terms of decoration, its architecture, which preferentially uses straight transepts, shows an accentuated rigor in the conception of its program.

11. The religious Orders are settled in the midst of the best farming lands.

The Romanesque in the Sousa Valley

Within the Portuguese Romanesque, the Romanesque architecture of the Sousa Valley has very peculiar and regionalized characteristics.

In the basins of the Sousa and of the Lower Tâmega, Romanesque sculpture shows a very distinctive personality, almost systematically choosing botanical elements. Its singularity lies in the botanical sculpture, visible in the capitals and in the long, very well designed and straight friezes in which the bevel technique was used. This sculpture method's oblique cut highly favors the clarity of the motives because it enhances the light and shade effects. Used in the Visigoth and Mozarab periods, beveled sculpture, as well as the botanical and geometric motives it uses, is reused by the churches of the Sousa Valley. Almost always coinciding with Romanesque renovations of previously existing churches – the majority of the region's Romanesque monasteries and churches correspond to much older foundations than those shown by their architecture –, the new constructions of the 13th century used models from the former Pre-Romanesque churches that were then being renovated. These models were joined by the decorative repertoires forged and promoted by the workshops of the Old See of Coimbra, the See of Porto and the See of Braga/Saint Peter of Rates, forming a new, unique and highly regionalized syntax.

Additionally, in these churches the human figure is rarely shown. As for animal themes, on the other hand, the Sousa Valley often shows them sustaining the tympanums of the portals, with the clear purpose of defending the temple's entrances.

The architecture of this region adopts, most of the times, rectangular transepts, although there are more complex specimens using semicircular apses, like in Paço de Sousa, Pombeiro and Saint Peter of Ferreira, and façades where rather deep portals are fitted, showing how their solemnization is compatible with

12. Beveled sculpture. Church of Saint Genes of Boelhe.
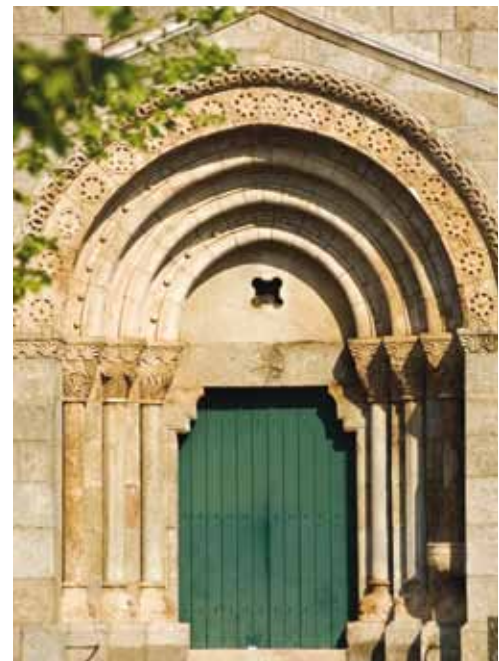
13. The West portal of the Romanesque church is seen as the *Gate of Heaven*. Church of Saint Vincent of Sousa.
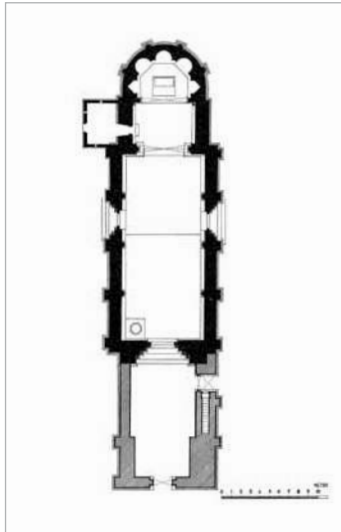
14. Plant of single nave and semi-circular transept. Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira.
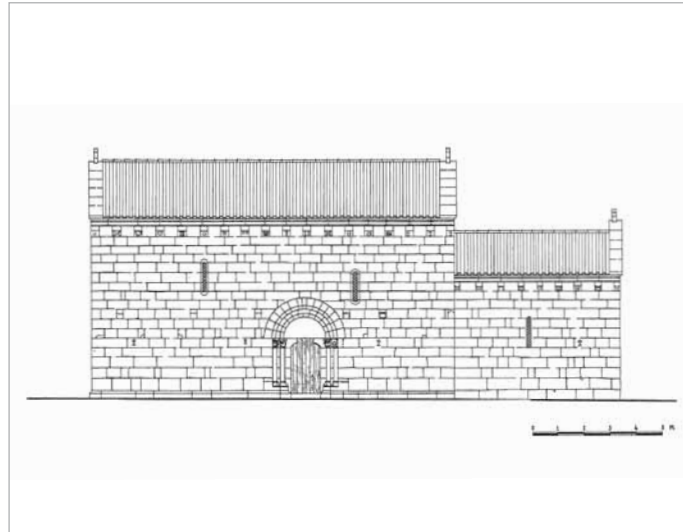
15. Plant of single nave and rectangular transept. Church of the Savior of Cabeça Santa.

the conception of the church's main portal as the *Gate of Heaven*, *Portico of Glory* or *Portico of Salvation* – although, in most of the cases, these portals bear no figurative programs of theological character. Nonetheless, the care shown in the arrangement and the profusion of sculpture are, in themselves, evidence of the desire to nobilitate and defend the portals. This is also one of the singularities of the Portuguese Romanesque and of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley in particular, and one of its most seductive traits.

The Church of the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel) is a nuclear monument in the context of the Sousa Valley's Romanesque architecture. Its singular features, both architecturally and sculpturally, make this old Benedictine monastery one of the most appealing and prestigious testimonies of Portuguese Romanesque architecture.

The highly celebrated Church presents a very unique decoration, both in the themes and techniques chosen for the sculpture. Typical from the basins of the Sousa and Lower Tâmega, this sculpture adopts prismatic columns in the portals, bulb-like bases, beveled botanical patterns, and develops, as mentioned before, long friezes inside and outside the churches as in the architecture of the Visigoth and Mozarab periods.

As Manuel Monteiro remarked, it was presumably in Paço de Sousa that a current based in the Pre-Romanesque tradition was forged, likewise influenced by themes from the Romanesque of Coimbra and the See of Porto, giving rise to what became known as *nationalized Romanesque*.

As usual in Portuguese Romanesque, as the style expands itself and settles in the territory, it also becomes regionalized, steering from the decorative repertoire of French origin and more cultured building methods.

Paço de Sousa was, in this context, a paradigmatical building where the local traditions and the influences of the Romanesque from Coimbra and Porto were mixed, creating a pattern for the *nationalized Romanesque* of the basins of the Sousa and Lower Tâmega.

This region is populated with Romanesque churches, like those of Vila Boa de Quires (Marco de Canaveses), Boelhe (Penafiel), Rosém (Marco de Canaveses), Saint Michael of Entre-os-Rios (Penafiel), Cabeça Santa (Penafiel) or Abragão (Penafiel), which bear in common, asides from stylistic aspects, the fact that they fit into a somewhat late timeline of the Romanesque, their construction reporting to the 13th century, sometimes towards the end, although almost all these specimens have much older foundations. Truth is that the rebuilding surge in this region, encompassing many temples in the same century, lead to the adoption of similar models, both regarding sculpture and the arrangement of the transepts of the façades and portals.

There are elements that describe and point to a new Romanesque *trend* in the mid 13th century in the region of the Sousa Valley and of the basin of the Lower Tâmega, reusing remaining Pre-Romanesque repositories. These elements span from the capitals of the main portal of Saint Genes of Boelhe (Penafiel) or of the Savior of Cabeça Santa (Penafiel) to the arcatures under impost block of Saint Vincent of Sousa (Felgueiras) or the beveled botanical friezes of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel). This *trend* privileges the botanical decoration applied in capitals, friezes or even impost blocks, usually plain, beveled and of clear design. Also typical is the treatment given to the classic palm, which is twisted and applied especially in the decoration of capitals, as for instance, in the Church of Saint Genes of Boelhe (Penafiel).

The Church of the Savior of Cabeça Santa is a significant testimony of the existence of teams of itinerant craftsmen and of the *journey of the form*. The arrangement of this Church's portals and the sculpture of the capitals – both in the portals and in the arch separating the nave from the transept – are very similar to those of the Church of Saint Martin of Cedofeita (Porto) which, in turn, features very close decorative solutions to those used in the Romanesque construction of the See of Porto.

16. The churches of the Sousa Valley and of the Lower Tâmega feature a unique decoration. Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa.

17. In the Sousa Valley there are models from the architecture of the region of Porto. Church of the Savior of Cabeça Santa.

Located in the parish of Eja, in the municipality of Penafiel, the Church of Saint Michael of Entre-os-Rios is a specimen inserted in the *resistance Romanesque* movement, a common characteristic to other Romanesque churches in the Lower Tâmega area. This church is set in an important territory framed in the political-military reorganization lead by king Afonso III of the Asturias with the purpose of creating safety conditions to ease the settlement of the population in the valley of the Douro.

The Lower Tâmega region used to belong, in the early stages of the Reconquest and for the most part, to the territory of the *civitas Anegiae*. The Douro river was already then an important river course. This territory also had two important roads that connected North and South. The creation of the *Anegia* territory is documented since circa 870, contemporaneous with the reclaiming of *Portucale* (868) and Coimbra (878), and, according to A. M. de Carvalho Lima, with the first signs of populational dynamics in this territory's area, corresponding to the current municipalities of Cinfães, Penafiel, Marco de Canaveses, Castelo de Paiva and Arouca.

The *territorium* of the *civitas Anegia* is a natural corridor, oriented NW/SE and defined in the East by Marão and Montemuro, in the South by the massif of the Mountain of Freita, and in the West by a peak known as *Serra Sicca* in the Middle Ages.

This natural barrier was fortified over the Douro river by the *Castle Mountain*, in Broalhos, and the *Castle Hill*, in Medas (Gondomar). Over the Sousa river ruled the *Castle of Aguiar* (Paredes) taken by Al-Mansur in 995, and over the Ferreira river, the *Castle Hill*, in Campo (Valongo).

Between the early and the mid 11th century, there is a fragmentation of the territory caused by the reduction of Muslim attacks and the social pressure of the families of knights who were eager for a greater share of military, administrative and judicial power. This lead to the division of the territory into a series of *terræ*, each headed by a castle.

These are the powerful reasons that granted this region with an important strategic position, being governed by one of the noblest families of Portucale, the Riba Douros. The Riba Douro family kept straight ties with the Benedictine Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), which was the head of a land donated by count Henry, having become one of the most renowned monasteries of the region between the Douro and Minho rivers.

The construction of the Castle of Aguiar of Sousa fits into the *castling* phenomenon that took place from the mid 11th century on, replacing the oldest structuralization of the peninsular territory in *civitates*.

According to C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, the frequent invasions that have affected almost all of Western Europe since the 8th century caused temporary or even definitive migrations. However, since the mid 11th century, the communities began to build castles and fortified precincts with the purpose of defending their dwellings. Between the 10th and 12th centuries, the entire Western Europe was covered with a thick network of fortified sites, a phenomenon known as *castling.*

Since the mid 11th century, following the growth and affirmation of the rural and regional aristocracy, as well as the progress of the feudal regime, we observe a territorial organization in smaller units, the *lands*, headed by a castle and its *lordship*, who progressively accumulates judicial and fiscal rights.

The implantation of the *lands* of Aguiar de Sousa, Penafiel, Benviver, Baião and Castelo de Paiva, previously encompassed in the former territory of the *civitas* of Eja, is a very clear illustration of this evolution.

Throughout the 11th century, several monasteries were also endowed with an associated fortification, like in the cases of the Monasteries of Saint Peter of Cête (Paredes), featuring the castle of Vandoma, and of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), defended by the Fortified Village of Ordins.

18. The territory of *Civitas Anegia* was of great strategic importance in the Reconquest process.

Most of these fortifications, the *rural castles*, were very elementary in terms of construction, taking advantage of the natural conditions, in high and granitical locations that were hard to reach. In the case of Vandoma, the defensive precinct was composed of a wall, without towers, that worked as fencing and surrounded a very wide area.

Aguiar de Sousa performed, from a very early stage, an important part in the region as one of the most powerful Jurisdictions between the Douro and Minho rivers, enjoying considerable power and wealth. The territory comprehended by this Jurisdiction was very vast, from Porto to the vicinities of Penafiel.

In this region between the Douro and Minho rivers, the Sousa family was one of the most ancient in the Jurisdiction. Its first representative, Gonçalo Mendes de Sousa, owned estate to the South, which he donated to the monasteries of Saint Stephen of Vilela (Paredes) and Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira). To the North, his patrimony was set in the high lands and in the valleys of the effluents of the Eiriz and Mezio rivers. The Maia family, also settled in Aguiar de Sousa for a long time, and whose eldest representative in the Jurisdiction was Soeiro Mendes da Maia, the *Good*, owned an Honor in the middle valley of the Ferreira river. The existence of patrimony from both families in the Jurisdiction is associated with the need for defending the territory against the Moors, as certified by the Castle of Aguiar.

In the second half of the 13th century, the great noble landowners who did not belong to the most important families became part of them through matrimony. Among these are Gil Vasques de Severosa, Gil Martins de Riba Vizela and Rodrigo Froiaz de Leão. The latter married Châmoa Gomes de Tougues and would thereby inherit and administrate the family's entire patrimony. Rodrigo Froiaz de Leão became the lord of the patrimony of the Tougues and of the Barbosas, extended through Aguiar de Sousa, Felgueiras, Penafiel, Marco de Canaveses and Foz do Douro.

Important aristocratic families did not confine their presence in this region to the positions held in the defense and organization of the territory. Their patrimony also comprised, as usual in the 11th and 12th centuries, rights over the monasteries and churches.

As José Mattoso has clarified, the family owned the rights of patronage over the monastic house, which meant, on one hand, the donation of lands needed for the life of the monastic community, and on the other, it compelled the monks to provide the family members with the rights of *accommodation* and *food*, as well as the right to be buried in the monastery, which implied ceremonies on behalf of the patrons.

As for the patron, it was his duty to protect the monastery by defending it from any violence or abuse. In the 11th century, attacks from Muslims, Normans or even between rival lords were frequent. In fact, during this period of great instability, many monasteries had their own defensive facility.

This patronage system explains why there is always a relation between one or several aristocratic families and the region's monasteries and churches, as we shall see in the monographic approach to each exemplar.

The Church of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira) is a very singular building of great constructive and decorative quality. The transept has capitals influenced by models from the High Minho, which we have mentioned before, although of less volumous treatment. In the main portal, the impost blocks repeat palm models from the See of Braga, and the sculpture of the archivolts has been compared both to the Portal del Obispo of the Zamora Cathedral and to models adopted in San Martín de Salamanca, and also to decorative solutions from the Almoad art.
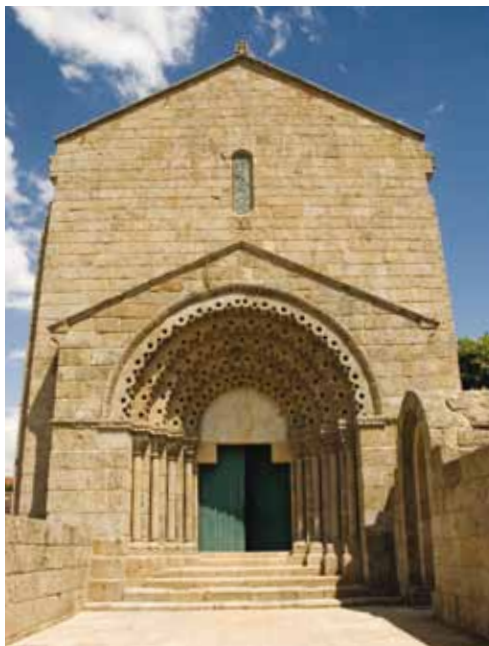
19. In the Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira elements from the High Minho, the See of Braga and of Zamora or Salamanca are combined.

20. West portal. Capitals. In the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro there are models from the High Minho, the See of Braga and the Monastery of Saint Peter of Rates (Póvoa de Varzim).

In the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro (Felgueiras), one of the most important Benedictine monasteries in the North of Portugal, the axial portal is an example of remarkable quality in archivolt sculpture, one of which adopts voussoirs with capital sculpture, following the portals of the See of Braga and of Rates, where this type was forged. The church of Pombeiro is an imposing testimony of regional Romanesque architecture, mixing every *nuance* of the late Romanesque from the South of the Lima river: archivolts and palms of influence from Braga and already Proto-Gothic floral themes.

The Church of the Savior of Unhão (Felgueiras) is an outstanding testimony of the Portuguese Romanesque architecture. The main portal, of excellent quality, features a set of botanical capitals considered among the best sculpted in the whole Romanesque from the North of Portugal. In Unhão we find a mix of decorative solutions from this region with others from Braga.

The Church of Saint Vincent of Sousa (Felgueiras) corresponds to a very significant testimony of the current that was forged in the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), based in the Pre-Romanesque tradition and influenced by themes from the Romanesque of Coimbra and the See of Porto.

In the Church of Saint Mary of Airães (Felgueiras), the main portal has a similar arrangement to that of the portals of the Churches of Saint Vincent of Sousa, the Savior of Unhão and Saint Peter of Ferreira. Borrowing solutions from the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley region, this church, given the late aspect of certain elements like the axial portal's capitals and the transept's frames and capitals, is probably from the late 13th or even early 14th century. It is therefore a paradigmatic specimen of how long this region's Romanesque construction pattern endured.

The Church of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde (Felgueiras) is an excellent example of the regional and peripheral flavor shown by Portuguese Romanesque. The prolonged use of this building method, reaching the 14th century and sometimes even the 16th century, leads to the classification of this type of church as *resistance Romanesque*.

In the current municipality of Paredes, the Monastery of Saint Peter of Cête was renovated in the Gothic period. As it seldom occurs in the history of Portuguese medieval architecture, and paraphrasing C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, it is a fine testimonial of the acceptance of Romanesque patterns and how they were associated with religious conceptions. According to the same author, if the North lateral portal is to be considered as Gothic, the main portal rekindles traits from the epigonal Romanesque. For all this, the church of Saint Peter of Cête is a landmark for establishing a calendar in the region's late Romanesque.
The motivation behind building small hermitages is usually associated not only with the hermit's secluded practices but, and more importantly, to devotion and the itineraries of sanctity. Located in isolated sites, they're frequently found in the parishes' outskirts as poles for the devotion of the surrounding population. This is the case of the Hermitage of the Our Lady of the Valley (Paredes), clearly related with the farming interests of the local population. From the late 15th or early 16th century, the portal's disposition and its sculpture show, however, how the Romanesque motives have lingered in time, this being one of the most interesting aspects of this chapel in the context of the religious architecture of the Sousa Valley.

In the municipality of Lousada, the Church of Saint Mary of Meinedo features an architectonic program very close to the rural Romanesque resistance, bearing witness to the affection generated by this building style in the North of the country.
In spite of this late date, the church's prestige is enormous, considering that Meinedo was the head of a bishopric in the 6th century, accusing how deep this parish's roots are. The Bishop of Meinedo, Viator, was present in the II Council of Braga, in 572, presided by Saint Martin of Dume. The basilica would have then turned into a parish church, according to reference in the *Parochiale suevicum*, a document recording the number of parishes belonging to each diocese, whose elaboration derived from the parish's organization started by Saint Martin.
In the Church of the Savior of Aveleda (Lousada) the portal testifies to the prolonged persistence of the Romanesque forms which have penetrated in such a particular way in Portuguese Romanesque architecture. The botanical capitals are all similar and the bases' shape finds parallels with other examples from the Sousa Valley, like the churches of Saint Vincent of Sousa, the Savior of Unhão and Saint Mary of Airães (Felgueiras) and also Saint Genes of Boelhe (Penafiel).

21. In this region, the permanence of the Romanesque models is visible in churches already from the Gothic period. Monastery of Saint Peter of Cête.

One of the most significant and peculiar aspects of the Romanesque architecture of the Sousa Valley resides, precisely, in the prolonged acceptance of the building models and decorative solutions of the Romanesque period.
In the Portuguese territory, the regions between the Douro and Minho, Trás-os-Montes and Beiras have adopted Romanesque solutions until the 14th century and sometimes until the 16th century, mixing with aspects from Gothic architecture. In the Sousa Valley, to this lingering and general permanence of the Romanesque is also added a very peculiar regional taste that favors botanical and geometrical decoration, whose patterns and techniques were defined in the Romanesque period.

In the municipalities of Penafiel and Castelo de Paiva are two outstanding funerary and commemorative monuments, fitting into a typology of which only six remaining specimens remain in the entire territory: the Hermitage Memorial or Memorial of Irivo and the Memorial of Sobrado, also known as *Marmoiral* of Boavista.

One of the most engrained traditions associates the memorials to the passing of funeral processions of renowned characters. The Hermitage, Sobrado, Arouca, Alpendurada and Lordelo Memorials are, according to legend, related to D. Mafalda, daughter of D. Sancho I. They are traditionally referred to as passing points upon her body's journey to the Monastery of Arouca.

The Tower of Vilar, probably built between the second half of the 13th century and the early 14th century, is more than a military construction – it is a symbol of lordly power over the territory. Mário Barroca, who dedicated an in-depth study to this subject, points out that these stately towers were mainly set either in the middle of the Honors, in fertile valleys of farming wet crops, or in the vicinity of those farmed patches.

This type of noble residence, the *domus fortis,* follows a model related to castle architecture, corresponding to a fortified stately residence, whose origin would be close to the last quarter of the 12th century, although its model is widely spread in the 13th and 14th centuries. This model was mainly adopted by small lineages, highly motivated in their social rise next to the local communities and in displaying their pedigree. This process occurred between the late 12th century and the first half of the 13th century, and was spread throughout the 14th century.

The Tower of Vilar is, therefore, a highly esteemed testimony of the existence of *domus fortis* in the territory of the Sousa Valley. Consecrating a former feudal estate, this very well built and kept Tower is also an excellent example of the quality of the Portuguese medieval architecture with civil function, of the symbolic value evinced by architecture and of the patrimonial landscape of the Portuguese Middle Ages.

Among the monastic complexes, parish churches, and other constructions, the *domus fortis* is yet another expressive element of the territorial occupation that, to this day, shows the remoteness of its *habitat* and how it was structured in the Medieval Period.

The Memorials and the Tower of Vilar are examples of the medieval architecture of the Sousa Valley region that, along with the castles, monasteries, parish churches, bridges, fountains and roads, shows the variety and the diversity of the medieval construction that so expressively defines this territory, reveals the depth of its roots and demonstrates how the need to symbolize is one of architecture's greatest motivations. [LR]

22. The building techniques from the Romanesque period were highly cherished until late periods. Church of Saint Mary of Meinedo.

23. Consecrating former feudal properties, the towers are a very expressive testimony of the way in which the territory was occupied. Tower of Vilar.

Dynamics of the Artistic Heritage in the Modern Period

For the understanding of the Portuguese artistic heritage of the Modern Period it is necessary to tend to certain geostrategic, geopolitical and cultural factors which have definitely left a mark in Portugal's social profile in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries and that will be replaced by new ideals since the early 19th century.

Between 1500, year of the discovery of Brazil, and 1807, year in which the aftermath of the French Revolution pressured the decisions of the national central organ and precipitated the flight of the Portuguese court to Brazil, the country experiences a particular context in which the collective decisions are governed by the normative interpenetration of the political and religious universes. The role of the State and of the Church unquestionably brings out the strongest and most structuralizing elements of the Modern society. In the political country, which is to say, in mainland Portugal, one lives from the administration of and the profits derived from the Ultramarine Expansion. First, the spice cycle, a direct consequence of the crossing of Cape Bojador which restated the supply of these far East products in the European markets, especially in Northern Europe. This cycle was followed by the human traffic, the slavery cycle. At the time, loading the ships with black slaves in the ports of the African coast and bringing them to Europe where they were sold as merchandise was part of a process that was far from assimilating the concept of *Homo Universalis*. Although the Renaissance humanism, cultivated by mentors like Erasmus of Rotterdam, Thomas More, Shakespeare, Martin Luther, Machiavelli, Luís de Camões or Francis of Holland, was already institutionalized in the most cultured and advanced centers of educated Europe, the assimilation of these revolutionary principles as the State's concern would still take centuries to be assumed as a regulating principle of Old Europe's national governments. And thanks to that slave trade, the Portuguese economy flourished, for people would be shipped in the Ivory Coast and traded for money in the main European trade centers. The human supplies that colonized the Lands of Vera Cruz had the same provenance.

And in these American lands a new economic cycle was defined for the Portuguese crown. Gold and diamond explorations contributed to the wealth of the Portuguese. In the late 17th century, the gold and diamond cycle boosted the Portuguese economic development. At the time, the Portuguese presence was already rooted around the world: Africa, Asia and America. By collecting profit from all these continents, the Portuguese crown also left its imprint through its passage and the integration and assimilation of these peoples' cultural traits, up until then unknown to the old European continent. And the Portuguese art of the Modern Period is also proof that that new heritage derived from mix.

This spatial leverage originated a new dimension in the scientifically known universe. Amidst medieval dogmatism, the experimentalism of Henry's offspring opened a new dimension in the understanding of the universal man: the broadened proportion of the inhabited Earth; the ethnical and cultural diversity; and above all, the multiple ways in which man fulfills his accomplishments and spiritual aspirations.

Modern Period Portugal has undeniably contributed to the acceptance of diversity. Meeting the religious and magical rituals of the African man and of the indigenous, the complex systems of a centennial religion in the Lands of the Rising Sun, and all these traditional systems, the Portuguese men also offered the horizon of their belief. Either fanatical, or enlightened, either humanized, or religious, or economicist, they knew how to weave rapports with the foreign. The spread of the Portuguese language in the world is, undoubtedly, the best testimony of communication's plurality. Likewise, the absorption of strange forms and

shapes, then replicated in the objects of the profoundest ritual of the Portuguese man, reveals an unusual capacity to receive and absorb symbols from other cultures.

These were times when the Portuguese men's intervention radius was extended beyond their country's borders. In Africa they established trading outposts, in the East, it was the colonial factories, and in Brazil, an extensive and intensive colonization in the entire controlled territory. A true symbiosis between the overwhelming weight of the Christian West and the organization of the local cultures was then witnessed.

It is in the whirlwind of the 17th century that the lands of Brazil come out as a safe haven for the impoverished populations of Minho and Alentejo, who desperately sought for better life conditions. Brazil stood in the imaginary of the 17th-century man as an oasis for construction. And so they departed and settled there, many would never return to the Mainland. They brought lifestyles, culture, and art with them. And they built an artistic patrimony that is also part of the Portuguese heritage: they organized lands, raised villages, parishes and cities, built houses, estates and manors, and, just like in their homeland, they built their churches, where they materialized the design of the collective will. Men integrated pious institutions like brotherhoods, guilds and third orders, like the laymen of the Kingdom did to insure the welfare of the soul in the afterlife.

And the church, as a space and an institution, was undoubtedly the most intense horizon of the Portuguese modern man. Portugal's departure to the adventure of the Expansion was sponsored by the Church. The missions and evangelization were without a doubt a milestone in the affirmation of Portugal in the world. Over the dynastic command was the consent of the Pope's seat in Rome to sanction the Portuguese performance in the *lands of the infidel*, that is, the heathens. But it is also from this new world that forms and techniques also come to be integrated in the Portuguese art of the Modern Period.

The rediscovery of humanism would also lead to profound changes in the midst of the Church. If in a first stage there are many disagreements between theory and practice, the Catholic Church gathers in council to define a new plan of action and thus obviate this discrepancy. The ruling legislation after the Council of Trento (1545-1563) was profoundly absorbed by the Portuguese society of the 17th and 18th centuries. From the highest spheres of public power to the preacher's performance, when he formed and informed the anonymous peasants of the Portuguese parishes from the pulpit of the parish church – an entire contingent of the nation's leading heads guided their conduct by the moral principles dictated by the Tridentine law. And the echoes from that legislation defined the daily existence of the Portuguese man in such a way that in 1781 it was still justified to translate the main notes from the sessions of that dilated council from Latin to the official language, ending in the publishing of a book entitled the *Sacrosanct and Ecumenical Council of Trento*, dedicated by João Baptista Reycend to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Portuguese Church. The following is said in the opening note:

"The Council of Trento being that sacrosanct Treasure, in which the Church has deposited the holiest of Laws, the most august Canons on the Dogmas and Mysteries of our Religion, and Your Excellencies being the sacred Guardians of this Treasure, embedded with the glorious obligation of shepherding the Sheep, subject to your Pastoral care and doted with the healthy pasture of the Christian doctrine; and being almost impossible for Your Excellencies to communicate to each and every one of them that pasture, or needed instruction to regulate their behavior through the doctrine of the same Council".

Endowed with the Tridentine spirit, the Portuguese Church follows the same line of internal reform, conducting several Clergy Synods in the dioceses to elaborate a set of norms that should guide the destiny

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24. The main retable (1770 and 1773) is from Friar José de Santo António Ferreira Vilaça. Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro.

25. Main retable and ceiling from the Baroque Period. Church of Saint Michael of Entre-os-Rios.

of the religious life, from the cathedral church to the parish church, from the monastery to the hermitage. Furthermore, the decisions of the Council of Trento will be promptly subscribed by the central power, leading king D. Sebastian to consecrate in a charter from 1574 his full support to that postulate. To elaborate these codes, the Diocesan Synods are summoned to undertake the mission of updating or reforming the Constitutions of the respective bishoprics, increasing their number throughout the 17th century. In turn, to make sure these Rules were followed, the local churches were periodically visited by the bishop himself or a deputy who would inspect all the equipments of the sacred space, ordering new acquisitions every time those objects were considered old or outdated.

Alongside with the terms for the religious practice, this legislation, expressed as *Synodal Constitutions*, provides particular attention to the foundation and renovation of temples, defining guiding principles for religious architecture, as for the arts that fashioned the artistic environment of the sacred space, including vestments, goldsmithing and, most importantly, sculpture/imagery, painting and altarpiece art.

By legislating on the role of the images and paintings of saints in the education of the Catholic followers, granting them the part of a medium between the believer and the transcendent, the Council of Trento defined a specific purpose for these artistic items in the sacred space, leading to the proliferation of studies and theological treaties on religious imagery. These treaties served as a motto for the local churches to take control of the artistic production of the elements composing the Post-Tridentine sacred space. Texts like *Dialogo degli errori dei pittori*, from Andrea Gilli da Fabriano, published in 1564, or *De picturis et imaginibus sacris*, from Jean Ver Meulen, 1570, or the most notorious treaty of St. Charles Borromeo, *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae* are some of the works published after the Council of Trento that contributed to the make art a didactic and persuasive vehicle of the counter-reformist church.

"Each Diocese through its own legislation puts the Tridentine resolutions into practice, namely those that promote a new way of seeing the religious imagery, imposing norms that range from the necessary requirements that the artist should meet, his background, the themes that may be represented and the places to exhibit the images, to the procedures for old and improper images".

On the production of images and respective themes, we propose the reading of the *Synodal Constitutions* from Porto, published in 1690:

"We order that in the Churches, Hermitages and Chapels of our Bishopric there is no retable, altar, or outside it an image that does not belong to the Holy Trinity, and each of the three Persons in it, from our Lord Christ, and his Mysteries, Passion, Death and Resurrection, and Our Lady the Virgin, and her Mysteries, the Angels or Canonized or beatified Saints; and those that we do have must be decent and according to the Mysteries, life and miracles of the originals they represent, and so in the honesty of the faces, perfection of the bodies, and ornament of the clothing; they are to be sculpted, or painted with much decency, and in accordance to the truth of the Sacred stories, and they must not represent vain, superstitious or apocryphal things, or things that give people cause for error or scandal".

The attention given by the diocesan power to the production of the various objects of religious art was extended to the artists: only those with a license from the diocese could provide these liturgical equipments. To get such a status, their production had to obey a quality pattern. Therefore, it is possible to find liturgical equipments produced by the same artist in quite different spaces of the diocese's administration, whether in city churches as in the parish churches of the most distant parishes from the bishop's power

range. Undoubtedly, the most renowned artists worked in the buildings that galvanized a more enlightened ecclesiastic clientele and where the economic resources were more abundant.

As Natália Marinho Ferreira Alves states, the church is the main scenery of the Baroque man, "where every vital role is played, from birth to death, a center where the festivities associated to the joy of Life, but also celebrating Death are performed", thus imposing a "great stage, where the priest, vehicle for the word of God, along with the followers" share a common feeling that describes the collective thinking of the 17th and 18th centuries. And considering the church as scenery for the representation of the steps of immaterial life, there is no wonder that this space was renovated, transformed and decorated with the best artistic expressions of the several arts that define the artistic environment in every period.

The parish churches were poles of the diversified intentions of the local communities. Several forces converged in the maintenance and repair of these spaces through works of architecture or the acquisition of modern liturgical equipments: if in the main chapel it was mainly the priest who promoted the artistic investments, in the body of the church it was the local churchgoers who were responsible for the improvements.

The brotherhoods and guilds held a relevant part in the artistic dynamic of the Modern Period's sacred space. These pious associations of laymen, although originally medieval, were widely spread as a general practice of the modern man's laic organization, also taking this opportunity to reflect the vitality of the counter-reformist church.

Providing assistance and charity, the brotherhoods are formed under the protection of a patron saint or a devotion, located in the altars or the chapels that composed the parish's sacred space. In some cases, when the association was presented with good economical means, they could even build their own facilities. These institutions stand out in the organization of the sacred space, and the same parish church could host several brotherhoods. It was mandatory for the brethrens to contribute with monetary donations for the survival of their brotherhood. If part of these resources went to charity, masses for the suffrage of the deceased brethrens' souls, another part was invested in sacred items, establishing a hierarchy of brotherhoods based in the sumptuosity of the artistic furnishing of their chapel or privileged altar.

The quality of the religious artistic heritage depends of the temple's administrative status regarding the institutional powers. In a church under royal patronage, the patronage of a religious or military Order, or patroned by a nobleman, the quality of the artistic components is reinforced in comparison to other similar buildings, where the production of the religious artistic heritage is exclusively dependent of the churchgoers' alms, or of the revenues from the parishioners' donations.

Observing the parish church in the Modern Period, we witness a policy of constant artistic renovation. First, in order to adjust to the sumptuosity of the Post-Tridentine liturgical ritual, the main chapels become more spacious and better illuminated. The required decorum in the celebration of the Eucharist as well as the processional ritualization involving the clergy's performance in the main chapel space are some of the reasons behind those improvements. Moreover: the very treaties following Trento determine a hierarchization of the sacred space, transforming the main chapel into the main scenery of the divine manifestation. In the late 16th century, St. Charles Borromeo, upon defining the rules for the construction of churches of the Catholic Christianity, foresees a differentiation between the nave and the main chapel, the latter more elevated, defining two spaces for also different publics: the main chapel for the clergy and the nave for the churchgoers. Between both spaces, the cross arch is set as a material border of that hierarchization of spaces and functions, sometimes being enclosed by wood or iron railing.

26. Main retable in Neo-classic fashion and Rococo painting.
Church of the Savior of Aveleda.

27. Main retable (1730). Church of Saint Vincent of Sousa.

The church naves follow the same renovation line, justified both by the increasing number of worship-
pers – a consequence of the demographic growth witnessed in Portugal in the Modern Period – and the
multiplication of the cult paid to saints observed in the Post-Tridentine Catholic society, requiring specific
spaces to raise altars and chapels to shelter the cult invoking suggested by the diocesan power.

Symbolically, the main chapel is transformed into the *sancta sanctorum* of the sacred space. It was there
that the presence of Christ within the local community would become real, through the realization of the
Consubstantiation dogma: the bread and the wine, through the priest's action, become the body and
the blood of Christ. And this principle, shaken by the Lutheran movement, was reinforced by Trento as a
cornerstone of the post-reformist church. All the artistic items in that space concurred to the affirmation
and assumption of the dogma, turning the main chapel into a scenery where the various arts intercon-
nect and articulate, contributing to the formation of the *total work* by promoting the dignification of that
space. Often, the lateral walls are covered with glazed tiles and the ceilings are made of wood-framed
sections to host paintings with narrative scenes from the life of the temple's patron saint. But the highlight
is definitely focused on the main retable, which could completely dominate the main chapel's back wall.
The modernization of a temple would seldom merely imply the introduction of an altarpiece ensemble with
more updated formal language.

The retable, ever present in the sacred space, became the most emblematic liturgical equipment of the
Modern Period in Portugal. Made in golden and polychrome wood, it serves to provide scenographic fram-
ing to the images of the patron saints of each church, denouncing a production that testifies the course of
religious art in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries and contributed to the theatricalization of the sacred space.
In this period, we witness a continuous evolution of the altarpiece structure, from the feudal patronage to

the normative principles of the architectonic orders, from the imposition of a decorative grammar of strong liturgical trait – grape clusters, angels and birds – to the assimilation of the decorative repertoire of the international Baroque or of the Rococo, and later on, the depuration of decorative ornaments, imposing the collage of its formal expression to the architectonic grammar.

Gilding in the 17th and 18th centuries is assumed as the most advanced expression of the Portuguese religious art. Its conception, which encompassed a broad line of professionals – from the tracer to the wood carver, from the designer, to the painter and gilder –, counts with the collaboration of each period's most highly qualified artists. They would travel from the great regional centers – Porto, Braga and Barcelos – to work for the peripheral clienteles of those great producing centers.

This artistic manifestation is also expressed in the conception of seats, pulpits, organs, ceilings, railings and other objects that compose the sacred space in the Modern Period, sometimes overtaking the entire architectonic space, creating a true golden box. Examples of this nature, of gilding's presence in the entire space, are frequent in the Gilding School from Porto, with renowned workshops in the 17th and 18th centuries. The most complete example of the transforming ability of gilding is in the church of the Convent of St. Francis of Porto, where carved and gold-plated wood completely covers the altars, ceilings, columns, frames, totally transforming the medieval architectonic reading that defines the spatiality of that church.

In other cases, the ecclesiastic and parish clienteles, within the context of the triumphalist church, use painting as propaganda for religious didactic principles, creating pictorial and iconographic images in several parts of the temple. The ceilings of the main chapels and of the church naves are painted, and the architectonic space of the triumph arch is used for the iconic representation of the local community's reference values.

The wall and ceiling painting, following a more static program in sectioned boxes, or covering the entirety of the main chapel and nave covers, was used to express modern religiousness and as an element of the complex interpretation of the post-reformist sacred space. Along with wood sculpture, painting was one of the arts that materialized the production of religious images that were patroned and cherished in cult by the different parishes. Therefore, narrative cycles of the lives of the saints were created and their images were read as their symbolic value was recognized and adopted as spiritual elevation of the local community. Paintings that composed iconographic sets would narrate the steps of the life of the Virgin or of Christ, as well as the churches' patron saints'. Such examples are still common in this region.

In other cases, the images of the four Evangelists are paired with Christological representations, promoting the interpretation of the sacred space.

Testimonies of this nature are still found in many parish churches, namely the pictorial program of the nave cover and of the triumph arch of the Church of the Savior of Aveleda. Behind these artistic objects are the artists and the commissioners who financially sponsored these renovations of the sacred spaces. And the artistic quality of these items reflects the economical and social status of the promoter in the local community.

This Modern renovating trend is seldom mixed with a centennial architectonic and artistic heritage. Notice that many of the Modern Period's cult spaces are from medieval times. But in the cycle of men, as in the cycle of the buildings that still have a structuring purpose in the parish unit, the transformations suggested by the course of time provide a connection between past and present; between artistic forms crystallized and absorbed by the collective as a mirror of its identity, and the introduction of new elements motivated by the evolution of the artistic expression, as well as the changes in the manifestation of the expression

codes of the liturgical ceremonial. The passage of time in these spaces evolves into an articulation between past and present.

The Monasteries have already seen their importance as dynamic forces of the local communities widely recognized. Asides from their religious function, they would leave a great mark in the geography, contributing to the social, cultural, artistic and economical development of the region where they were implemented. Many of them derived from the Middle Ages and stood the tests of time, dragged in a wave of alienation from the ideal of the Rule that dominated the Portuguese monastic institutions in the dawn of the Modern Age. By royal decision, they administrated lands, worked as guardians of parish churches, sanctuaries and chapels, and more extended spaces where the agricultural exploration was the main economic activity.

The influence radius of the monastic action extended, geography-wise, way beyond the cloister walls. They were cultural, economical and political potencies that concurred to the qualitative evolution of the region where they were located.

This region was populated with several of these units: Cête, Paço de Sousa, Bustelo and Pombeiro are the main monastic units that still hold an artistic heritage in quantity and quality to prove the vitality of these institutions in the long run and the way in which the clergy worked to create their patrimonial legacy, visible in the remaining material testimonies that mirror the social status acquired by them in the region. They all still keep, in their architectures fashioned according to changes in aesthetic patterns, true master-pieces of the region's artistic heritage.

The same renovating wave ran through these monastic houses across the Modern Period, until the central laws decreed their extinction in 1834. Centennial houses became a privileged clientele for the production of artistic patrimony of superior aesthetic level. The best artists of each period worked for these houses, which became workshops of artistic avant-garde currents.

In the turn of the 15th to the 16th century, the Portuguese monastic institutions underwent a profound moral crisis, with a notorious distancing from the original norms of the Rule that determined that the daily actions must steer from the worldly to embrace the lifestyle of true followers of Christ. Secularization and deruling clouded the monastic existence, justifying the reorganization of several Orders through the creation of centralizing organs – the Congregations – and the triennial rotation of the cleric that administrated the spiritual and material welfare of each monastic unit. This situation continued until the dismembering of these institutions in the 19th century.

Also a testimony of that reorganization is the quality of the monastic unit's physical patrimony, largely from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. However, the most eloquent testimony of these renovations, and of the cultural life quality that punctuated the monastic existence, is replicated in the churches. The many arts that compose the church – tiling, gilding, painting, imagery, goldsmithing – are an undeniable proof of the monasteries' social protagonism in the Modern Period.

Asides from the institutions that embody the institutional religiosity, churches and monasteries, constructions that demonstrate the popular encounter with the divine are scattered throughout the entire Portuguese space. The sanctuaries that promote the Christological, Marian or the cult of the saints are multiplied in the 17th and 18th centuries as an expression of the religious experience that dictated the daily life of the Baroque man. Pilgrims and worshippers would cyclically roam to these atonement stations to

pay for tributes received from the transcendent and in homage of their spiritual protector. These stations consisted of church, parvises, fountains, ladderies and small chapels or crosses that signaled passages of the life of the worshipped saint, the patron of the space. All the elements of this architectonic complex that defines the structure of the sanctuary are justified by their material or spiritual purpose. If water – the fountain – is always present in the sanctuary's construction site, and if its primary function is to quench the thirst of pilgrims and travelers, on the other hand, it had a symbolic meaning, for it was water that purified and cleansed from sin, just like the water from baptism.

On the other hand, to crystallize a devotional site in the collective imaginary, the immeasurable strength of the miracle was a requirement: the manifestation of the unexplainable, the earthly manifestation of the divine that polarized attention and dragged the crowd into communion. This collective force promoted the construction of the sanctuary with the result from the alms, transforming these sites into the best mirror of the divine blessing of the collective. In sickness or in journey, in birth or in death, in birth labor or in breastfeeding, the popular man would resort to the healing power of the protector saint. And afterwards, he would head to that station to pay for the given grace. The Sanctuary of Saint Quiteria, in Felgueiras, is definitely the most complex example in the region. Tearing the mountain slope, a serpentine road is punctuated with several chapels, each narrating episodes of the saint's life. On the mountain top, a chapel of centralized plant, as was usual in the sacred spaces built to shelter the relics of a martyr, and a long parvis where the pilgrims would gather in the date that signaled the saint's festivity.

To experience the drama of the Passion of Christ was also a very common practice in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Caramos complex (Felgueiras) is a mandatory reference in the lands of the Sousa Valley.

The manifestation of the Catholic religiosity affected every layer of the Portuguese society in the Modern Period. Asides from these anchors of the collective, we also stress the existence of the religious space next to the common residences. In fact, we witness a multiplication of private chapels associated to noble or nobilitated houses in the entire North region. This domestic phenomenon is the best testimony of how the precepts of the reformist church were absorbed by the 17th and 18th-century Portuguese man.

The promoters of such endeavors were required to have a certain prosperity, since only those who could assure the pecuniary support that came with the chapel (for its maintenance and conservation, as well as the purchase of the indispensable cult items) were authorized to make these constructions. The bishop would only grant his license to those who could vouch for such a dowry. And so, the houses of the rural aristocracy are endowed with chapels, where the family could perform the religious obligations imposed by the Tridentine norm in a domestic environment. In turn, these private chapels would follow the artistic trend of the period, and their artistic level was the best translator of their owner's social prestige. They were yet another way to claim a position in a strongly hierarchic society as was the case of the Portuguese Modern society, because only the most prominent members of the local stratification could finance these micro sacred spaces, associated to their estates.

If the landscape is a distinctive factor of the identity of a region, with its hills, planes or plateaus, its water courses and the botanical species that pave its relief, above all things, the character of a land is manifested in the way in which man shaped nature. The way in which he worked the fields to extract his livelihood, the way in which he built his dwelling spaces, weaving the typology of the population clusters, the definition of roads to connect the spaces of his daily life, transformed into streets in time, the signaling of

his communitarian territory with objects that materialize the representation of the collective imaginary are a few of the signs that, along with the natural landscape, transform it and become a second nature: the artificial nature, built by man to respond to the satisfaction of the individual and collective needs of each time and place.

The recognition of a humanized landscape is only possible when the cultural and spiritual currents that fashioned it are detected. To seek to understand the material signs that linger in the landscape without associating them to the specific lifestyles and relating them to the immaterial heritage of each region is the same as observing reality through a lens.

Each region is composed of a handful of cells, organized administratively in the kernel of the parish, which in turn are grouped into municipalities. Each of these parcels has left an imprint in its territory through the remaining constructions that illustrate the course of history.

They are landmarks that currently provide a double reading: the interpretation of a lifestyle specific to each community; and the analysis of these material legacies in the broader context of the artistic and spiritual, transregional, national and international movements. And these constructions, fruit of a time or metamorphosed through its action, worked as anchors via the symbolic meaning they carried and the gregarious force they provided the collective with, reflecting the *genius loci*, the identity of the place.

To disregard the rural lifestyle that defined this region in the Modern Period, where the wine as well as corn and grain production was operated in small parcels of unifamiliar lands, or in extensions governed by a monastery or noble house, is to eviscerate the interpretation of a landscape full of codes and symbols. Nevertheless, the thread of that complex web, which was also the local society in the past, is attached to religiousness. The Catholic religion was the common motor to the Modern man of all sociocultural layers. [MJMR]

28. Sousa Valley. Vine culture.

Territory and Landscape in the Sousa Valley in the 19th and 20th centuries

The territory and the landscape of the Sousa Valley, which we are presently analyzing, cannot be seen as a set of passive survivals or of contemporaneous innovations. How is it organized, how is the space distributed, how is it articulated with the different natural resources and how are the settlements characterized and shaped? These are some of the questions we make every day when observing this territorial patch. Although the Sousa Valley is a political-administrative unit, it holds a peculiar and heterogeneous landscape identity, a common trait in most of the region between the Douro and Minho rivers. Composed of six municipalities, Castelo de Paiva, Felgueiras, Lousada, Paredes, Paços de Ferreira and Penafiel, and with an area of 296.1 sq. miles, the Sousa Valley presents as dominant landscape vectors a rough land form, with torn and deep valleys, determinant in the implantation of the population clusters, of the farming practices and of the road courses. This territorial peculiarity thereby transforms the Sousa Valley into a mosaic of multicultural character.

In lower and half slope areas, the arable fields and terraces are explored by an intensive and diversified agriculture, namely the corn, vine, vegetable and cereal cultures and pasture, prevailing the small property. In more elevated places, the forest formed by a dense orchard of eucalyptuses and wild pine trees is predominant. The study of this patchwork also allows us to notice the presence of scattered populations in the territory, punctuated by manors, large houses and monasteries; great units of isolated farming production, that is, the estate farms; and small clusters where the traditional architectures, some manufacture units or small industrial structures, albeit rudimentary, are predominant.

Aurora Carapinha divides the Sousa Valley in two landscape units, the first located between the Lower Tâmega and the Sousa river; the second located to the South, spreading across the parish of Eja (Penafiel), Douro river and part of the municipality of Castelo de Paiva – Riba-Douro. The author defines landscape unit as an area in which the landscape presents itself with a specific pattern, associated with a certain character. And so, the landscape of the Sousa Valley features a rich natural heritage, frequently with slopes of accentuated relief and extensive valleys.

In the majority of the rural explorations, the populations and the road network were implemented by the monastic communities and/or by the feudal power of the aristocracy that settled in the region during the medieval period. Among the examples are the valley of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro, in Felgueiras, and the Honor of Barbosa, in Penafiel. Agriculture remains as the region's economic base until the mid 19th century. With the detachment of the property of the religious orders and of the lands of the nobility, the rural property suffers a profound fragmentation.

The high demographic percentage, the growing number of disorganized and scattered residential and industrial centers presently seen in the Sousa Valley are only visible in the mid 20th century with the industrialization, transforming the agricultural production into a more productive and profitable means. Agriculture suffered a deep technological transformation with repercussions in the labor organization and in the production system. The use of the mechanic tractor becomes generalized, the irrigation motors dethrone the traditional equipments for drawing water, the transformations in rural society become visible in the new learning and knowledge systems, and there is an abandonment of the arts and crafts (millers, weavers, blacksmiths, among others) due to the growing adoption of the new industrial products. This multiplicity of cultural landscapes defines the whole Europe and, at the same time, grants us the memory of the rapports between the old and the new, between Man and his natural and built habitat. The present development of the social needs anticipates the transformation of the European cultural landscapes, and it may reproduce a negative impact in their quality and usage.

As seen before, the medieval parish framework is what still defines great part of the local communities, as well as the road network and the way these are related to the landscape's morphology and the populating methods. The architectures of the Sousa Valley are therefore characterized by an implementation along the main roads, offering a continuous population. In the rural areas, the elite constructions and the religious buildings are the base of the traditional configuration of a clustered settlement. To this day, the parishes as political-administrative units correspond to the limits of the former parish, the church being the gathering pole of the residential nucleus. Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida considers that "the Church with its Saints and, especially in ancient times, with its relics, religious ceremonies and its bell, is the consecrating pole of the entire parish space".

Presently, the vision on the Heritage is not exclusively concerned with valuing the isolated monument; its definition is much broader, involving not just the monumental objects, but also the lesser scale or anonymous heritage that is still the testimony of a period or activity. Sentenced for a long time to the oblivion and forgetfulness of the society, these patrimonies preserve material and intangible material values whose memory begs to be preserved. A conscience of maintenance and protection over the endangered Heritage becomes vital, as testified by the principles defined by the UNESCO in the Convention for the

29. Sousa Valley. Corn culture and water irrigation.

Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage: "Seeing that the cultural and natural heritage are increasingly more endangered, not only by the traditional degradation causes but also by the evolution of the social and economical life that aggravates them through phenomena of change or destruction (…)". The erected heritage of the Sousa Valley is characterized not only for its historic root but also for the changes in the usage of that architecture and, therefore, we witness a growing change in its symbolic, social and cultural values. The multiplicity of the region's architectonic typologies is shown in the isolated monuments, in the historic centers, in the complexes, in the residential and production buildings, and in the traditions and crafts.

Diversity being one of the main traits of this territory, we witness throughout the whole Modern Period a renovation of the monastic spaces, the edification of new manors in estates, combined with structures dedicated to recreation and farming. The estates not only create continual landscape areas as they also comprehend great quality residential spaces within the architecture of the noble house of the 17th and 18th centuries. The typology of the manor in Portugal illustrates, in the majority of the cases, the power and the aristocratic identity of the region, of which we find examples in: Simães Estate (Felgueiras), the estates of Fisga and Boavista (Castelo de Paiva), Ronfe Estate and House of Juste (Lousada) or House of Cabanelas (Penafiel). Briefly, in spite of the changes in taste brought with the times, the estates or "quintas" maintain their basic structure, characterized by constructions of greater simplicity and contention or by constructions of great scenic apparatus, where the common denominator is the use of the family's coat of arms and the chapel. This concern with the architectonics was not exclusive to the residential building; it was also adopted in gardens, orchards, plantations, roads, fountains, patios and other spaces for leisure or production.

To this day, there are many estates connected with the region's farming exploration, namely the production of green wine, as is the case of the Aveleda Estate (Penafiel), extended in the second half of the 20th century by Manuel Pedro Guedes, responsible for the restoration works conducted in the 16th-century manor and chapel. This estate, asides from wine production, is striking for the quality of the leisure spaces, particularly the Romantic garden with exuberant vegetation, water mirrors, furniture and ruins, like the 16th-century Window of Reboleira.

The Sousa Valley's main urban centers essentially correspond to the heads of municipality. Although they are recent agglomerates, they feature serious conservation and maintenance issues; nevertheless, their urban canvas still offers certain traces of a prior arrangement. We set the nuclei of the cities of Felgueiras and Penafiel as examples.

The physical preexistence of the medieval and modern city is an omnipresent reality in the urban arrangement of the city of Penafiel, both in terms of the morphology it bestowed upon the agglomerate and regarding several architectonic and building elements that have lasted to the present day. The toponyms Rua Direita (Straight Street), Cimo de Vila (Top of the Village) or Paço (Palace) confirm the ancient root of the city. Rua Direita is defined as a main artery, narrow, with small lots occupied by semi-detached buildings with aligned façades, and some public passages, where the main buildings are concentrated, like the Mother Church of Saint Martin, the Hospital Chapel, the Chapel of the Holy Spirit, the House of the Soares Barbosa and the House of the Garcez, testified by the aesthetic quality and economic power of the local aristocracy or even of the nobilitated bourgeoisie. Still within the urban perimeter, we bring your

attention to the Church of Mercy, the City Hall, the Convent of Saint Anthony of the Capuchins and the Pereira do Lago Palace.

The 19th century is marked by the construction of the Military Headquarter, designed by military engineers, which would come to be an expensive and lengthy work. The execution of this project sets a new stage for Penafiel. Other works for urban improvement are started with the construction and paving of the cemetery, the slaughter house, the market square and of the fair field. Inaugurated in 1883, the Public Garden contributed to embellish the city, featuring the French garden as a model. Asides from the construction of these equipments, Penafiel would also benefit from the construction of the Hospital of Mercy in 1890, a project from architect Pedro Pezerat. Of Neoclassic architecture, the hospital is L-shaped, featuring a symmetrical façade rhythmed by pilasters, and finished with a verge of urns. The central plane is more prominent, topped by a triangular front crowned with a statue, the tympanum is decorated with two inscription tablets. It is a well designed building of great constructive quality, corresponding to a project executed in one single go.

Felgueiras' urban center revolves around three squares, Praça da República, Praceta do Foral and Largo Manuel Baltazar, giving the agglomerate a singular centrality. Architectures of different typologies and functionalities coexist in the surrounding area, ranging from residential architecture with the first floor reserved for commerce to the "*Brazilians chalet*" and bourgeois dwellings, as seen in Praceta do Foral. From the built ensemble we point out the 19th-century Casa do Pão-de-Ló de Margaride (Margaride Spongecake House) and the House of Belém for their architectonic quality and Neoclassic aesthetic, although the latter reflects a certain provincialism in the approach to style. The House of the Towers and the Baía House, built more recently, are equally reference buildings and, along with the grandiose church, they are a fine example of the art of their time.

In the last quarter of the 19th century we witness the return of a new commissioner of private, philanthropical and public architecture in the initiative of the *Brazilian returnees*. These new land owners, who made fortune in Brazil, will build, especially in the North region, residences that stand out for their scale and architectonic expression. This architecture presents examples of quality, of remarkable idiosyncratic expression, of singular programs and materials. For instance, in the Sousa Valley we name *Vila Maria* (Paços de Ferreira), the *Palace of the Viscount of Paredes* and the *House of Castrália* (Paredes), *Alvura House* (Felgueiras) and the *House of the Baron of the Calvary* (Penafiel). These models show peculiar architectonic characteristics in their ostentatious building programs, in the use of projects of foreign inspiration, in the variety of building materials and the use of color in architecture, in the arrangement of the domestic space with very accentuated decorative values, in the affirmation of the owner's economic power and in the preference for gardens that combine the *Portuguese garden* with the exoticness of the tropics.

The *Brazilian returnee* was a wealthy benefactor whose return to the homeland also meant to provide it with structures of social, philanthropic and recreational character. The construction of schools (the Viscount of Sousela and Isabel Maria Sousela Day Care – Lousada), asylums (the Sanatory-House of Seixoso – Felgueiras) and cultural facilities (the Fonseca Moreira Cinetheater – Felgueiras), and religious and devotional structures (churches, chapels, calvaries) left a remarkable imprint in the region's architecture. The renovation of the 19th-century Sanctuary of the Good Jesus of Barrosas, in the parish of Idães, municipality of Felgueiras, is the result of the donations of many believers, many of those "Brazilians". The

restoration of the Church of Saint Peter of Abragão, in 1845, also profited from the philanthropic action of José António de Matos, resident in Brazil and born in the parish, an attitude that the contemporary press classified with a sentimentalism of "charity and patriotism". The Sanctuary of the Lady of Mercy and Holy Steps in the city of Penafiel is undoubtedly a local architectonic reference for its scale, volumetric and impact in the landscape. The sanctuary's plant is by engineer Jorge Pereira Leite, and it included, asides from the religious temple, a *chalet* for the tourists and a park, befitting the contemporary Romantic taste. For the execution of such an ambitious project, a fund raising campaign was initiated. The raised funds were almost entirely from emigrants from Brazil.

The buildings commissioned by the *Brazilian returnees* were classified at the time as architectures of bad taste, and contemporary authors like Camilo Castelo Branco, in his work *O senhor do Paço de Ninães* ("The lord of the Palace de Ninães"), used these architectonic exaggerations as means to satirize the *Brazilian*: "The eyes dwell in that! The arts owe this wonder of architectonica to the picturesque taste of a rich tradesman who came from the luxurious jungles of the Amazons, with all the colors he memorized from there, and he had all of them reproduced here under the inspired brush of the construction worker". However, these buildings are currently an important element of the community's heritage, for they are part of its identity and memory.

The contamination between cultured and vernacular architecture in the building and decorative solutions is more visible in rural areas. As aforementioned, the patrimonial objects of vernacular character are in constant mutation, whether for their recurring use, the frailty of the materials used or the loss of practical value. The deterioration of the older historic centers and of the rural nuclei accelerates the disappearance of the erected patrimony in these spaces.

As for the villages, the populational desertification and the abandonment of the farming activities are the key factors for the degradation of their vernacular heritage. In the Sousa Valley, we observe two different realities in the rural centers. Those next to the city centers were absorbed, becoming complex agglomerates where the five-story tiled building coexists with the traditional farmer's house. The remaining villages were either completely abandoned or survive in the shadows of their last inhabitants. The constructions in the rural space are generally simple in their formal expression, derived from the production needs and corresponding to architect-less architectures in which we rarely find cultured models. The interpretation of the architecture and of the urban tapestry is not confined to the formal analysis of its buildings, the complexity of its design, nor the harmony of its forms; it is something else, it is the memory of a conception highly consolidated in time and a constant adaptation to the surrounding environment. Based in the *Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage*, the vernacular heritage is defined as a fundamental expression of the culture of a given community. It is its relation to the territory/landscape, but also the expression of the cultural diversity in the world. These clusters are associated to the farming and wine productions and also to livestock breeding, and of course local architecture reflects these activities. They are plain buildings, granite or shale houses set around a small church, chapel or fountain. The majority has two stories, the first destined for storage or production, the second for living. Sometimes adjacent or in the vicinity, other related constructions like the wine press, the threshing floor, the silo, among others. The village of Alvre (Paredes), although it has already lost some of its rural characteristics, is still a fine example of this. The village of Quintandona (Penafiel), on the other hand, recently renovated by the local autarchy, is an illustration of a small and consistent nucleus, with constructions of excellent structural and material qual-

30. Sousa Valley.

ity. Quintandona's road network is defined by narrow streets delimited by shale houses of larger or lesser volumetric, with the harmonious coexistence of religious architectures, large houses, constructions of lesser architectonic program and production buildings. The small square appears as the converging point for streets and rural trails, the stone cross that unites them becoming the most striking element, marking and protecting those who arrive and those who depart. In the production architectures, the threshing floors with slate tiles, the shale warehouses with slate covers and the silos reinforce the memory of a traditional agriculture.

It is in the basin of the main rivers that the majority of the production architectures, like the watermills, the linen and wood mills, dams and reservoirs, water-wheels, etc., are concentrated. These are a heritage of extreme importance, for they reflect the memory of the country life. As an example, we mention the Mill of Novelas, located in the place of Ponte Novelas, in the municipality of Penafiel, recently recovered as a subsidiary of Penafiel's Municipal Museum.

Since the 1980s, the closeness of the municipalities of Paredes, Paços de Ferreira, Lousada, Penafiel and Felgueiras to the city of Porto is accentuated with the opening of new roads, providing new vectors for development. This outbreak in the Sousa region's development and growth will boost the growth of the urban population over that of the rural areas. The industrial network also reaches a high complexity, becoming increasingly more difficult to know where it ends. This new urban framework is defined by dense, diversified and disconnected construction, using industrial building materials and techniques: isolated residences, buildings of different sizes and scales, industrial warehouses and outposts, commerce, services, public facilities, etc. The abandonment of the older historic centers and of the rural centers, a context that is reflected in the territorial discontinuity facing the city's growth, the occupation and loss of character of the neighboring areas, as well as the abandonment of the agricultural activities and traditional crafts contribute to the appearance of a new urban morphology, degraded by an evolution that privileged the individual interests over the collective organization and interests.

We can finish by saying that the territory of the Sousa Valley is rich and diversified in the patrimonial multiplicity it presents, visible not only in the typologies of the populational centers but also in the scale of the built heritage of the different municipalities. [MB]

THE MONUMENTS OF THE ROUTE OF THE ROMANESQUE OF THE SOUSA VALLEY

church

CHURCH OF SAINT PETER OF ABRAGÃO

CHURCH OF SAINT PETER OF ABRAGÃO

1. The church in the Middle Ages

1. The church of Saint Peter of Abragão maintains the Romanesque transept.

2. Built in excellent apparel, the transept presents an outer frieze with vegetal motives, in a solution similar to that of the church of the Monastery of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel).

From the Romanesque period, the Church of Saint Peter of Abragão, located in the municipality of Penafiel, only maintains the transept. This transept is a significant testimony to regional Romanesque architecture, which should be valued in the context of the *nationalized Romanesque* current of the Sousa and Lower Tâmega Valleys.

The Church of Abragão's existence is mentioned in as early as 1105, when Paio Peres Romeu donated in his testament the fourth part of *Sancto Petro de Auregam* to the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel)[1].

However, that church does not match the Romanesque transept it currently hosts, since the latter is dated from the second quarter of the 13th century, corresponding to an edification tradition attributes to the initiative of D. Mafalda, king D. Sancho I's daughter.

The Church of Saint Peter of Abragão features two stages, distinctive in chronology and style: Romanesque and Baroque.

The main façade, as well as the nave, corresponds to a reedification from the second half of the 17th century. The transept and its cross arch represent the only Romanesque elements remaining from the original construction.

Nevertheless, this transept is a delightful sample of Romanesque architecture, whether in its detailed apparel, with large and tightly put panels, and the external frieze, similar to that of the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa's church (Penafiel), whether in the relation between the lower transept's height and the cross arch capitals' great volume.

1 MEIRELES, António de Assunção – *Memórias do Mosteiro de Paço de Sousa & Índex dos documentos do arquivo composto por Frei António da Assunção Meireles.* Publishing and preface by Senior Academic founder Alfredo Pimenta. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1942, pp. 6-7.

The rectangular transept is formed by two spans matching step buttresses on the outside, presenting a solution that is destined to prevent the infiltration of rain water. On the outside, a frieze composed of geometric motives reminds the church decoration from Visigoth and Mozarab periods, whose revival in 13th-century works stands as one of the most interesting and peculiar phenomena of Portuguese Romanesque architecture, which the Sousa and Lower Tâmega Valleys' current singularly evinces.

Inside, the broken arch vault made of stone covers the entire transept structure. The main chapel's decoration features a botanical theme in the sculptures, including the triumph arch which is topped by a rosette, shaped like a five-pointed star, whose decoration reports back to the traditional themes of the flaming swastika, the six-leaved rosettes and the bevelled palm trees. The bulb-like bases, the adjacent columns and the capitals, very wide when considering the transept's short height, present decorative themes similar to those of the Monastery of the Savior of Travanca's main portal (Amarante).

The capitals are a good testimony of Romanesque sculpture. One of them presents atlantes in the corner, supported by leaves, and the other features birds entwined by the neck. Sculpture distribution is well framed in the capitals' echinus. In the left capital, the atlantes' figures, whose heads are at the edge of the echinus, accentuate the column's supporting function, and, in the right capital, the birds confront themselves in the edge, the echinus' central face occupied by an animal head snatching the birds' tails.

This type of capital sculpting, in a very close relation between shape and sculpture disposition, is, precisely, one of the most characteristic and particular aspects of sculpture in the Romanesque period.

Romanesque sculpture was born and developed within the framework of architectural pieces, proclaiming itself as one of the most important innovations brought by this style. It is an architectonic sculpture, not only because it is built in the architecture but also, and fundamentally, because the latter adapts itself, subordinating its motives to the available spaces. This is why characters are often presented in acrobatic positions, where the human figure is stretched or tightened, and animals acquire shapes according to the area in which they are sculpted.

After a long period of absence, motivated by the fear of idolatry which drew sculpted representations away from the temples throughout the High Middle Ages, figurative sculpture charges in, full of meaning,

8. Transept. Capital with entwined birds.

9. The entwined motive decorating the capital abacus and the transept frieze follow a very common model from the Sousa Valley's Romanesque.

highly underlining its expressive values. Between the 5th and the 10th century, throughout all of Western Europe, sculpture had almost vanished, especially concerning figurative themes, then strongly connoted with idolatry and paganism. It will reappear very slowly in pilgrimage sites, as a casing for relics, or in the early 11th century, already in architectural pieces like capitals and span frames.

The adaptation of sculpture to architecture in the Romanesque period is one of the factors that contribute to its singular character, because the sculpting process favors the figure's distortion. But there are other equally powerful factors, like sacred and symbolic motivations.

From the conjugation of the elements in the transept of Saint Peter of Abragão, which should be understood in the context of the *nationalized Romanesque* current of the Sousa and Lower Tâmega Valleys[2], we believe we are in the presence of a monument traceable to a period between the first and the second quarter of the 13th century.

Documentation from the late 15th and early 16th century indicates that, following the usual rule in preserving churches and respective replenishment, it was up to the priests or commendataries to look after the transept, sacristy and priest's house. It was their duty to have repairs and ornaments done and to provide the main chapel with liturgical vestments. The parishioners, i.e., the parish's inhabitants, were in charge of the nave's maintenance, renovation and reconstruction and of looking after and renewing its content: *outward altars* and all the devotional ornaments and objects[3]. This norm has necessarily lead to chronological discrepancies in both parts of the temples, according to diligence, financial means available and motivation. The renovation of Saint Peter of Abragão's nave should be viewed in this context. The demographic growth or the precarious state of the Romanesque nave would have dictated its reedification. [LR]

2 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico.* Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, p. 95.

3 Documentation is explicit as to the division of these attributions. Cf. SOARES, Franquelim Neiva – "Ensino e Arte na Região de Guimarães através dos Livros de Visitações do século XVI". In *Revista de Guimarães*, Vol. 93., Jan.-Dec., Guimarães, 1983, p. 366 and *passim*, and the documentation published by DIAS, Pedro – *Visitações da Ordem de Cristo de 1507 a 1510. Aspectos Artísticos.* Coimbra, 1979.

10. The sacristy, the nave, the West façade and the tower correspond to the Modern Period restoration.

2. The church in the Modern Period

2. 1. Architecture and space distribution

In the Church of Saint Peter of Abragão it is possible to identify, as we have seen, two distinct construction stages, corresponding to this temple's foundation period, and the posterior improvement that took place in the Modern Period. This building's chief interest resides particularly in the existing harmony between the diverse artistic components from those two periods, transforming this monument into an important landmark in the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley*, since the remaining patrimony represents the paradigm of the happy coexistence of elements with such eclectic aesthetic features in terms of shape and meaning. An altarpiece with Baroque gilding was introduced in a main chapel of medieval design and small dimension; the original stone ceilings were decorated with scattered pictoric elements following a vocabulary from the mid 18th century. The ensemble radiates a climate where the 18th century's artistic equipments do not have enough space to breathe.

Partaking of this building's Modern Period comprehension is the analysis of the existing artistic and archi-tectonic elements, as well as data from documental sources offering a virtual representation of how the space used to present itself in the 18th century. The approach to the Modern Period's components will start precisely with the information gathered in those texts.

11. The Modern Period restoration has totally rebuilt the church nave.

Around 1747, the church space, composed of a main chapel and nave, integrated three altars, namely: the main altar, where the images of *Saint Peter* and of *Saint Paul* were, accompanying the *Holy Sacrament*, and two collateral altars placed by the Gospel and the Epistle, which hosted, respectively, the images of *Our Lady of the Rosary* and of *Saint Lucia*. It is also known that, around this time, this temple was an abbey of Royal Patronage, having been first presented by the Marquis of Fontes.

Three laymen brotherhoods were headquartered in its altars, under the protection of the Holy Sacrament, of Our Lady of the Rosary and of the Souls.[4]

In a later text, the *Memories of the Parish*, dated from the year of 1758, this church still maintained the three altars – the main altar and two collateral altars –, the document further referring that the collateral altar to the Epistle's side was dedicated to the *Holy Name of Jesus*. The brotherhoods are also mentioned, the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament, the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary and the Brotherhood of the Souls remaining, and with a new addition, the one of the *Sucino*. Let us confer with the documental reading:

" (…) *has three altars, namely that of the larger chapel which goes by the name of the Holy Sacrament, the altar of Our Lady of the Rosary and the altar of the Holy Name of Jesus, it has no naves; the featured brotherhoods are: firstly, that of the Holy Sacrament, secondly, that of Our Lady of the Rosary, thirdly, the one of the Socino, fourthly, the Brotherhood of the Souls*"[5]

It is known that the multiplication of brotherhoods inside the sacred space is a movement that developed in the 17th and 18th centuries, and that their altar (or chapel) placement follows a hierarchic principle in the disposition of the sacred space: the most prestigious are located in the main chapels, whereas the others are placed in the naves' altars.

This building's exterior has features that are unmistakably posterior to the Medieval Period, except for the main chapel's volume, which presents traits from 13th century Portuguese Romanesque style, from which we point out: the volume, the walls and the vaulted cover. The remaining elements are dated from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, according to the architectonic language.

The main façade and the remaining construction projections that define the nave are simple and austere, with a balanced distribution and absolutely clear design, placing them in the 17th century. This dating is reinforced by the existing inscriptions in the masonry. Through this testimony, we know that in the year of 1668 there was a reedification of the nave, under the patron Abbot Ambrósio Vaz Golias. Considering the nave's dilapidated state, the abbot endeavours the reforming campaign for the dignification of the old temple. Let us read the inscription visible on the portal's lintel from the main façade:

«BREVIS.DOMVS.QVONDAM/PENITVS/SVBMERSA/RVINIS. /NVNGAVTEM.INLONGIVS.DENVO SVRGIT. OPVS. / ANNO ◊ DNI ◊ 1668.»;

12. West portal. The 1668 inscription tells of the reform under Abbot Ambrósio Vaz Golias order.

4 CARDOSO, Padre Luiz – *Diccionario Geográfico ou Notícia Histórica de todas as cidades, villas…* Vol. I. Lisboa: Regia Officina Sylviana e Academia Real, 1747-1751, pp. 19-21.
5 COELHO, Manuel Ferreira – "O Concelho de Penafiel nas Memórias Paroquiais de 1758". In *Penafiel – Boletim Municipal de Cultura*. 3rd Series. Nos. 4-5. Penafiel: Câmara Municipal de Penafiel, 1987-88, pp. 261-263.

The epigraphy inside the church, in the sub-choir area, next to the Gospel, corroborates abbot Golias' responsibility for the renovation:

«ESTA/IGREJA.PELOS.ANNOS.DOS/OR.ED/1200 MANDOV.EDIFICAR.
ARAINHA/D.MAFALDA.FILHA. DELREI.D SANC/HO PRIMEIRO DO-
NOME NESTE REINO E/MVLHE.DELREI D HENRIQVE PRIMEI/RO DO
NOME.EM CASTELLA: E POR SE AR/RVINAR FOI REEDIFICADA E
ACCRESC/ENTADA. NO ANNO DE 1668. PELO IND/IGNO.SACERDO-
TE ABBADE DELLA.AM/BROSIO.VAZ.GOLIAZ.CVIOS OSSOS/ DES-
CANSAÕ NESTA SEPVLTURA ◊ S.I.P.L.»[6].

This temple's front is organized by the vertical lining of a central axis that stands out for the succession of the rectangular entrance portal, rectangular window and Latin cross at the vortex of the triangular pediment. As for the bell tower, next to the façade on the North side, its dating process corresponds to a later intervention, from the 19th century – which can be traceable through the bulb-like finishing placed at the angles of the tower's cover. Bearing a quadrangular design and a robust appearance, this tower is conceived in two main registers, marked by a projecting cornice, the first corresponding to the basing and the second to the opening level of the windows hosting the bells.

This work in the façade and church nave is included in the Mannerist current, within an austere and depurated taste.

2.2. Gilding and painting

13. Altar and collateral altarpiece in gilded polychrome. Notice the quality of *Our Lady of the Rosary's* image, in the center of the altarpiece.

Inside the church there are other elements reinforcing its Baroque aesthetic component, mainly visible in the altarpiece structures from the collateral altars and the main altar, and also in the polychrome painting on the stone wall next to the triumph arch and the main chapel's walls and ceiling. This pictoric solution on the medieval walls was the solution for an update on the medieval climate.

The collateral altars are in the nave, with style components pointing to different timeframes, covered by quadrangular panels, painted sky, projecting from the triumph arch's wall, much like a baldachin, where little stars are painted on a blue foreground.

The collateral altar by the Gospel presents an altarpiece structure in Joanine polychrome gilding from around 1740s, which is marked, from the composition point of view, by the placement of four columns with torso-like frustum and the first third delimited, dividing the altarpiece body into three vertical strips on which the corbels sustain the images. Over the structure's entablature, signalled by a game of back and forth, the finishing ensues, flanked by two angels sitting on top of volutes turning to the central area, where a crown was sculpted and a small trimming with curtains reinforces its presence.

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6   "This church was erected in the year of 1200 under the order of queen D. Mafalda, daughter of king D. Sancho the 1st in this kingdom and wife of king D. Henrique the 1st of Castile. Because it was dilapidated, it was re-erected and enlarged in the year of 1668 by the unworthy abbot priest Ambrosio Vaz Golias, whose remains rest in this grave. [Mason's initials]". [N. T.]

The decorative motives consist mainly of botanical elements, especially flowers (not only sculpted but also painted over the panel walls serving as image backdrops), also presenting winged angel heads in the images' corbels and shells topping the small baldachins that frame the images on the lateral vertical strips. Note that the altar table is not the original, resulting from an intervention dated from after the execution of the remaining elements. From this altar's artwork ensemble, we point your attention to the aesthetic quality of the image of *Our Lady of the Rosary*, placed on the altar's main corbel.

As to the collateral altarpiece by the Epistle, certain traits pin it to a more distant date in relation to that of the afore described altarpiece. In fact, the design of its components, as well as the decoration applied, fit it in the Portuguese Mannerist gilding, which ruled in the 17th century. Nevertheless, note that the composition of its elements is similar to that of the Joanine altarpiece, for it is also distributed according to the definition of three vertical fields, now signalled by two columns and two pilasters, sustaining an entablature over which lies the altarpiece's trimming.

This altarpiece's structure probably influenced the design of the Joanine counterpart by the Gospel, whose execution was presided by the preoccupation of making a harmonious ensemble, despite the differences in style. Furthermore, one of the principles overruling these transformations was aesthetic unity. The Mannerist altarpiece was not replaced, but it served as a model to the new altarpiece apparel made about sixty years later.

14. Collateral altarpiece of Mannerist structure.

Much like what is witnessed with the Joanine altarpiece, the base, composed of the altar table, is not part of the remaining structure, since it probably derived from a recent renovation. The chosen decoration lies mainly in delicate botanical elements, articulated on occasion with small urns, visible whether in the column pedestals' mains faces or in the winged angel heads delimiting the first decorated third of the entablature's columns and frieze. The altarpiece's lateral spaces include paintings depicting, from bottom to top, on the left side strip, *Mary Magdalene, Saint Andrew*, and on the right side, *Saint Roch*.

In the space belonging to the main chapel one finds the altarpiece dominating the entire back wall, which is a hybrid structure, since it is composed of several elements whose formal characteristics match diverse styles. The golden surface is not original, raising some doubts as to the ensemble's authenticity. The base of the altarpiece, in polychrome wood, results from a recent intervention, with a succession of other elements that appear to be fragments of a primitive structure, like the columns in national style gilding, set on pedestals and corbels, framing the tribune for the Eucharistic throne. Among these columns are niches keeping the images of *Saint Peter* and of *Our Lady of the Conception*, by the Gospel and the Epistle, respectively. The finishing area assumes a design already closer to the typical Joanine gilding, considering the animation of the elements achieved through the introduction of the curved front segments framing the top of the perfect arch that define the tribune's design, these being overlapped by a large trimming, further projecting itself from the structure. On the other hand, there are other elements, spread throughout the whole altarpiece, arising from very recent interventions to the structure, such is the case of the Eucharistic throne, whose engraved shapes have little artistic quality and a questionable production timeframe.

15. Main altarpiece.

Parallel to the altarpiece structure, note the polychrome painting on stone, filling this space's projections and the barrel vault ceiling. The depicted shapes, over light blue background in the ceiling and grey back-

ground in the projections, vary between flourish cornucopias and seashell elements, with other botanical elements present as well. The color palette used here includes blues, reds, oranges, yellows and also greens. This coating dates from the second half of the 18th century, also establishing its presence on the triumph arch's wall. It is a painting of poor design, from which we note only the decorative effect.

Looking at the main chapel's ensemble, we see a cramped space, lacking the necessary dimension to let the altarpiece apparel breathe. It is, nonetheless, a paradigm, where the medieval sense of space was not altered and, therefore, the new Post-Trident arts have not fulfilled their purpose of space dramatization. The sacristy holds a medium-sized painting representing the *Calvary* – the lines reveal a predominance of design over painting technique: the shape treatment uses a very strong outline, with a deficient approach towards anatomy. The frame is in good quality carved wood, dating the sculpted shapes back to the 17th century. There are two other paintings, dated from the 19th century, depicting two local members of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament, namely, the Commendator Rodrigo José de Mello e Sousa and José António de Matos, emigrant in Brazil. [MJMR/DGS]

3. Restoration and conservation

This church has undergone restoration in 1845, at the expenses of José António de Matos, living in Brazil and born in this parish, in an attitude that the contemporary press classified as of "mercy and patriotism". Frequent donations from *Brazilians* were meant for the renovation or edification of new churches in the parishes where they were born, funding new altars, bells and clocks, a sponsorship that usually earned them a commend. Even absent in Brazil, they took the place of *judges* in brotherhoods, insuring the contributions for further renovations.
The church, which was threatening to crumble, was renovated under the supervision of Francisco Monteiro Guedes Meireles de Brito, a faithful executor of the benefactor's will, preserving the building's distinctive and primitive character, that of a worshipped church "whose origin is almost as old as that of the monarchy"[7.]

Even though it is not possible to ascertain which elements were modified by 1845's works, it is significant that the presiding idea was to preserve the "distinctive and primitive character", making it a restoration and not a preservation or *modernization* assignment, surely motivated by the traditional prestige that attributes the church's foundation to D. Mafalda.
This intervention should be framed within the wider restoration phenomenon in Portugal in the 19th century. The restoration of the Monastery of Batalha, initiated in 1840 and continued throughout the whole century, has set a fundamental steppingstone in the history of architectonic restoration, which is visible in the fact that, from that decade on, reports on restorations conducted in the entire country, or the intention of conducting them, are never amiss.

7 ROSAS, Lúcia Maria Cardoso – *Monumentos Pátrios. A arquitectura religiosa medieval – património e restauro (1835-1928)*. Vol. 2. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1995, p. 19.

The great quality of its architecture, the emblematic value it entails, the fact that it was the first Portuguese monument worthy of an alluringly illustrated foreign publication, the prestigious thrust given to construction projects under king D. Fernando II and the restoration concept gained with Luís Mousinho de Albuquerque, made the monumental ensemble of Batalha a model-monument as far as 19th century restoration goes.

Within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project, the Church of Saint Peter of Abragão has undergone improvement works, inside and in the surrounding space. [LR/MB]

Chronology

11th-12th century – Original edification (lost);

13th century – Romanesque edification;

1668 – Reconstruction of the nave;

1820 – Inclusion of the bell tower;

1975 – Suspension of the pavement's removal, preservation of the original pavement;

1991 – Replacement of the exterior doors;

1993 – Restoration of the main altar's gilding;

2004/2006 – General church preservation within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project: cleaning, reinforcing and painting the exterior spans, replacing some joinery and electric installation; preserving and restoring the painting of the Calvary in the sacristy; preserving the portiere, preservation works on the interior and sacristy, and renovation of the surrounding urban area.

16. Abragão's transept was endowed with a decorative frieze that emphasizes the symbolic importance of this church element.

church

CHURCH OF SAINT MARY OF AIRÃES

CHURCH OF SAINT MARY OF AIRÃES
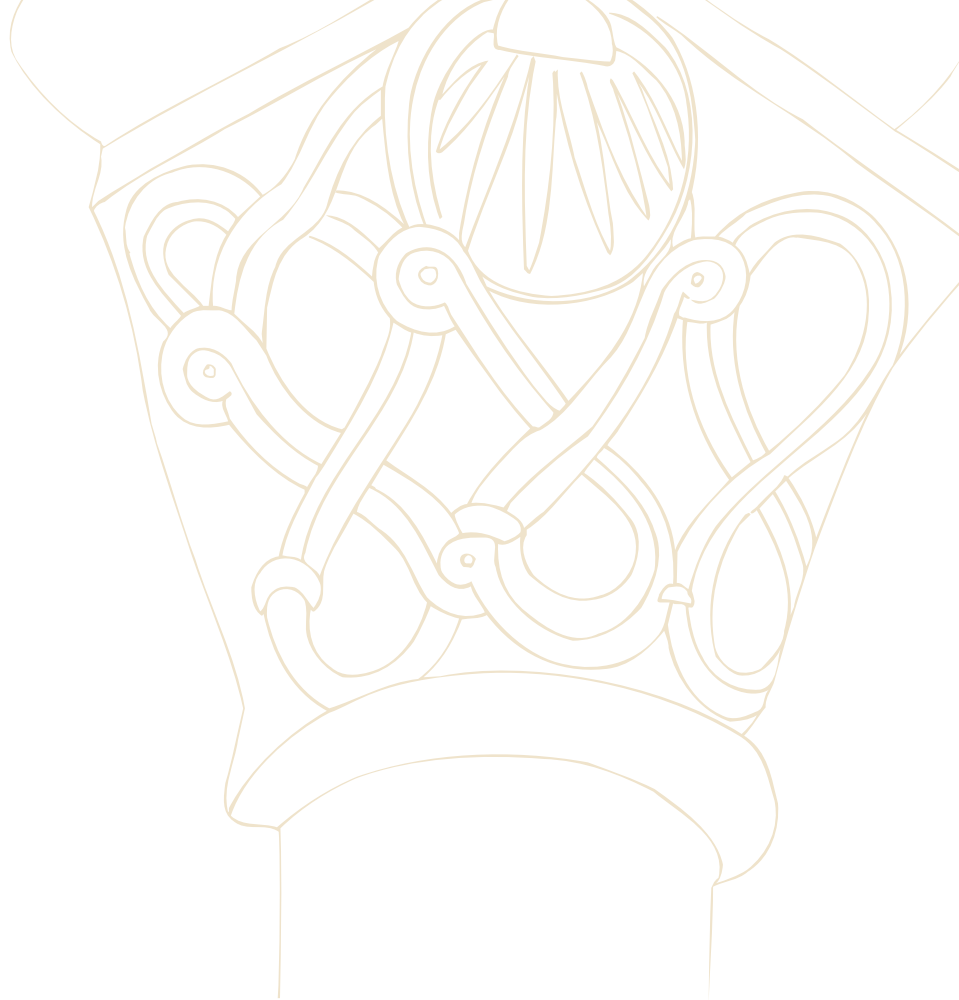
1. The church in the Middle Ages

The Church of Saint Mary, located in the place of Mosteiro, parish of Airães, in the municipality of Felguei-ras, corresponds to an old foundation, documented since 1091[1]. However, the current temple does not conform to such an ancient date.

In 1220's Inquiries, the church is referred to as *ecclesia de Araes*, in the jurisdiction of Felgueiras. In 1258's Inquiries, *Sancte Marie de Araes* is still patroned by the aristocracy and presented by the archbishop of Braga[2]. The church's patronage will suffer consecutive transfers, already belonging to the Crown in 1394, which in turn assigns it to the Order of Aviz. In 1517, it becomes a commend of the Order of Christ[3].

1. The existence of a church of Saint Mary of Airães has been documented since 1091. However, the medieval construction probably dates back to the late 13th century or even early 14th century.

1 P.M.H. *Diplomata et Charte.* Lisboa, 1867, doc. DCCXLVI.

2 P.M.H. – *Inquisitiones.* Lisboa, 1888, pp. 73, 166, 209.

3 Cf. documentation quoted in Various Authors – "Santa Maria de Airães". In *Estudo de Valorização e Salvaguarda das Envolventes aos Monumen-tos da Rota do Românico do Vale do Sousa. 2ª Fase.* Vol. 2. Porto, 2005, p. 269.

Francisco Xavier da Serra Craesbeeck has registered in 1726 the existence of an inscription, now lost, which was found by the pulpit, referring to the year of 1184 A.D., where it stated:

E(ra) M CC XX II VII / ID (us)[4]

According to Mário Barroca, the inscription was already incomplete in 1726, lacking the indication of the month and, probably, part of the text that could explain the nature of the happening celebrated by the inscription[5].

Although the church presents three naves, the sole survivors from the Romanesque construction, originally bearing only one nave, are the transept, of rectangular design covered by a broken barrel vault, and the central part of the main façade, turned to the West.

The transept has two flights and accuses, in the arch frames, models from Gothic architecture. The capital featuring kneeling angels with chandeliers, by the Gospel, corresponds to a more evolved subject matter, equally distinctive of the Gothic period.

2. Although the church is composed of three naves, planimetrics corresponding to an enlargement made in the Modern Period, the Romanesque construction featured a single nave.

3. Transept. The arch frames follow models from the Gothic Period.

4. Transept capital. The capital, bearing two kneeling angels holding chandeliers, follows a theme already belonging to the Gothic Period.

4 CRAESBEECK, Francisco Xavier da Serra – *Memórias Ressuscitadas da Província de Entre Douro e Minho no ano de 1726*. Vol. II. Ponte de Lima: Edições Carvalhos de Basto, Lda., 1992, pp. 11-12.
5 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epifráfico Medieval Português*. Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, p. 461.

5. The transept presents a cornice over small arches, a solution common to Saint Vincent of Sousa (Felgueiras), Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira) and a few portions of the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel).

The crevices find parallels in the churches of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Cête (Paredes) and of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel). On the outside, the transept's cornice is sustained by small arches, a common feature in the churches of Saint Vincent of Sousa (Felgueiras), Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira) and the lateral naves of the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa's church.

In the main façade, the portal bears a disposition similar to that of the portals in the churches of Saint Vincent of Sousa, the Savior of Unhão and Saint Peter of Ferreira. It is encased in a pentagonal stone structure projecting from the façade in order to look deeper. The four archivolts present no decoration and the capitals' shape and size already point to Gothic solutions. The decoration of the bases and plinths follows the region's classic models.

North of the transept, the bell tower rises, difficult to place in time, although the entrance and illumination spans seem to belong to the Gothic period.

At the church's basing, bolstered panels of Roman typology suggest the existence of a former building from that period in the vicinity, maybe even a primitive Paleo-Christian or Suevi-Visigoth church.

Borrowing solutions from the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley, this church, given the late aspect of certain elements like the axial portal's capitals and the transept's frames and capitals, is probably dated from the late 13th or even early 14th century. It is therefore a paradigmatic exemplar of how long this region's Romanesque construction pattern endured.

One of the most significant and peculiar aspects of Romanesque architecture in the Sousa Valley resides precisely in the prolonged acceptance of the building models and decorative solutions that characterize the Romanesque period.

If this church's chronology matches the Gothic period, considering Gothic construction is already expressive in Portugal since the early 13th century, notably, in the cloister of the Old See of Coimbra and in the Monastery of Saint Mary of Alcobaça, we stress, nevertheless, that both styles, Romanesque and Gothic, coexist in time and, sometimes, also in the same building. In Portuguese territory, the regions between the

6. West façade. The portal is inserted in a stone structure stemming from the façade to appear deeper, a solution similar to the portals of the churches of the Savior of Unhão (Felgueiras), Saint Vincent of Sousa (Felgueiras) and Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira).

8. West portal. Capital.

9. West portal. Capital.

rivers Douro and Minho, Trás-os-Montes and Beiras adopt Romanesque solutions until the 14th century and, sometimes, till the 16th century, mixing them with aspects from Gothic architecture, as is the case with the Church of Saint Mary of Airães. In the Sousa Valley, to this prolonged and broader presence of the Romanesque is also added the region's unique taste for botanical and geometric decoration, whose patterns and techniques have been defined in the Romanesque period. [LR]

2. The church in the Modern Period

To understand this building and its artistic aspects dated from the Modern Period, we need to bear in mind that it arises from an important commend at the time from the Military Orders of Malta and of Christ[6], which is why, as a result of the extinction of Religious Orders in Portugal, this church was only delivered to the parish in 1834. This fact becomes relevant for understanding the many investments made to dote this temple and also to decode the amazing and significant proportion it assumes, considering it was a building which only acquired the status of head of parish in the 19th century.

In 1726, under the Church of Saint Mary of Airães, and as subsidiaries, were the chapels of Saint Maurus, Our Lady of the Assumption and Our Lady of Nazareth. We also know that next to the church was "a large

7. West portal. The capitals present Gothic solutions, whereas the bases and plinths follow models from the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley region.

6 According to CRAESBEECK, in 1726, this church was the rectorate of Mitra and commend of the Order of Christ. See CRAESBEECK, Francisco Xavier da Serra – *Memórias Ressuscitadas da Província de Entre Douro e Minho no ano de 1726*. Vol. II. Ponte de Lima: Ed. Carvalhos de Basto Lda., 1992, p. 11.

10. The church's interior, featuring three naves and collateral altars, corresponds to the restoration works made in the Modern Period.

group of houses for the rectors' dwellings, as well as the large and old houses of the commendators".

In this church, coexisting with medieval elements, mostly visible in terms of the architectonic structure, are others added in later periods, resulting in a rich ensemble for its aesthetic diversity. Various components are featured over the Post-Tridentine artistic additions, namely, regarding the artistic furnishings.

This church interior's renovation, through space modeling arts, has been through several stages, guided by the evolution of the artistic currents. Every time a religious institution had prodigal economic resources, time's stamp was imprinted in the monument with the renovation of its liturgical apparel: new, richer and more sumptuous vestments, pieces in silver and gold, altars, painted or sculpted images of saints.

This wide assortment of objects composing and integrating the sacred space follow the general artistic evolutions, and thus, when a church, guild or brotherhood orders some of these equipments, the latest artistic manifestations are always sought. If the most avant-garde artistic manifestations of each period are witnessed in religious arts, the acquisition of an artistic object by an institution, on the other hand, was always associated with a manifestation of religious and devotional zeal. To endow the parish church with new apparel was seen as an act of devotion. In the Modern Period, as in others, laymen and religious folk wanted to offer "the best to God". It is not, therefore, odd to witness the renovation of the sacred space through complementary arts: altarpiece gilding, painting, tiling, garmenting, and goldsmithing, among others. But when material resources are abundant, the strongest and deepest renovation goes through the transformation of the architecture, rebuilding the entire building or some of its parts.

The number of altars and respective devotions was, in the year of 1758, very different from the current one. The main chapel was doted with a golden altarpiece and sacrarium; four collateral altars in the naves, two in the central nave, considered by the author of this information from the 18th century as "the body of the church", and one in each lateral nave. In the North nave there was the chapel of Saint Luzia, a very representative invoking of the parish's devotional universe. The festivity honoring Saint Luzia takes place on December 13th, with the presence of "many people from the vicinities in pilgrimage". In the opposite

11. Epistle nave.

12. Gospel nave.

13. Altarpiece. Built in the *rocaille* fashion, this altarpiece dates back to the late 18th century, integrating the images of *Saint Joseph*, *Saint Anne* (teaching the Virgin how to read), *Saint Joaquim*, *Saint Anthony*, the *Virgin with Child* and *Saint Lucia*.

14. Altarpiece. In *rocaille* design, but with a structure altered later on, in the middle section, this altarpiece holds the images of the *Sacred Heart of Jesus* and of the *Sacred Heart of Mary*.

nave, Saint Anthony's altarpiece. Of the two altarpieces in the central nave, we only know that one was dedicated to the Holy Name of Jesus, under the responsibility of the Brotherhood bearing the same name as the chapel[7]. The gilding ensemble currently presented by the church is posterior to this information from 1758, testifying to yet another renovation in the sacred space of the Church of Airães. (FOT. 8686)

There are two collateral altarpieces, placed in the back walls of the lateral naves, in white and golden gilding. These pieces, dated from the last quarter of the 18th century, are organized according to a slightly concave structure and feature a basing formed by a table with projecting altar, whose decoration includes seashell elements in the *rocaille* fashion. In the altarpiece core are lateral columns (one on each side) with a frustum marked in its first third and decorated with botanical motives. These columns frame a central panel organized in two horizontal registers, as one may see in the altar by the Gospel, which still preserves the original structure.

By both of this final altarpiece's sides small overlapping niches are torn, framing the structure's center, two on each side, and hosting small-sized sculptures. In the altarpiece center are two niches, also holding imagery and with an interior painted with botanical motives drawn in gold, blue and red over a light blue background.

7 1758's Parish Memories, transcribed by RODRIGUES, José Carlos Meneses – *Retábulos no Baixo Tâmega e no Vale do Sousa (séculos XVII-XIX).* Vol. III. Porto, 2004. PhD thesis in Art History presented to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, p. 686.

On these altars' finishing one may notice cut spaulders, framed by two robust fins, bearing botanical motives, combined with seashells, dominant traits in its decoration. (FOT. 8684)

Imagery is fundamental to the enhancement of these altarpiece structures, especially considering the quality presented by the ensemble. Thus, in the collateral altar by the Gospel are, in the altarpiece core's lower niches, from left to right, the images of *Saint Joseph*, *Saint Anne* (teaching the Virgin how to read) and of *Saint Joaquim*, which are exceeded in the upper level by those of *Saint Anthony*, the *Virgin with Child* and *Saint Luzia*.

As for the sculptures gathered in the collateral altar by the Epistle – whose structure was modified since the altarpiece's core was altered with the tearing of a large carved niche –, there are recent pieces like the images of the *Sacred Heart of Jesus* and the *Sacred Heart of Mary*.

Asides from the altarpieces, there are other pieces also worthy of mention, like the images of *Saint Quiteria* and of *Saint Bartholomew* from the 17th century, and the images of *Saint Roch* and of *Saint Michael the Archangel*, dated from the 18th century, to which the iconographic attributes are missing, present in a corbel next to the Epistle.

Another fundamental clue for describing and identifying artistic elements in this building originated in renovations within the post-Trento context is the tiling from the main chapel's lateral projections.

It is a nucleus of polychrome glazed tiles from the 17th century whose units are repetitive modules forming a 2x2 pattern[8], which, multiplied derives into a ceramic canvas fully covering the lateral walls in that space. The pattern's decorative motive is the camellia, drawn in blue and yellow over a white background from the main rotation axis marked by a small flower. Straight blue elements develop around the camellia, establishing a connection between several patterns repeated in the whole.

As far as the bordering decoration, a trimming goes all around the composition with a repetitive pattern composed of two glazed tiles: botanical elements, painted in blue and yellow over a white background, draw «C's» that develop from an oval axial element marked in blue with a yellow core[9].

The impact caused by this tiling in the main chapel's space is striking. Remarkably odd, however, is the absence of a gilded altarpiece which would probably complete the whole. After all, gilding and glazed tile were the types of furnishings that always stood together in most of the Portuguese sacred spaces from the Modern Period.

Over the sacristy, which corresponds to the South volume adjacent to the main chapel, covering one story, we note the existence of a singular piece: small apparel, of Rococo lines, hosts a set of images, with a noteworthy artistic quality, probably integrated in a nativity scene of larger dimension.

Finally, one must also stress that this building has suffered renovation works in the 19th century, which probably altered its aspect. The extent of this intervention is unknown, however, the absence of certain key elements like the main altarpiece and other components is notorious. An example of this intervention is the central nave's coverage, in wood, forming a barrel vault with a painting in the center dedicated to the devotional saint. [MJMR/DGS]

94


15. Transept. 16th century tiles.

8   Identified by Santos Simões as P-226. See SIMÕES, J.M. dos Santos – *Azulejaria em Portugal no Século XVII*. 2nd Edition. T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997, p. 47.

9   This border pattern's drawing was identified by Santos Simões as C-59, this work only registering a blue and white version. See *Idem*, p. 148.

3. Conservation and requalification
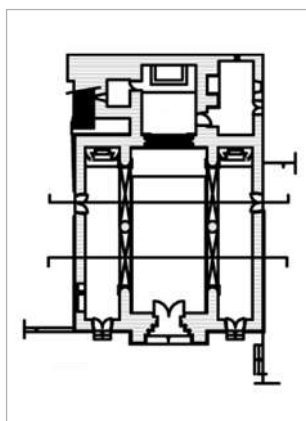
16. Map of the church after restoration.

During the Modern Period, as we have seen earlier, we have witnessed a renovation of the liturgical space in religious buildings. This is translated into great reforms, as the Church of Saint Mary of Airães exemplifies, with the enlargement of the lateral naves and the transformation of the religious temple's interior.

In the 1970s, preservation and requalification works were conducted under the guidance of Porto's Auxiliary Bishop, D. Domingos de Pinho Brandão, and of the architect Solla Campos. The project intended to return the medieval root to Saint Mary of Airães' temple, in the church's exterior as in its interior. The work was particularly focused on fixing the coverage, the final placement of the altars, restoring the sacristy and conducting archaeological surveys inside.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, several preservation works are conducted at the expenses of the parish and the Factory Committee, under the guidance of the DGEMN. The surrounding area's maintenance and the construction of supporting equipments are the local autarchy's responsibility.

Between 2004 and 2007, general preservation works are conducted, considering the building's good condition, within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project. [MB]

Chronology

11th century – Church foundation;

13th-14th centuries – Romanesque edification;

17th and 18th centuries – Enlargement of the lateral naves, and renovation and transformation of the interiors;

1980 – Several preservation and restoration works conducted by the parish under the technical guidance of the DGEMN;

1989 – Preservation and restoration works, coverage, exterior draining and electric installation;

1992 – General improvement works to the coverage, restoration of the ceiling and altar;

2004/2007 – Preservation and maintenance works to the building and tiling, and restoration of sculptures under the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project.

tower

CASTLE TOWER OF AGUIAR DE SOUSA
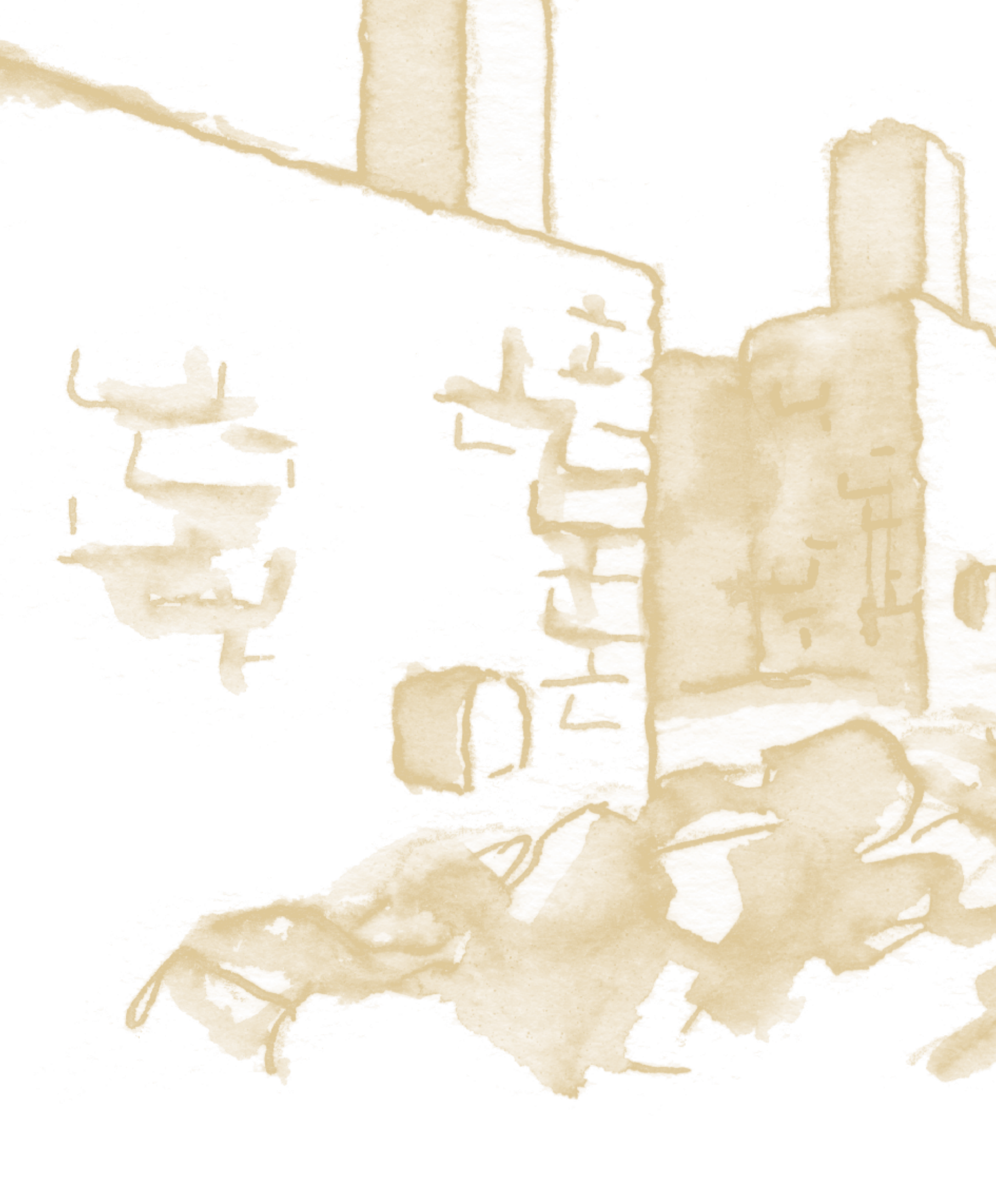
CASTLE TOWER OF AGUIAR DE SOUSA
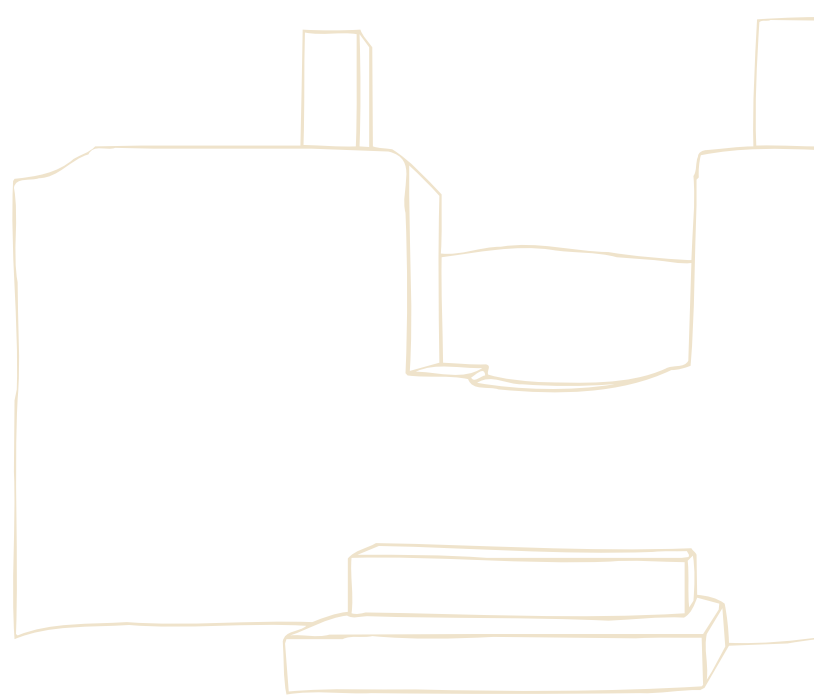
Located in the place of Vila, parish of Aguiar de Sousa and municipality of Paredes, the Castle of Aguiar has been quite cherished in the region's collective memory, not so much for the few remaining traces of the construction, but for symbolic and historic reasons.

The Castle of Aguiar was attacked by Al-Mansur in 995, during the Reconquest wars, later on heading a *land* in the territorial reorganization process occurred throughout the 11th century. In the 13th century, it was already an important Jurisdiction.

1. The Castle of Aguiar is highly cherished in the region's collective memory for symbolic and historic reasons.

The location of what is left of this ancient fortified structure evinces a concern with the territory's defense. The *Castle* of Aguiar de Sousa was hard to reach and surrounded by higher mountains that covered its visibility. Set in the territory's defensive network, it was a particular concern for the Asturian kings.

1258's *Inquiries* refer the *Jurisdiction of Aguiar de Sousa*, integrated in the parish of *Castelo de Aguiar*, mentioning that its inhabitants had to insure the castle's safekeeping when the king was at war.

However, the construction of this Castle should be viewed within the *castling* phenomenon that occurred earlier, since the mid 11th century, replacing the older structuring of the peninsular territory in *civitates*. According to C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, the frequent invasions that affected most of Western Europe since the 8th century caused temporary or even definitive migrations. Nevertheless, since the mid 11th century, communities began to build castles and fortified precincts intended to defend the place where they lived. Between the 10th and 12th centuries, the entire Western Europe was covered with a dense network of strongholds, a phenomenon known as *castling*[1].

In the North of Portugal, after the Reconquest, king Afonso III of the Asturias implemented the system of *civitates*, units of the territory's reorganization delivered to the leadership of counts or commissaries. Starting in the mid 11th century, and following the growth and affirmation of the rural and regional aristocracy, as well as the progress of the feudal regime, a territorial organization of smaller units, the *lands*, is developed. The core was the castle and its *lord*, who progressively acquired judicial and tax rights.

The implantation of the *lands* of Aguiar de Sousa, Penafiel, Benviver, Baião and Castelo de Paiva, previously encompassed by the former territory of the *civitas* of Eja, is a highly significant example of this evolution[2].

2. The Castle was set in the territory's defensive network.

1 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001. p. 143.
2 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – "Castelos Medievais do Noroeste de Portugal". In *Finis Terrae – Estudios en Lembranza do Prof. Dr. Alberto Balil.* Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1992, pp. 380-381.

3. The base of the tower evinces a squared structure.

Also throughout the 11th century, several monasteries were endowed with a defensive precinct, as in the cases of the monasteries of Saint Peter of Cête (Paredes), owning the Castle of Vandoma, and the Holy Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), defended by the Fortified Village of Ordins.

The majority of these defensive sites, the *rural castles*, was very elementary in construction, profiting from rough natural conditions, in high locations and with granite flourishings. In the case of Vandoma, the defensive precinct was composed of a wall, without towers, serving as a fencing that surrounded a rather wide area[3].

As C. A. Ferreira de Almeida states, stockbreeding for the feudal lords, which could be done in distant lands, had a great importance in the economy of yore. One of the most pressing chores facing news of an attack was to gather the cattle, which explains the extensive perimeter of the stone fencing to keep them, as testified by the case of Vandoma[4].

The hill in which the Castle of Aguiar is settled is a conical elevation in shale, whose upper part, facing Northwest-Southeast, must have been flattened. To the West, where we find platforms, there seems to have been a slope with a defensive wall. Access to the top is done through a helicoidal course. Although the site is lower than the remaining hills surrounding it, its position and shape allow an "easy defensive disposition and assure defense"[5].

It is not odd that these defense and refuge sites, especially considering their complex path, became consecrated and folklorized, frequently being surrounded by legends and sayings. The existence of forti-

3 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – "Castelos Medievais do Noroeste de Portugal". In *Finis Terrae – Estudios en Lembranza do Prof. Dr. Alberto Balil.* Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1992, pp. 383-384.

4 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001. p. 142.

5 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – "Os Castelos de Aguiar de Sousa e de Vandoma/Baltar". In *O Concelho de Paredes. Boletim Municipal.* Paredes: Câmara Municipal de Paredes, Vol. 3, 1980, pp. 15-17.

fied chapels to protect the site is documented from a very early time. They often became the focus for devotion and pilgrimage. It is curious to notice that the hills where these consecrated castles were (highly connected to the populations around them) were chosen to signal the end of the processions and litanies, especially the litanies of May. This is why there are hilltops with castles known as Ladderies or Laddery[6].

In a natural environment, the base of the tower presents a squared structure, out of center in relation to the traces of the wall's outline, which was oval-shaped.

In the 12th century, the Castle of Aguiar probably did not have the tower, although it is very common for a Romanesque castle to have a watchtower inside the upper fortified fencing.

The Romanesque castle is characterized by fencing with a reduced flanking and a central tower, the watchtower, symbol of the lord of the castle. The fencing walls mainly sought to prevent access to the inside and the subsequent assault to the watchtower, which was isolated in the middle of the precinct and served as a temporary residence to its lordship[7].

Aguiar de Sousa performed, from earlier times, an important part in the region, presenting itself as one of the most powerful Jurisdictions of Between the Douro and Minho rivers and enjoying considerable authority and wealth.

In the 13th century, the territory of Aguiar de Sousa was divided in two geographic areas: a rougher one to the North, and another to the South corresponding to the plain. In 1220's *Inquiries*, the rivers Ferreira and Sousa and the effluents Eiriz and Mezio delimited the Jurisdiction.

The territory covered by this Jurisdiction was very vast, spanning from Porto to the vicinities of Penafiel, comprehending all the parishes of the present municipality of Paredes (except for Recarei)[8]. Another 42 parishes from the peripheral municipalities were also comprised, including 8 from Gondomar[9] and 6 from the municipality of Lousada[10]. From the municipality of Paços de Ferreira, 14 parishes were found in the territory of the Jurisdiction of Aguiar de Sousa, except for Frazão, Penamaior and Seroa, which belonged to the extinct municipality of Refoios de Riba d'Ave. The remaining 13 were from the municipality of Aguiar de Sousa. That is, almost the entire municipality that now composes Paços de Ferreira, as well as the three parishes of the municipality of Valongo[11].

The Jurisdiction of Aguiar de Sousa's economy was eminently agricultural and pastoral, a fact certified both in 1220 and 1258's *Inquiries*, which mentions the taxes (in kind) owed to the King and the existence of mills, meaning the economical exploration of the water resources.

The region where the Jurisdiction was found presents a population growth in the 12th century. In the late 13th century, it is one of the most populated and densely clustered areas[12]. The population's ethnic and socio-geographic composition featured a Moorish kernel, relatively well defined in space, a kernel of descendants from foreign settlers – both Frank settlers and friars from the Order of the Hospital, which

6   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – "Castelos e Cercas Medievais. Séculos X a XIII. In MOREIRA, Rafael (dir.), *História das Fortificações Portuguesas no Mundo*. Lisboa: Edições Alfa, 1989, pp. 41-42.

7   ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001, pp. 142-143.

8   This parish was created after the extinction of the Jurisdiction of Aguiar de Sousa.

9   Covelo, Fânzeres, Jovim Medas, Rio Tinto, S. Pedro da Cova, Foz do Sousa and Valbom.

10 Casais Covas, Figueiras, Lustosa, Nevogilde, Ordem and Sousela.

11 Campo, Sobrado and the parish of the head of the municipality.

12 MATTOSO, José, KRUS, Luís and BETTENCOURT, Olga – "As Inquirições de 1258 como Fonte da História da Nobreza – O Julgado de Aguiar de Sousa". In *Revista de História Económica e Social*, No. 9, January–June, Lisboa: Sá da Costa, p. 27.

owned property in the region – and a kernel from Porto and Guimarães, with economic interests in the Jurisdiction, as shown in the investigation developed by José Mattoso, Luís Krus and Olga Bettencourt[13].

In this region Between the Douro and Minho rivers, the family of the Sousas was one of the oldest families settled in the Jurisdiction. Its first representative, Gonçalo Mendes de Sousa, owned property to the South, which he donated to the monasteries of Saint Stephen of Vilela (Paredes) and Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira). To the North, its patrimony was in the high lands and in the valleys of the Eiriz and Mezio effluents[14].

The Maia family, also settled in Aguiar de Sousa for a long time, and whose oldest representative in the Jurisdiction was Soeiro Mendes from Maia, the *Good*, owned an honor in the middle valley of the Ferreira river. According to the aforementioned authors, this territorial settlement did not correspond to the patrimonial kernel of those families, the Sousas' being in the Land of Basto, and the Maias' in the Land of Maia. The existence of patrimony of the two families in the Jurisdiction is related to the territory's defensive needs against the Moors, as the Castle of Aguiar exemplifies[15].

In the second half of the 13th century, the great noble landowners that did not belong to the most important families become related by marriage. Among them, we refer Gil Vasques de Severosa, Gil Martins de Riba Vizela and Rodrigo Froiaz de Leão. The latter married Châmoa Gomes de Tougues and would thereby inherit and administrate the family's entire patrimony. Rodrigo Froiaz de Leão became the lord of the patrimony of the Tougues and of the Barbosas, extending through Aguiar de Sousa, Felgueiras, Penafiel, Marco de Canaveses and Foz do Douro[16].

On November 25th 1513, in Lisbon, D. Manuel granted a land charter to Aguiar de Sousa, comprehending the following lands: Bairros, Besteiros, Castelões e Cepeda, Crastomil, Cristelo, Cunha, Figueiró, Gandra, Gondalães, Guidaxe, Madalena, Mouriz, Nevogilde, Parada, Pegueiros, Rebordosa, Recarei, São Paio de Casais, Sanjomil, Santa Marta, S. Martinho do Campo, Sobrado, Souzela, Vandoma, Vila Cova de Carros and Bitarães.

As certain testimonies assure, as well as local tradition, the Castle Tower of Aguiar de Sousa was subject to a restoration campaign during the first half of the 20th century, as shown by traces of cement found in the walls. More recently, the recovery of the Castle Tower of Aguiar de Sousa consisted in the architectonic and landscape interventions of conservation and enhancement carried out within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project. [LR/MB]

Chronology

10th century – Original edification;

14th century – Construction of the tower (?);

20th century (first half) – Partial restoration.

13 MATTOSO, José, KRUS, Luís and BETTENCOURT, Olga – "As Inquirições de 1258 como Fonte da História da Nobreza – O Julgado de Aguiar de Sousa". In *Revista de História Económica e Social*, No. 9, January–June, Lisboa: Sá da Costa, p. 29.
14 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 39.
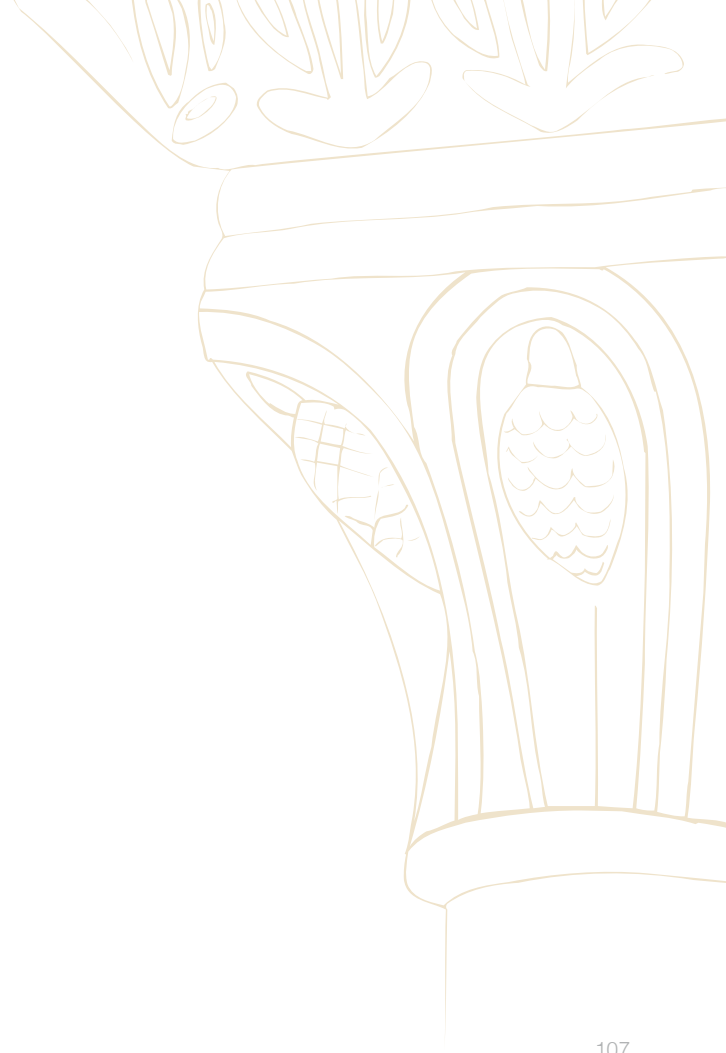15 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 39.
16 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 43.

church

CHURCH OF THE SAVIOR OF AVELEDA
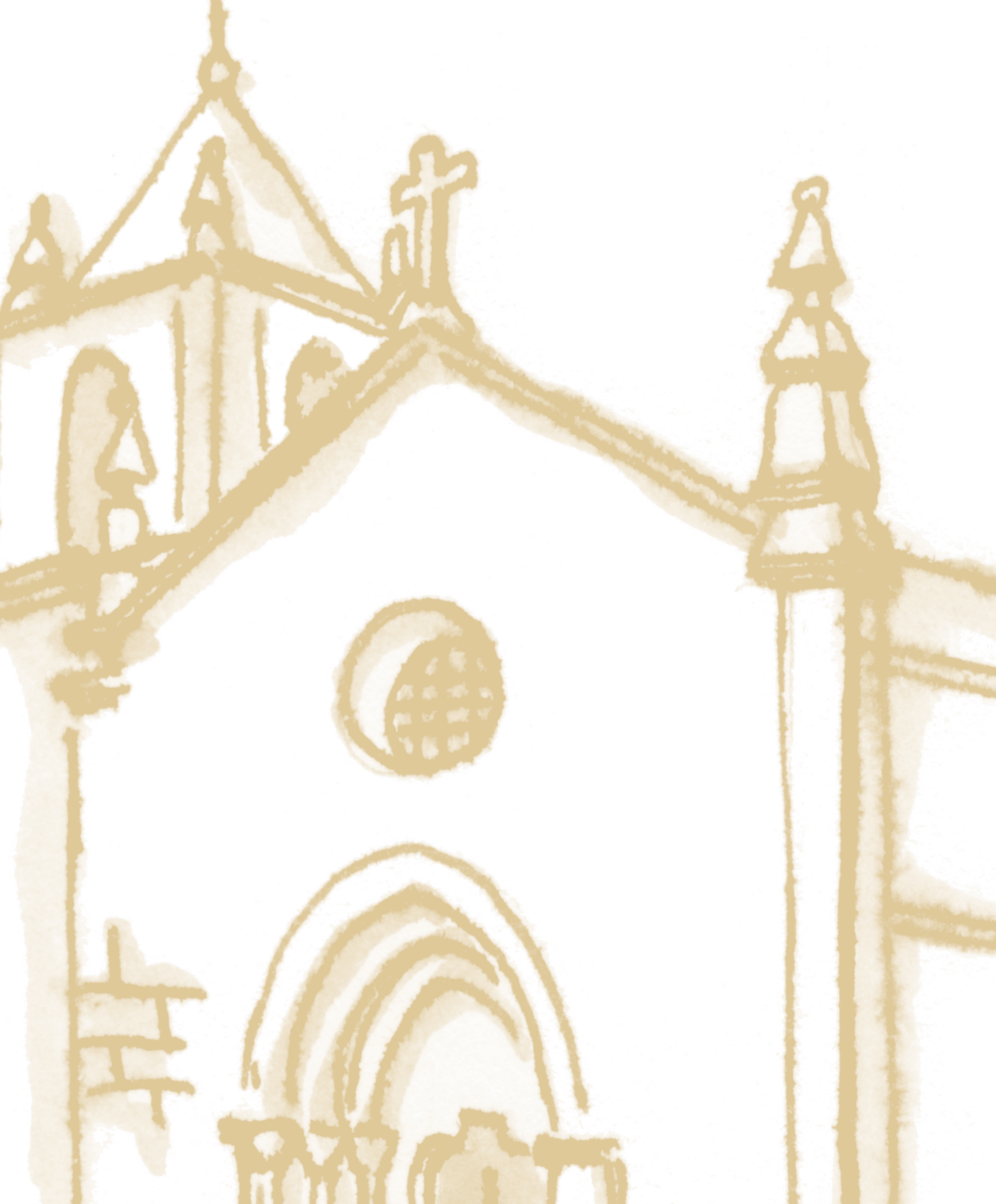
CHURCH OF THE SAVIOR OF AVELEDA

1. The church in the Middle Ages

The Church of the Savior of Aveleda, located in the place of Igreja, parish of Aveleda and municipality of Lousada, constitutes a long lasting example of the Portuguese Romanesque. The capitals' portals and sculpture indicate a very late birth, framed between the late 13th and the early 14th century, showing how much Romanesque construction was favored in this region.

The first documented references to the *uilla* of Aveleda date back to the late 11th century when, in May 23rd 1098, Pedro Astrufiz and his wife, Emízio Cidiz, sell some inherited property from the village of Aveleda to Guterre Mendes and Onega Gonçalves[1].

In 1177 there is already a reference to the *ecclesia of Auelaneda*. Vela Rodrigues donates to the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel) the property he had inherited in Lousada from his father, Rodrigo Viegas and his grandparents, Egas Moniz and Teresa Afonso[2]. The church's devotion, the Holy Savior, is in the document of 1218, as well as in 1258's Inquiries[3].

However, the church, in its present state, does not conform to such ancient chronologies. Renovated in the Modern Period, the church only maintains the nave and the West façade from the Romanesque edification. It is precisely in the West façade that the most eloquent Romanesque elements are, albeit the late date, present in the portal. This portal testifies to the prolonged persistence of the Romanesque forms which have penetrated in such a particular way in Portuguese Romanesque architecture. The botanical capitals are all similar and the bases' shape finds parallels with other examples from the Sousa Valley, like the churches of Saint Vincent of Sousa, the Savior of Unhão and Saint Mary of Airães (Felgueiras) and also Saint Genes of Boelhe (Penafiel).

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1 LOPES, Eduardo Teixeira – *Lousada e as suas freguesias na Idade Média.* Lousada: Câmara Municipal de Lousada, 2004, pp. 161-162.

2 IDEM, *ibidem*, pp. 164-165.

3 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 170.

The lateral portals, devoid of columns, are equally a symptom of a very late Romanesque. It would be more accurate to name these elements as *resistance Romanesque*, due to their recent aspect. The plain corbels crowning the nave's walls are yet another symptom of a construction that would hardly pertain to a period before the late 13th or even early 14th century.

Over the lateral portals runs a drip course pointing to the existence of porches, usual elements in Portuguese Romanesque churches.

Notwithstanding, a more careful analysis indicates that this church's nave has been extended in length, not all of its portions corresponding to the medieval construction. Its inner space shows a very long nave in proportion to the height, which clashes with the Romanesque sense of space. In the South façade, it seems notorious that the wall was extended to the East, since the apparel is different exactly after the space defined by the drip course.

The transept corresponds to a Modern Period construction, as the cross arch on the inside and the absence of corbels on the outside indicate. The nave was probably extended in the same period as that of the main chapel's construction, repeating the corbels' placement in the cornice, out of formal consistency. There is no lack of examples from this nave extension process, usually dictated by the population growth in the parishes.

In the church of Vila Boa de Quires (Marco de Canaveses), the nave was enlarged in 1881, a modification which prolonged it around 33 feet to the West, reusing the Romanesque façade[4]. In Saint Peter of Rubiães (Paredes de Coura), a part of the nave's body was extended in the 16th century, forcing the main chapel to move further to the East[5].

3. South side façade. The drip course and the corbels testify to the existence of a porch.

4   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, p. 95.
5   IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 58.

4. West portal. Botanical capitals.

5. West portal. Column base.

In Trás-os-Montes, the church of Saint Leocadia (Chaves) has equally seen its nave extended in length, to the West, the medieval transept remaining. In this case, the portal was not reused: much like with the Savior of Aveleda, the new portions of wall in the lateral façades have received corbels in the Romanesque fashion.

In the church of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro (Felgueiras) the façade renovation, which took place in the 18th century, has moved the wall between the two towers towards West, as well as the Romanesque rosette.

Considering that many of our churches were subject to a space extension, in the nave or transept, it is important to notice that, in the cases of the Churches of the Savior of Aveleda, Saint Peter of Rubiães, Saint Leocadia and Saint Mary of Pombeiro, the work conducted in the Modern Period has recycled and repeated elements and building techniques from the Middle Ages, manifesting an attention to the buildings' formal cohesion.

The transformation of a Romanesque church's main chapel, within the 17th or 18th century's program – take the cases of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), the Savior of Travanca (Amarante) or Saint Mary of Pombeiro (Felgueiras) –, where one can easily ascertain what belongs to the Romanesque period and what was built in Baroque fashion, is clear and evident. Nevertheless, this distinction becomes much less visible in parish churches, for they have received renovations and extensions from the Modern Period to the 19th century, as in the examples mentioned above.

6. Piece included in one of the steps separating the nave from the transept. The featured motives and the sculpting technique establish a proximity to the Mozarab or Arabic honeycomb decoration. It is probably a rehabilitation work.

In the Church of the Savior of Aveleda we must not forget the existence of a decorated piece, included in one of the steps separating the nave from the church's transept. It is a rectangular piece in granite,

where two motives were carved. The edges feature six-petal rosettes framed in circles and, in the middle, a diamond.

This element's decoration, for the featured motives as for the sculpting technique implied in them, draws resemblance to São Torcato's church friezes (Guimarães) which, in turn, find parallels in Saint Fructuosus of Montélios (Braga). In São Torcato, a late Romanesque church suffering many Modern Period modifications, remain traces of an ancient temple dating from the first half of the 10th century, integrated in the Mozarab and Northwest repopulating currents[6]. Saint Fructuous of Montélios is to this day a mysterious building as to its original date. Authors attribute it either to Visigoth or Mozarab period's architecture. Since this is not the place to discuss these complex questions, we agree that the piece reused in the Savior of Aveleda resembles the friezes in the two mentioned exemplars. It is possible that it associates with an older construction, which indeed existed, since the current church's chronology is rather posterior to the documented references described above. [LR]

2. The church in the Modern Period

7. Interior of the church nave.

According to a description from 1758, the parish of Aveleda had, asides from the parish church, three public chapels for cult celebration, devoted to Our Lady of the Rosary, Saint Bartholomew and Saint Ovid, respectively, and also, located inside an estate property, the private chapel of Our Lady of the Olives.

The parish church had, at the time, three altars, where the main altarpiece and two collateral ones were set. The same source provides detail on the number of altars and devotions: "*The main altar has the Holy Sacrament in a sacrarium and a golden tribune for its exhibition. It is placed in the same tribune as the Holy Savior of the church's devotion, and to the same altar's right, is the image of Saint Blaise, and to the left, the image of Saint Anthony. And in the said tribune are four Seraphins holding chandeliers to illuminate the Holy Sacrament when exposed. The image of the Holy Name of Jesus, the image of Saint Sebastian and the image of Saint Amator, from whom this church holds a relic, are in the collateral altar to the right*"[7].

This altarpiece ensemble was replaced, currently featuring two collateral altarpieces of elaborate Rococo design, and a main altarpiece of Neoclassic character. However, emphasis goes on the main chapel, nave and cross arch's ceiling paintings, whose author has not of yet been disclosed. The author, perfectly committed to Rococo aesthetics, has left in these paintings a permanent trace of his artistic level: an iconographic program executed by the hands of an excellent artist, where painting breathes by itself, asides from its pedagogical and decorative function in the sacred space. Presumably, the main altarpiece replaced by the current one followed the same aesthetic current ruling this space. Were it not for the main altarpiece's replacement and it would fit as a parish church renovated in the third quarter of the 18th century, where harmony was a key note.

6   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. Arte da Alta Idade Média*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, p. 132.

7   Torre do Tombo National Archive Institute – *Memórias Paroquiais de 1758*. www.iantt.pt.

The relation between the quality of the pieces modeling the sacred space and the availability of means from the ordering institution is clear: forming a quality artistic legacy could not be accomplished without the client's resources. Yesterday and today, quality has its price. It is this superlative investment in art works that best evaluates the sponsors' intellectual background, knowing how to look not for an artist to execute a certain endeavor, but *the best artist*. In the Modern Period, when clienteles were cultural and economically powerful, they knew how to look for the best. And in a hierarchic society as that of the Ancien Regime, financial resources and intellectual breeding went hand in hand.

This building contains pictorial ingredients revealing the identity of a chief artist in his craft's universe. In a parish church peripheral to the greater region's great producing centers, as Porto, Braga, Guimarães and Viana do Castelo, only a sponsorship of impressive intellectual and economic caliber would sustain such an endeavor. The artistic filling dated from the 18th century is justified by the fact that the Church of Aveleda had integrated the Royal Patronage, attached to the patrimony of the Princess and Duchess of Bragança. It is a work sponsored by royal patronage.

Royal patronage was decisive and justified the high artistic quality achieved inside the building, putting this church on the spotlight among the set of Rococo interiors in the North of Portugal. The gilding and the painting in particular are the fields that make this interior so remarkable.

2. 1. Renovation in the 17th-18th centuries

Being a church of medieval origin, architectonic and artistic elements from the most ancient times and others testifying to transformations in the Modern Period are visible, either in the exterior, or in the interior, like the sacristy, the main chapel and the bell tower. These are structures dated from the 17th-18th centuries, composing different levels of the building's volumetric.

Outside, regarding the main façade, the old building's renovation is visible, particularly in the triangular pediment, in its enhancement with pyramidal finishing topped with spheres and also in the inclusion of the bell tower adjacent to the North side. Presenting a quadrangular design and pyramidal cover, the latter summons two registers: the first reaches the beginning of the nave's roof and the other corresponds to the level of the four spans torn for the bells.

In the building's North projection, the sacristy volume, with a gabled rooftop, placed perpendicularly in relation to the main chapel, reinforces the global perception of the renovation that took place in the Modern Period, comprehending the church's transept. This unit features a triangular pediment, in which pyramids with spheres were placed in the lateral vortexes and a cross in the central vortex.

The volume answering to the main chapel shows the plain construction projections, presenting, in the back wall, a triangular pediment with an identical finishing to those of the main façade and sacristy.

The intervention undergone in the Modern Period, in the church's transept area, is also visible in the modifications to the stone apparel, on top of the nave's body, and furthermore, in the interruption of the medieval design existing in the lateral projections. The initial nave was probably extended in length, including in the supplementary area a rectangular span for a better interior illumination.

Entering the building, the visitor is confronted with an interior whose conception strongly differs from the medieval architectonic conception. It is a space manifesting a strong economic commitment, conducted as to change the temple's interior into a space where the artistic tendencies from the second half of the

8. Main altarpiece in the Neoclassic fashion. Early 19th century.

18th century would fully serve the liturgical practices, in which stimulating the senses still performed a decisive role. There was enough will and money, and the works and artistic equipments attained a superior level regarding aesthetic quality and consistency.

Whether in the nave or in the main chapel we find elements of exceptional quality, extremely important for characterizing the interior as far as the Modern Period interventions go, from which we stress their well-preserved condition. The paintings covering the entire sacred space's coating system maintain the initial palette without any repainting or extensions.

In the nave space, whose depth is quite striking in comparison to the main chapel, we point your attention to the painted wood coating in the ceiling and in the triumph arch's wall surface, to the altarpiece structures of the collateral altars and the pulpit as paradigmatic examples of the high level artistic conception applied in this interior. It all derives into an extremely homogenous whole, greatly due to the balance and communion between the applied forms, all committed to the Rococo fashion.

The collateral altarpieces and gilded coatings (organically connecting the structures to the triumph arch) stem from the corners formed by the triumph arch's wall and the lateral walls, featuring a design that points to structures typical of Braga's Rococo gilding, This may indicate these pieces' possible production location. Painted in white, gold and beige, these pieces are encased in half arches torn in the nave's lateral projections, forwarding the gilding to the surface of the triumph arch's wall. This solution of inserting the altarpiece in a half arch is equally found in certain buildings from the city of Braga, namely in the Convent of Our Lady of Penha de França. The body of these altarpiece apparels is composed of two straight frustum columns, framing a central niche destined to imagery, while sustaining fragments of an entablature, over which the structure's carved, asymmetric finishing evolves. The carved decoration is relatively contained, consisting mainly in the apposition of golden seashell elements over the flat surfaces of the architectonical elements structuring the altarpieces' composition. The niche interior is painted, the decoration drawn over a blue background and formed by botanical motives, in which floral representations are dominant and the prevailing hues focus on blue, pink and grey. The composition's vehemence reports back to the expression of Friar José de Santo António Ferreira Vilaça, the architect and wood carver monk who worked in the Monasteries of Pombeiro and Paço de Sousa.

Governing the nave, a majestic draped pulpit reveals the same authorship as that of the collateral altarpieces. The botanical elements, expressively treated, circulated in book prints from France and Central Europe, known in Portugal since the first half of the 18th century. These books promoted the ornate and the asymmetrical composition, prerogative of the Rococo.

The main chapel, outlined by the triumph arch, presents a main altarpiece in Neoclassic gilding from the early 19th century, painted in white and gold, organized according to a drawing dominated by a *Serlian*. The perfect central arch corresponds to the tribune hosting the Eucharistic throne, the latter formed by five landings. The ornamental decoration is extremely contained and consists of understated botanical notes, overcoming the architectonic structure of Classical root, which normalized the Corinthian order.

2. 2. Ceiling painting and the iconographic program

The main chapels and church naves' ceilings are fields where one may track down the modifications introduced in the sacred space in the 17th and 18th centuries. They were enhanced by an overall gilded coating, by sectioned gilding with figurative paintings or botanical motives, and also by the illusionist painting of feigned architectures and volumetric, as well as by the masking of coating systems inherited from the Middle Ages with exclusively decorative painting.

The goals consisted in embellishing a church element, assuming an exclusively decorative character with a repository of forms describing the vocabularies of the Mannerism, Baroque and Rococo, thus contributing to the sacred space's aesthetic enhancement and update; or inserting the ceiling in the iconographic complex characterizing the sacred interiors from the 17th and 18th centuries, becoming a catalogue of figurative images of the church's devotional saints. In this case, space interpretation and its artistic reading foresees the imagery and painting sustaining the altarpieces, the images depicted in the figurative tiling of the Joanine Baroque and the Rococo, and their correlation to the themes represented in the ceilings.

Each image performed a pre-determined pedagogical function, concurring to each temple's global message to the pious and becoming God's undoubted address. The Catholic temple is populated by an universe of images, whose key, the interpretation of its code contained in the examples and virtues of the lives of the saints, was understood by the church's congregation. The Catholic temple was meant to be the image of the celestial court. Therefore, it was populated with characters that, having overcome the precariousness of earthly life, inhabited the celestial court by the right granted through the virtue that

9. Main chapel ceiling depicting the emblems of the *Litany of Our Lady*.

guided their human dimension. The church, as a building, was a temple of virtue offered to the Catholics of the post-reform Portugal. And image is still more persuasive than words.

In the 17th and early 18th centuries, Portuguese ceiling painting follows a typology that steps away from what was then followed in Italy. It is the time of sectioned painting: a gilded frame worked as a section divider for small painted panels, either with a hagiographic theme, or a mere exclusively decorative and repetitive theme, depicting flowers, corner leaves, volutes and angels. Later on, and already under external influence, ceiling painting follows an illusionist course.

This line, initially detected in the Court's circle (Lisbon) is introduced in the North of Portugal, in the Sees of Porto and Lamego, by the hand of Italian master Nicolau Nasoni, as a fresco painting technique. There is, however, another barely studied nucleus, evolving from the See of Braga and the modifications conducted under its archbishop, D. Rodrigo de Moura Teles (1704-1728). Illusionist oil painting on wood was used, spreading the trend to other urban buildings and leaving a trace in the lateral nave ceilings of the church of Pombeiro. This tridimensional formal address included figurative religious themes.

Another important aspect is the emblems associated to the levels of excellence and virtue of the sacred characters' lives. Considering the Marian cult's primacy in Portugal, emblems of the Litany of Our Lady were stamped in sectioned structures, in a trend that evolved particularly since 1640 and Portugal's consecration to Immaculate Conception, extending to the second half of the 18th century.

As we have mentioned before, inside this temple we point your attention, for the great artistic interest they reveal, to the pictorial programs developed in the nave and main chapel's coverage, on which we shall presently focus.

In the church nave, the ceiling paintings' elegant forms describe a vocabulary evolving in Portugal from the mid 18th century onwards. Bearing the same type of skill, the painting on the triumph arch's wall, also executed on wood, presents a design stylistically identical to that of the painting on the nave's cover. About the main chapel's pictorial program, albeit a different organization, meaning, fragmented in multiple panels, two execution stages are visible: the integration of certain composition panels from the early 18th century, next to panels of more complete design, and superior technique, where Rococo decoration prevails. Thus, we witness an artistic reformulation coexisting with the nave's ceiling painting. This formal renovation of a sectioned painting structure matched a demand for higher artistic quality, updating it to the aesthetic of the remaining ensemble's pictorial program.

The nave's ceiling consists of a structure made of wood, shaped as a barrel vault, with a polychrome painting applied over a neutral background, presenting two large figurative paintings, framed by botanical decorative elements of Rococo design, among which hover small angels [See Iconographic scheme of the triumph arch and the nave's ceiling]. This cover's total area is cut in half by a discontinuity of the represented forms, dividing the ceiling in two parts, one closer to the church's main entrance, where the painting representing the *Ascension of Christ* is, and another, next to the triumph arch, including an *Allegory of Eucharist*. At regular intervals, in the lateral limits of this ceiling's painted surface, are devotional prayers including the representations of the four evangelists, St John, St Lucas, St Matthew and St Mark – placed by the painting alluding to the scene of the *Ascension of Christ* – and also the depictions of the two pillars of Catholic church, Saint Peter and Saint Paul – alongside the allegoric painting referring to the *Eucharist*. The color palette shifts between blue, pink and orange, the neutral background painted in white while the six panels bordering the set are monochromatic. There is great quality in the design, the forms

predicted by this program denouncing a great technical skill in the approach to anatomy and drapery, also accomplishing, especially in the representations included in the main paintings, the notion of depth and volume. In this manner, all these aspects confer a great artistic exquisiteness to the whole.

This coating also extends through the triumph arch's wall, the forms depicted consisting of a pictorial scheme in which feigned architectonic elements are introduced over a neutral background, now painted in darkened brown. As an architectonic finishing to the triumph arch's structure, there are paintings on wood of seashell decorative motives and also of small angels, juxtaposed to elements of architectonic matrix drawn in *trompe l'oeil*.

In turn, that feigned crowning's axis is dominated by the representation of the *Holy Trinity*, in which a large devotional prayer is included in an asymmetric frame, decorated with *rocaille* motives. The dominant palette is still mainly consisting of pink, blue and orange. This painting is without a doubt the best accomplishment in the program, where the artist reveals his full expertise in mastering the painting technique: painting over drawing; volumetric and sculptural depiction of the characters, anatomic treatment, and a brilliant capacity to adapt painting to space, where the decorative elements treated with a sensitive and vigorous brush stroke lend the triumph arch's whole a magnificently dramatic effect.

As to the main chapel's cover coating, also within the Rococo taste, the great difference in relation to the nave's ceiling lies in the fact that it is organized according to a structure formed by sections. Twenty-eight panels, painted in wood, form a perfect arch, whose theme is specifically addressed to Marian iconography [See Iconographic scheme of the main chapel's ceiling]. Several emblems were painted, associated to elements mentioned in the prayer of the *Litany of Our Lady*, which include the asymmetric seashell elements of the *roccaille* aesthetic, prevailing, as seen in the nave's ceiling, the blue and pink hues.

For all of the aforementioned aspects, this interior is a fundamental pillar in the group of monuments existing in the North of Portugal that have included Rococo elements during the 18th century's enhancement and aesthetical renovation.

This interior is unique in the region for the quality demonstrated in the various artistic components, fundamentally, regarding ceiling painting in the bodies of the nave and main chapel. [MJMR/DGS]

10. Nave ceiling of Rococo design.

ICONOGRAPHIC SCHEME OF THE TRIUMPH ARCH AND THE NAVE'S CEILING

1 – *Ascension of the Lord*

2 – *Eucharist*

3 – *Holy Trinity*

A – Saint Peter

B – Saint Paul

C – Saint Lucas

D – Saint Mark

E – Saint Mathew

F – Saint John

ICONOGRAPHIC SCHEME OF THE MAIN CHAPEL'S CEILING

SCHEME OF THE MAIN CHAPEL'S SECTIONED CEILING

MARIAN THEME: LITANY OF THE HOLY VIRGIN

1. «*SPECULLUM JUSTITIAE/Sol justiae Malac.4*» [Mirror of Justice]

2. «*SEDES SAPIENTAE"* [Thirst for Wisdom]

3. «*REFUGIUM PECATORUM.CAUSA NOSTRE LETITIAE*» [Refuge of the Sinners. Cause for Our Joy]

4. «*VAS SPIRITUALE"* [Spiritual Vessel]

5. «*VAS HONORABILE"* [Honorific Vessel]

6. «*VAS INSIGNE DEVOTIONIS"* [Insigne Devotion Vessel]

7. «*ROSA MYSTICA"* [Mystical Rose]

8. «*TURRIS DAVIDICA/Iurristortitudinis a facie inimici.Pl.60*» [Tower of David]

9. «*TURRIS EBURNEA/Collum tuum sicut turris eburnea. Cant.7*» [Ivory Tower]

10. «*DOMUS AUREA"* [Gold House]

11. «*FOEDERIS ARCA"* [Ark of the Alliance]

12. «*JANUA COELI"* [Gate of Heaven]

13. «*STELLA MATUTINA*» [Morning Star]

14. «*SALUS INFIRMORUM*» [Health of the Sick]

15. «*CONSOLATRIX AFFLICTORUM*» [Comforter of the Afflicted]

16. «*AUXILIUM CHRISTIANORUM"* [Aid of the Christians]

17. «*REGINA ANGELORUM"* [Queen of Angels]

18. «*REGINA PATRIARCHARUM"* [Queen of Patriarchs]

19. «*REGINA PROPHETARUM./Testimonium Jesu est spirit prophetice. Ap.19*» [Queen of Profets]

20. «*REGINA APOSTULORUM"* [Queen of Apostles]

21. «*REGINA MARTYRUM./Tuam Ipsios animam"* [Queen of Martyrs]

22. «*REGINA CONFESSORUM*» [Queen of Confessors]

23. «*REGINA VIRGINUM"* [Queen of Virgins]

24. «*REGINA SANCTORUM OMNIUM"* [Queen of All Saints]

25. «*AGNUS DEI QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI./Agnus qui occisus est.Ap.5*» [Lamb of God that taketh Sin from the World]

A. «*SANCTA MARIA*» [Holy Mary]

B. «*Língua Mea – Medita Bitur Laudem Tuam Pl.34*»

C. «*DEUS PURIFICA*» [God Cleanses]

3. Restoration and conservation

The restoration conducted in the Church of Aveleda developed as of late, a fact that can be explained by the building's good condition.

In the 1980s, restoration and conservation works began in the temple, comprehending: fixing the coverage, cleaning the ceiling and cross arch paintings, restoring the gilded altars, replacing the pavement, building granite stone steps in the triumph arch area, separating thus the nave from the main chapel, applying coating to the interior and in a main chapel door opening, to provide access to the sacristy.

In 2004 and 2005, there were conservation and maintenance works done to the building, under the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley program*. [MB]

Chronology

12th century – Reference to the Church of Aveleda;

(late) 13th and 14th centuries – Church reconstruction;

17th and 18th centuries – Reconstruction of the main chapel and placement of the altarpieces, sacristy, bell tower and interior renovation: gilding and painting;

18th century (2nd half) – Painting the triumph arch and nave ceiling. Collateral altarpieces;

19th century – Main altarpiece;

1982/83 – Restoration and preservation: coverage, cleaning the ceilings and cross arch paintings, restoration of the gilding. New pavement, construction of granite stone steps in the triumph arch to separate the nave from the main chapel, application of coating to the interior, opening a span in the main chapel to access the sacristy;

2004/2005 – General conservation works under the Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley: covering, exterior batters and spans; renovating the main chapel's adjacent space and the electrical installation; repairing the nave and main chapel's ceilings; painting the triumph arch and pulpit.
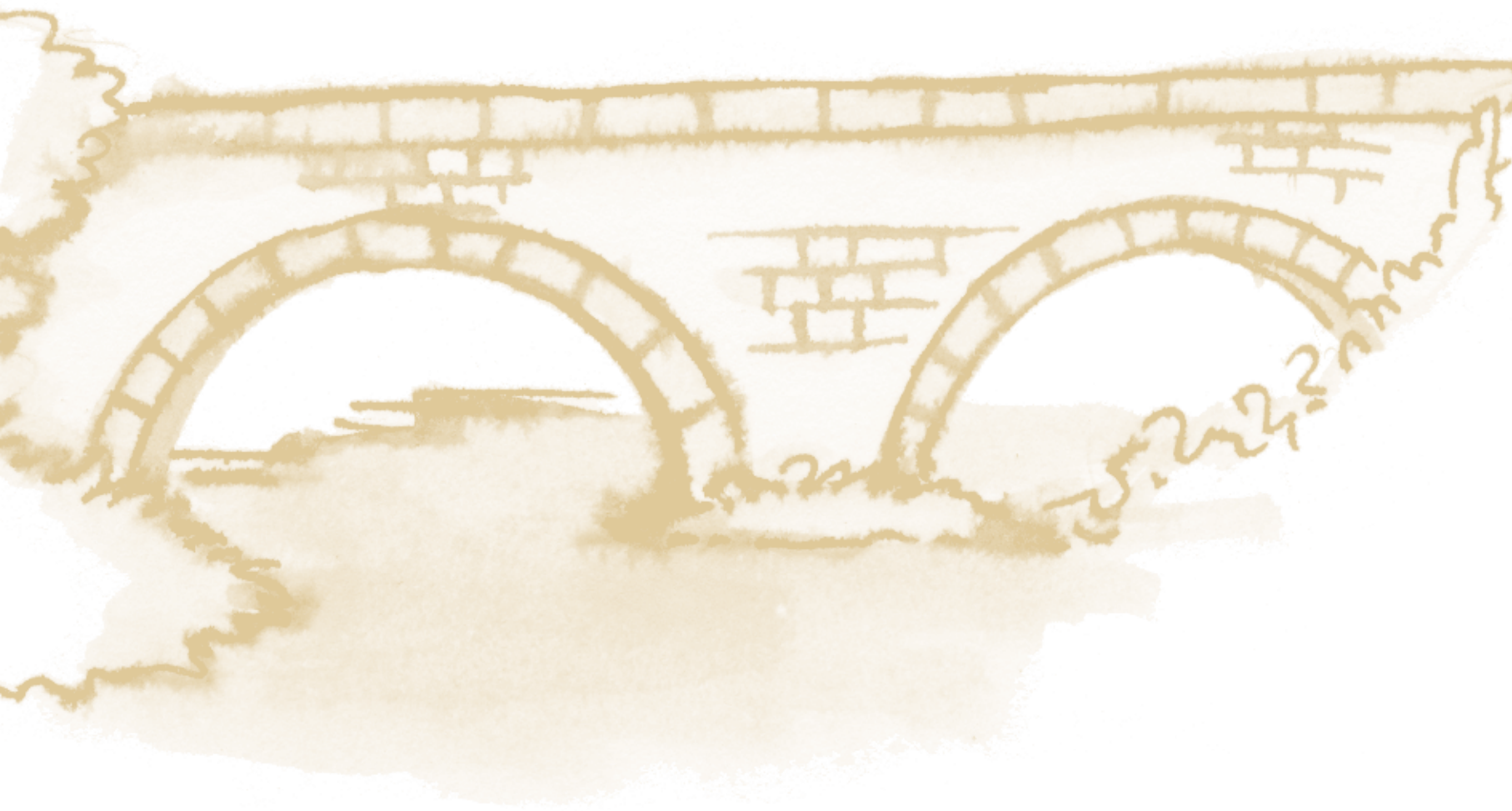
bridges

VILELA BRIDGE AND ESPINDO BRIDGE

VILELA BRIDGE AND ESPINDO BRIDGE
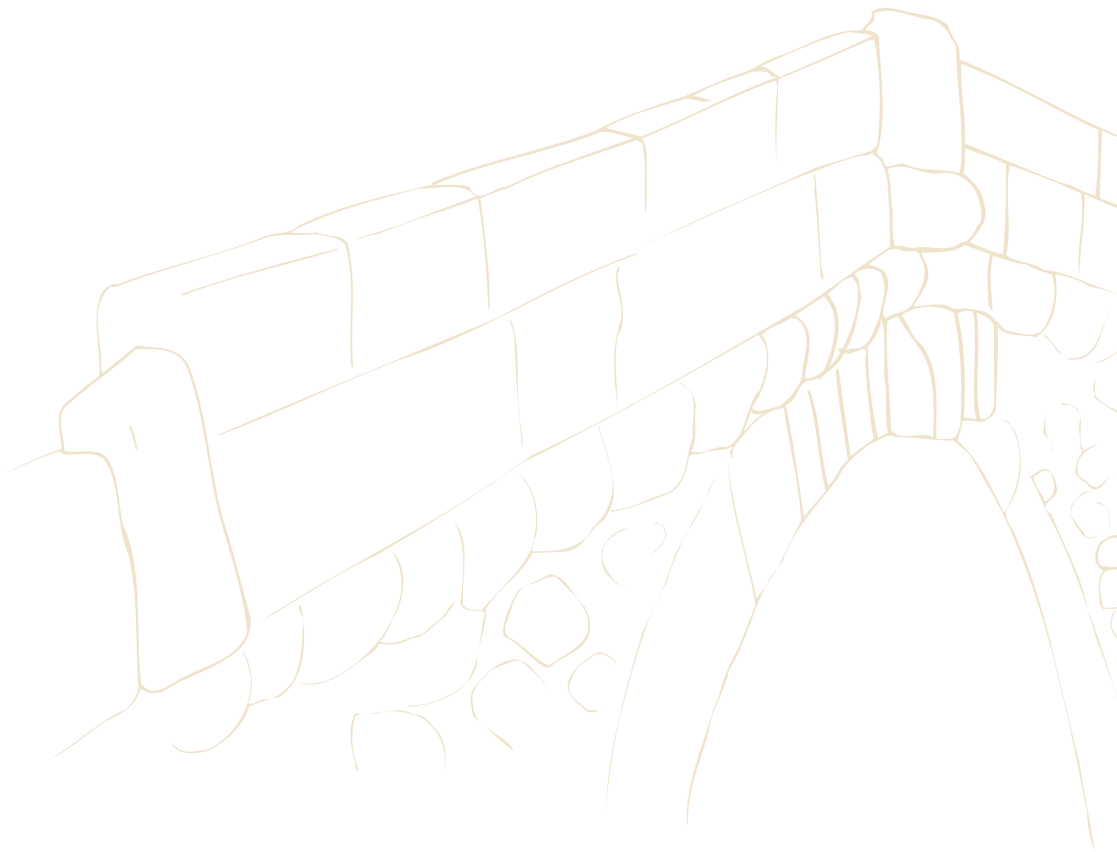
Vilela bridge, in the parish of Aveleda, municipality of Lousada, eases the crossing of the Sousa river, establishing the connection between the place of Vilela, West of Caíde de Rei, and the places of Vilar de Nuste and Cartão[1].

In granite masonry, the Vilela Bridge is composed of four perfect arches. The arches are supported in three large blind pillars, reinforced with triangular cut-waters upstream, and squared piers downstream. The spans of the two lateral arches are currently shoaled. The tray is horizontal over the central arches, and rampant at the tops, featuring a pavement of granite tiles and laterally protected by a railing, also made of granite. This bridge's panels do not present any initials, an element often present in medieval bridges.

It is difficult to pin a date to it. This bridge of technical and building characteristics similar to those of the medieval period may correspond to the period when the Sousa Valley saw a greater need to improve circulation, as well as the need to cross the natural obstacle, the Sousa river.

1. At Vilela bridge the arches are supported by three large pillars reinforced with triangular cut-waters to the river's spring.

1   Various Authors – "Ponte de Vilela". In *Estudo de Valorização e Salvaguarda das Envolventes aos Monumentos da Rota do Românico do Vale do Sousa. 2ª Fase.* Vol. 2. Porto, 2005, p. 215.

Espindo bridge, in the parish of Meinedo, municipality of Lousada, eases the crossing of the Sousa river, establishing the road connection between the places of Bustelo and Boim.

According to a study supervised by the DGEMN[2], this small bridge is composed of a single perfect arch supported in solid pillars springing directly from the river banks, the one on the left bank, upstream, being protected by a wall or islet.

The span's width lead to the elevation of the arch and the placement of the tray in trestle. It is a granite stone construction with irregularly bonded batters, contrasting with the regular stone bonding of the arch, featuring well cut voussoirs.

It is also difficult to pin a date to this bridge. It resembles a medieval bridge, technically and constructively.

2. Espindo bridge, made of a single arch supported by pillars stemming directly from the banks.

Although the Vilela and Espindo bridges correspond to an advanced chronology, the construction revives, in many ways, the medieval bridges that composed a great deal of the building effort of the Romanesque and Gothic Periods.

The quality of these bridges, their fine water resistance and endurance have forged a much prized and repeated building pattern in the Modern Period and even during the 19th century when, in the framework of the development policies of Fontes Pereira de Melo, the Portuguese road system was greatly renovated.

In the Middle Ages, the great building activity concerning bridges is obviously attached to road history. As Mário Barroca wrote, the necessity to renovate the road network inherited from the late Roman period and inadequate to the new needs was one of the factors that contributed to the widespread construction of bridges[3].

As C. A. Ferreira de Almeida refers, from the 12th century till the 13th century, improving roads and building bridges is considered as merciful deeds.

Saint Gonçalo of Amarante and Saint Lourenço Mendes, responsible for the construction of the bridges of Amarante and Cavês, respectively, were sanctified by the people, just like Saint Benizet of Avignon (France) and Saint Domingo of Calzada (Rioja, Spain)[4], demonstrating that this phenomenon of considering the construction of bridges as pious works was common in other European countries.

2 Various Authors – "Ponte de Espindo". In *Estudo de Valorização e Salvaguarda das Envolventes aos Monumentos da Rota do Românico do Vale do Sousa. 2ª Fase*. Vol. 1. Porto, 2005, p. 196.

3 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de and BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *O Gótico. História da Arte em Portugal*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2002, p. 125.

4 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001, pp. 148-149.

3. To the river basin, Vilela Bridge's cut-waters are quadrangular.

In the wills of kings, noblemen and clergy are several references to donations for the construction of bridges. D. Afonso Henriques contributed to the construction of the bridges of Coimbra, Ave (Bagunte, Vila do Conde) and Piares, in the Douro river.

The bridges of the Romanesque period were more careful with their foundations than the Roman bridges, seeking firmer grounds for construction. This is why, in C. A. Ferreira de Almeida's opinion, medieval bridges lasted better to bad weather and floods.

The Romanesque bridges usually feature great arches whose height sometimes imposes a trestle bridge, that is, of double ramp, as a solution. They widely develop the cut-waters upstream and the piers downstream[5].

In the Gothic period, the bridge building technique is not much different from the solutions of the Romanesque bridge, albeit a more systematical usage of a trestle and arch (or arches) structure, with wider amplitude in the middle, so as to provide less resistance to water when floods occur. The Gothic bridge is also more monumental-looking.

For its proportion and because it consecrates an important and very ancient path, partially integrating a former Roman bridge, the Ponte de Lima bridge is a work from the second quarter of the 14th century which should be pointed out for its remarkable construction. It is composed of eighteen slightly broken arches and corresponds to a new typology, present in other bridges of the roads of Santiago, and revived in the North of Portugal in Ponte da Barca and Vilar de Mouros. Next to the village, the bridge was integrated in a door of the fencing and, in the right bank of the Lima river, it featured a tower.

This monumentalization of bridges, fortifying them, is an innovation from the Gothic period, as Mário Barroca pointed out. The Barcelos bridge also had a tower attached to the Palace of the Count. This bridge, composed of six uneven arches, is presumably from the end of the first quarter of the 14th century, the chapel of Our Lady of the Bridge being from the same period. The Sequeiros bridge, over the Côa river (Vale Longo, Sabugal) preserves part of a squared tower, and the Aramenha bridge (Marvão) chose to have the tower in a slightly withdrawn place. Better known is the monumentalized bridge of Ucanha (Tarouca) which, like in the two last mentioned exemplars, is already from the 15th century[6].

Also noteworthy are the Gothic bridges of Langoncinha (Famalicão) over the Ave, with six arches, Prado (Vila Verde) over the Cávado, structured in nine arches, and Caves (Cabeceiras de Basto), already documented in the 13th century, over the Tâmega, in the nearby regions of Minho and Trás-os-Montes.

Building bridges left deep traces in the Portuguese medieval landscape. According to C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, among the civil architecture of the Romanesque period, emphasis should be placed on the numerous bridges built at the time "for the interest that was then devoted to them, for the impact they represented, for the transformation of the landscape they always brought along, for the technical and economical means they required and for the benefits they provided to communication and men"[7].

The conservation and recovery works of the Vilela and Espindo bridges were focused in consolidating the structure, cleaning and removing biologic pathologies and landscaping the surrounding area, and they were conducted within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project.

4. At Espindo bridge, the span has forced the elevation of the arch and the positioning of the tray in trestle.

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5 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001, pp. 138-140.
6 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de; BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *O Gótico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2002, pp. 124-128.
7 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001, p.149.

church

CHURCH OF SAINT GENES OF BOELHE
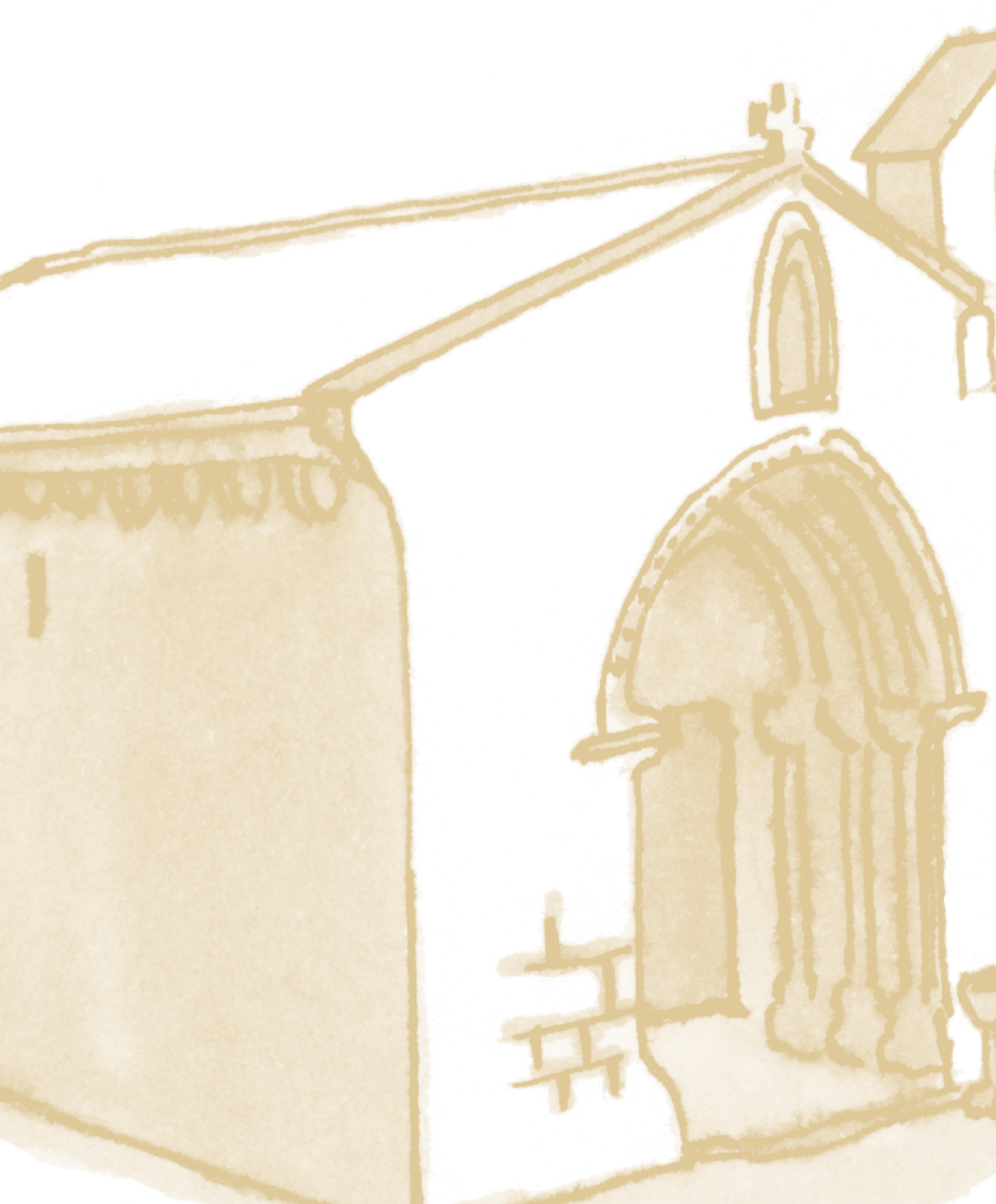
CHURCH OF SAINT GENES OF BOELHE
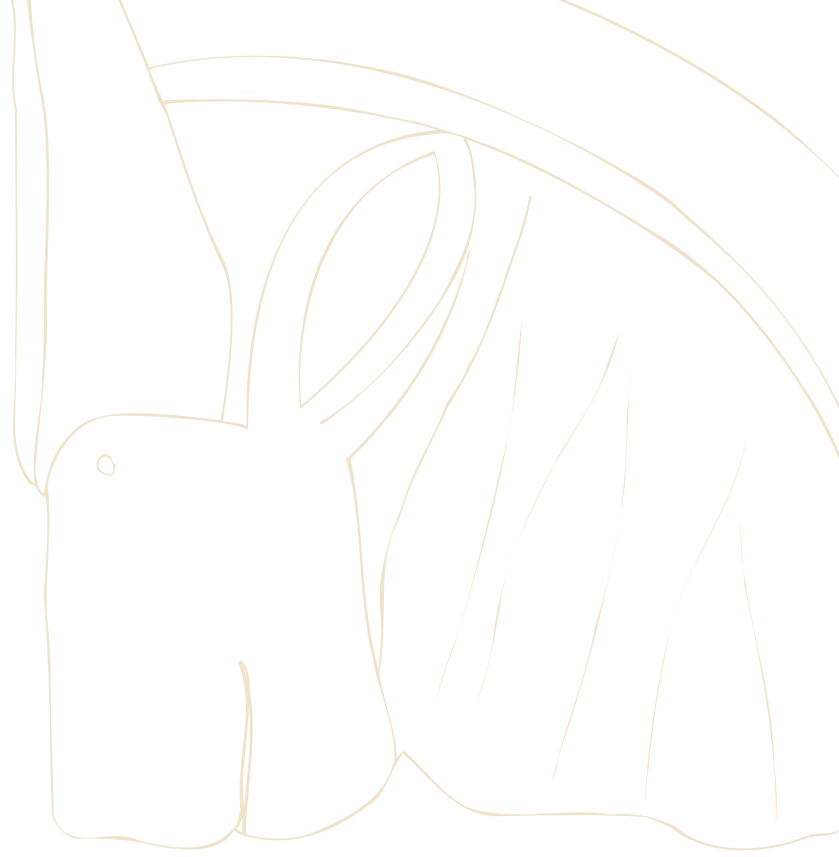
1. The church in the Middle Ages

Set on one of the Tâmega river's banks, in a landscaped framing that shows the ancient roots of the territory's occupation, the Church of Saint Genes of Boelhe, in the municipality of Penafiel, is a rather intriguing monument in the context of the Portuguese Romanesque architecture, showing how much the latter offered original – very rural and very local – decorative expressions.

The parish of Saint Genes of Boelhe is featured in 1258's Inquiries, although there is an older document, dated from 1111, testifying the existence of a place named *uilla Boneli*.

Tradition attributes the church's foundation either to D. Sancho's daughter, Pious Mafalda, or to her grandmother, queen D. Mafalda, D. Afonso Henriques' wife, notorious for founding hostels and bridges, a work considered as pious and penitent in the Middle Ages. The queen founded a hostelry in Canaveses, where poor travelers were taken in and cared for, tradition crediting her with the bridge over the Douro river, in Barqueiros, and another bridge, over the Tâmega, as well as the passage boats "for God" in Moledo and Porto de Rei.

The foundation of the church of Saint Peter of Abragão, equally located in the municipality of Penafiel, is also attributed either to Queen D. Mafalda or D. Sancho I's daughter. Truth is that Pious Mafalda was presumably raised by Urraca Viegas de Riba Douro, patron of the monastery of the Savior of Tuías (Marco de Canaveses), precisely in the Honor of Louredo (municipality of Paredes), her tutor's estate[1]. This aspect of her life may have contributed to cement tradition that claims her as the foundress of Boelhe and Abragão. D. Mafalda's will distributed her assets around monasteries and churches, among which the patronage of the church of Louredo and assets left to the Monastery of Paço de Sousa[2].

1. Set on one of the Tâmega's riversides, the church of Saint Genes of Boelhe testifies to this region's ancient parish network.

1 COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz – *Arouca. Uma Terra, um Mosteiro, uma Santa*. Arouca: Real Irmandade da Rainha Santa Mafalda/Museu de Arte Sacra de Arouca, 2005, p. 25.
2 IDEM, *ibidem*, pp. 40-41, 110.

Equally worthy of note is the Hermitage Memorial, also in Penafiel, traditionally referred to as a resting spot for the funeral corteges of Pious Mafalda from Rio Tinto to the Monastery of Arouca, which D. Sancho's daughter has reformed.

The church of Saint Genes of Boelhe, with a single rectangular nave and transept, follows the most common design in Portuguese Romanesque architecture. In Entre-Douro-e-Minho, 80% of the remaining churches from this period feature this disposition. The wood coating, in the nave as in the transept, is also the most frequent, mainly in parish churches, since the stone vault, even concerning the transept only, is much more expensive and requires a more complex workshop and hiring masters with vast knowledge in stereometrics, which was not always possible.

Nevertheless, in spite of the Church of Boelhe's apparent simplicity, one should stress the quality in wall construction. The pseudo-isodome ensemble features very well appareled panels where an impressive amount of geometrical and alphabetical signs is visible.

The mason's engravings in the Romanesque buildings have, from an earlier stage, become more common in rural churches, especially from the early 13th century onwards. Although little is known on the workshop's organization in the Portuguese case, the best documented European examples indicate that, when the masons were hired by the piece, acronyms were used to account for their work which, according

3. Transept. South and East façades. This church's very well appareled panels display an impressive amount of geometrical and alphabetical signs.

4. Alphabetical and geometrical signs. These masonry markings were used to account for the mason's work. Boelhe's signs, frequent and repeated, suggest that the church was probably made by half a dozen masons.

5. West portal archivolts and capitals showing the beveled edge cuttings, common in the Sousa Valley's rural Romanesque.

6. West portal capital.

7. West portal. Note the originality in the making of the sculpted capitals and graphitic ornaments of crosses inside circles, pointing to the revival of traditional techniques used in Pre-Romanesque forms of architecture.

to C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, became a powerful way of promoting these initials[3]. These initials are also signs of the mason's prestige, for they correspond to a signature. Boelhe's initials, frequent and repeated, suggest that the church would have been built by half a dozen masons[4].

There are, nonetheless, signs that correspond to *position markings*, more frequently placed in the stone faces that remained hidden, but sometimes shown in the panel's external face, as it happens in Boelhe, where some of the geometric signs appearing in the arcades would have had that function.

The main portal has six columns, two of which with prismatic frustum, starting from the bulb-like bases, as with the church portals of Saint Vincent of Sousa, the Savior of Unhão and Saint Mary of Airães (Felgueiras), and ending in capitals similar to corbels.

We bring your attention to these capitals' sculpture originality, with beveled palms, typical of the rural Romanesque of the Sousa Valley, graphitic ornaments of crosses within circles, very ancient motives accusing the revival of traditional decorative techniques employed in the Pre-Romanesque architectures of the Visigoth and Mozarab periods, and making this church one of the most accomplished decorative expressions of rural Romanesque.

In the South side of the main façade's pediment remains the arch of the belfry or bell tower that housed the bell.

3 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001, p. 73.
4 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 121.

8. West and North façades. The exuberance of the corbel sculptures testifies to one of the most emblematic aspects of Romanesque sculpture: the taste for variety. The North façade has received corbels of a more diversified sculpture than the South façade, since the latter was meant to be covered by a porch.

In the lateral South façade, the corbels present themselves as less sculpted, whereas those in the North side, probably because this face was not meant to be hidden by constructions, present motives that span from bull's heads to men carrying stones or even geometric elements.

These corbel's sculpture exuberance exemplifies two of the most characteristic aspects of Romanesque sculpture: the taste for variety and the desire to impress.

In fact, in a Romanesque church, the corbels and capitals show a wide variety of motives and themes. It is unusual that, in the same portal, the capitals look all alike. When they do, they usually are already reporting to Proto-Gothic solutions.

To this taste for variety is added the desire to impress. A church bearing such a great variety in the corbels, as is the case of the North façade of Saint Genes of Boelhe, clearly portrays this motivation. Stone craftsmanship has always been impressive, either for its work's quality or for the capacity of presenting a wide range of figures.

These two characteristics indicate that the sobriety in Romanesque architecture is a contemporary value that does not fit in the medieval period. If one cannot deny that Cistercian architecture has predicted the programs with little or no sculpture at all, it is also true that it worked exactly *against* the Romanesque churches' exuberance, for spiritual and practical reasons, well expressed by Saint Bernard.

In the Romanesque period, the color, nowadays, almost totally gone, the shimmer of metals and precious stones, the expressive polychrome images and the ornamented spaces were prized. In fact, it could not have been any other way. A bare church, without an impressive apparatus is, anthropologically and devotionally, unthinkable in the Middle Ages.

9. North façade. Corbel.

10. Corbel. Bovine head, a very frequent theme in the Romanesque art of the Sousa Valley.

11. North façade corbels.

12. Corbel. Man carrying stone.

13. West portal. Capital and line of ashlars.

14. West portal. Capital and line of ashlars.

The crevices and main portal frames, along with the large amount of alphabetical or geometrical signs shown in the walls, on the inside and the outside, suggest that this church should be dated from the mid or late 13th century.

We can say that there are certain elements that characterize and define a new trend in the mid 13th century Romanesque of the Sousa Valley and basin of the Lower Tâmega regions, reusing the lingering Pre-Romanesque catalogue of forms. These elements span from the main portal's capitals of Saint Genes of Boelhe or of the Savior of Cabeça Santa (Penafiel), to the arcatures under impost blocks of Saint Vincent of Sousa (Felgueiras) or the botanical beveled friezes of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel). This trend, named *nationalized Romanesque*, according to Manuel Monteiro, privileges the botanical decoration applied in capitals, friezes or even impost blocks, usually plain, beveled and clearly designed. Also characteristic is the approach to the classic palm, which is twisted and applied mostly in the decoration of capitals, as for instance, in the church of Saint Genes of Boelhe. [LR]

2. The church in the Modern Period

The church of Saint Genes of Boelhe was subject to an intensive restoration campaign in the 20th century. As a consequence of that campaign, the bareness describing this building's overall aspect derives from the elimination of all the elements added to it along the centuries since its foundation.

15. West portal. Capitals, lines of ashlars and archivolts.

From old pictures, we know that, before the restoration works, the church presented quite a different look on the outside from the one we may see today. Certain architectonic elements from the Modern Period were attached to the medieval space, contributing to the church's monumentalization, achieved through the diversity of elements dated from different periods. For instance, adjacent to the main façade's North side, the striking existence of a bell tower possibly dated from the 17th or 18th centuries. It was a robust architectonic structure of quadrangular design and pyramidal covering.

As for the church's transept, and according to maps elaborated before the reconstruction campaign, a deeper and narrower main chapel was visible, having received, with the renovation works, a configuration based in the original church foundations, which were uncovered in the meantime.

There were two collateral altars in the nave, although the maps from the DGEMN show them in the corner, and in the main chapel, the altar was slightly higher in relation to the nave, which was accessed through three steps. These altarpiece structures were executed in carved wood. Adjoined to the interior wall, corresponding to the main façade, was a wooden chancel, lost during the renovation works.

In the mid 18th century, the interior of the Church of Saint Genes featured the image of the patron saint in the main altar, accompanied by *Saint Joseph* and *Saint Anne*. The collateral altars, next to the Gospel and the Epistle, on the other hand, housed the images of *Our Lady of the Rosary* and of *Saint Blaise* "*with a relic of his own*".

Years later, in 1758, this church maintained the three altars, having the altarpiece structure in the main altar, by the Gospel, been doted with a *plank* representing the *Triplex Saint Anne* and, next to the Epistle,

16. The restoration campaign, undergone in the 20th century, has granted the interior of the church of Saint Genes of Boelhe with a refined solution.

an image of *Saint Anthony*. The two collateral altars still existed: the one by the Gospel still housed the image of *Our Lady of the Rosary*, and the one by the Epistle, belonging to a brotherhood, housed the images of the *God Child*, nonexistent in earlier years, and that of the miraculous *Saint Blaise*.[5]

Brotherhoods, as religious associations of laymen, were a phenomenon that spread throughout Modern Portugal, as in the entire Catholic Europe. This movement became so relevant that it ended up determining the regulamentary organization of the ecclesiastic institutions. In the year of 1604, pope Clement VIII sent the bases for the effective control of the church over the brotherhoods through the *Quaecumque* bull, demanding that the new associations follow their normative principles of action, as defined in Statutes[6]. Only after having these statutes analyzed by the ecclesiastic institution may the brotherhood be constituted. These normative principles imposed by Rome were incorporated in the regulamentary codes of the diocese's religious life: the *Synodal Constitutions*, from North to South of the country, in the 17th to 18th centuries, include the specific principles of the church's control over the brotherhoods. All parish churches, chapels and sanctuaries took in one or more brotherhoods. It is pertinent to question the reasons for the spreading of these institutions in the Modern Period.

Their function was to promote the divine cult, through the worship of a saint, then turned into the brotherhood's patron, justifying the laymen's associative institution. If the laymen contributed to the promotion of the Catholic cult, as compensation and in a Post-Tridentine society, they were entitled to spiritual and material benefits. The brethren were obliged to participate in the liturgical ceremonies promoted by the brotherhood, namely masses, processions, the brethren's funeral rites, where they presented themselves properly attired with the brotherhood's vestments; on the other hand, support in sickness and in death was a privilege of the brethren. We know that the Post-Tridentine society lived under the stigma of sin and death and the eternal salvation of the soul. Thus, "these functions, performed out of Christian goodwill, as acts of mercy, were almost exclusively taken care of by brotherhoods in the absence of a public authority to do so"[7]. The brotherhoods replaced the fragile public assistance and guaranteed the reward expressed in the salvation of the soul.

They took their place inside the church in privileged altars, according to a defined hierarchy: the most notorious, according to the socioeconomic status of their brethren, occupied the main altars, as well as the main altarpiece and collateral altars. The brethren contributed to the dignification of these private chapels and promoted the acquisition of the necessary objects for liturgical rites, namely gilded altars, imagery, goldsmithing and vestments. The artistic quality of these liturgical objects was proportional to the brotherhood's economic power and, therefore, to the sociocultural status of the laymen associated to it. In the parish level, the brotherhoods were undoubtedly the main responsible party for the transformation of the medieval-rooted sacred space.

The church of Saint Genes of Boelhe hosted, in the mid 18th century, two brotherhoods: that of the church's patron, Saint Genes, in the main chapel, whereas that of Our Lady of the Rosary and that of the Holy Name of Jesus[8] were placed in one of the collateral altars. [MJMR/DGS]

5   COELHO, Manuel Ferreira – "O Concelho de Penafiel nas Memórias Paroquiais de 1758". In *Penafiel – Boletim Municipal de Cultura*. 3rd Series. Nos. 4-5. Penafiel: Câmara Municipal de Penafiel, 1987-88, pp. 268-271.

6   CARDONA, Paula Cristina Machado – *A Actividade Mecenática das Confrarias nas Matrizes do Vale do Lima nos Séculos XVII a XIX*. Vol. I. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2004, pp. 32-43.

7   IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 42.

8   CARDOSO, Padre Luiz – *Diccionario Geográfico ou Notícia Histórica de todas as cidades, villas…*. Vol. II. Lisboa: Regia Officina Sylviana e Academia Real. 1747-1751, pp. 196-197.

3. Restoration and conservation

The Church of Saint Genes of Boelhe, as is today, is the result of the restoration campaign that took place between 1929 and 1948, under the initiative of the General Board of Fine-Arts and of the DGEMN.

The main bibliographic source for the study of the restoration endeavored by the DGEMN and the reconstitution of the building's memory during the Modern Period is the *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* nº. 62 (DGEMN's 62nd Bulletin)[9]. This document comprises an historic notice of the temple of Saint Genes by D. João Castro, with a chapter devoted to the pre-restoration period and another to the reconstitution works.

As aforementioned, the Church of Saint Genes of Boelhe saw deep modifications during the Modern Period. The main purpose of the restoration campaign, which took place during the first half of the 20th century, was to restore, even if symbolically, the medieval architecture that the church would have presented in the 13th century. To materialize this purpose, the entire inner content from the Modern Period was removed.

In 1905, the Ministry of Public Works elaborated an intervention project[10] for the temple of Saint Genes of Boelhe, which was never followed through.

From the restoration works conducted by the DGEMN, we bring the attention to the main chapel's reduction, following the Romanesque paradigm, the reedification of the South façade, intending to correct irregularities, the demolition of the bell tower and the choir and the reedification of the belfry, in front of the church, reconstituting its primitive aspect through the elements found. Inside, we stress the unblocking
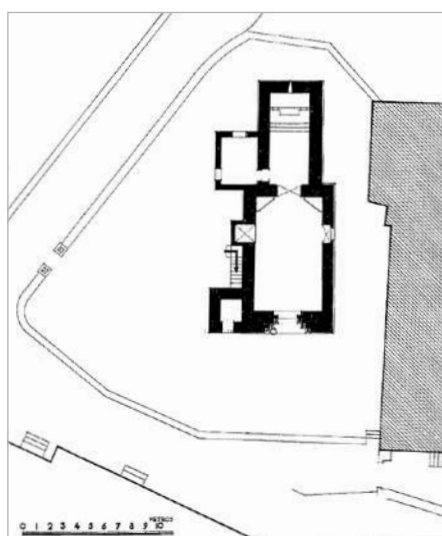
17. Map of the church before restoration.
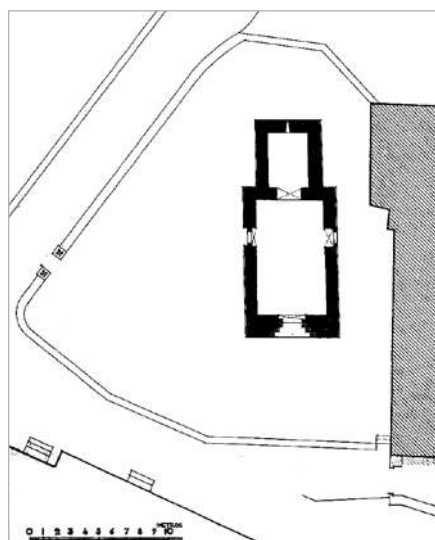
18. Map of the church after restoration.

9 *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*. No. 62, Lisboa: DGEMN, December 1950.
10 TOMÉ, Miguel – *Património e Restauro em Portugal*. Vols. I, II and III. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1998.

of the North door, the replacement of the main altar and the exclusion of the remaining modern altars. The restoration works were interrupted from 1937 to 1948, finished later on after building the main altar in stone, placing stained glass windows, replacing the covering system, fixing the parvis and transferring the cemetery's location.

In recent years, conservation and enhancement works have affected the building, within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project, which included archaeological counseling and survey, conducted in the parvis. [MB]

Chronology

13th century – Construction of the church;

17th-18th centuries – Enlargement of the main chapel;

1928 – Beginning of the restoration works;

1930/1932 – Reconstruction works: rebuilding the walls, cornice, cornice ornaments and belfry; removing all the existing mortar inside the church; disassembling the bell tower; rebuilding the primitive main chapel; lowering and tiling the church and chapel's pavement;

1935 – Reconstruction works: disassembling and transferring the main chapel's back wall to its original place, rebuilding the nave's crevices; tiling the nave and main chapel; placing steps and landings in the main portico;

1936 – Reconstruction works: placing three external doors; assembling and tending the roofs;

1950 – Restoration works: disassembling the entire South façade, repositioning all the elements in their original places; demolishing the walls that extended the transept and building its front in the place indicated by the foundations; disassembling and rebuilding the belfry; unblocking the nave's lateral door; compressing the foundation; covering a door that existed in the main chapel's North façade; restoring the triumph arch pediment, crevices; building concrete merlons and a new coating; cleaning and repairing joints, placing stained glass windows; replacing the cross from the main façade; laying tiles in the nave and main chapel; placing the stone-made main altar; laying an external pavement around the church; setting new doors; transferring the cemetery and general repairs to the parvis;

1971 – Conservation works in the covering and the electric installation;

1986 – Conservation works and roofing recovery;

2003/2004 – General conservation and enhancement of the building within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project.
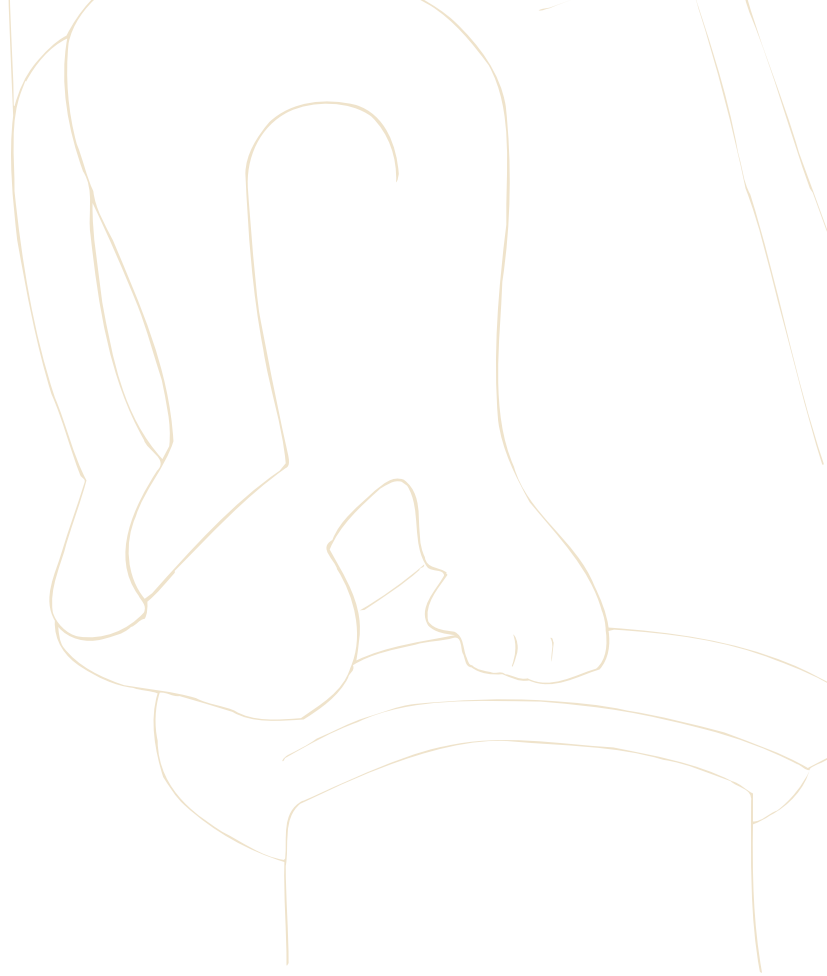
church

CHURCH OF THE SAVIOR OF CABEÇA SANTA

CHURCH OF THE SAVIOR OF CABEÇA SANTA

1. The church in the Middle Ages

The Church of the Savior of Cabeça Santa, located in the municipality of Penafiel, constitutes an excellent testimony of the Portuguese Romanesque architecture. The solutions adopted in this church accuse the influences of the See of Porto and of the church of Saint Martin of Cedofeita, in the same city, proving how much the artists' itinerancy favored the *journey of the forms*.

In 1258's *Inquiries*, the church is already mentioned under the designation of the Savior of the Gândara, a designation maintained until the 17th century, when it also starts to be referred to as Cabeça Santa (Holy Head), alluding to a skull kept in a silver reliquary exposed in an altar built for the purpose, in the church's nave.

Although there is no reference to the deity to whom the relic belonged, truth is that a reputation of a miracle worker, preventing several diseases and raging dog bites lured the devotion and pilgrimage of the pious, who worshiped this saint in the same day of Saint John Baptist, praying or thanking the miracles.

Jorge Cardoso, in *Portuguese Hagiology*, published in 1666 and meant to record the lives of saints and illustrious men from the kingdom of Portugal and its conquests, refers the following episode with the intention of enlightening the relic's *true* attribution:

"The name carried by the celestial man was hidden in time, but the devil has recently disclosed it. It so happened that when this worshiped relic was applied to a possessed soul, saying it belonged to the glorious Baptist, the enemy replied through his mouth: You are wrong, 'tis not his, but of another holy man who bore the same name. And although the devil is the father of lies, he seldom speaks the truth in such cases, through divine authorization"[1].

1. Formed by a single nave and a rectangular transept, the church of the Savior of Cabeça Santa epitomizes the type of temples most commonly built in Portugal during the Romanesque period.

2. Nave and transept. South façades.

1 CARDOSO, Jorge – *Agiológio Lusitano*. (Organization, survey and indexes by Maria de Lurdes Correia Fernandes). T. III. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, p. 800. (original edition from 1666).

The same author records the existence and worship of thirty seven *holy heads* existing in Portugal in the 17th century. In the Middle Ages, the skulls attributed to martyrs and saints, presumed or true, were one of the most revered relics, a phenomenon that lasted throughout the entire Modern Period.

The Church of Cabeça Santa is a fine example of Portuguese Romanesque architecture. Formed by a single nave and a rectangular transept, both covered with wooden roofs, it corresponds to the most common type of temples built in Portugal in the Romanesque period.

It is also a significant testimony to the existence of teams of itinerant artists. The disposition of this church's portals and the capitals' sculpture, in the portals as in the arch separating the nave from the transept, is very similar to that of the church of Saint Martin of Cedofeita in Porto, which, in turn, presents decorative solutions very close to the ones used in the Romanesque construction of the See of Porto.

In the latter, the influence of French Romanesque from the Limoges region is visible in the capitals' sculpture, as in the way of organizing the illumination spans, and as in the design it originally featured. The transept, altered in the 18th century, was composed of a gallery with three radiating chapels and two polygonal apsioles, much in the fashion of the churches from the Limoges region, like Beaulieu, Souillac and Le Dorat. The commercial relations the city of Porto maintained, from the 12th century, with the French port of La Rochelle, as well as the existence of population centers from Limoges in that commercial city of the Southeast of France, explain the arrival of artists from that region to Portugal.

3. Both the nave and transept are covered in wood, the most common solution in the Romanesque architecture of the region between Douro and Minho.

4. West façade. The tympanum by the portal is supported by bovine heads. The desire to protect the churches' entrances, as well as the cemetery space, which sometimes occupied the space ahead, converged into sculpted figures of frightening or powerful beasts, capable of defending the entry.

5. West portal. The capitals, very similar to those of the church of Saint Martin de Cedofeita (Porto), are a proof of the itinerancy of the artist groups working in the Romanesque workshops.

Since the mason-sculptor was guided by molds, provided to him by the master craftsman, the *magister operis*, the aforementioned itinerant character of the groups of artists has allowed a journey of the forms, clearly present in the sculpture of the Church of Cabeça Santa, which, simultaneously, features capitals as those of the cross arch, identical in everything to those of the church of Saint Martin of Cedofeita. The architectonic sculpture of the parish church of Cabeça Santa therefore results from the combination of models directly influenced by the French with typical models from the region of Porto, inspired and influenced by Pre-Romanesque sculpture.

Cabeça Santa's main portal is facing West since, as a rule of thumb, Romanesque churches were built in such a way that the transept and the top crevice illuminating it are turned east, for liturgical and symbolic reasons.

The lateral portals to the South and North, presented by almost all Portuguese Romanesque churches, had a much higher usage value than the main portal. The lateral portals served as entrance and exit in the daily services. The main portal, wider and more monumental, where a larger concentration of sculpture occurs, was mostly destined to the entrance and exit of processions, rarer and more solemn moments in the liturgical calendar.

In the religious construction of the Romanesque period, the West portal was devised as the *Gate of Heaven* or the *Portico of Glory*. The intention of protecting the church entrances as well as the cemetery

6. South portal. The type of archivolts presented in this portal (dihedral toruses), as well as capitals without abacus, is very similar to the solutions adopted by the See of Porto and the church of Saint Martin of Cedofeita, in the same city. These models originate from the French region of Limoges. Their presence in Porto's Romanesque art is supposedly due to the commercial contacts this city kept with the port of La Rochelle since the 12th century.

space, often located in front, gave rise to the representation of sacred themes in the portals, but also to the inclusion of other elements, as the sculpture of frightening or powerful animals and signs of magical value, that is, sculpture motives like crosses and sun wheels, capable of defending the entrances and protecting the church from all evil.

In this context, the Church of Cabeça Santa's West portal features a tympanum with bovine heads. In other capitals there are disputing birds, in a scheme well to the Romanesque taste, adapting figure to architecture, that is, to the capital's echinus. In one of the capitals is a lying character, trapped by an animal's mouth, reporting to the idea of man entrapped by sin.

The bell tower, in the space in front of the church, in the edge of the parvis, was rebuilt there under the restoration campaigns endeavored by the DGEMN in the mid 20th century. It used to be included to the North, in the main façade's line-up, and its volumetric evolved towards the north façade.

In spite of presenting a medieval construction in the lower part, the tower's upper part matched an arrangement from the Modern Period, a factor which dictated its demolition. However, to avoid conflict with the population, the restoration team chose to rebuild the tower.

Bell towers, which, in the Romanesque period either border one or both façades, or are placed over the main façade, or as an autonomous belfry, laterally or facing the church, have a symbolic and practical value. They indicate from afar that the territory in which the churches are built is occupied and taken, granting prestige and safety, and furthermore housing the bells, whose toll is of utmost importance in the lives of the communities.

7. South portal. Capitals without abacus.

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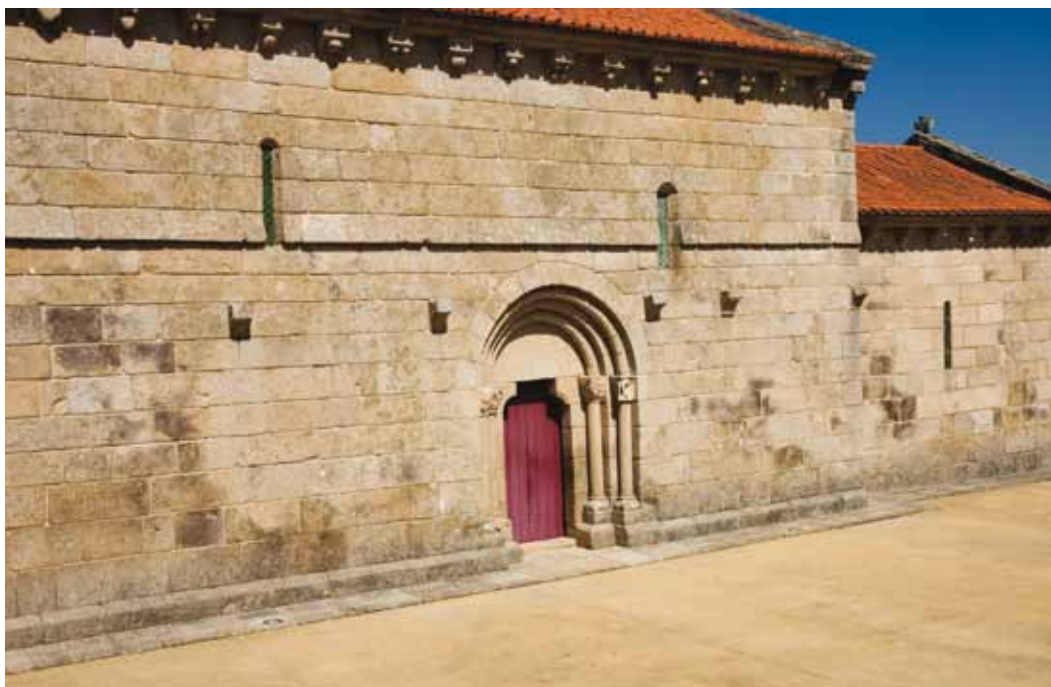
9. South façade. The corbels and drip course, destined to draining rain water, point to the existence of a porch with a one story high roof.

8. South portal. Capitals. The depiction of acrobats is frequent in Romanesque sculpture. Since sculpture is performed in architectural pieces, this theme fits the occupied space very well.

In the *Parish Memories*, written in 1758, there is mention to a tower that is "*quite tall and thick made of stone*". In this period, the tower fulfilled the duty of a bell tower, and was already in a somewhat decadent state. Presumably, the lower part of a masonry construction located next to the South side of the parvis, currently adapted to a residential house, constitutes the remains of the aforementioned tower.

The South façade still features corbels and a drip course, destined to draining rain water, testifying to the presence of a one-story high roofed porch. These porches, adjacent to the churches' lateral façades and, sometimes, the main façade, as in the case of the church of Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira), were meant for various purposes. These were spaces destined for cemeteries and the celebration of funerary rites, as well for assemblies and shelter. In the Romanesque period, church was usually the parish's noblest building. Asides from its sacred and liturgical duties, the church, being the parish's focal point, was the scenery for many of the population's daily activities, namely meetings, notarial acts and commercial trade, taking place in the porches.

In the church's parvis, in granite flourishing, there are three graves excavated in the rock. One of the graves, individual, presents a trapezoidal head and ends, at the feet, in a rounded shape (it was meant for an adult). The other two graves are contiguous. One is severely mutilated in its upper half, making it impossible to establish the typology of the head, while the other shows a horseshoe transept arch[2].

Against the wall, to the south of the Church of Cabeça Santa, there are also three medieval sarcophaguses with their respective lids[3].

Influences from the See of Porto and the church of Saint Martin of Cedofeita, aforementioned, indicate that this parish church is probably dated from the first decades of the 13th century[4].

The interior of the Church of Cabeça Santa is currently almost devoid of color, altars, paintings, images or any other type of liturgical and devotional furniture.

In the cross arch, the capitals, also very similar to those of Saint Martin of Cedofeita, are the sole decorative aspect. What is most outstanding, in the nave, as in the transept, is the fine quality granite apparel, as is usual in Portuguese Romanesque. Nevertheless, one should observe that this air of total sobriety results from the restoration campaign of the 20th century, a subject we will approach later.

10. The triumph arch's capitals adopt models from the church of Saint Martin of Cedofeita (Porto).

The nave's single wide room, in a renovated church, is highly distant from the specialized - and even cramped – space of the medieval temples. The uniform expression of Portuguese medieval churches and their closed character, giving the idea of a construction started and finished with the same formal consistency, corresponds, for the most part, to the result of restoration works, methodologically centered in recovering the *original* form. The construction materials *replaced* during the works from the second half of the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century, tended to standardize the monuments, in their texture and finishing.

A restored Romanesque or Gothic church presents a systematic and uniform usage of granite (or limestone) in the walls, covering and pavement. The famous cult of visible stone, highly valued in those restorations, and still dominant in many renovation works, especially in parish churches and residences,

2 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Necrópoles e sepulturas medievais de Entre-Douro-e-Minho*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1987, p. 166.

3 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 377.

4 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, p. 95.

11. The church of Cabeça Santa's interior currently presents itself almost totally devoid of the altars and any other liturgical furniture received throughout the Modern Period.

stems from the cherishing and general admiration for the quality of the masonry, the walls' isodomics, the panels' apparel, in an exaltation of the masonry work and its eternity.

We know, however, through documentation, that the materials used in one same church were very diversified, whether regarding construction materials or coatings, thus explaining their chromatic diversity. Altars, baptismal fonts, tombs, among others, presented a variety of solutions in the chosen raw material and decorative coatings, giving the churches' interior a rather different look from the one presented today.

Constant maintenance, replacement and renovation works in the various parcels of churches, whose motivation is quite varied, either restricted to the necessary construction maintenance, or driven by devotional and catechistic reasons, are elements that turned the church (or chapel) into an object in permanent mutation.

There is frequent record of partially unfinished buildings, works extending throughout many years, as is frequent the mention to churches and chapels in very poor condition, where it rained due to the many problems deriving from lack of roof maintenance and where the pavements, in raw rock or in dirt, were easily degraded.

The altarpieces, the funerary chapels or the mere arcosolia housing a tomb, the individual and family chapels founded inside the churches and doted with altars in time, paintings and liturgical vestments, the space that is prepared and solemnized to better emphasize the baptismal font make the church's nave a space for a series of spots destined to several devotions.

It is not easy to recreate the interior of a Romanesque church, since most of the elements that have survived so far, such as altars, images, paintings, coatings, among others, are a fruit of changes in cult and devotion introduced during the long period that separates us from the Middle Ages. Only the documentation and a few of the rare remaining traces provide a clue on how the churches' interiors were not as bare as they currently are.

The altar, as the sacred core it always was, in the Romanesque period was usually in the transept's first flight, allowing people to circulate around it. We know that in the Old See of Coimbra the main altar was enhanced and covered by a baldachin and a canopy sustained by four columns, from which a silver dove hung to watch over the Eucharist reserve[5].

Over the altar table[6] and in a contrary tendency to what was seen in the High Middle Ages, there are small retables, the cross and chandeliers. In the altar face turned towards the nave, frontals were placed in an outstanding variety. They could present a sculpted slab of stone, coated and painted wood slabs with iconographic programs or botanical and geometric decoration, as the examples of the Catalan Romanesque churches show, or a coating in silver or rich fabrics like silk.

The multiplication of altars is a usual phenomenon from the Romanesque period, signaling a tendency from earlier periods. The number of private and daily masses tends to grow along the 12th and 13th centuries, with the subsequent increase of new altars and even chapels inside the church, which in turn led to the multiplication of the amount and shape of chalices, liturgical books, reliquaries, images and crosses.

Another important issue is the presence of color the temples' interior and exterior. As C. A. Ferreira de Almeida wrote, the Middle Ages adored color in church walls, since color profusion was part of the manifestation of the sacred. The portals' figures and the decorative motives gained strong hues, enhancing the themes, as a few traces in the See of Braga and in the church of Saint Mary of Ermelo (Arcos de Valdevez) testify. The colorful tapestries often covered the walls[7].

Whitewash also, frequently mentioned in late medieval documentation, would seldom cover the churches' walls, as well as architectonic sculpture itself, because it is white, luminous, and prophylactic and protects the construction materials.

Erroneously, the medieval church's archetype is always associated, in contemporary culture, to sobriety, absence of color, love of visible stone. Nevertheless, this idea is deeply wrong. The bare and monochromatic churches are, mentally and devotionally, inconceivable in the Middle Ages. [LR]
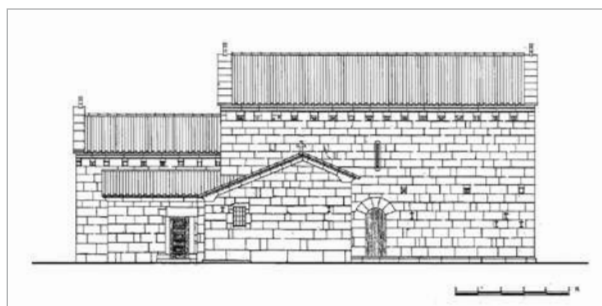
12. North side construction projections of the church of Cabeça Santa.

5 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, p. 48.

6 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 48.

7 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 49.

13. Church interior before restoration.

2. The church in the Modern Period

According to the tradition written in the 17th century, the designation Cabeça Santa (Holy Head) was due to the cult rendered "from the dawn of time" to the relic of a saint's head, whose invocation was unknown. It was kept in a sacrarium that existed in the parish church's collateral altar, next to the Gospel[8].

This relic, expression of the collective symbolism, jumpstarted great worship by the devotees of the neighboring parishes, by the successive miracles granted to those begging for its protection.
This church being annexed to the Convent of Lóios in Porto, the religious folk from this institution have collected a fragment of the Relic and took it to the city of Porto, where it was publicly exhibited in the chapel of Good Jesus belonging to the monastic church. On June 24th it was exposed to public worship and highly sought by the population.[9] The association between the liturgical calendar's date and a fragment of the human body, a head, is reminiscent of the cult of Saint John the Baptist. A fact from the traditional imaginary substantiated by the hagiographical writings of the 17th century and still testified in the following century, introduces the church of the Savior in the cult rendered to relics that delivers Portugal back to the medieval universe, the time of the church's foundation. These cults to medieval relics are recovered in the period following the Tridentine reforms, and stand as an expression of the Portuguese Baroque's religiousness. The dynamics of the collective symbolism, the cult to Cabeça Santa (the Holy Head), serves as a toponymical identity to the Savior of Gândara, the parish being named after the invocation's title (Salvador da Gândara). Currently, nothing remains as a material support to this expression of the collective imaginary. However, in 1758 the church still kept "its ancient holy Relic by the name of Cabeça Santa".

8 Cf. COELHO, Manuel Ferreira – "O Concelho de Penafiel nas Memórias Paroquiais de 1758". In *Penafiel – Boletim Municipal de Cultura*. 3rd Series. Nos. 4-5. Penafiel: Câmara Municipal de Penafiel, 1989.
9 SANTA MARIA, Francisco – *O Ceo aberto na terra. Historia das Sagradas Congregações dos Cónegos Seculares de S. Jorge em Alga de Venesa e de S. João Evangelista em Portugal.* Lisboa: Officina de Manoel Lopes Ferreyra.

2.1. Chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary

The currently known Chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary, whose access is made through the church's nave, defines an autonomous space of rectangular design and stands as a distinctive landmark of the medieval structure's transformation caused by the Post-Tridentine alteration of the liturgical ritual. According to documentation from 1758, it is known that it was then called Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, an invocation that largely explains its edification in this church's nave. In fact, the treasuring and dignification of the cult of the Holy Sacrament, as that of the Lausperene, in 17th and 18th century Portugal, has justified this autonomous construction.

14. Chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary before restoration.

15. Chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary. 17th century.

From the decorative point of view, this space presents itself as rather balanced and refined as far as the adopted language goes: the *sui generis* aesthetic taste of the Portuguese Baroque is omnipresent, particularly in the peculiar association between gilding, tiling and blackwood with applications of yellow metal to the lathed railings defining this chapel's separation from the church's nave.

Stylistically, the gilding pertains to the national current, especially regarding the adopted language, where botanical motives of vine leaves and grapes, reminding the Eucharist Liturgy, are mixed with birds, symbol of the Mystery of Resurrection, and children. However, there still is a certain attachment to a structure of Mannerist taste for the low depth of the retable structure and, mostly, for the carving of niches to include imagery. From the imagery exposed in the retable, our particular attention goes to the image of *Our Lady with Child*, in upholsted and polychrome wood. It is a fine piece from the 17th century.

16. Chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary. Detail of the sectioned roof.

17. Our Lady of the Rosary. Upholsted and polychrome wood sculpure. 17th century.

The golden surface spreads throughout the ceiling, according to a sectioned structure in embossed gilding, covering the perfect arch that signals the entrance to this space.

Articulated with the gilding is the glazed tile that fills the remaining surfaces. Thus, this space's lateral projections are totally coated by a ceramic tiling in a patterned composition, the repetition motive being a 4x4 pattern, dating from the mid 17th century[10]. The composition grows over a blue background, and has as main rotation axis a cross painted in blue and white with acanthuses placed in the diagonal, between its arms, united by an orange field. A white ribbon frames the cruciform element, bordering it with a perfect circle which, in turn, derives to a secondary repetition motive consisting in a diamond filled with the representation of an open flower. Yellow interlocking establishes the connection between repeated modules. In both projections, a border of yellow and blue flowers painted over a white background confines the *tapestry*.

Likewise, the basing of the retable structure is also covered with polychrome tiles in a 2x2 pattern: the motive is drawn over a blue background, consisting of a play between white lacing effects with yellow botanical motives. This module's design is identical to that of the tiles existing in the Convent of Saint Mary of the Coast in Guimarães, and probably appeared from 1650 onwards[11]. As for the garnish, the surfaces feature a border of acanthuses within the same color scheme.

All the artistic elements turn the space into a particularly fetching ambiance to the pious, resulting in an ensemble of good design and aesthetic consistency. The ensemble's exuberance can be partly unraveled if we consider that this space is associated to the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament: generally, this brotherhood was, in Portuguese parishes, one of the most financially powerful, since it usually gathered the most illustrious members of the population, allowing this sort of works.

A micro-space of the Portuguese Baroque that outlived the intervention of the DGEMN, and stands out for its harmony and the articulation of several complementary arts. [MJMR/DGS]

3. Restoration and conservation

Following the conceptual restoration line used for Portuguese medieval religious spaces, the Church of Cabeça Santa's restoration was also based in returning the temple to its primitive trace, altered in the Modern Period by the tutors of its patronage, the congregation of the Secular Clergymen of St. John the Preacher.

This church's restoration occurred between 1936-1950, having Rogério de Azevedo and Joaquim Areal as the responsible architects[12].

The initial project developed by the DGEMN's technical team comprehended the extraction of the bell tower adjacent to the building, but its demolition collided with the interests of the local population, the architects choosing to disassemble and rebuild it by edge of the parvis. The same project also intended for the demolition of the Chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary, attached to the body of the church. Although this chapel was an element dating from the Modern Period, as the bell tower, its maintenance was

10 Identified by Santos Simões as P-462. See SIMÕES, J.M. dos Santos – *Azulejaria em Portugal no Século XVII.* 2nd Edition. T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997, p. 85.

11 Identified by Santos Simões as P-342, p. 55.

12 *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais.* No. 64, Lisboa: DGEMN, June 1951.

18. Church of Saint the Savior of Cabeça Santa before restoration.

preferred, since it represented a testimony of the people's building effort and an element of identity and local memory. The chapel's restoration focused on the repair of the gilding and its re-gilding, replacing the glazed tiles, restoring the pieces in blackwood, replacing the missing gilded elements and building the arch pilasters.

In the sacristy the pavement in lowered tile was built, coating was made, the ceiling was repaired and the covering built.

Inside, the North door and the main chapel's crevice were uncovered, the pavement's tiling and flooring, as well as the baptismal font were built, the masonry altar and the crevice's stained glass windows were made. The choir, next to the main portico, was removed due to the lack of harmony with the remaining elements. The altars built in the Modern Period were equally removed, with the recycling and conservation of some of its carved wood decorative motives.

Recently, the Church of the Savior of Cabeça Santa was subject to maintenance works, the roofing removed and rebuilt, and the exterior leveled in the parvis, with tiled pathways. [MB]
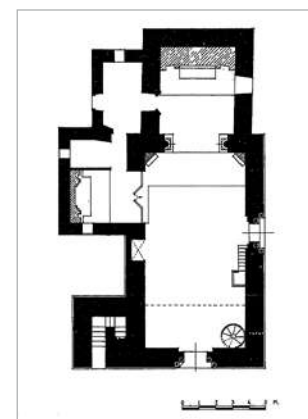
19. Map of the church before the restoration conducted between 1936 and 1950.
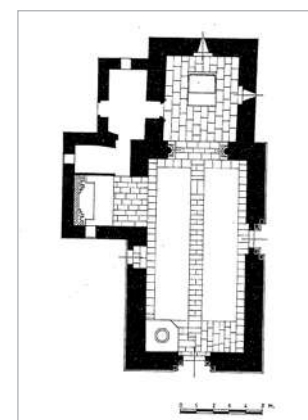
20. Map of the church after the restoration conducted between 1936 and 1950.

Chronology

10th-11th century (?) – Original construction (lost);

13th century – Edification of the Romanesque church;

16th-17th century – Construction of the lateral chapel, with tile decoration and gilded retable;

17th-18th century – Construction of the bell tower;

1937 – Restoration promoted by the DGEMN, comprehending: complete removal of exterior walls and its reconstruction, covering crevices with paneling, restoring two crevices with spiked masonry;

1938 – Cleaning and rebuilding the covering, repairing wall joints, laying masonry pavement;

1939 – Conclusion of the restoration: cleaning masonry, closing joints, rebuilding crevices, door, assembling the roof, covering, disassembling the altar;

1940 – Several works in the main chapel's covering, doors and tiling;

1942 – Restoration comprehending: general renovation of the sacristy and the lateral chapel's arch, and placing the 17th century railing; transferring the main altar to Saint Vincent of Irivo;

1950 – Restoration works: laying new floor in the church's two lateral bodies, repairing the guard spaces, restoring the lateral chapel, sacristy and façades; moving the bell tower; electrical installation and general repair to the parvis;

1951 – Modification of the electric system, maintenance of the covering;

1966 – Transferring the main altar;

1973 – Conservation in the roofing, doors, window joineries and sound electrical installation;

1985 – Repairing the covering;

2003/2004 – Conservation and enhancement of the building within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project.

monastery

MONASTERY OF SAINT PETER OF CÊTE

MONASTERY OF SAINT PETER OF CÊTE

1. The monastery in the Middle Ages

Located in the parish of Côte (Paredes), the Monastery of Saint Peter exemplifies well how the choice of a church or monastery's construction site in the Middle Ages was never random. In the middle of good farming lands, the monastery we presently see is an excellent testimony to the importance and strength of tradition as a decisive element when pondering the location for its establishment.

A church was rarely rebuilt in a different location, since the previous one had already sanctified the place. A space's consecration is always very resistant. To understand this symbolic anchorage one should note that, since the Paleo-Christian era, a church building is associated to burial practices, and that the parish of the region between the Douro and Minho, structured between the 11th and 13th centuries, corresponds to a community of the living and the dead. This phenomenon assists in understanding why it is so frequent that the monastery's origin dates to such a far back time when compared to the present construction, as in the case of Saint Peter of Côte.

1. The implementation of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Côte in the midst of good farming fields shows, to this day, how much the choice of a place to settle a monastic community is connected to its economic potential.

In the 10th and 11th centuries, the period of the Reconquest and the territory's reorganization, the presence of a church was the best sign of the territory's organization and population. It was then the best testimony of Christian's ownership and occupation of a land and a physical, religious and psychic warranty for the local inhabitants[1].

Arising in the 10th century, the Monastery of Cête is a rich testimony to the parish territory's consecration and of how much an earlier construction determined the attachment to the original place, in spite of the building renovations suffered by its church throughout the Middle Ages.

The foundation of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Cête is traditionally attributed to D. Gonçalo Oveques, buried in the chapel at the ground level of the main façade's tower. In 924, documentation already proves its existence, referring a basilica devoted to Saint Peter in 985, a time when the monastery was under the protection of Leoderigo Gondesendes' family. His descendants were joined by marriage to the lords of Moreira, having one of them, Guterre Mendes, been buried in the monastery of Cête[2], as the epigraphy of a sepulchral lid (which we will approach in time) shows. The lords of Moreira, who achieved important political positions, still held the patronage rights over the monasteries of Moreira da Maia, of Rio Tinto and of Refojos de Leça[3].

This connection between the monasteries and the most important aristocratic families was common in the 11th and 12th centuries. The family held the patronage rights over the monastic house. This meant, on one hand, the donation of the necessary lands for monastic community life and insured, on the other, that the

2. West portal. Dating from the Gothic period, this portal's capitals are an excellent testimonial of the prolonged acceptance of the Romanesque patterns in Sousa Valley's medieval architecture.
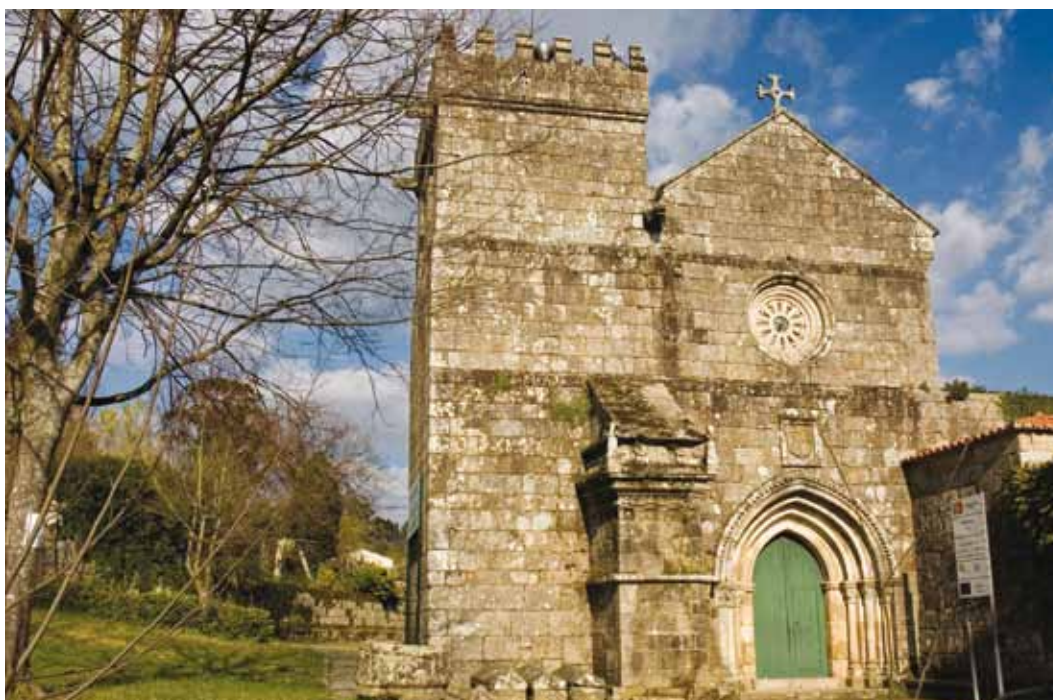
3. During the period of the Reconquest, the presence of a church was a physical, religious and psychological warranty to local inhabitants.

1 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – "Território Paroquial no Entre-Douro-e-Minho. Sua Sacralização." In *Nova Renascença*. Vol. 1. No. 2, 1981, p. 206.
2 MATTOSO, José – *O Monaquismo Ibérico e Cluny*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2002, p. 120. (original French edition from 1966).
3 IDEM, *ibidem*, pp. 74-75.

4. Funerary chapel hosting the tomb of D. Gonçalo Oveques, to whom tradition attributes the foundation of the Monastery. The chapel and tomb restoration works date back to the Manueline period.

5. Although the Monastery's foundation dates back to the 10th century, the current construction is from the Gothic period.
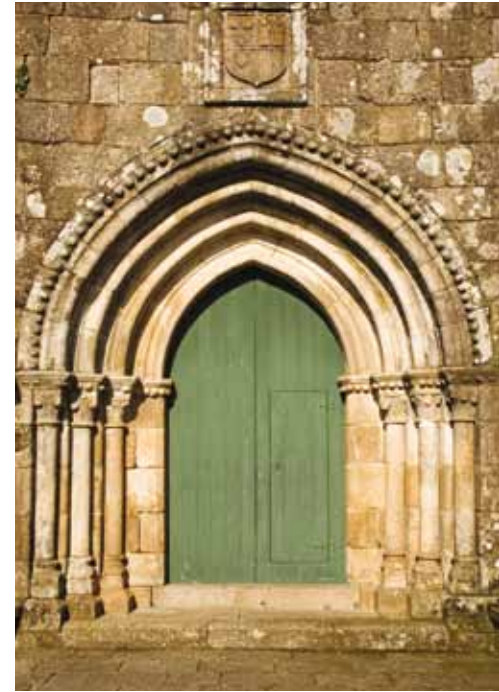
6. The restoration from the Gothic period, mentioned in Abbot Estêvão Anes' funerary inscription (1323), is visible in the relation between the church's length and width, as well as the total height of the triumph arch.

monks were obliged to provide the family members with *hosting* and *eating* rights, as well as the right to be buried in the monastery, which implied performing ceremonies in the patrons' name[4].

It was up to the patron to protect the monastery defending it from any violence or abuse. In the 11th century, attacks from Muslims, Normans or even between rival lords were frequent[5]. In fact, during this period of great instability, many monasteries had a defensive facility associated to them, as in the case of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Cête, which owned the castle of Vandoma[6].

According to José Mattoso, the foundation attributed to Gonçalo Oveques should be interpreted as a *reconstruction*, considering that this character lived in the late 11th century. His sons Mendo, Soeiro, Martinho and Diogo were the patrons of Cête between 1121 and 1128[7], when the monastery received a Land charter from D. Teresa. Within this new condition, the Monastery followed the Rule of Saint Benedict and the Cluniac customs, as have many other monastic communities of the region between Douro and Minho.

Nonetheless, the church, as it currently is, does not correspond to such far back periods. Its construction is already mentioned in the Gothic period, as one may assess from the façade's arrangement, the rela-

4   MATTOSO, José – *O Monaquismo Ibérico e Cluny*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2002, p. 62. (original French edition from 1966).
5   IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 65.
6   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – "Castelos Medievais do Noroeste de Portugal". In *Finis Terrae – Estudios en Lembranza do Prof. Dr. Alberto Balil*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1992, pp. 383-384.
7   MATTOSO, José – *O Monaquismo Ibérico e Cluny*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2002, p. 120. (original French edition from 1966).

tion between the church's length and width, between the transept's height and that of the nave, and the sculpture of the capitals and that of the corbels.

This renovation campaign from the Gothic period, which can be dated between the late 13th and the first quarter of the 14th century, is well documented in Abbot D. Estêvão Anes' funerary inscription, embossed in the inner face of the main chapel's North wall, by his sarcophagus. This inscription informs that the Abbot D. Estêvão Anes, who died in July 23rd 1323, completely renovated the church's construction.

7. Triumph arch's capital.

Xº : KaLendaS : AUGUSTI : ERA : M : CCC / LXI : OBiit : VIR :
HONESTISSIMus : / ABBAS : DONNus : STEPHANus : Io(hannis) : /
Q(u)I : HANC : ECCLesiAM : TOTAM : De : / NOVO OPerE :
RENOVAVIT : CUIus : / AnImA : IN : PACE : REQ(u)IESCAT : AMem

According to Mário Barroca, author of the correct reading of this inscription[8], the funerary tombstone, executed in limestone, is the result of an order made in the region of Coimbra, where the surrounding quarries of Ançã, Outil and Portunhos provided good quality limestone, originating the establishment of *ateliers* of stone carvers and sculptors, bearing great importance to the production of Portuguese Gothic sculpture, either concerning funerary sculpture, as concerning the altarpiece and character sculptures.

Abbot D. Estêvão Anes' rule of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Cête is documented since 1278. He died in 1323, according to his epitaph. It is an important record, since it allows us to establish the temple's Gothic dating, well evinced by several architectural and sculptural elements.

This church's interior actually replies to a sense of space that is typical from the Gothic period. The older construction saw the first lines of the nave and, probably, its South portal, leading to the cloister, reused. In the restoration campaign of the 13th-14th centuries, the main chapel was re-raised, the nave was extended in height and in length, the main façade being totally remodeled. The church walls feature a great amount of signs, almost all geometrical.

8. The church's interior matches a sense of space that is very characteristic of the Gothic period. The nave's first lines of walls have been preserved from the former construction.

Despite the Gothic period's renovation and, as it seldom occurs in the history of Portuguese medieval architecture, this church is, as C. A. Ferreira de Almeida wrote, a fine testimonial to the acceptance of Romanesque patterns and to how much they were associated with religious conceptions. According to the same author, if the North lateral portal is to be considered as Gothic, the main portal rekindles traits from the epigonal Romanesque. For all this, the church of Saint Peter of Cête is a landmark for establishing a calendar in the region's late Romanesque[9].

The transept presents a typical construction projection from Romanesque architecture, using blind arcades to provide rhythm and liven up the wall. On the other hand, the head corbels sustaining the cornice, in the exterior, are clearly from the Gothic period, as is the relation between the nave's height and that of the transept. Although the narrow crevices reinforce the closed character of the walls, a trait usually associated to Romanesque architecture, one should stress that Portuguese Gothic architecture has many examples, in monastic as in parish architecture, featuring walls similar to those of Saint Peter of Cête.

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8   BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epigráfico Medieval Português.* Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, pp. 1477-1482.
9   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – "O românico". In *História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, p. 92.

9. West portal capitals.

10. The transept shows blind arcades livening up the wall surface. This solution, common in Romanesque architecture, is also used during the Gothic period.

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11. The church's transept is finished by head corbels sustaining the cornice.

Pedro Dias already pointed out that one of the most curious phenomena of the Portuguese Gothic is the persistence of a figurine highly attached to Romanesque style, which persevered from the 13th to the 15th century[10], particularly in examples from the North of Portugal and the Beiras, as the churches of the Mercy of Alfaiates (Pinhel), of the Trinity (Pinhel), Barrô (Resende), Mileu (Guarda), the mother church of Vouzela, and the façade of Saint James of Antas (Famalicão), among many others.

It is more than the sheer persistence of the Romanesque model that explains this phenomenon, but also the strict sense of style that lingers in art historiography. A style has many ways of catering to the demands of its time. In Portugal, as in great part of the Hispanic kingdoms, French Gothic, which appeared in the mid 12th century in the region of Île-de-France and largely expanded in the two following centuries, has little expression in religious architecture. The wide spaces, ethereal and communicant, the opening of large spans allowing not only a broader lighting, but also the enhancement of the sacred space through colorful stained glass and the dismal heights of the French cathedrals, in spite of identifying the paradigm of the Gothic style, are but one of its expressions. There are others. Portuguese Gothic is more attached to the meridional Gothic solutions, privileging the mural masses, imposing themselves by the wall's massive character, especially concerning the church's body.

In fact, a style cannot be described solely based on form, but also on the relation between the parts of the building, the usage of the built space, the way in which it is embellished and doted with symbols and, as mentioned above, based on the several solutions to the requirements of its time.
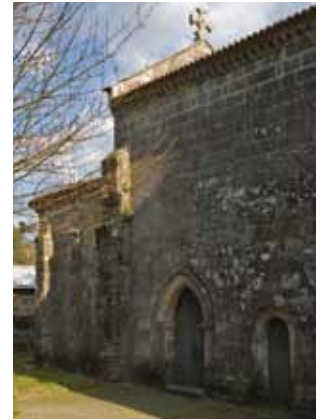
12. The narrow crevices, reinforcing the walls' closed character, provide a *Romanesque aspect* to the Monastery of Saint Peter of Cête.

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13. Transept. Interior blind arcades.

10 DIAS, Pedro – *A Arquitectura Gótica Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1994, pp. 151-152.

14. The tower, hosting D. Gonçalo Oveques' funerary chapel, whose restoration dates back to the Manueline period, asides from working as a bell tower, also has a symbolic function, since it consecrates a feudal property.

15. Tower gargoyle.

16. Tower crowning and gargoyle.

The tower of Saint Peter of Côte, sheltering the funerary chapel of D. Gonçalo Oveques, asides from filling the duty of a bell tower, has a symbolic meaning that cannot be ignored.

Since the Pre-Romanesque period, towers border the façades of Sees, monastic or parish churches, having a symbolic and pragmatical value, once they are a sign of power, prestige and safety, and because they serve to house bells, whose tolls is of double importance in the lives of the communities. In the Gothic period, on the other hand, due to the crisis and the many struggles between princes and noblemen, acquire a military profile. In Abade de Neiva and Manhente (Barcelos), in Travanca and in Freixo de Baixo (Amarante) single Gothic towers were built next to the churches.

In the Benedictine monastery of Saint Martin of Manhente the tower is already from the late Middle Ages. A true stately tower, suitable for residence purposes, symbolizes the lordship that belonged to the monastery[11].

In Saint Peter of Côte, the tower, incorporated in the façade, is certainly not, as in the case of Manhente, a residential tower. However, it also consecrates a lordship, for a monastery's abbot is usually known to be a nobleman. Its robust and defensive character has therefore an essentially symbolic motivation.

In the medieval period, a monastic complex was composed of a set of buildings, whose implantation is widely determined by the space occupied by the church structure. Commonly oriented in a canonical fashion, that is, placing the transept to the east and the main façade to the west, the church dictates the

11 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – «O Românico». In *História da Arte em Portugal*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, p. 32.

distribution of the cloister's quarters, destined for several purposes. This organization is certainly varied, depending of the religious Order occupying the monastery, the topography in which the ensemble is built and the rural or urban characteristics of the location chosen for its construction.

A monastic or conventual community, regular or secular, always requires structures destined for community life, as the chapter room, the cloister, the dormitory, the refectory, the kitchens and the infirmary, as well as spaces and constructions reserved to tending to the dead, like cemeteries and other burial structures, suitable quarters to host pilgrims or to take in the sick, when applied, and a series of complementary structures, fundamental to the administration of the farming exploration adjacent to it, such as barns, cellars and stables.

By norm, the cloister and remaining dependencies are laid by the South façade, for being the warmest side, facing the sun. But there are several exceptions, explained by historical and topographical reasons, or others related to the availability of lands next to the church. In the See of Braga, in the Benedictine monastery of the Savior of Ganfei (Valença) and in the monastery of Saint Mary of Alcobaça, to quote just a few examples, the cloister and the monastic community quarters are built to the North.

Of course not all religious communities occupy such diversified complexes, comprehending all of the constructions mentioned above. It is also true that these communities are often small, thus explaining the reduced size of the erected nucleus, notwithstanding its spaces' specificity. However, the monastic and/or conventual church is always an element in a set of architectonic structures, and not an isolated building as it is common these days.

17. Cloister.

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18. As a rule of thumb, albeit the many exceptions, the cloister and other monastic quarters were built South of the church, because it was the warmest area, turned to the sun.

19. Funerary chapel hosting D. Gonçalo Oveques' tomb, encased in a arcosolium in Manueline fashion.

20. Cloister built in the Manueline period. Further ahead, one can see the entrance to the Chapter Room.

The great monasteries of Saint Mary of Alcobaça, Saint Mary of Victory (Batalha) or the Convent of Christ in Tomar are exceptions concerning the preservation of the conventual quarters, albeit the fact that the medieval structures no longer remain in any of these. The Gothic churches of Saint Francis of Porto, Saint Claire of Santarém, Saint John of Alporão (Santarém), Saint Mary of the Olives (Tomar), or the Romanesque churches of Saint Martin of Cedofeita (Porto), Saint Cristopher of Rio Mau (Vila do Conde) and Saint Peter of Rates (Póvoa de Varzim), to mention but a few of the most renowned examples, show, nonetheless, how much their original aspect was altered by the disappearance of the constructions destined for community life.

In Saint Peter of Cête, the cloister and the Chapter room – currently private property – built to the South of the church, present some of those parcels that composed the monastic ensembles, although they already correspond to a renovation from the Manueline period.

In that same period, the church suffered other renovations, present in the main façade's buttress reinforcing the tower and, internally, in the disposition of the vault in the funerary chapel and the arcosolium. Framed by an ogee arch, the arcosolium hosts the ark of D. Gonçalo Oveques' tomb, decorated with botanical motives. The latter is consistent with a frequent typology for the disposition of these funerary spaces, common in the second half of the 15th and the first quarter of the 16th century. The chapel's interior was also enriched by panels of polychrome glazed tiles.

21. D. Gonçalo Oveques' funerary ark.

From the late 15th and early 16th century on, it becomes recurrent in Portugal to use tiling as a way of artistically enhancing the architectonic space. This material's durability, combined with the strong decorative sense it conveys to the places to which it is applied, explains the generalization of this trend, first detected in the midst of a prosperous clientele. There are numerous civilian or religious buildings that have been renovated and decorated with glazed tiles in this period. The Palace of Sintra or the See of Coimbra are two examples of larger buildings where the 16th century tile was used. Parallel to, and following the period's tendency, parish churches and monasteries use tiling as a parietal coating of noble spaces.

Since the Middle Ages, and in closeness to Moorish tradition, Seville (Spain) has imposed itself in the making of glazed tiles, as in an exportation center. The solution was simple: to produce a series of small clay plaques, with a face painted with geometric and botanical designs. The repetition of this formula, the model, when applied to large extensions of wall, provides a strongly decorative reading, concurring to a new space dynamic. This type of tile, following several execution techniques, is known as Hispanic-Moorish.

The chapel of D. Gonçalo Oveques preserves, as aforementioned, fine testimonies of Hispanic-Moorish tile. With an architectonic disposition from the late 15th or early 16th century, we may date the tiling from the same period. The whole is composed of different patterned panels (botanical, geometric and lacing) in a color scheme tending towards blue, green and brown hues, applied over a white background, covering several parts of the chapel. These panels are delimited by borders of simplified geometric design.

22. D. Gonçalo Oveques' funerary chapel.
Hispanic-Moorish tile (15th-16th centuries).

1. 1. Funerary sculpture

The tomb of Abbot Estêvão, with lying statue, was made in granite. It is, according to the opinion of Mário Barroca, a local production to which granite, a rock of constrained handling, as well as the author's poor skills, imprinted a static character[12].

The abbot has his mitered head lying on two pillows, wearing ecclesiastic vestments, of straight and very conventional plaids concerning the plastic approach, and holding the crosier with the right hand. The face corresponds to a hard and stereotyped depiction, very distant from what was then done in Portugal[13], whether in the center, where limestone's many qualities are explored from Coimbra to Lisbon, or in Évora, where marble provides material for far more exquisite results.

This statue is an example of how archaism can present an antiqueness that clearly does not suit the piece. If this sculpture is stylistically close to Romanesque solutions, the tomb's dating and typology assure its production pertains to the Gothic period.

1. 2. Other epigraphies

In the monastery's cloister is an epigraphy engraved in the sarcophagus lid, providing a funerary inscription from April 22nd 1067:

+ IN ERA Tª C:ª V X KaLendas MAIU RO [Sic] / QUE(sci)T (?) (in)
PATE (?) [...] MENEN(dus)[14]

In the same lid there is another funerary inscription, allusive to D. Guterre Mendes, dating from 1117:

ERA M C 2 V OBBIT / FaMuLUS DEI GOTIER (r)E MENEN[dus][15]

According to Mário Barroca, the first inscription may belong to a relative of Guterre Mendes. The latter, referred in the second epigraphy, was D. Mendo Dias and D. Guntinha Guterres' son and is documented since 1072. Married to Onega Gonçalves, of the powerful family of the lords of Moreira, as mentioned above, he owned a vast patrimony of lands in the Litoral Douro region. The tomb from a member of his lineage was reused, probably with the intention of reinforcing the legitimacy of his patrimonial rights over the Monastery of Cête[16].

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12 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epigráfico Medieval Português.* Vol. II, T. 2. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, pp. 1481-1482.

13 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 1482.

14 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *ibidem.* Vol. II, T. 1. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, pp. 98-99.

15 IDEM, *ibidem*, pp.159-161.

16 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 159.

1. 3. Mural painting

Inside the church's nave, in the North side, and inside an arcosolium, remains the trace of a mural painting representing *Saint Sebastian* pierced with arrows. Dating from the second quarter of the 16th century, this painting, in spite of its residual condition, deserves a mention in the devotional context of the late Middle Ages and of the first half of the 16th century. Luís Urbano Afonso, in his survey of Portuguese mural painting from these periods, confirms that the most depicted saint is precisely Saint Sebastian, recipient to the largest number of sculptures from the same period surviving to this day[17].

Saint Sebastian, whose martyrdom would have occurred in 288, was considered the third patron saint of Rome and is, undoubtedly, one of the most popular saints in Portugal, as throughout Europe, during the Middle Ages. This great popularity is essentially due to his supposed capacity to hold back the plague, even though the origin of this claim is not completely clarified. Anyway, the belief is that, much like the arrows shot by his executors could not kill Sebastian, neither could the plague and other diseases, seen as arrows that penetrated the body from the outside.

A saint's protection, in a period of so many endemic epidemics, the invoking and devotion paid to him were seen as an effective protection against disease. This protection and prophylactic value were extended to diseases attacking farming cultures. It is curious to notice that, even in the 19th century, Saint Sebastian would be invoked as the protector of vines against phylloxera, the vine's *plague*, proving how much his anti-plague power was embedded in the belief. [LR]

23. *Saint Sebastian*. Mural panting. 2nd quarter of the 16th century. Saint Sebastian's great popularity as one of the most revered saints throughout Medieval Europe is due to his reputed powers against the plague.

2. The church in the Modern Period

In 1551, the Monastery ceases to belong to the Order of Saint Benedict, being annexed to the College of the Grace of the Hermits of Saint Augustine, in Coimbra[18].

In the 18th century, the *Parish Memories* of 1758 clarify that the Monastery of Saint Peter had been demolished, remaining only the church, with parish duties and enough facilities to house two clerics.

About the monastic church's internal organization, we propose the following documental reading:

> "*The parish's patron is St. Peter the Apostle, whose stone image is very ancient and laid in a niche in the main chapel by the Gospel, and next to the Epistle, in another niche, is the image of the Church's great Doctor, Saint Augustine. In the main altar's tribune is an image of Holy Christ Crucified five to six spans high. It has two collateral altars, one by the Gospel with an image of Our Lady of Grace, in stone five to six spans high, and by the Epistle, the altar of Saint Leno, whose illustrious relic is kept in a sacrarium*

24. *Saint Sebastian* (detail).

17 AFONSO, Luís Urbano de Oliveira – *A Pintura Mural Portuguesa entre o Gótico Internacional e o Fim do Renascimento: Formas, Significados, Funções*. Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2006.
18 MATTOSO, José – *O Monaquismo Ibérico e Cluny*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2002 (original French edition from 1966), p. 18.

and it is said that this illustrious relic was given by the Most Serene Queen D. Mafalda of glorious memory, wife of Lord D. Afonso Henriques. This illustrious relic in encased in a plain silver cross with glasses through which the sacred relic is seen when exposed to the cult of the believers every first Friday and in the day for invoking the Holy Cross, the third of May, when it performs miracles in the possessed and the sick. The church's main entrance has another altar in a chapel, next to the Gospel, with the image of St. Nicholas Tolentino, of very ancient stone, three spans high. In this chapel, outside the church's nave, in front of the altar, under a stone arch, is a stone tomb, all carved with salient leaves."

The existence of the Relic of Saint Leno in the church of Saint Peter justified the annual pilgrimage on May 3rd, day for invoking the Holy Cross. For the great miracles worked through this relic's worship, the old monastic church was a place in which "*a great multitude of people congregated*"[19].

3. Restoration and conservation

3. 1. Restoration in the 19th century

Between 1881 and 1882, the church of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Côte was subject to then much required restoration works, thanks to the Parish and its president, Priest Joaquim Moutinho dos Santos' initiative. According to the priest, the infiltration of rain water afflicted the church and the tower, threatening to ruin the building, which lead to fixing the roofing.

The main altar was equally repaired and layers of whitewash, covering the entire transept, were then removed.

According to the priest's description: "*All the missing parts were restituted to the main altar and its tribune, including gilding and painting, leaving a perfect work, made in the Manueline fashion. The entire main chapel was cleaned, with is stone arcades, supporting the magnificent vault and cornices with symbolic figures, asymmetrical, according to the contemporary taste. Uncovered as well were its cross arch and dome with its round stone opening, a singular work where it seems as the stones themselves have been subdued to the whims of the artist who made them; for even the joinery of the window protecting from air drafts and providing the church with light is made from this stone. The entire stone pavement was renovated, asides from all the other works.*

The leftovers were applied in order to uncover the majestic work of the chapel of St. Nicholas, built at the bottom of the tower, elevated in four arches, closing a dome, sustaining the vault. These arches were un-

19 IAN – *Memórias Paroquiais*. http//ttonline.antt.pt/acesso htm.

finished, but the work was as sturdy as if. D. Gonçalo Veques' tomb was also uncovered, placed half-wall from the tower and sheltered by a masterfully made stone arch"[20].

The option of transferring this church's works was made, despite of such an unadjusted stylistic identification. The church is considered by the author, Luís Barbosa Leão Coelho Ferraz, as a work of art of great merit. The record of the works then conducted demonstrates not only the esteem for its antiqueness but, and foremost, how this monument's apparently untainted character is fruit of a long chain of transformations, restorations, abandonment and discoveries turning this church (and many others) into a building in constant mutation.

3. 2. Restoration in the 20th century

This monastery's accentuated enhancement, in the framework of the History and historiography of medieval architecture, has lead to the beginning of restoration works in the 1930s, under the DGEMN's institutional program, which granted the monastic ensemble the current aspect.

The works began with the demolition of the entire architectonic element hiding the original edification, i.e.: demolishing the sacristy and storage rooms that covered part of the North façade, a work from the Modern Period; removing the stone staircases which, along the North façade, gave access to the building's first floor; destroying one of the tower's pavements; reopening the North façade's original door and subsequent restoration; fixing the medieval tombs found under the staircase and replacing them in the cloister; demolishing the floor built for housing over the chapter room.

Inside the church the works consisted of removing and reconstituting. Namely, removing the pulpit and the four altars obstructing the nave; reconstituting the colonnettes, the frames and the two crevices of the main chapel based on the model of the single crevice found intact; downsizing and rebuilding the chancel's space reusing the tower's primitive access; consolidating its walls; restoring the buttress of the tower's North façade and its crowning.

As Miguel Tomé has written[21], the DGEMN's interventions in medieval monuments, occurred in the 1930s and 40s, have been wrongfully interpreted and understood as a broad application of restoration criteria. Despite the recognition of a few factors that may have contributed to a certain consistency in restoration methodology, as channeling the decisions and the duration of the work of certain technicians, including its first general director, Eng. Gomes da Silva, the stigmatization of the Modern Period's objects does not correspond to a common practice[22]. In Saint Peter of Cête, the demolition of the sacristy and the disassembly of the altars was based in the fact that these later elements were hiding others of superior value, like the North façade and the transept's interior, portions of the medieval construction that were worthy of
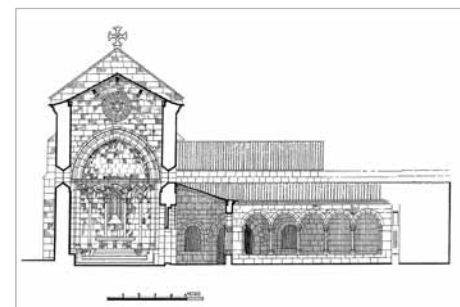
25. Monastery of Saint Peter of Cête.
Cross cut.

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20 FERRAZ, Luiz Barbosa Leão Coelho – *Antiguidades, rendimentos, padroados, previlegios e prerrogativas do tão antigo como nobre mosteiro de Cete*. Porto, 1895, pp. 16-18.

21 TOMÉ, Miguel – *Património e Restauro em Portugal (1920-1995)*. Porto: FAUP publicações, 2002, p. 29.

22 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 39.
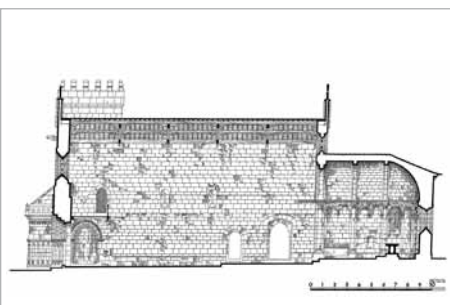
being enhanced. Note that the sacristy walls showed an inferior quality when compared to the medieval walls, of far better construction. Also noteworthy is the fact that the main altar was blocking the transept's projection, well stressed by blind arcades. More than a unity of style, this church's restoration sought to enhance the predominantly medieval trait of the architectonic structure.

In the 1990s, when the church and cloister became guardianship of the IPCC, and then of the IPPAR, conservation was conducted, fixing the coverings, and consolidating and cleaning the entire architectonic structure.

In parallel to the monastery's recovery works, the rural area has been altered with new farming support constructions, presenting, nevertheless, the progressive insertion of new extraneous models in the rural landscape, whether in their volumetric, or in the building materials and techniques applied in their edification. [LR/MB]

Chronology

10th century – Original foundation;

(late) 11th century – Re-foundation;

1st quarter of the 12th century – Adoption of the Rule of St. Benedict;

Late 13th/early 14th century – Reedification of the church;

16th century – Construction or reconstruction of the founder's chapel;

1881/1882 – Restoration under the Parish's initiative;

1936 – Beginning of the restoration campaign under the guidance of the DGEMN;

1948/1953 – Several works;

1966 – Conservation works;

1967 – General conservation and drainage of the cloister; electric installation;

1972 – Repairing the damages caused by a storm;

1976 – Maintenance of the roofing;

1980 – Repair of the church's eaves confining with the sacristy and the cloister;

1982 – Repair and conservation of the body adjacent to the sacristy;

1990s – The Church of Saint Peter of Cête becomes guardianship of the IPPAR.

hermitage

HERMITAGE OF OUR LADY OF THE VALLEY
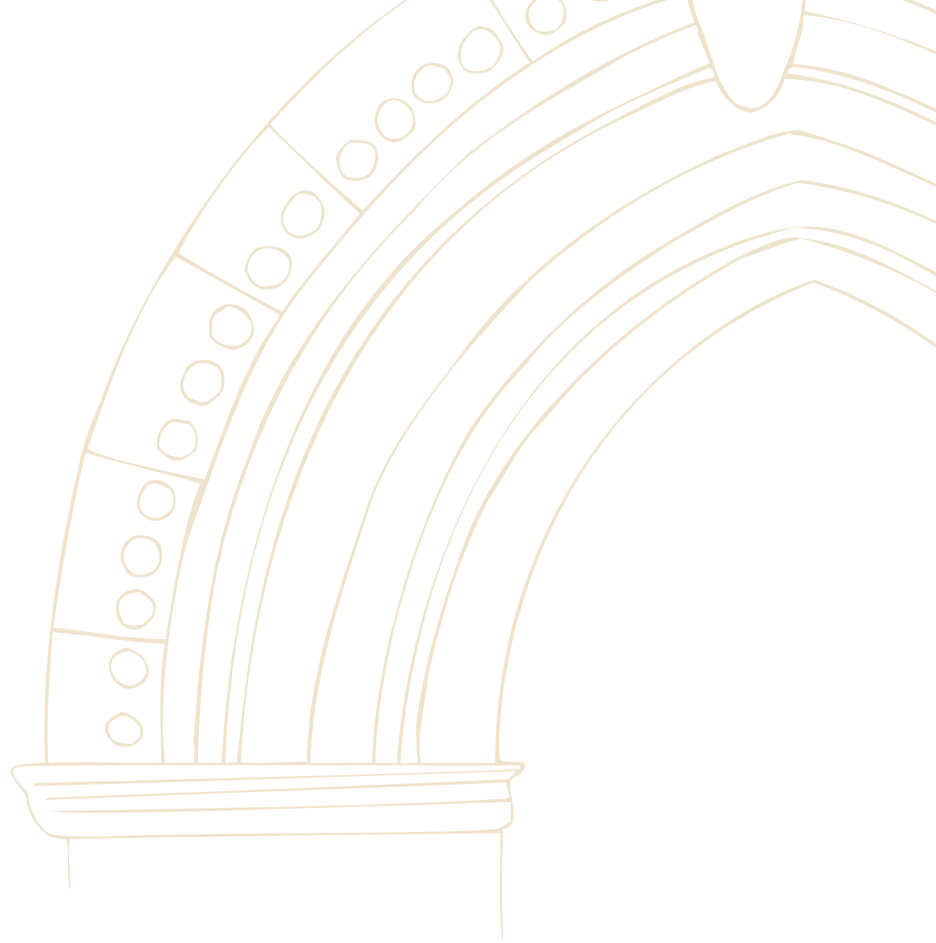
The Hermitage of Our Lady of the Valley is in the parish of Cête, in the municipality of Paredes.
It is built on a hillside facing east, over the valley, between Ribeira de Baltar and another riverbank flowing into the Sousa river. Its location, where a creek flows in a plain and open valley, presently occupied by arable and vine cultures, is probably attached to the invocation of Our Lady of the Valley, showing how much this Hermitage is connected to the local population's farming interests.

The motivation behind building small hermitages is usually associated not only to the hermit's secluded practices but, and more importantly, to devotion and the itineraries of sanctity. Located in isolated sites, they're frequently found in the parishes' outskirts as poles for the devotion of the surrounding population.

1. The construction of the Hermitage of Our Lady of the Valley, set on a hillside, should be viewed within the agricultural interests of the valley's population.

The Hermitage's design is oriented east-west, composed of a rectangular nave and quadrangular transept, both connected by the triumph arch. The nave's cover is made of wood, while the transept's, currently also made of wood, was initially made of stone with a Gothic cross vault, whose ribbing was supported by corbels of Manueline cut. In the exterior, the corner buttresses testify to a common construction fashion from the late 15th and the first quarter of the 16th century, as well as the quadrangular planimetric featured in this transept. The span leading to the sacristy presents a frame equally traceable to the Manueline period.

The porch adjacent to the main façade is of a later period, although the presence of corbels in an upper level of the same façade indicates the existence of an older porch. The presence of the pulpit outside the chapel is probably related to pilgrimage liturgical acts, since the large affluence of devotees compelled to an open air celebration. The porch, as the pulpit in the exterior, is common to this type of devotional chapels.

Armando de Mattos has pointed out the affinities between the Hermitage and the church of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Côte, concerning the coats of arms and the architecture itself. The stone coat of arms, presently found in the transept's North wall, has the same heraldry symbology as the shields present in that monastery, one in the chapel of Saint Nicholas, the funerary chapel, and another in the first *banner* of the arms in the main façade. That said, the author suggests it was the same entity ordering the Manueline works in Saint Peter of Côte and the construction of the transept in the Hermitage of Our Lady of the Valley[1].

According to the same author, the main portals from both temples point to similarities in the archivolts as well as in the triumph arches, and since the Hermitage is from the same period of Gothic reconstruction as that of the church of the Monastery of Côte in the 14th century and suffered its influence, both constructions may have even had the same craftsmen.
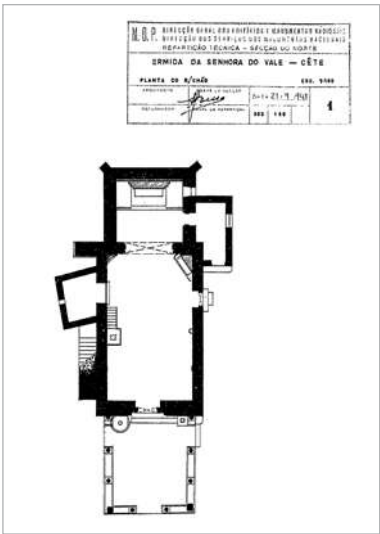
2. Map of the Hermitage.

3. Transept. The corbels and the Manueline framework point to a construction, or reconstruction, traceable to the late 15th or early 16th century.

4. Transept. Corbel.

1 MATTOS, Armando de – *A ermida românico-ogival da Senhora do Vale*. In *Douro-Litoral*. 2nd Series. Vol. VIII. Porto: Junta da Província do Douro-Litoral, 1947, pp. 42-51.

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5. Porch or narthex. The presence of a pulpit on the outside is connected with pilgrimage cult rituals.

This Hermitage's construction may be dated from the early 16th century, as the transept indicates, or the late 15th century. This portal's disposition and its sculpture show, however, how the Romanesque motives have lingered in time, this being one of the most interesting aspects of this chapel, in the context of the religious architecture of the Sousa Valley, although this is a common phenomenon to the entire North and Center of Portugal.

6. Transept. The angles' buttresses are usual in constructions from the late 15th and early 16th century.

In the transept's front wall subside, albeit fragmentary, traces of mural painting. In this wall remains a perfect-arched niche displaying the image of *Our Lady*. Originally, the mural painting bordered the entire niche area, framing the image of the patron saint.

Also visible are the representations of musician angels, some playing harps and others playing trumpets, revealing a great plastic quality and the use of gold, white and blue.

According to a recent study by Luís Urbano Afonso "the author of this intervention knew how to explore the specificity of the architectonic structure to create a work where the illusion of spatial depth was substantially increased, using the different planes to work the mural painting's visual effects"[2].

The remaining painting is attributed to a workshop of great quality, whether for its bidimensional figures as for the design of the angels' faces that the aforementioned author draws near to the figures painted by Arnaus in the church of Saint Paio of Midões (Barcelos), dating from 1535, and to traces of an angel represented in the South wall (in covered arch) of the church of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro (Felgueiras).

2 AFONSO, Luís Urbano de Oliveira – *A Pintura Mural Portuguesa entre o Gótico Internacional e o Fim do Renascimento: Formas, Significados, Funções. Corpora da Pintura Mural Portuguesa (c. 1400-c.1550).* Annex A. Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2006, p. 211

7. Transept. Traces of mural painting. Originally, the painting flanked the niche bearing the image of the patron saint. The depictions of musician angels are visible.

8. Transept. Mural painting.

9. Transept. Mural painting.

This program's authorship may be claimed by Arnaus' workshop, whose painting activity is known in this region, namely in the church of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde (Felgueiras), its dating being attributed to somewhere between 1530 and 1540.

The painter Arnaus is probably, according to Luís Afonso, the most interesting fresco artist in Portuguese Renaissance, with known works mastering plastic effects of great technical skill[3].

Note that, as in the church of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde, the persistence of Romanesque solutions, also present in the architecture of the Hermitage of Our Lady of the Valley, does not fit in the *modernity* and quality of the pictorial program, clearly indicating how the persistence of forms and the painting's currency are not contradictory factors. The mural painting framing and emphasizing *Our Lady*'s image, glorified it as a testimony of the powerful devotional motivations behind the artistic order.

The most popular festivities and pilgrimages, and where we find the most expressive and notorious samples of popular religiousness, are celebrated, according to C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, not in cathedrals or parish churches but systematically in chapels, hermitages or sanctuaries. None better than this author has understood and studied these devotional practices and their relation to the implantation site for chapels and hermitages, hence we chose to quote his impressions on this widely vast subject.

"The reasons why hermitages are preferred to parish churches for religious pilgrimages and paying promises are forcefully powerful, multiple and complex. It is certainly not because the chapels can have a better response to newer devotions for, albeit the difficulty in changing a parish's patron, it is not hard to add a lateral altar in a parish church, as common practice demonstrates.

A series of reasons concerns the landscape of the site chosen for implementing the chapel, picked for its amenity, dominance or unusual character. We systematically find hermitages in the most dazzling or pleasant sites and this is not random"[4].

According to the same author, it seems certain that this marginal position of the sanctuaries or hermitages regarding parish churches favors them. Greater festivity and recreational liberties are allowed, and sometimes even erotic and sacred rites as well. The ecclesiastic control is much smaller than in parish churches and it is up to the pilgrim to perform almost the entirety of the ritual of his promise, without requiring a priest.
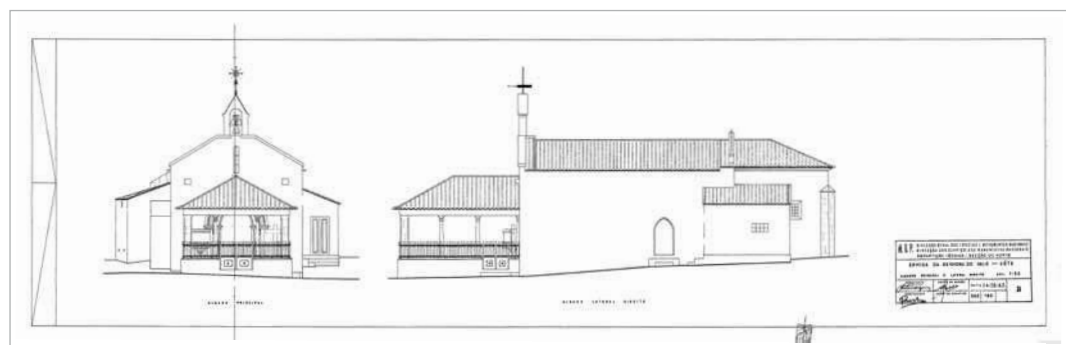
10. Main and lateral construction projections.

3 AFONSO, Luís Urbano de Oliveira – *A Pintura Mural Portuguesa entre o Gótico Internacional e o Fim do Renascimento: Formas, Significados, Funções. Corpora da Pintura Mural Portuguesa (c. 1400-c.1550).* Annex A. Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2006, p. 178
4 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – "Religiosidade Popular e Ermidas." In *Studium Generale. Estudos Contemporâneos. Religiosidade Popular.* No. 6. Porto, 1984, p. 78.

The isolated chapels are far more suitable than the parish ones for pilgrimage practices, which consist of departing, making a journey, ideally by foot to have the sensation of meeting a sacred space where they greet the local saint, surrounding the chapel, entering, praying, touching or kissing the image and leaving alms[5].

The cult to Our Lady is a phenomenon that has largely spread since the Gothic period, as the countless sculpted and painted images demonstrate, as well as the increasing amount of Marian chapels and sanctuaries. The various invocations of Our Lady, such as Our Lady of the Milk, Our Lady of Health or Our Lady of Victory tend to replace those of the patron saints of cattle and milk, like Saint Mammes, anti-plague saints, like Saint Sebastian and Saint Roch, and warrior and triumphant saints, like Saint George. It is true that these saints continued to be highly worshiped in the Modern Period, but there is no doubt that the devotion to Our Lady tends to overwhelm them.

The Marian cult, growing since the late Middle Ages, had a great development in Portugal in the 16th to 18th centuries, and was the preferential target for popular religiousness, justifying frequent foundations of chapels and hermitages, public and private, bearing Our Lady's name in the most diverse prerogatives, through which the people, in begging for protection, found support in sickness and in the challenges of their daily lives. Lady of Health, Lady of Miracles, Lady of Navigators, Lady of Light, Lady of the Milk or Lady of Remedies are some of these invocations. This phenomenon is of such significance that, in the North of Portugal, the cult paid to Mary overcomes that of the saints.

On another scale, this current of the modern Marian religious sentiment originates the construction of large pilgrimage centers throughout the country, particularly in the North of Portugal. An example from the region of Braga is the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Porto de Ave. In the region of Viana do Castelo, the Sanctuaries of Our Lady of Sorrows and Our Lady of Peneda, and, in Ponte de Lima, the Sanctuary of Our Lady of the Good Death. The most monumental ensemble is undoubtedly the Sanctuary of Our Lady of the Remedies, in Lamego. Of smaller proportions but equally a reflex of this national phenomenon in this region is the Sanctuary of Pedra Maria, in the municipality of Felgueiras.

In the geographic context of the parish's territorial unit, sanctuaries and hermitages almost always assume a peripheral situation towards urban clusters, escaping the stricter militancy experienced in the midst of the parish church. If its location in isolated and uninhabited places like hilltops assumes a function of consecrating the space and protecting and overseeing the parish, it is also true that pilgrims coming from afar in days of their healing saint's festivity felt freer in their religious practice because the ecclesiastic control was more diluted. They would arrive to the sanctuary space, head to the altar of the saint from whom they had received a service, pay their tribute and then gather in the front yard, where they would eat their meals with other pilgrims, to peacefully return, late in the day, to their daily life. After fulfilling their religious duty, by sacred rituals, the recreational feeling came more spontaneously and freely. And in the same sacred space, the spiritual and recreational dimensions of the Baroque man emerged without clashing.

5 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – "Religiosidade Popular e Ermidas." In *Studium Generale. Estudos Contemporâneos. Religiosidade Popular.* No. 6. Porto, 1984, pp. 75-83.

11. Transept. Mural painting.

This intimate relation between the healing saint and the believer, strengthened by the experience of the festivity ritual, serves as an explanation of the devotion deposited by the emigrants in their homeland's saint. When the locals emigrated to Brazil or the African colonies, when facing adversity, they would address a prayer to the patron of their parish's sanctuary, whereto they would return, even if just to pay a promise and expiate their devotion. The saint would become a sort of an amulet and relic, and a relic must be touched to work as a talisman.

On the other hand, the sanctuary or hermitage is the house of the saint. It was there, and not elsewhere, that the saint has revealed his or her nature through the manifestation of the inexplicable, the miracle. And it is there, in that specific place and none other, that the distant believer addresses his prayer. There is a physical appropriation of the believer regarding the site to where his request is sent in his time of need. The weather and the landscape are thus carried in the traveler's memory.

For these reasons and others, as C. A. Ferreira de Almeida explains, there is a "radical relation between the saint and his chapel and its location in the popular belief. It was there that the apparition took place, he/she lives there, it is his/her fountain, his/her footprint, etc. The belief in miracles that prove the image's intention of being worshiped in that location – because when moved to the parish church, it would return at night or cry – enriches the site's sacredness and its meaning, turning the saint into, asides from a powerful intercessor, a *genius loci*. The hierophanies transfigure the place of their sacred occurrence, but also individualize it. The relation between the place and the image appeared or revered there is so intimate and anthropomorphized that it becomes unique and a relic"[6].

The Hermitage of Our Lady of the Valley could have received a galilee in the 16th-17th centuries, in response to the importance received by this cult from the local populations. The festivity in honor of Our Lady of the Valley drew pilgrims from several places that went there to address their vows to the Virgin.

The miracle, omnipresent in man's religious imaginary, was seldom performed by Our Lady of the Valley. The two 18th century ex-votos exposed inside the building, in the nave's wall by the Gospel, thus testify. The oldest, allusive to a miracle occurred in 1747, tells the episode of a Portuguese emigrant in Brazil who was presumably saved in the wilderness of Paraná through the interference of the Virgin of the Valley, after hours siege by a group of indigenous. This oil on wood ex-voto presents a rather simple composition, displaying some ingenuity in the drawing of the depicted forms.

In the middle of the painting is the alluded saved by the miracle, on horse, holding a firearm and surrounded by other characters, the natives, placed to the left and to the right of the composition, armed with arches and arrows shooting in his direction. The victim of the assault is represented in profile, oriented towards the composition's left upper corner, where the image of Our Lady of the Valley was drawn, surrounded with clouds, a sign of the manifestation of the divine.

12. North façade.

13. Interior of the Hermitage of Our Lady of the Valley.

6   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – "Religiosidade Popular e Ermidas." In *Studium Generale. Estudos Contemporâneos. Religiosidade Popular.* No. 6. Porto, 1984, p. 79.

Another ex-voto, dating from 1796, depicts the storm that assailed the ship where Custódio Coelho Ferraz Moreira, from Cête, was when he was heading to Brazil. In distress in high sea, he resorts to the miraculous virtues of Our Lady of the Valley, who saves him from the shipwreck. Similarly to the *miracle table* mentioned before, the represented forms assume some ingenuity, resuming the scene to the episode's main elements. One can see a maritime landscape, with a raging sea shrouded by a dark ambiance, where the shipwreck is, practically occupying the composition's left side, and the castaway saved by the Virgin of the Valley, represented on the composition's right side, in an upper level and surrounded by clouds.

These pieces, in a first glance, are essentially the reflection of the individual's religious imaginary, associated with a profoundly devoted attitude, shown by the representation of a personal experience. Therefore, its effect is sensed in a much broader level for, to the community, they certify the effectiveness of the Virgin's protective powers. The narrative ex-voto elects as a preferential exhibition sites the sanctuary and also the hermitage for telling an episode through the use of imagery and of a small explaining text (see boxes with the captions' transcriptions) referring the intervenients (protector and protégé), the event, the place, the date, among other facts. It is, therefore, not odd that this hermitage keeps, in the whole of its artistic patrimony, this type of pieces[7].

Analyzing the building's exterior, the rectangular galilee, added in the Modern Period, immediately stands out, having been built against the plane corresponding to the main projection of the nave's body. This space evinces the building's primeval purpose during that period, being a place for sporadic cult and pilgrimage in times of festivity. Its design is defined by two strong pillars of quadrangular section, placed in the advanced angles of the structure, so as to support the cover's larger weight. Over the walls delimiting its area, eight Tuscan columns are placed, three on each side and two in the frontal projection. On the portal's left side, under tiles, is an interesting circular stone pulpit, indicating the place for preaching in the festivities in honor of the patron saint, since, due to the high number of pilgrims, the religious ceremonies would have to be conducted outside. In the opposite side, a stone cross reinforces the indication that that is a sacred place.

The building's interior furnishing, from the chronological interval between the 16th and the 18th centuries, features several artistic elements that enrich the whole.
In the nave, by the Epistle, is a gilded retable, whose current polychromatism, in grey, blue and gold hues, derives from a repainting that must have buried the original gilding. The structure is composed of two main portions, one consisting in the recycling of the body of a Mannerist retable and another corresponding to the altar table, in Neoclassic fashion, both portions juxtaposed over a rectangular paneled surface. The Mannerist body is composed of two columns of composite capital and striated frustum, with the first third decorated, supported by pedestals that sustain an entablature of classic matrix. The structure's

7   To further explore this subject there are a few studies to be consulted, among which we suggest the following: ARAÚJO, Agostinho – "A pintura popular votiva no Século XVIII: algumas reflexões a partir da colecção de Matosinhos". In *Revista de História da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto*. No. 2. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1979, pp. 27-41; CATÁLOGO – *Do Gesto à Memória: Ex-Votos*. Lisboa: IPM, 1998; SOALHEIRO, João – «Ex-Voto». In *Dicionário de História da Igreja em Portugal*. Vol. II. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2000, pp. 236-238.

central area features a painting, with the same height as the columns, where *Saint Roch* is represented. The decoration, present in the face of the pedestals, in the first third of the columns' frustum and in the entablature's frieze, is made of elegant botanical motives, among which appear, here and there, winged angel heads and small birds.

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*C*APTION OF LUÍS COELHO FURTADO'S EX-VOTO

"Mercy that Our Lady of the Valley showed for Luís Coellho Furtado, who surrounded by/
heathens in the wilderness of Paraná since seven o'clock in the morning to four o'clock in the afternoon without any further hope/
of escaping alive and summoning Our Lady of the Valley […]ously, the heathens were gone/
and to remember this grace he ordered this miracle table in the year of 1747"

CAPTION OF CUSTÓDIO COELHO FERRAZ MOREIRA'S EX-VOTO

"Miracle that O. Lady of the Valley performed for Custodio Coelho Ferraz Moreira, son of António Moreira, from Alem of the Parish of S. Pedro of Cette, who willing to travel to America and the/
Sea suddenly rising through the winds' mighty fury, saw the Embarkation shipwrecked, leaving him and part of his company adrift in the waves, without any further help and assistance/
than that of the Divine Until finally, almost drowned with no spirit nor breath remembering in a very brief moment the high value of the Virgin O. Lady of his parish, and begging for her assistance with/
voices from the heart, immediately felt the merciful effects of her protection, seeing that the waves brought to him a fragment of the Mast over which he drifted for long, from seven o'clock to ten in the morning/
he was then found and saved by the Pilot of the Bar of the Port of Figueira [not very far from where the aforementioned Shipwreck occurred] being the last of the number of those Companions who also escaped alive/
This Miracle took place in the year of 1796 in the […] of July, and was here depicted to eternally remember the affluence of Miracles with which the Mother of God favors those who devoutly seek her Aid."

In 1967 the porch railing is placed and the main chapel's altar is then moved to the cloister of the Monastery of Côte. In the late 1970s, roofing repair ensues after a storm, also restoring the Hermitage's interior. During this restoration campaign, the choir's staircase and the chapel adjacent to the North façade are demolished. The temple receives an altar from the parish church of Gatão, also removing the pulpit and replacing the floor's tiling. In the year of 1981, the main chapel's altar is removed. In the 1990s, the autarchy conducts a campaign to improve the surrounding area, also endeavoring to clean and consolidate the cross at the hermitage's parvis.

Between 2004 and 2007, general conservation works were conducted within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project. [LR/MJMR/DGS/MB]

Chronology

15th/16th century – Original edification of the Hermitage;

16th century – Construction of the porch;

1530 and 1540 – Mural painting program;

17th century – Retable by the Epistle;

1979/80 – Repairs in the covering; removing the inner and outer coatings; cleaning faces and joints; demolishing the exterior staircase to the choir; demolishing the chapel in the North façade and reclosing the inner span leading to it; placing the altar from Gatão; removing the pulpit; tiling;

2004/2007 – General conservation of the building within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project: covering, batters, exterior spans, ceilings, interior pavements and electrical installation; conservation of the mural paintings and decorative elements.

CHURCH OF SAINT MICHAEL OF ENTRE-OS-RIOS

CHURCH OF SAINT MICHAEL OF ENTRE-OS-RIOS
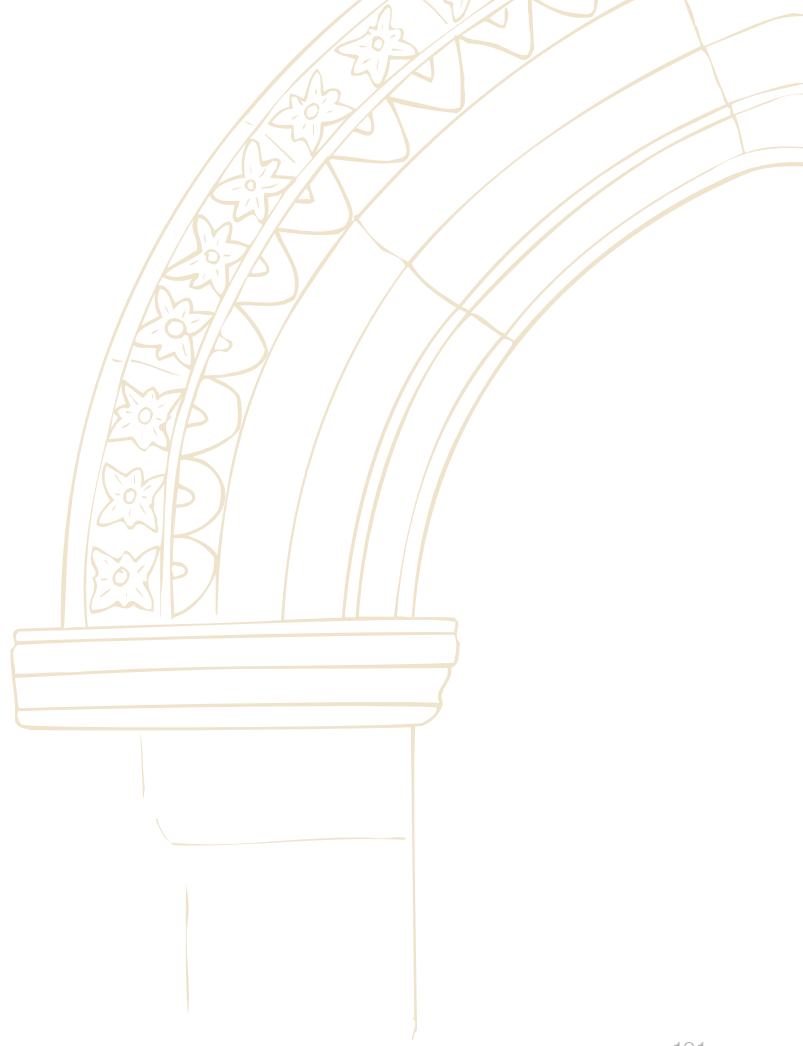
1. The church in the Middle Ages

Located in the parish of Eja, or of Entre-os-Rios, in the municipality of Penafiel, the Church of Saint Michael is an example of the *resistance Romanesque*, a characteristic so highly visible in other Romanesque churches in the Lower Tâmega area. In this temple, which should date from a period not prior to the 14th century, we find solutions from the rural Gothic, as seen in the type of botanical decoration, in the cross arch as in the South portal, along with common building solutions from the Romanesque period.

This church is in an important territory in the framework of the political-military reorganization conducted by king Afonso III of the Asturias, with the goal of creating safety conditions to allow the population to settle in the Douro valley[1].

The Lower Tâmega region mainly belonged, in the early times of the Reconquest, to the territory of the *civitas Anegiae*. According to C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, the Douro river was by then an important fluvial passage. This territory was also crossed by two important courses connecting the North to the South. The birth of the territory of *Anegia* is documented in circa 870, contemporary with the claim of *Portucale* (868) and Coimbra (878) and, following A. M. de Carvalho Lima, one of the first signs of populational dynamics in this area, corresponding to the current municipalities of Cinfães, Penafiel, Marco de Canaveses, Castelo de Paiva and Arouca[2].

Among these territorial claims, strategic points were picked to create fortresses and establish the *committees*, representatives of the Astur-Leonine kings, to insure the safety and settling of the populations in frontier areas, always threatened by Muslim attacks[3]. The *territorium of the civitas Anegia* is set in a natural

1. The church of Saint Michael of Entre-os-Rios is set in an important territory from the time of the Reconquest.

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1 LIMA, António Manuel de Carvalho – "O Território Anegia e a organização administrativa e militar do curso terminal do Douro (Séculos IX-XII)". In *Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida. in memoriam*. Vol. I. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1999, p. 399.

2 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 399.

3 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 400.

2. West façade. Even though early mentions to it are traced back to the 11th century, this church's present state corresponds to a restoration not prior to the 14th century.

corridor, oriented to the Northwest/Southeast and defined to the East by Marão and Montemuro, the South by the massive of Serra da Freita and the West by a mountain known in the Middle Ages as *Serra Sicca*. This natural barrier was fortified, over the Douro river, by the *Castle Mountain* in Broalhos and the *Castle Hill* in Medas (Gondomar). Over the Sousa river was the *Castle of Aguiar* (Paredes), taken by Al-Mansur in 995, and over the Ferreira river, the *Castle Hill*, in Campo (Valongo).

Between the early and the mid 11th century, there is a territorial fragmentation based as much on the decrease of the Muslim assaults as on the social pressure exerted by knight's families, anxious for a larger distribution of military, administrative and judicial powers, which lead to the division of the territory into a series of *terræ*, each headed by a castle.

Although many of these castles were by now identified, either through documentation or through archaeological surveys, their abandonment, of very ancient roots, makes is harder to recognize the architectonic disposition that, as A. M. de Carvalho Lima refers, can only be better assessed through systematical campaigns[4].

These are the powerful reasons granting this region an important strategic position, ruled by one of the most renowned Portuguese families, the Riba Douros[5].

The Riba Douro family kept close connection with the Benedictine Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), the head of a land donated by count Henry, later becoming one of the most reputed monasteries of the region between the Douro and Minho rivers. The oldest documented references referring the Church of Saint Michael of Entre-os-Rios attest to its connection to this Monastery.

4   IDEM, *ibidem*, pp. 401-406.
5   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico.* Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, p. 94.

The first document reference to the Church of Saint Michael is mentioned in the *Book of Testaments of Paço de Sousa*. The document, dated from 1095, mentions a donation of part of the church to that monastery. Another document, dated from 1120, gives notice of a new donation to the same monastery, referring to yet another parcel of rights over the Church of Saint Michael by that monastic house[6].

The choice of the patron Saint Michael is probably not unrelated to the Reconquest and subsequent territorial reorganization. It is known that, in this time, warrior and triumphant saints, like Saint Michael, the leader of the Celestial Army, were highly worshipped and evoked.

This church, also known as Church of Saint Michael of Eja, is implemented in the right bank of the Tâmega river. It is part of a large group of examples of peculiar late Romanesque architecture that leave an imprint in the landscape of the Lower Tâmega's Basin, such as the churches of Saint Genes of Boelhe, Savior of Cabeça Santa and Saint Peter of Abragão (Penafiel), of Vila Boa de Quires, of the parish church of Sobretâmega, Constance, Saint Isidore, Saint Nicholas, Tabuado, Vila Boa do Bispo, Rosém and Paços de Gaiolo (Marco de Canaveses)[7].

In Saint Michael the portals do not feature any columns or tympanums, and the arches are systematically broken. The church does not bear capitals and the resource to impost blocks as a support for the arches, as well as the use of decorative elements based on geometric beveled foliage, as is the case of the vine

3. West portal. The absence of columns and tympanum points to a tardy chronology, within the frame of the Romanesque *resistance*.

4. South façade.

6   MONTEIRO, Maria Teresa e SOUSA, J. Rigaud de – "Livro de Testamentos do Mosteiro de Paço de Sousa". In *Bracara Augusta*. Vol. XXIV. Braga, 1970.
7   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, pp. 94-99.

5. South façade. This façade's portal presents the same decorative solution as the triumph arch inside the church.
The transept was lenghtened and heightened after the original construction.

leaves, so common in the late Romanesque, are other aspects that place this church in a chronology close to the Gothic period, albeit the visible persistence of the Romanesque forms.

For all this, C. A. Ferreira de Almeida considers that this church is no older than the 14th century.

The design follows the usual scheme of a single nave and rectangular transept. The original transept was extended within renovations done to the liturgical space during the 18th century, and we also believe it was heightened, considering that, usually, the medieval transepts are lower than the nave. Actually, since the original cross arch was kept, the transept is very reserved in relation to the nave, creating a peculiar sense of space further emphasized by the magnificent main retable.

The church is built with trimmed granite blocks, in pseudo-isodome rows. C. A. Ferreira de Almeida brought the attention to the curious fact that this church's granite blocks do not contain signs almost in its entirety, since it is common in buildings from the same period to have a greater presence of masonry and position markings. Only one abbreviation from a mason was found in one of the wall blocks in the main façade[8].

The main façade presents a very simplified portal, topped by a pointed arch and set on quite delimited impost blocks. The façade's entire upper finishing is made of pediment with cross in the vortex and is crowned in the flanks by two pinnacles from the 18th century. This pediment would support the medieval belfry, as the traces of the rope or chain to ring the bell demonstrate over the main portal[9].

The lateral façades display a corbel sequence sustaining the roof's drip course and, by their large and unsculpted shape, they indicate a later building period, suggesting however reminiscences from the Romanesque style.

6. South and West façades.

The North portal, in broken arch, was doted with a richer decoration than the main portal, being framed by an archivolt decorated with diamond-tip motives and eight-petal faceted and beveled leaves, resembling the cross arch in the church's interior, elements that fit into the late Romanesque and the regional Gothic.

8 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de; LOPES, Francisco Gaspar Almeida – "Eja: A Civitas e a Igreja de S. Miguel". Porto: Instituto de Arqueologia, 1981-1982. Annex of *Portugália*. Nova Série, Vol. II/III, 1981-1982.

9 IDEM, *ibidem.*

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If, on one hand, it seems as if the West portal is posterior to the South portal, explaining the different construction projections, on the other hand, it is not rare that the lateral door received a more detailed decoration. In the Middle Ages, a church's building was not just an object built for a single purpose. It widely reflected the contemporary social and cultural networks. The parish church is much more than a space where the liturgy takes place and, thus, should be analyzed in relation to the village paths, the procession trails and the funerary rituals. The lateral portals, especially those in connection with the paths, were and still are more commonly used than the main portal. In the Land of Miranda it is not rare to see a higher decorative emphasis and apparatus in the lateral portals, as shown by the Church of Our Lady of Expectation of Malhadas (Miranda do Douro).

The interior of the Church of Saint Michael of Entre-os-Rios presents a single nave with wood cover, separated from the transept by a cross arch of broken span leading to the main chapel, supported by an impost block. It has no columns and is decorated with botanical elements, namely vine leaves, sculpted in the face by the nave's side.

In the main chapel's North wall there is an arcosolium from the time of the medieval church, destined to house a tomb, which was partially cut by the placement of a door, in the Modern Period's restoration campaign. [LR]

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8. South façade. Portal finished with typical decoration from the 14th century.

9. The transept's enlargement stems from a granitic layer.

2. The church in the Modern Period

2.1. The parish church: the community's focal point

The parish of Eja was, in the 18th century, a small cluster composed of only thirty households and a population not spanning beyond a hundred heads, scattered in five small places or villages. The parish church is isolated on top of a hill descending to the Douro river. This parish church's isolation was already witnessed in 1758, but in spite of its withdrawal from the population centers, every Saturday it would celebrate mass.

The parish church was the focal point of community life. Every week, the collective feeling of belonging to a community would manifest itself in the church parvis and in the joint participation in mass. Asides from fulfilling an expression of religiousness, from this ritualized weekly practice emerged the concepts of collectivity and identity.

In the 18th century, as the church abbot has recorded, every Saturday there would be a mass. In the first day of February, the collective sense of continuity between past and present would be manifested in a *General Celebration for the souls of all the deceased brethren from the Brotherhood of* Our Lady, and, in the following day, they would hold collective festivities, *with splendor and pomp*[10], attended by all of the parish's sons.

The church patron, Saint Michael the Archangel, is worshipped in the main retable of the parish church. Asides from this invocation, the expression of the collective religiousness gravitated, in the year of 1758, in the *God Child*, with a privileged altar in the church's nave, by the Gospel, and in *Saint Cajetan*, placed at the opposite side.

1 – MAIN DOOR
2 – LATERAL DOOR (NORTH SIDE)
3 – NORTH DOOR OF THE MAIN CHAPEL
4 – ALTAR DOOR
5 – SACRISTY DOOR
6 – SACRISTY WINDOW
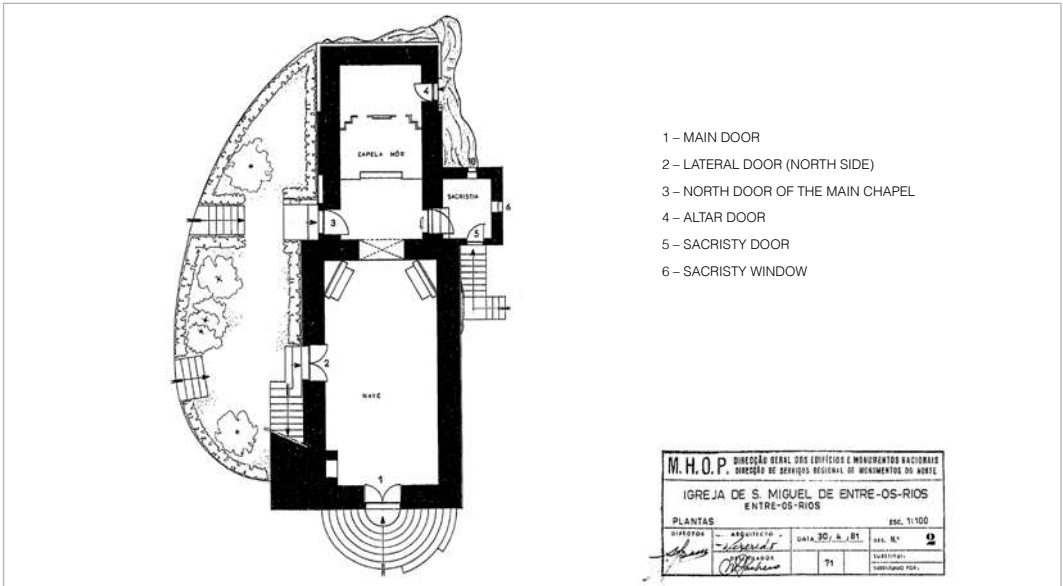
10. Map of the church. Includes the Sacristy, from the Modern period.

10   COELHO, Manuel Ferreira – O Concelho de Penafiel nas "Memórias Paroquiais" de 1758. In *Penafiel – Boletim Municipal de Cultura*. 3rd Series. Nos. 4-5. Penafiel: Câmara Municipal de Penafiel, 1987/88, p. 285.

11. Transept. Main altarpiece from the Baroque Period.

2.2. Architecture, gilding and iconography

The Church of Saint Michael of Entre-os-Rios underwent important renovation works in the Modern Period, from which results the present building. Architectonic elements of medieval origin articulate with others dated from later periods, deriving in a curious building for its artistic diversity.

Focusing on the aspects dated from the 17th and 18th centuries visible in the exterior, the church features a small bell tower in the main façade, placed on a wall to the North of the volume corresponding to the nave. The placement of pyramids in the tower and front pediment's lateral angles also bear witness to an intervention occurred in the Modern Period. Another evident aspect of a late intervention in relation to the church's foundation period concerns the addition of flights of stairs in the main façade and in the lateral projections. Notwithstanding, it is concerning the transformation of the medieval church's transept that the Post-Tridentine intervention is most evident. Observing the sequence of corbels in the main chapel, one can see that this part of the construction suffered an extension in depth, welcoming new spans for illumination, so as to adapt the pre-existing space to the changes in the liturgical ritual operated after the Council of Trento. The disruption of this sequence certifies to the main chapel's enlargement.

Likewise, entering the building, some elements draw our attention, pointing to a later intervention in the monument occurred in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

The nave features the altarpiece structures of the collateral altars, already from the 19th century, when the artistic Neoclassic language is developed; further behind, a wooden chancel with baluster is the result of an even later intervention; from the same period are the pulpit's transformation over a stone base, and the wood cover of curved cut.

The nave's retables are extremely contained regarding decoration, painted in white and gold. Both the designs, albeit different, follow classical simplified lines, organized according to a sequence initiated in the altar table, which is the structure's basing, followed by the bench, which is hollowed by a small niche in the altar by the Gospel, later evolving into the body of the retable, sided with columns, with the finishing placed over the entablature area, crowned by a cross curved element that works as a front.

After the triumph arch, we enter the space of the main chapel. The main chapel keeps important elements providing the visitor the most accurate idea on the investment and artistic transformation made in this building in the 18th century, featuring one of the main artistic tendencies from this period and recurrent in the sacred spaces throughout the country: the presence of gilding.

Corresponding to a very peculiar language, this space was restored in the early years of the 18th century with an exquisite altarpiece structure in national styled gilding. The whole was completed by a sectioned roof, from which we may still observe six of its original units (corresponding to the first lines from the main altar) and a purlin (still occupying the main chapel's entire length), having the remaining area been replaced with panels in which botanical motives are painted, resulting in a later and poorer intervention from the 19th century.

The main altar's retable apparatus is decisive in the visual impact created on the spectator, not only for the fact of being goldplated gilding, but also for its profuse decoration, whose quality wood carving is highly exquisite. Organized in concentric arches accentuating the structure's depth towards the tribune, where the eucharist throne is, this retable's decoration essentially relies in botanical motives. From acanthuses rolled in vine leaves and their grape clusters to, mixed with these, children, birds and also winged angel's heads showing traces of polychromatism.

12. Transept. Main altarpiece and painted ceiling. The ceiling panels, by the altarpiece, feature emblems of Marian iconography.

It is important to note that the main retable also includes imagery and painting.

Over the corbel by the Gospel's side is the image of *Saint Michael the Archangel weighing the Souls*, dressed in a breastplate and with his head covered by a feathered elm, holding a cross with his right hand and a scale with his left, as he crushes the Devil. With him, by the Epistle, also over a corbel, an image of *Saint John the Baptist*.

About the paintings, we bring the attention to the existing panels in the eucharist tribune's basing that frame the sacrarium, the one on the Epistle's side being the access door to the eucharist throne. There, representations of angels holding thuribles are seen, drawn in profile, kneeling towards the sacrarium. Also inside the tribune, laterally, two other panels were placed, equally showing kneeling angels on clouds and holding thuribles, drawn in three-quarters, turned face forward.

In this altarpiece structure there is also the tribune arch's intradorsum presenting five sections with sculpted emblems associated with Marian iconography, complementing the six remaining sections from the ceiling structure, also sculpted around the same design, featuring further emblems in the center (See Schemes 1 and 2). The presence of Marian iconography in the main retable was, possibly, an intervention from the Brotherhood of Our Lady, hosted by this church, congregating the interests of the parish collectivity.

SCHEME 1 ICONOGRAPHIC EMBLEMS OF THE MAIN CHAPEL'S CEILING SECTIONS

STRUCTURE OF THE MAIN RETABLE					
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.

1. MIRROR – Relates Mary to the veterotestamentary passage pointing to the "splendor of the eternal light, the untainted mirror of God's activity and image of his kindness" [Wis 7, 26]. An element referred in the Prayer of the Litany of the Virgin, pointing, in a certain way, to the Virgin's chastity.

2. CLOSED GARDEN – Integrates the Marian symbology, alluding to the Virgin's chastity and inviolability, associating with the following passage: "You are a fenced and closed garden a sealed spring." [Cant 4, 12].

3. LADDER – Emblem associated with Jacob's Ladder uniting Heaven and Earth – Mary's connection to the celestial universe.

4. TOWER [OF DAVID/IVORY] – Associated with Mary as a symbol of chastity, and also as a stronghold against enemies, where one may find refuge in times of distress.

5. ROSES – Allusion to the Mystic Rose referred in the Prayer of the Litany: a rose without a thorn, the rose without sin – Mary has fully preserved the candor of her virginity.

6. WELL – Well from which sprout revitalizing waters; Mary full of grace, overflowing with joy.

SCHEME 2   ICONOGRAPHIC EMBLEMS OF THE INTRADORSUM SECTIONS OF THE MAIN
RETABLE'S TRIBUNE ARCH

1. CYPRESS – Associated to Marian iconography, the cypress is a symbol of life and eternity, for its evergreen foliage is raised to the sky. In the book of Ben Sirach is a passage: "Raise me like a cedar from Lebanon, like cypresses in the hills of Hermon" [Sir 24,13].

2. SUN – Mary seen as a glowing element among the creatures, like the Sun among the stars. There are also references to the Sun in the book of the Song of Songs": appears like the dawn, fair as the Moon, bright as the Sun" [Song 6,10].

3. SOURCE – Associated to the Litany of the Virgin, considering its water as a symbol of wisdom. Also mentioned in the book of the Song of Songs: "And the source of this garden is the spring from whence come the fresh waters flowing from Lebanon" [Song 4,15].

4. MOON/STAR – Mary as the Morning Star, announcing and conceiving the light of Christ.

5. OLIVE TREE – Tree of great symbolic value: peace, fertility, purification, strength.

[MJMR / DGS]

3. Restoration and conservation

The Church of Saint Michael of Entre-os-Rios' restoration campaign started in 1936, under the direction of architect Rogério de Azevedo. Initially, the project foresaw greater works, as the plans demonstrate, which were not carried out. The project for the Church of Saint Michael was important to confirm an intervention methodology, present in this type of monuments.

Interventions in the Portuguese historic patrimony have suffered different approaches with time, from which we shall consider the interventions undertaken by the DGEMN, which left traces still well visible in the patrimonial conscience.

The restoration project for the Church of Saint Genes of Boelhe (Penafiel) in 1905 is a forecast of the DGEMN' future performance[11]. The restitution of the original design to the Romanesque monument was an essential condition, or the best guiding principle.

The reintegrating restorations seek to harmonize the architectonic form with the historical authenticity, recreating at times a monument of exemplary character, as the churches of Saint Martin of Cedofeita (Porto), Saint Peter of Cête (Paredes), Saint Genes of Boelhe (Penafiel) or Saint Mary of Leça do Balio (Matosinhos) show.

11   COELHO, Manuel Ferreira – O Concelho de Penafiel nas "Memórias Paroquiais" de 1758. In *Penafiel – Boletim Municipal de Cultura*. 3rd Series. Nos. 4-5. Penafiel: Câmara Municipal de Penafiel, 1987/88, pp. 39-40.

The Church of Saint Michael of Entre-os-Rios was deeply altered in the Modern Period with the construction of stairs in the main façade, in the North façade to access the belfry, and in the South projection towards the sacristy. Inside, the transformations consisted of placing altars and the pulpit and extending the main chapel and the crevices. The restoration works comprehended: repairing the covering, cleaning the coating, replacing windows and crevices, floor tiling, reducing the main chapel by moving the main altar, blocking a door, unblocking crevices; demolishing the belfry and the access staircase.

Between 2003 and 2007, general conservation works were done within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project. [MB]

Chronology

11th century ? – Original edification (lost);

13th or 14th centuries – Church edification;

18th century – Extension of the transept's length and height; placing the main altar;

19th century – Placing the lateral retables and pulpit;

20th century – Placing the lining of glazed tiles;

1936 – Conservation and restoration works;

1964 – Restoration works carried out by the priest;

1980 – Cleaning the surrounding vegetation;

1981 – Repairing the covering and carpentry;

1982 – Miscellaneous conservation and repair works;

2003/2007 – General conservation within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project: covering, batters and exterior spans, improving pavements, batters and ceilings inside the church; repairing the main chapel's decorative elements; improving the surrounding area and church accesses.

monastery

MONASTERY OF SAINT PETER OF FERREIRA

MONASTERY OF SAINT PETER OF FERREIRA

1. The monastery in the Middle Ages

The Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira, located in the municipality of Paços de Ferreira, is a remarkable testimony of the architectonic and sculptural quality achieved by the Portuguese Romanesque in some of its examples.

The origins of this monastery are much older than the current church's architecture, presumably dating from the 10th century, as stated in the reference made to it in the will of Mumadona Dias, dating from 959, where the countess enumerates the property she donated to the monastery of Guimarães[1].

Nothing remains from this period in the temple's construction, since the oldest elements, no longer *in situ*, would relate to the first Romanesque church, erected between the late 11th and early 12th century. These elements, revealed upon the restoration carried out by the DGEMN in the 1930s, correspond, according to Manuel Real, to first stage of the Portuguese Romanesque style[2].

Among this first Romanesque temple's archaeological traces, Manuel Real has identified some portions of friezes, similar to the older friezes of the churches of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), the Savior of Travanca (Amarante) and Saint Martin of Manhente (Barcelos), as well as other pieces, decorated with palm trees resembling those of Saint Peter of Rates (Póvoa de Varzim) and Saint Marinha of Águas Santas (Maia). These pieces, reminiscent of the first Romanesque church of Saint Peter of Ferreira, constitute important elements not only to the knowledge of the original church, but also to the study of the initial stage of the Romanesque style in Portuguese territory[3].

1. Implantation of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira.

1 REAL, Manuel Luís – "A Igreja de S. Pedro de Ferreira. Um invulgar exemplo de convergência estilística". Annex of *Paços de Ferreira – Estudos Monográficos*. Paços de Ferreira, 1986, pp. 249-250.
2 IDEM, *ibidem*, pp. 250-251.
3 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 252.

2. From the original Monastery, the church and the partially ruined narthex remain.

According to the author, who dedicated a remarkable monography to this church, the clerics of the See of Porto had rights over a parcel of the monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira in 1195. These rights were shared with some of the families established in the region, dominated by the old county nobility of the Sousas and of the Maias[4].

Although tradition associates the monastery with the Order of the Templars, Manuel Real has already enlightened us that Saint Peter of Ferreira, initially occupied by monks and depending from the patronage of families, was later on a Collegiate instituted before 1182, whose ownership was partially transferred, still in the 12th century, to the diocese of Porto[5].

1258's Inquiries certify the permanence of laic patrimonial tradition, referring that Saint Peter of Ferreira *est Militum et Divitum hominum*, that is, belongs to knights and noblemen[6].

The Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira is a most singular building, of great constructive and decorative quality and, according to C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, one of the most elaborate and detailed monuments of the Portuguese Romanesque[7].

Indeed, Portuguese Romanesque churches, in spite of their apparent simplicity, usually correspond to very well built buildings, whether in the way the walls are raised, always in pseudo-isodome rows with meticulously squared panels, as in the way of raising the portals or vaulting the transept. The church had to be built with magnificence, since it was an image of *Celestial Jerusalem* and another of *Salomon's temples*. Only a detailed construction would be in harmony with the sacred and thus grant prestige to the patron and the community it served[8].

4   REAL, Manuel Luís – "A Igreja de S. Pedro de Ferreira. Um invulgar exemplo de convergência estilística". Annex of *Paços de Ferreira – Estudos Monográficos*. Paços de Ferreira, 1986, pp. 252-254.

5   IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 255.

6   IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 252.

7   ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, p. 92.

8   ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001, p. 75.

Composed of a wood-covered nave, the Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira has a vaulted transept organized in two flights; the first larger and higher, adopting a typical solution from the Romanesque of the High Minho, whose influences report back to the architecture of the region covered by the Diocese of Tui.

The political border between Portugal and Galicia, materialized by the Minho river, did not fit an ecclesiastic border, since this portion of the territory used to belong to the Diocese of Tui until 1381.

In the churches of the old monasteries of the Savior of Ganfei (Valença), Sanfins de Friestas (Valença) and Saint John of Longos Vales (Monção), the architectonic sculpture clearly follows models from the transept of the See of Tui, as well as other typologies highly spread in Galicia, especially in the province of Pontevedra during the mid and the second half of the 12th century.

Inside, Saint Peter of Ferreira's transept is polygonal, although it is semicircular on the outside. It is two stories-high, the first featuring blind arcades, two of which mitered and the second with an arcade projection alternated with crevices. Its main chapel is therefore relatively high and the body of the nave is even more so, offering a rather Proto-Gothic sense of space. The first flight is, as stated, higher and wider, presenting a solution similar to that of the parish church of Fervença (Celorico de Basto). The transept's thoral arch is supported by projecting pilasters, embellished with socles, in an unusual solution in Portuguese Romanesque.

3. The church transept, of semi-circular design, is topped by an arched cornice settled on plain corbels, much like the apsioles of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro and the naves of the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa.
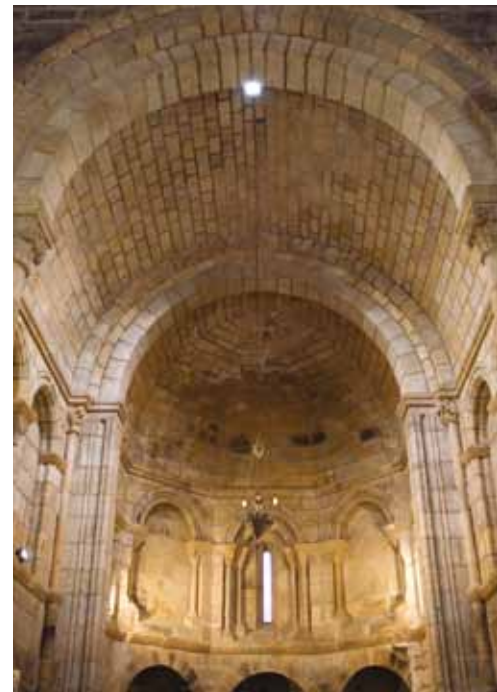
4. The vaulted transept is set in two flights, assuming a very characteristic solution to some of the exemplars from the Romanesque of Higher Minho.

The cross arch has similar capitals to those of Fervença (Celorico de Basto), Valdreu (Vila Verde) and Ermelo (Arcos de Valdevez) which, albeit deriving from models of the High Minho, feature a less voluminous approach.

The main façade shows the portal inserted in a pentagonal body, a common approach to the churches of the Savior of Unhão, Saint Vincent of Sousa and Saint Mary of Airães, all in the municipality of Felgueiras. The wide axial portal, with four columns on each side, two of which prismatic, is very well designed, showing a high value decorative treatment. Its decoration, extremely original in the panorama of Portuguese Romanesque, is made by a thoral cut in the arcades' extradorsum, accentuated by a wide opening. According to C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, this decoration, which has been compared to that of the *Portal del Obispo* of the Zamora Cathedral, displays visible differences in relation to that example[9]. The decorative pattern of Ferreira's portal would not share this origin, being much closer to the one in San Martín de Salamanca and closer still to the decorative solutions featured in the arcades of Seville's Almoad art from the second half of the 12th century.

This portal also bears similarities with models from the See of Braga. The See of Braga and the church of the former Benedictine monastery of Saint Peter of Rates (Póvoa de Varzim) correspond to Romanesque workshops where they were forged and from whence formal models and themes were passed on to several churches in the area of Braga and Guimarães, the Basins of the Ave and of the Sousa.

The current Romanesque building of the See of Braga, which suffered consecutive changes throughout time, was presumably initiated in the 1130s, as the bases and capitals from older parcels demonstrate. The West portal, in spite of modifications carried out in the early 16th century, still presents a sculpture program from the second half of the 12th century, with very original capitals shaped like baskets and in the type of botanical decoration. The See of Braga also features capitals of Provencal and Burgundian origin, as in Saint Peter of Rates.

There is a remarkable quality in the capital sculpture of the lateral portals of Saint Peter of Ferreira, some with lacing and animals and others with botanical decoration, resembling motives used in the Savior of Unhão and Saint Mary of Pombeiro (Felgueiras).

Following C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, from the combination of these elements it is possible to state that this church, whose construction occurred between the early and the mid 13th century, simultaneously adopts models from the regional architecture of its time, the Romanesque of the High Minho, of Andalusia and even of Castile[10].

According to Manuel Real, however, this work's architectonic unity and plastic rigor indicate that the temple was probably raised under a brief period of time, benefiting from exceptional technical, material and financial conditions, in the context of the Romanesque work in Portugal[11], considering that the church's construction was carried out between 1180 and 1195.

According to the same author, in the Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira is noticeable the presence of three masters: one from the region of Zamora, another from Coimbra and yet another with experience acquired in the workshops of the Sousa Valley. The similarities with the *Portal del Obispo* of the Cathedral

5. The West façade presents a portal encased in a stone structure, a solution similar to that of the churches of the Savior of Unhão, Saint Vincent of Sousa and Saint Mary of Airães.
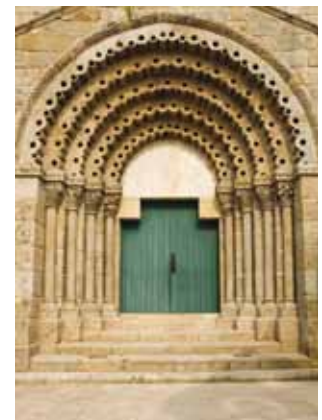
6. West portal. The ornamentation of the archivolts, singular in the frame set of the Portuguese Romanesque, finds parallels in the Spanish temples of San Martín de Salamanca and the Cathedral of Zamora.

9   ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001, p. 92.

10   IDEM, *ibidem,* p.92.

11   REAL, Manuel Luís – "A Igreja de S. Pedro de Ferreira. Um invulgar exemplo de convergência estilística". Annex of *Paços de Ferreira – Estudos Monográficos.* Paços de Ferreira, 1986, p. 256.

7. West portal.
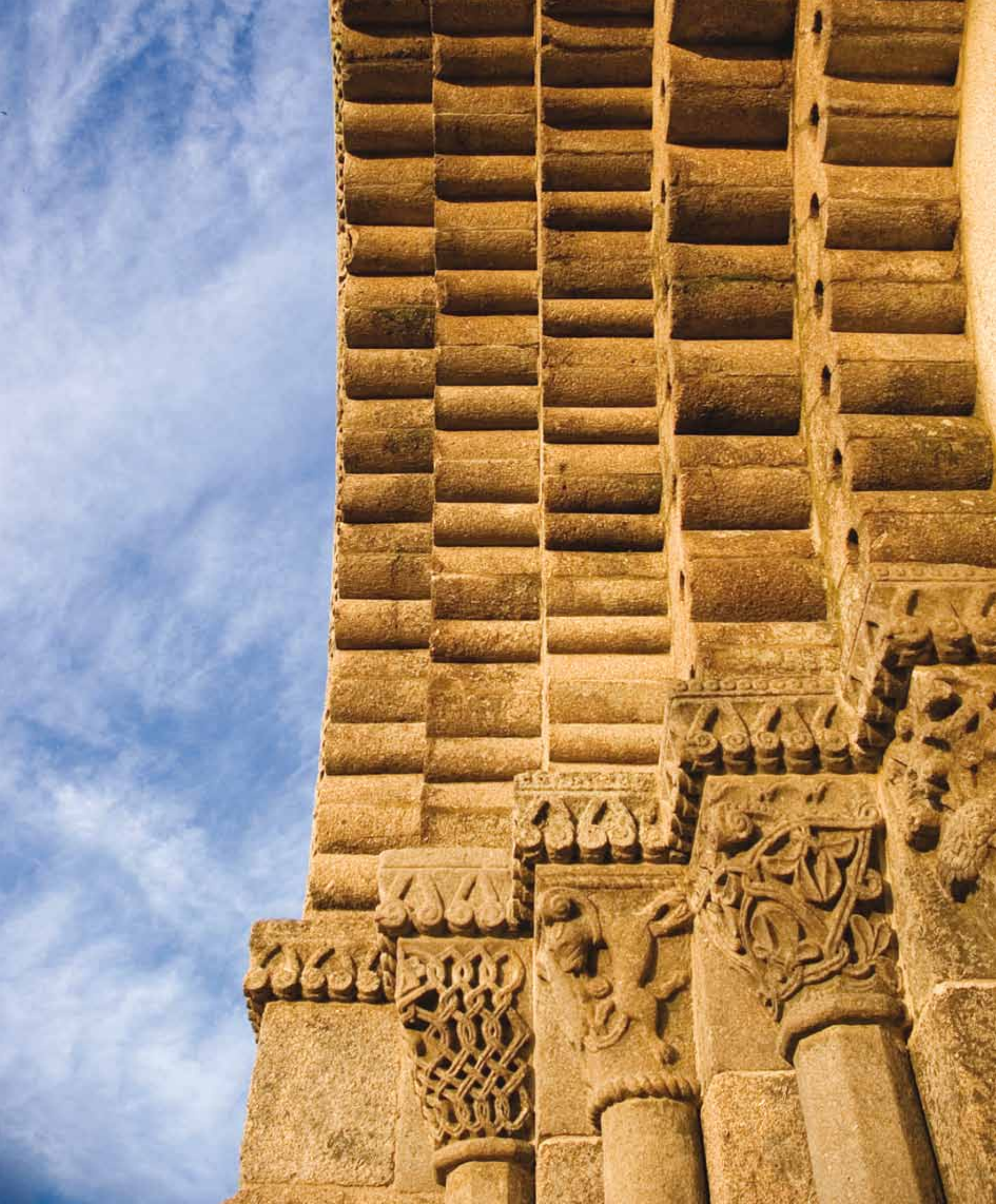
of the Zamora are striking, despite a few differences in the number of projections, in the frames decoration or in the hives cut (rope-like in that Spanish city whereas in Ferreira they are circular). Manuel Real indicates portal examples from other churches in Zamora – San Tomé, Santa María La Orta, Santo Ildefonso, Santiago del Burgo and San Leonardo – displaying circular hives as in Ferreira. This master, or the artists who have worked with him, demonstrates equally rigorous knowledge of the sculpture in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, prior to the work of Master Mateus, as Manuel Real points out. This author considers that the West portal's capitals are of rigorous Compostela design[12].

The transept's conception should equally be attributed to the master from León, albeit the collaboration with artists from Coimbra. The inner projection's upper floor finds parallels in the Old See of Coimbra as in the collegiate of Saint James, in the same city. In the final quarter of the 12th century, master Soeiro Anes, who had collaborated with master Roberto in the Cathedral of Coimbra, as well as several artists working in this cathedral's workshop, moved to Porto.

In the See of Porto and in the church of Saint Martin of Cedofeita, in the same city, those artists have adapted decorative schemes used with limestone to granite, elements that also arrived in Saint Peter of Ferreira. A third artist, this time with experience acquired in the Church of the Savior of Unhão (Felgueiras), left his trace in the impost blocks of the main portal and in the capitals of the South portal, as well as in the axial portal's tympanum, currently lost, which highly resembled the tympanum of Unhão, following Manuel Real's reconstruction conducted from the remaining fragments[13].

8. West portal. The capitals and the lines of ashlars follow those adopted by the See of Braga and the Monastery of Saint Peter of Rates (Póvoa de Varzim).

9. West portal. Capitals.

10. West portal. Capitals, lines of ashlars and archivolts.

12 REAL, Manuel Luís – "O românico português na perspectiva das relações internacionais". In *Romanico. En Galicia y Portugal. Em Portugal e Galiza.* Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2001, pp. 46-47.
13 REAL, Manuel Luís – "A Igreja de S. Pedro de Ferreira. Um invulgar exemplo de convergência estilística". Annex of *Paços de Ferreira – Estudos Monográficos.* Paços de Ferreira, 1986, p. 271.

11. West portal. Capitals, lines of ashlars and archivolts.

The nave is an element that should be stressed due to its unusual height. That is why it received buttresses in the exterior and adjacent columns in the interior to help support it. According to Manuel Real, notwithstanding its apparent simplicity, the nave of Saint Peter of Ferreira features quite an elaborate design, the most complete among Portuguese Romanesque churches featuring a single nave. The nave is built around four flights, just like the church of Saint Martin of Cedofeita in Porto, delimited on the outside by buttresses and on the inside by half columns attached to the walls with profusely decorated plinths[14]. The lateral façades are topped by a cornice formed by small arches laid in corbels, a solution equally adopted in the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel) and in Saint Peter of Roriz (Santo Tirso), among others.

What makes Saint Peter of Ferreira a singular work or art is, according to Manuel Real, the fact that there is a harmonious mixture, in common parts of the church, between architectonic designs and ornamental motives traceable to diverse regions and workshops: Zamora-Compostela, Coimbra-Porto and Braga-Unhão.

12. The church nave has received columns adjacent to the walls. The reason for the existence of columns, corresponding to buttresses on the exterior, is related to the nave's great height.

The existence of constructions from the Romanesque period with such an accentuated building velocity is not common in Portugal. The construction of a temple was, in most cases, very slow, as demonstrated by the churches of Saint Peter of Rates (Póvoa de Varzim) and the Savior of Arnoso (Famalicão), to quote a few. The work interruptions and changes in the schedule, noticeable in the markings left in the wall con-

14   REAL, Manuel Luís – "A Igreja de S. Pedro de Ferreira. Um invulgar exemplo de convergência estilística". Annex of *Paços de Ferreira – Estudos Monográficos*. Paços de Ferreira, 1986, p. 258.

struction as in the use of chronologically distinct decorative languages, were very frequent, for erecting a temple was, in the Romanesque period, highly expensive. Financial constraints and financing rhythms forced the works to be suspended, sometimes for long periods of time. The necessary funds would depend on the donations to the institutions ordering the edification, namely the sees or the monastic communities, donations from those who intended to be buried in the church space and entitled to suffrages, and also alms and fundraising actions in the region or in more distant places. In these campaigns, privileges and special indults were granted to donators. As a document from the monastery of Saint Michael of Bustelo (Penafiel) demonstrates, the bishop of Porto, D. Vicente Mendes, grants, in 1283, a place in his indults and prayers to those who contribute to the construction of the church of Saint Peter of Croca (Penafiel)[15].

Usually, in the Romanesque period, the temple's construction would start with the transept, which could become sacred as soon as ready, the body of the church being defined by the projection of the exterior walls, allowing cult to be paid while the remaining portions were being built. The time lapse between the transept's construction and the entire work's completion could be of several decades. If the Old See of Coimbra took a little over fifty years to be built, the Sees of Porto and Braga were raised very slowly[16]. Also important to mention is the fact that, asides from the intermittent financing rhythms, construction would also be suspended in the winter. The partially built walls would then be covered with culm which protected from rain water, as several medieval illuminations document. Generally, the Portuguese Romanesque church walls are double, the space between the two layers being filled with clay and pebbles. This type of construction insured a greater resistance, as well as a better capacity to adapt to changes in weather.

Although there is practically no documentation whatsoever on the Romanesque construction process in Portugal, the analysis of the buildings with their markings and the used types of stone, along with the intelligence on medieval workshops in other European countries, allow a few conclusions.

The disposition, i.e., the way of arranging the construction materials in stone or brick, blocks shaped like geometric solids, used in Romanesque construction implied the skills of assembly masons, as well as the existence of cutting rules in the quarries from whence the stone blocks were extracted. By the construction site, the mason would divide the stone using gauges and a square. The face turned to the exterior was, obviously, more detailed and well trimmed and it was there that the sign was usually marked. The other faces of the appareled stone block, that is, the panel, were equally divided but not polished, leaving a rough back face. The more skilled masons would carve the frames, friezes and voussoirs, using molds and gauges provided by the *magister operis*. The decorative and figurative themes were made by the sculptor mason who would carve them directly, resorting to designs previously made in *cardboard* placed on the piece[17].

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13. The church nave stands out for its unusual height.

14. Sign.

15 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *Arquitectura românica de Entre-Douro-e-Minho*. Vol. II. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1978, pp. 29-20 (Multiple copied PhD thesis).

16 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, pp. 68-69.

17 On this subject see: ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *Arquitectura românica de Entre-Douro-e-Minho*. Vol. II. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1978, pp. 11-12 (Multiple copied PhD thesis).

15. South façade. This church is a remarkable testimonial of the architectonic quality that the Portuguese Romanesque has managed to achieve on occasion.

16. North façade.

17. North portal.
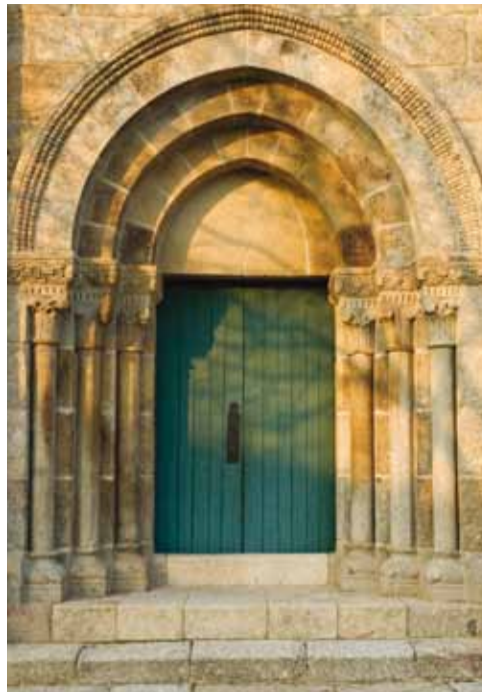
18. South portal.

Information on the master masons and the architects is also very fragmented. Nonetheless, the scarce documentation is sufficient to conclude that the architect or *magister operis*' work was well paid and highly appreciated, resulting in privileges of several natures. A church like Saint Peter of Ferreira's, with some complexity regarding the organization of the transept's projection and its vaulting, as well as in the nave's projections, surely required highly skilled craftsmen.

In front of the main façade, this church still displays the ruins of an ante-church with funerary purpose, an excellent and rare testimony of this type of construction, present in many Romanesque churches.

This element corresponds to a space reserved for burial and funeral rituals, with further examples remaining in the churches of Saint Christine of Serzedelo (Guimarães), Vilarinho (Santo Tirso) and Sanfins de Friestas (Valença), demolished upon restoration in 1935, as well as some portions in the Savior of Freixo de Baixo (Amarante). Likewise, the church of Saint Martin of Cedofeita (Porto), judging by the existing documentation, had a similar construction, which acquired a more monumental dimension in the case of Saint Mary of Pombeiro (Felgueiras). In the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), the edification was next to the church, as it would happen in Saint Peter of Roriz (Santo Tirso) and as exemplified, to this day, by the lateral chapel of the church of the Savior of Ansiães (Carrazeda de Ansiães).

The burial interdiction inside churches would have, for a long time, lead to these options. Through donations to monastic communities, the nobility elected the galilees as a burial space, insuring that their testamentary dispositions were observed by the monks as a means to achieve Salvation.

19. South façade. Arches over plain corbels.

20. Capital from inside the transept.

The Romanesque Period coincides with a slow turning point as to the immediate destiny of the souls of the deceased. The belief in the individual judgment after death and in the instant journey of the soul to its eternal destination starts to grow. The funerary cult now attains new features. Since salvation is more and more attributed to the soul's individual merit and prayers, the value and amount of the suffrages increase as well. The mass for the deceased becomes generalized and wills leave estate to the monasteries in return for masses on the soul. In the Romanesque Period, it is in the narthexes and lateral porticos that the sepulchers are placed[18].

However, in spite of its primordial burial purpose, the ante-churches were also used for other liturgical duties, like processions, brotherhood and parishioner reunions, shelter and also court sessions and other legal acts[19]. In the late Middle Ages, the Synodal Constitutions were concerned about forbidding drama performances, farces, profane dances and songs and meals in the galilees and churches, showing how engrained these practices were in the sacred space[20].

The *narthex* walls of Saint Peter of Ferreira are not blocked in the front, according to the expressed opinion of Manuel Real. The same author also points that the ante-church would not be included in the initial project, although the perimeter of the chapter court had been designed with a projection beyond the church's West façade in mind, as the galilee's South door and the West wing of the parish house demonstrate, since the entire monastic complex is gone. The *narthex* construction was presumably conducted shortly after the temple's conclusion.

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21. Capital from inside the transept.

22. In front of the West façade remain the ruins of a former church of funerary purpose.

18   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico.* Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, pp. 15-16.
19   IDEM, *ibidem*, pp. 32-33.
20   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *Arquitectura românica de Entre-Douro-e-Minho.* Vol. II. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1978, p. 12 (Multiple copied PhD thesis).

1.1. Funerary sculpture

Of the tombs, this church only keeps two funerary items: a trapezoidal sarcophagus and the tomb lid with lying statue from the tomb of D. João Vasques da Granja.
In the latter is an epigraphy stating:

HIC IACI(t) [Sic] / IOH(a)N(n)IS / VALA(s)CI / DE G(ran)JA / […]

23. Lying statue of D. Vasques Granja.

This epigraphy corresponds to the funerary inscription of D. João Vasques da Granja found against the North wall of the *narthex*. Before the restoration, the inscription was embedded in the cemetery wall.
It is Manuel Real's merit to have deciphered some of the hardest passages in this sign, thus identifying the buried person. In fact, and according to the author's suggestion, the inscription reveals the name of João Vasques da Granja[21].

According to Mário Barroca, D. João Vasques da Granja's inscription presents a curious pagination, denouncing the monument's positioning inside the temple, with the intention of being placed next to the North wall of the church's nave, which would allow the inscription to be read as the transept is faced West, accordingly with religious rules[22].

The lying statue of D. João Vasques da Granja has the peculiarity of portraying the nobleman dressed as a pilgrim and holding a cane. As Mário Barroca has noted, the monument presumably results from an order by the deceased himself, who preferred to appear as a pilgrim, in a penitent attitude, instead of eternalizing the image of a nobleman, his social condition. This lid in Saint Peter of Ferreira constitutes one of the few examples, among Portuguese lying statues, where the deceased chose to be depicted as a pilgrim, as it happened with the statue of D. Isabel of Aragon who, asides from the habit of a Clarissa, bears a pilgrim's cane and satchel, in an allusion to her journey to Santiago de Compostela[23].

In the Middle Ages, the deceased's representation is not a portrait, as J. C. Vieira da Silva claims, in as much as these representations replied to wider and more complex expectations. It was the social function or status that defined a character in the beholder's eyes, turning the lying statue into an ideal perceived by each one as more adequate for him and his social and family group[24].

24. Epigraphy in the tomb of D. Vasques Granja.

21 REAL. Manuel Luís – "A Igreja de S. Pedro de Ferreira. Um invulgar exemplo de convergência estilística". Annex of *Paços de Ferreira – Estudos Monográficos*. Paços de Ferreira, 1986, pp. 291-294.
22 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epigráfico Medieval Português*. Vol. II, T. 2. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, pp. 2032-2036.
23 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 2034.
24 SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da – "Memória e Imagem. Reflexões sobre a Escultura Tumular Portuguesa (séculos XIII e XIV)". In *Revista de História da Arte*. Lisboa: Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, No. 1, 2005, pp. 56-57.

As for the identification of D. João Vasques da Granja, we know that he was son of D. Sancha Gonçalves Peixoto and of D. Vasco Martins da Granja, having married D. Guiomar Rodrigues de Morais, daughter of D. Rui Martins de Morais and of D. Aldonça Gonçalves Moreira, as Count D. Pedro's *Book of Lineage* certifies.

Considering these elements and the characteristics of the statue and the epigraphy, Mário Barroca suggests a timeframe from the mid 14th century for this funerary monument[25]. [LR]

2. The church in the Modern Period

According to photographic records, until the 1930s, when restoration was carried out by the DGEMN, the Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira presented an interior whose artistic components of greater visual impact corresponded to building renovations occurred throughout the Modern Period.

Thus, this church's main altar, elevated in accordance to the nave, featured a retable apparel in Mannerist gilding, which occupied the entire height of the main chapel's back wall. This structure was organized in three horizontal registers placed over the base and, in turn, was divided according to three main vertical strips, marked by juxtaposed columns in the lateral extremes of the retable (in the first and second horizontal registers) and plain columns delimiting the central vertical strip where the sacrarium and the eucharist throne were. This retable mainly included painting, distributing seven paintings whose iconography is ignored throughout the structure.

In the nave space were four other retables corresponding to the collateral altars, placed next to the Gospel and the Epistle, and two lateral altars placed next to the Gospel. Through the photographic records published in DGEMN's Bulletin dedicated to this monument, a Neoclassic taste was recognizable in the collateral altars and one of the lateral altars, the remaining lateral altar being a large structure in Mannerist fashion which included sculpture[26].

Also important to note is a chancel, supported by four sustaining elements over the church's main entrance. [MJMR / DGS]

3. Restoration and conservation

Presently, from the ensemble raised in the Middle Ages, only the Church remains, since the entire complex of the convent's quarters suffered deep changes.

The restoration's guiding principle followed by the DGEMN is explained in its 7th Bulletin, published on September 1937.

To justify the restoration's scheme in Portugal in face of the elements added in periods after its edification, Miguel Tomé enumerates the guiding principles behind the conservation and maintenance of the changes/enlargements from the Modern Period.

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25 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epigráfico Medieval Português.* Tomo II. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, p. 2036.
26 See Images 3 to 42, "Igreja de São Pedro de Ferreira". In *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais.* No. 7, Lisboa: DGEMN, 1937.
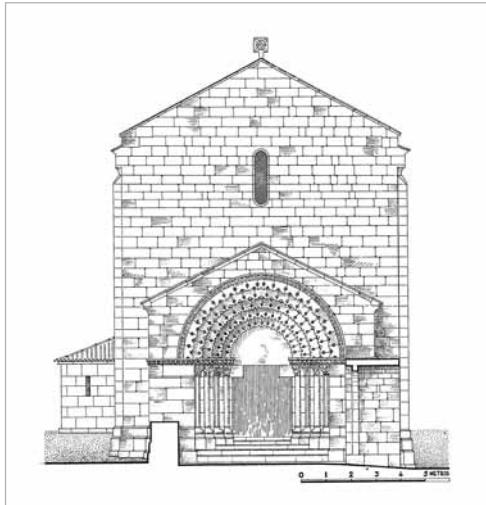
25. Church's West projection.
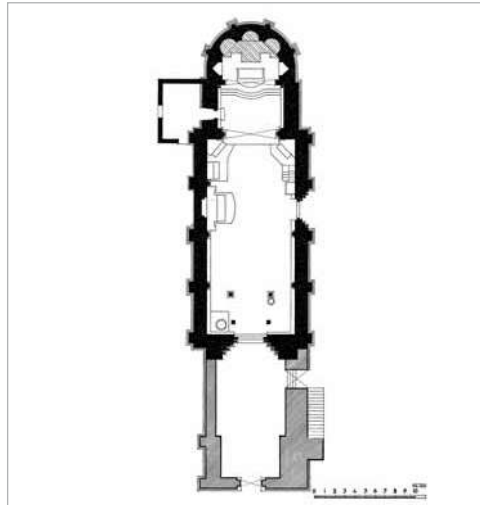
26. Map before restoration works by the DGEMN.

In fact, contrary to what is often written, the restoration under the DGEMN's responsibility, in the political framework of the Estado Novo (or Second Republic), was not uniform nor did it obey to one single principle regarding methodology. The responsible entities for the restoration teams have based their projects in different criteria[27]:

– Construction integrity. The added elements would be kept following an assessment of their condition or if they presented noble construction material associated with the indispensable signs of antiqueness.
– Formal integration. The acceptance of the *collage* depended on a subjective idea of the formal adjustment between the different artistic layers featured in the building.
– Artistic exemplarity. The object's maintenance depended on its artistic quality. Sometimes, this quality was responsible for its transformation into a museum item, depriving it from its prior functionality.
– Didactic quality. Maintenance could equally depend on whether it was considered fundamental to the building's (historic and symbolic) comprehension.
– Hiding primitive elements. Maintenance would not be conducted if the most recent element was hiding another of superior value. It would be frequent to disassemble retables and destroy adjacent volumes or portals to reveal the primitive porticos or spans.

In Saint Peter of Ferreira the following works were thus conducted:

– Demolishing the choir that was obstructing the nave and covering part of the church's main door.
– Disassembling the main altar and all other (four) altars in the nave, one of which was blocking the lateral portico to the North.

27   TOMÉ, Miguel – *Património e restauro em Portugal (1920-1995).* Porto: FAUP publicações, 2002, pp. 39-40.
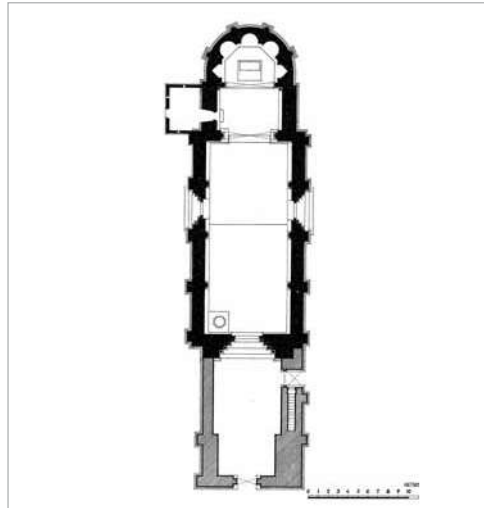
27. Map after restoration works by the DGEMN.
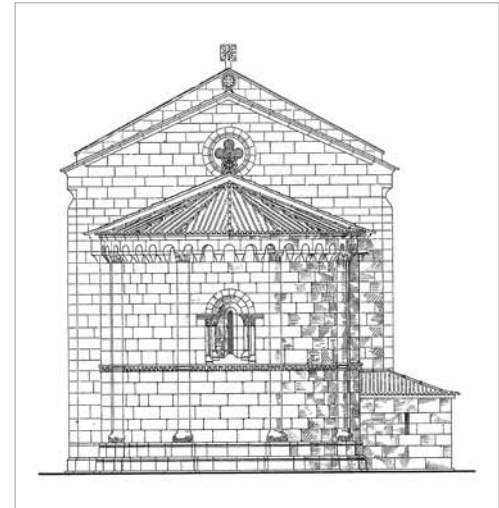
28. Church's East projection of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira.

– Disassembling the recently built pulpit.

– Demolishing the exterior staircase improvised by the South façade of the narthex, leading to the belfry, and unblocking the original staircase, built with the same purpose inside the same wall, as well as un-blocking the respective door.

– Lowering and tiling the entire nave and main chapel's floor, including the construction of the steps sepa-rating the two bodies of the building.

– Demolishing the annex built in the North façade, next to the apse, to install the sacristy, and replacing this building with a smaller one, with the intention of uncovering the giants of the walls affected by the construction and the ornamented frieze in the apse.

– General lowering of the narthex's pavement and the entire parvis.

– Repairing the primitive steps of the main door, that were buried.

– Demolishing part of the narthex walls that were blocking the sculpted abacus of the main portico.

– Placing, in the same portico, the tympanum and the corbels sustaining it (these will be completed with the proper ornaments to enhance them, after a study of the most suitable ornamental motive).
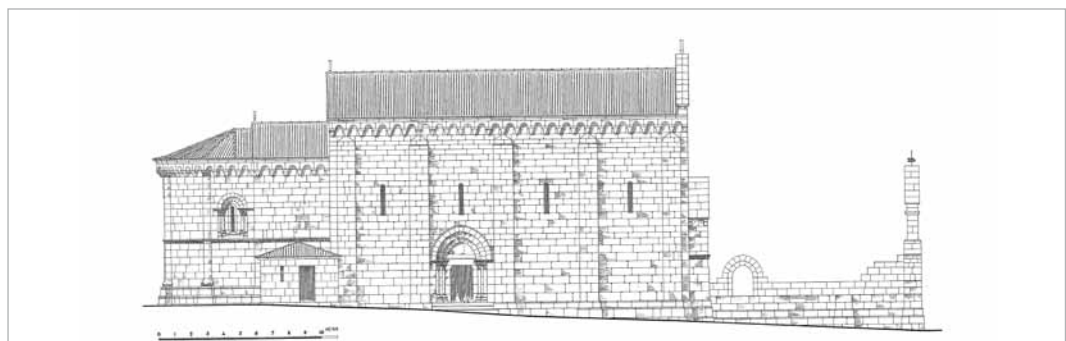
29. Church's North projection of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira.

– Blocking a door opened in the main façade to access the choir.

– Rebuilding the pediment of the supplementary wall where the main portico is, after removing a niche recently introduced there to keep an old image of St. Peter. This image was restored to the traditional place, in the main chapel.

– Disassembling and rebuilding the entire roof structure, in ruins, and the vaulted ceiling with the same wood as the nave's cover.

– Building and laying the new roof, comprehending the complete structure and covering with double national tile.

– Consolidating the main chapel's vault and cornice, and replacing the old cover with a new one of double national tile.

– Demolishing the paneled wall covering the North façade's original portico, rebuilding the steps in the same portico and replacing the lower stone of the respective tympanum.

– Demolishing the eight nave windows and replacing these with the original crevices, totally rebuilt with elements found during the works.

– Rebuilding two framed crevices in the main chapel that had been widened to attain more light.

– Reconstruction of the South façade's door sill and steps, which were missing.

– Reconstruction of the rosette in the nave's posterior wall, over the triumph arch.

– General cleaning of the mortar covering the nave's panels and of the main chapel's nave and vault, fixing the joints in all of the uncovered panels.

– General cleaning and fixing the joints in all of the Church's exterior walls.

– Building and placing the exterior doors.

– Building and placing a terminal cross in the nave's posterior pediment, after disassembling and rebuilding the same pediment.

– Replacing several straight masonry works found mutilated in the Church's internal and external walls, namely in the colonnettes embellishing the main chapel on the inside and on the outside.

– Building a massive stone altar, using primitive elements found during the works (part of the pedestal, table, etc.).

– Placing colored stained glasses, with lead filling[28]. [MB]
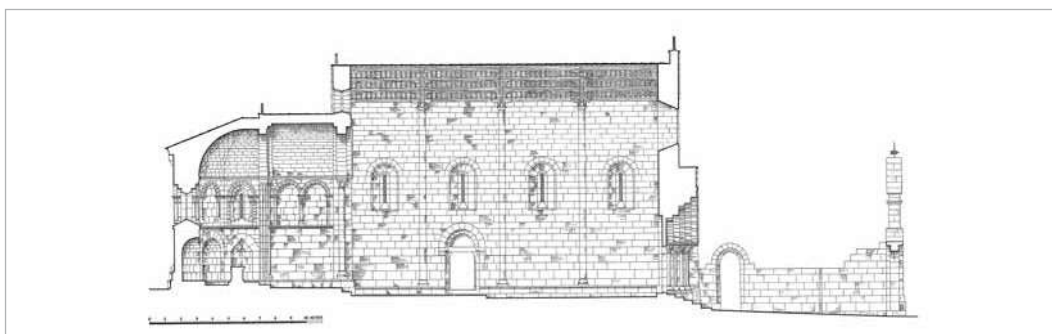
30. Longitudinal cut of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira's church.

28 "Igreja de São Pedro de Ferreira". *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*. No. 7, Lisboa: DGEMN, 1937, pp. 29-32.

Chronology

10th century – Foundation;

11th century – First Romanesque construction (lost);

12th-13th century – Second Romanesque construction (existing);

18th century – Extending the nave's crevices;

1930 – Repair works in the roofing structure, removing the floor, grave guides, excavating and tiling the nave and main chapel, laying interior steps in the portico, lateral doors and sacristy, disassembling the wood altars, excavating the parvis including the *narthex*, demolishing the belfry staircase;

1932 – Conclusion of the main chapel's crevice, rebuilding two lateral windows in the central apse in masonry similar to the one existing in the axis of the same chapel;

1933 – Building the main altar in stone, repairing the roof;

1934 – Rebuilding the nave's windows in masonry, partially rebuilding interior colonnettes, rebuilding the main chapel's roof;

1940 – Excavating and removing dirt from around the church, building and laying exterior chestnut doors, demolishing the annex attached to the North façade and building the sacristy, repairing the steps in the axial door, placing the corbels and tympanum, demolishing part of the *narthex* walls;

1941 – Repair works motivated by the damage caused by 1941's cyclone;

1945/46 – Repairing the roof;

1950 – Restoring and repairing the roofing and doors;

1952 – General cleaning;

1966 – Conservation and electrifying procedures, placing furniture, placing pave ways by the façade and tiling in the parvis, several repairs and cleaning the roofing;

1982 – Covering repairs;

1986 – General conservation and repair works;

1989 – Covering repairs;

1994/95 – Repairing the main chapel covering, maintenance of the nave's roof, electric installation and carpentry;

1999 – Conservation works;

2004/2005 – General conservation works within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project: covering, interior and exterior batters; conservation of the exterior spans and belfry.
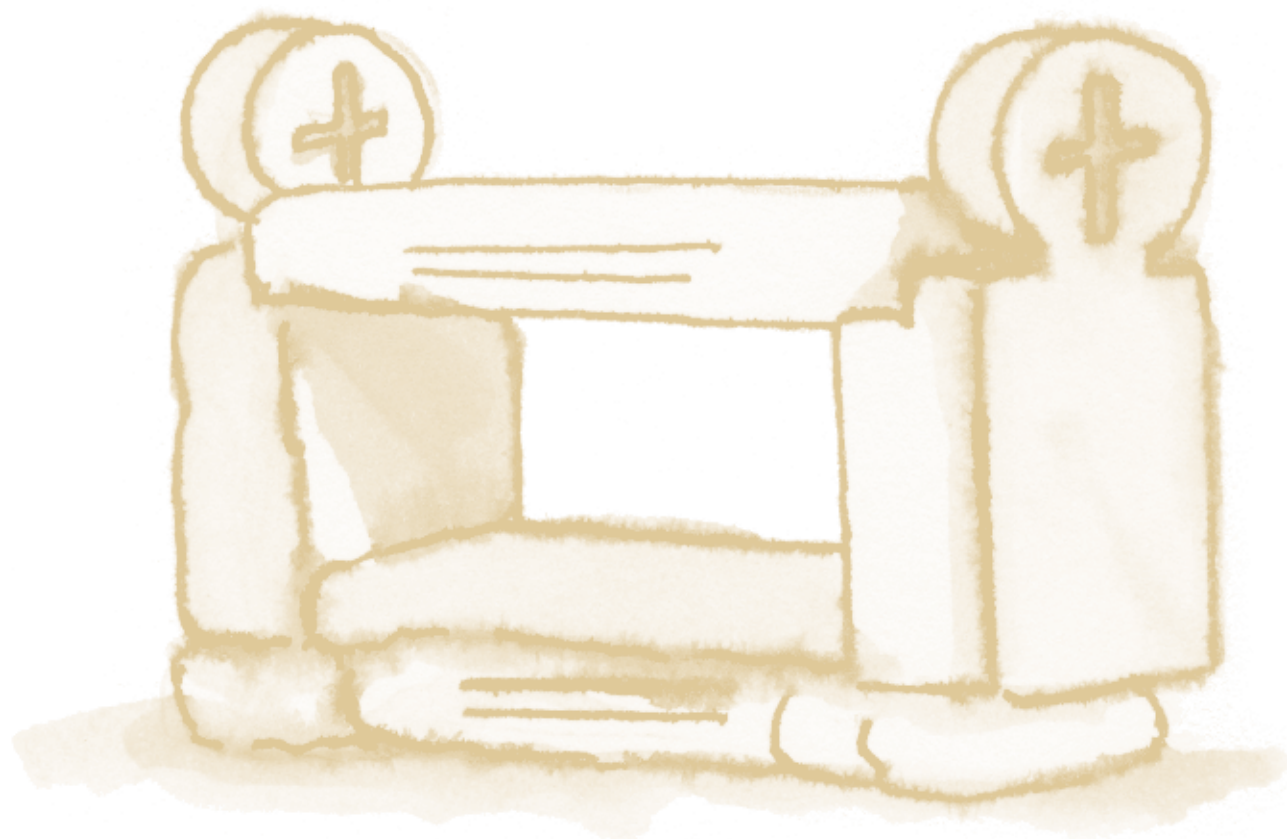
memorials

HERMITAGE MEMORIAL

MEMORIAL OF SOBRADO

HERMITAGE MEMORIAL

MEMORIAL OF SOBRADO
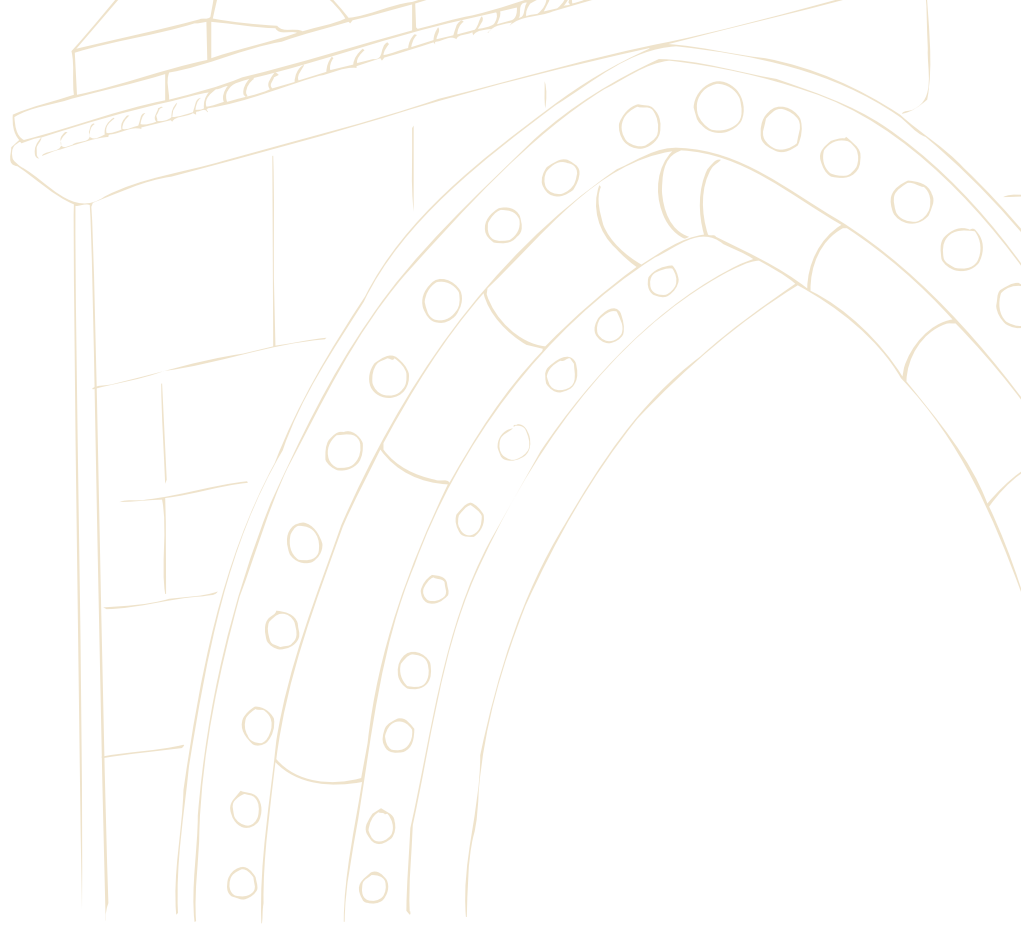
The municipalities of Penafiel and Castelo de Paiva have two funerary and commemorative monuments of remarkable interest, whether for their characteristics or the fact that they match a typology of which only six exemplars remain in national territory. Meet the Hermitage Memorial or *Marmoiral* (Memorial) of Irivo and the Funerary Monument of Sobrado, also known as *Marmoiral* of Boavista.

Located in the parish of Irivo, municipality of Penafiel, the Hermitage Memorial is currently out of its medieval context by the former road network, under which it should be approached.
This Marmoiral was originally by the *Old Road* which crossed the parish of Paço de Sousa coming from Porto, passing through the Vau Bridge, then heading East, already within the limits of the medieval parish

1. The Hermitage Memorial was erected by the Old Road between Porto-Penafiel.

of Santa Maria de Coreixas, later integrated in Irivo[1]. The Memorial, according to J. Monteiro de Aguiar, bordered the road, a situation that was altered with road network transformations in the end of the 20th century's first quarter.

Mário Barroca defines the memorials as independent and isolated funerary monuments, comprising the inhumation cavity in a suppedaneum, the whole dignified by a decorated arch[2].

Along with the Memorial of Burgo (Arouca), the Hermitage Memorial is part of the small group comprehending this type of monument in Coastline Douro, featuring decorative work in the voussoirs, and well defined and tardy frames, whose decorative effect is underlined by the presence of half spheres or pearls in three different faces.

The Hermitage is supported by a rectangular stone base, with floor fixing, where the tomb cavity, anthropomorphic according to Abílio Miranda, was opened. The tombstone is half-raised by small adjacent columns bearing briefly etched faces on the exterior sides. The upper finish includes a frieze of beveled leaves sculpted within a technique from the same *atelier* of masons who worked in the workshop of the Monastery of the Salvador of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel) in the mid 13th century. The style featured in the Hermitage Memorial's decoration suggests a dating from around the mid 13th century[3].

The arch decoration presents some of the characteristics from the Sousa Valley's Romanesque, resembling the axial portal of the Monastery of the Savior of Paço of Sousa.

2. Hermitage Memorial. The arch decoration follows the Sousa Valley's Romanesque canon.

The Memorial of Sobrado – entering Quinta da Boavista, in the municipality of Castelo de Paiva, and usually known as *Marmoiral* of Boavista – presents a completely different structure from that of the Hermitage Memorial and other monuments of the same type, since it has no arch whatsoever.

This monument is formed by two vertical transepts with disc-like termination, featuring Latin crosses engraved on each face, where two horizontal tombstones are supported, the upper one being rectangular and the inferior one corresponding to a tomb lid with convex surface. In his legends of Castelo de Paiva, Strecht de Vasconcelos associates the Memorial of Sobrado with the death of a knight during a duel in the 12th century[4].

On the upper tombstone has the engraving of a triangular shape with a cross inside. The lower tombstone has a circular inscription of a long sword and a Greek cross.

The encircled cross is designated by C. A. Ferreira de Almeida as a cruciform apotropaic graffiti, common in Romanesque tombs and church walls. Swords were also engraved on the external faces of both tombstones[5].

1 AGUIAR, J. Monteiro – «Penafiel Antiga: O Marmorial ou o Arco da Ermida». In *Boletim da Câmara Municipal de Penafiel*. Penafiel, 1933, p. 14.
   SILVA, António Manuel dos Santos Pinto da – "O Memorial de Santo António (Santa Eulália, Arouca) e os 'Marmoirais' medievais: Revisão da sua problemática e propostas para uma análise globalizante." Annex of *Actas das I Jornadas de História e Arqueologia do Concelho de Arouca*. Arouca, 1987, p. 14.Arouca,1987, pp.14.

2 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Necrópoles e sepulturas medievais de Entre-Douro-e-Minho*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1987, p. 440.

3 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 449.

4 VASCONCELOS, Adriano M. Strecht de – *Lendas e Tradições de Castelo de Paiva (Poemetos)*. Porto: Gráficos Reunidos, Lda., 1981.

5 SILVA, António Manuel dos Santos Pinto da – *op. cit.* Arouca, 1987, p.84.

3. The Memorial of Sobrado or Boavista *Marmorial* (funerary monument) presents a completely different structure from the Hermitage Memorial, since it bears no arch.

Dating this monument is complex due to its peculiar structure facing other memorials, which does not allow inserting it in any specific typology. Nevertheless, the Memorial of Sobrado has been attributed to the mid 13th century.

The purpose of this type of monuments, although not entirely clear, would be related with entombment, the celebration of someone's remembrance or the passing of funeral processions. Usually situated on roads or at the crossings, they consecrate places of passage that Man always felt the need to symbolize.

In spite only a few known examples in the region between the Douro and Minho rivers, the large number of references to the toponym *memoriale* or *mermorial* in medieval documentation leads to the assumption that this type of monument was more frequent.

A document from 1032, from the *Black Book of the See of Coimbra*, mentions the existence of *the memoriale in the village of Pinheiro*, in the municipality of Matosinhos. One must stress that this document reference is a bit older when in the timeframe of other similar examples. Another reference from the *Black Book* points to the existence of *the mermorial of Ennego*, in the place of Recarei, also in Matosinhos.

Although the term *mermorial* or *mormoiral* reports to a funereal memory, this one can coincide with another type of monument.

In 1258's *Inquiries*, a *mormoriale Dompni Pelaggi Truytosendiz*, in Macieira da Maia, is mentioned twice. 1343's *Inquiries* speak of *old mormouraes of Sigães* that would probably be implanted close to Terroso and Paranhos (Póvoa de Varzim). The Land Charter of the Monastery of Saint John of Longos Vales (Monção), dating from 1199, stretches the property limits to the *momuraes*[6].

6   SILVA, António Manuel dos Santos Pinto da – *op. cit.* Arouca, pp. 400-401.

The term *Memorial*, according to Almeida Fernandes[7], derives from the Latin word *memorare*, meaning memory; while the term *Marmoiral* derives from the ancient word *morbus*, meaning disease or death. This way, the use of the double designation and, therefore, the double meaning - funerary and remembrance – indicates that these monuments have a remarkable and singular symbolic value, especially since, according to Mário Barroca, this is an exclusive typology to the Portuguese territory[8].

Another possibility, presented by Pedro Vitorino[9], is that this sort of monument served as a landmark to signal the boundary for the several land jurisdictions, since they were all next to monasteries and their access roads.

The variety of designations for this kind of monument, recorded in documentation, is justified by the various purposes they have acquired since the Middle Ages to the present time. On the other hand, both documentation and toponymic indicate a large density of memorials, particularly in the lands between the Douro and Minho rivers, as António Manuel da Silva points out[10].

Asides from the examples mentioned in medieval documentation, there are several testimonials from the Modern Period. Many exemplars are referred in the former road network extending between the rivers Leça and Ave. The *backfurrow of the Memorials*, in Aveleda (1642), a *mormoyrall* in Macieira (1518), the *backfurrows of the Marmoiral* in Mindelo (1611), the *estate of the Memorial*, also in Mindelo (1611), the *backfurrow of the Marmoiral* in Mosteiró (1711), and the *grave of the Memorials*, close to the limits of Fajozes, Vairão and Maceira (1636)[11].

The fact that memorials were used as defining landmarks does not mean, however, that they were erected for that purpose. Their presence was used as an element for referencing the territory, as were roads, bridges or other elements.

In the last years, this type of monument has been studied by A. M. da Silva, who recorded the existence of six specimens in reasonable condition in the national territory[12].

The author also mentions, asides from the Hermitage (Irivo-Penafiel) and Sobrado (Castelo de Paiva) Memorials, those of Alpendurada (Marco de Canaveses), Santo António (Santa Eulália-Arouca), Paradela (Mondim da Beira-Tarouca) and of Odivelas.

Although gone, detailed descriptions of the Memorials of Lordelo (Ancede-Baião) and Burgães (Santo Tirso) are known.

Nevertheless, according to A. M. da Silva, cases where the buried person is identified or where its exact purpose is explained are rare. The aforementioned documents, certifying to the *mermorial of Ennego* (1088) and the *mormoriale Dompni Pelaggi Truytosendiz* (1258), are exceptions.

One of the most engrained traditions associates the memorials to the passing of funeral processions of renowned characters, as is the case with the memorial of Odivelas, related to the funeral cortege of D.

7   FERNANDES, Almeida – "Toponímia Taroucense". In *Beira Alta*, Vol. XLII, 1. Viseu. Mentioned by: SILVA, António Manuel dos Santos Pinto da – "O Memorial de Santo António (Santa Eulália, Arouca) e os "Marmoirais" medievais: Revisão da sua problemática e propostas para uma análise globalizante". Annex of *Actas das I Jornadas de História e Arqueologia do Concelho de Arouca*. Arouca, 1987, p.10.
8   BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Necrópoles e Sepulturas Medievais de Entre-Douro-e-Minho*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1987, p. 400.
9   VITORINO, Pedro – "Os Marmoriais". Annex of *Douro Litoral*, 1st Series, No. 5, Porto, 1942.
10 SILVA, António Manuel Santos Pinto da – "O Marmorial de Alpendurada (Marco de Canavezes): um tipo raro na tumulária medieval." In *Marco Histórico e Cultural. Actas de eventos marcoenses*. Marco de Canaveses: Câmara Municipal de Marco de Canaveses, 1988-1998, p. 21.
11 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 21.
12 IDEM, *ibidem,* p. 19.

João I or D. Dinis (buried in the Monastery of Odivelas), and the memorial of Paradela, traditionally singled out as a passing point for the body of D. Pedro, Count of Barcelos, when he was buried in the Monastery of Saint John of Tarouca in 1354[13].

The Hermitage, Sobrado, Arouca, Alpendurada and Lordelo Memorials are, according to legend, related to D. Mafalda, daughter of D. Sancho I, traditionally referred to as a passing point upon her body's journey to the Monastery of Arouca[14]. Legend tells that D. Mafalda, worshiper of Our Lady of Blackberries, in the See of Porto, died on her return from the journey she underwent, accompanied by her entourage, to visit that image, more precisely in Rio Tinto, on May 1st 1257. Throughout the journey's course, according to legend, *Memorials* were raised to host the princess's casket during the trip to the Monastery of Arouca, which was reformed to house her tomb.

In the Parish Memories of 1758 there is record, presumably the first, of the Memorial of Sobrado, referring that "(…) *There is a memory or memorial to which the locals, corrupting the word, call Marmoiral, ten spans of length from the entrance to Quinta da Boavista, with its crosses open in round stones at the tips, claiming the remains of the Queen the Pious Mafalda, who was brought from the village of Canaveses to her Royal Monastery of Arouca of Religious women of the Order of Cister, which is two leagues away from this village.*"

According to Pedro Vitorino, Alpendurada and Lordelo, out of place regarding the funerary course, commemorated the passing of Pious Mafalda within the context of her journeys intended to raise pious works. However, there is confusion in popular memory between D. Sancho's daughter and her grandmother, that is, queen D. Mafalda, D. Afonso Henriques' wife, equally known for her pious deeds. The queen founded a hostelry in Canaveses, where poor travelers were taken in and cared for, tradition crediting her with the bridge over the Douro river, in Barqueiros, and another bridge, over the Tâmega, as well as the passage boats "for God" in Moledo and Porto de Rei.

The foundation of the churches of Saint Peter of Abragão and Saint Genes of Boelhe, both in the municipality of Penafiel, is also attributed either to Queen D. Mafalda or D. Sancho I's daughter.

In 1721, José Pereira Bayam records, about the journey of D. Mafalda's body from Rio Tinto to Arouca, that "wherever they stopped, certain memories and triumph arches in carved stone were laid, and still preserved"[15].

The use of Memorials as a place to rest during funerals or processions is, in A. M. da Silva's opinion, a theory that offers no doubt. Signaling graves, a purpose rejected by A. Nogueira Gonçalves, is more arguable among the authors that have approached this phenomenon. The memorials of Alpendurada and Lordelo, as well as the anthropomorphic grave of the Hermitage Memorial, seem to indicate these monuments' burial purpose.

The habit of burying people by the roadside is very ancient, of Roman and Paleo-Christian tradition. The presence of engraved swords in the Memorial of Sobrado, as well as in those of Alpendurada and Lordelo,

13   SILVA, António Manuel Santos Pinto da – "O Marmorial de Alpendurada (Marco de Canavezes): um tipo raro na tumulária medieval." In *Marco Histórico e Cultural. Actas de eventos marcoenses.* Marco de Canaveses: Câmara Municipal de Marco de Canaveses, 1988-1998, p. 22.

14   AGUIAR, J. Monteiro – "Penafiel Antiga: O Marmorial ou o Arco da Ermida". In *Boletim da Câmara Municipal de Penafiel.* Penafiel, 1933, p.17

15   BAYAM, José Pereira – *Portugal, glorioso e ilustrado com a vida, e virtudes das bemaventuradas rainhas santas Sancha, Teresa, Mafalda, Isabel e Joanna.* Lisboa, 1727.

lead A. M. da Silva to consider a relation between these monuments and the burial of knights killed in duel. Notwithstanding, the amount of references in medieval documentation and from the Modern Period to memorials should derive from another explanation. Following Almeida Fernandes, A. M. da Silva[16] considers that the term was equally applied to necropolises of graves excavated in the rock revealed by medieval archaeology.

The symbolic and prestigious meaning attributed to the Memorials, as well as their remoteness, has contributed to a series of traditions and legends around them.

In the 18th century, Friar António da Soledade, resorting to a manuscript from the age of 1152 (year of 1114), reckons that the Hermitage *Marmoiral* was a funerary monument dedicated to D. Sousinho Álvares. This conclusion, later refuted by other authors, was reinforced by Pinho Leal who adds to the document that D. Sousinho was the head mayor or governor of the castle of Bugefa or Abojefa, a fortified village located in Monte do Castro (Village Hill), also known in the Middle Ages as Monte da Sinagoga or Esnoga (Synagogue Hill). Furthermore, another document from the *Book of Donations of Paço de Sousa*[17], referred to by João Pedro Ribeiro, states that D. Sousinho Álvares (*Joazino Alvariz*) had his dwellings in the Synagogue Hill. Finally, further strengthening this tradition, the monument is located by the *Old Road*, at the road crossing leading to this old fortified village, once again associating the monument to that mayor. Asides from these interpretations, one must consider the common medieval usage of burying glorious knights by the roads, the Hermitage monument being a possible example of this practice[18].

However, Pedro Vitorino refutes Friar António da Soledade's idea, claiming that there is a considerable disparity between the document's date and the possible construction date of the monument, stating that this monument, based in its architectonic features, has a gap of a hundred years in relation to the document[19]. Abílio Miranda had previously claimed that: "they insist in saying that a legendary D. Souzinho Alvares is buried there; but that is devoid of all analysis, for the document they use to base these conclusions is prior to the 12th century and the referred monument is Romanesque-Gothic, therefore, at best, it belongs to the mid 13th century"[20].

4. Memorial of Sobrado.
Vertical transept with engraved cross.

In the mid 16th century, João de Barros, in his *Geography of Between Douro and Minho and Trás-os-Montes*, refers "some ancient graves not belonging to the Romans are in the hill in the manner of mausoleums, topped by arch, and bearing no letters, nor can they tell me who they belong to or what they are doing there, outside the church", accusing that the memory of the monuments' exact purpose was already lost.

Nevertheless, he refers that, according to tradition, these tombs corresponded to "men who died in duel"[21].

16 SILVA, António Manuel Santos Pinto da – "O Marmorial de Alpendurada (Marco de Canaveses): um tipo raro na tumulária medieval." In *Marco Histórico e Cultural. Actas de eventos marcoenses*. Marco de Canaveses: Câmara Municipal de Marco de Canaveses, 1988-1998, p. 24.

17 IDEM, *ibidem*, p.15.

18 AGUIAR, J. Monteiro – "Penafiel Antiga: O Marmorial ou o Arco da Ermida". In *Boletim da Câmara Municipal de Penafiel*. Penafiel, 1933, pp. 15.

19 VITORINO, Pedro – "Os Marmoriais". Annex of *Douro Litoral*, 1st Series, No. 5, Porto, 1942.

20 MIRANDA, Abílio – *Terras de Penafiel*. Vol. I. Penafiel, 1937.

21 BARROS, João de – *Geografia d'entre Douro e Minho e Tras-os-Montes*. Porto: Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 1919 (original ms. from 1549), pp. 109-110.

The Memorials of Ermida and Sobrado are monuments worth of high esteem, whether for their significance, as for the rareness of specimens remaining in Portugal.

They are examples of the medieval architecture in the Sousa Valley region which, along with castles, towers, monasteries, parish churches, bridges, fountains and roads, evince the richness and diversity of medieval construction which has so expressively marked this territory and sheds light on how deep its roots are. [LR/MB]

The Hermitage Memorial was subject to restoration during the 1940s under the DGEMN. It was then that Abílio Miranda, talking to the artists, discovered an anthropomorphic grave in stone under this monument's tumular box, whose size suited that of a newborn[22].

In 1960, access to the monument is restricted, thus transgressing the memorial's protected area.

In 2006 and 2007, conservation and enhancement works are conducted on the access to the building within the Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley.

Chronology of the Hermitage Memorial

13th century – Original edification;

1940s – Restoration works;

1960 – Restricting the private area surrounding the monument under the owner's initiative, thus preventing the access and transgressing the memorial's protected area;

2006/2007 – Within the Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley, the following works were conducted: conservation of the stone; maintenance and improvement of the surrounding area.

In 2007, the recovery works on the Memorial of Sobrado within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project have focused on consolidating and cleaning the building and enhancing the surroundings.

Chronology of the Memorial of Sobrado

(mid) 13th century – Original edification;

2007 – Within the Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley: creation of a small green space; conservation of the existing trees and replacement of the missing trees in the line-up; electrical installation.

22   MIRANDA, Abílio – "Marmoiral". In *Boletim da Comissão Municipal de Cultura*. Penafiel, 1947, pp. 9-10.

church

CHURCH OF SAINT MARY OF MEINEDO

CHURCH OF SAINT MARY OF MEINEDO

1. The church in the Middle Ages

The Church of Saint Mary of Meinedo, in the municipality of Lousada, is a reference in the context of the Romanesque architecture of the Sousa Valley because it presents an architectonic program very close to the rural Romanesque, perpetuating decorative schemes, projections and walls that follow Romanesque models, although its dating should be tagged in the late 13th and early 14th century.

In spite of this late date, the church's prestige is enormous, considering that Meinedo was the head of a bishopric in the 6th century.

A little to the North and possibly in the site of a Roman *villa*, there are traces of walls and some capitals apparently belonging to a basilica connected to the Bishopric of *Magnetum*[1]. The archaeological excavation campaign conducted between 1991 and 1993 allowed to identify the apse of a cross-shaped building which can be traced to the Suevi period[2].

The Bishop of Meinedo, Viator, was present in the II Council of Braga, in 572, presided by Saint Martin of Dume. The basilica would have then turned into a parish church, according to reference in the *Parochiale suevicum*, a document recording the number of parishes belonging to each diocese, whose elaboration derived from the parish's organization started by Saint Martin[3].

Meinedo was then a *vicus*, which meant the existence of a village with part of its *habitat* organized in streets. The remaining elements of the basilica, namely capitals and impost blocks, reveal a construction of relative greatness and majesty, traceable to the mid 6th century[4].

1. Featuring a tardy program very characteristic of the rural Romanesque, the Church of Saint Mary has a high symbolic value, since Meinedo hosted a bishopry seat in the 6th century.

1 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. Arte da Alta Idade Média.* Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, p. 30.
2 *Igreja Matriz de Meinedo/Igreja de Santa Maria.* http://www.monumentos.pt (research from December 27th 2006).
3 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *ibidem.*
4 IDEM, *ibidem.*

2. South façade.

3. West façade.

In 1113, the Bishop of Porto, D. Hugo, receives the Charter of the Monastery of Saint Thyrsus of Meinedo from D. Afonso Henriques[5]. This monastery's foundation date is unknown, although the legend, consecrated in the *Portuguese Hagiology* (1652)[6], claims that it was the father-in-law of the Visigoth king Recaredo who brought the body of Saint Thyrsus from the city of Constantinople, raising the monastery under his invocation[7].

The aforementioned excavation campaign also detected structures related to a monastic ensemble. It is certain that the published documentation systematically refers the designation of monastery or church of Saint Thyrsus of Meinedo until the 17th century[8], when invoking *Our Lady* or *Saint Mary* seems to have permanently settled.

The chapel adjacent to the North façade of the church of Saint Mary is dedicated to Saint Thyrsus, his relics highly worshiped in the 17th century, as Jorge Cardoso points out in the *Portuguese Hagiology*.

Confronting the references to the Church of Meinedo recorded by Jorge Cardoso (1652) and Friar Agostinho de Santa Maria in the *Marian Sanctuary* (1716)[9] we get the impression that the change of saints was due to devotional *rivalries*.

Jorge Cardoso enhances the miraculous value of Saint Thyrsus' relics, although he recognizes the church's designation as of *Our Lady*, assuring that those relics were motive of great affluence of church-

4. Next to the church's North façade, the chapel of Saint Thyrsus holds the saint's relics.

5 For documentation on the parish of Meinedo see: LOPES, Eduardo Teixeira – *Meinedo. Subsídios para uma possível história desta freguesia*. Lousada: Câmara Municipal de Lousada, 2001.

6 CARDOSO, Jorge – *Agiológio Lusitano*. (Organization, survey and indexes by Maria de Lurdes Correia Fernandes). T. I. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, pp. 278-280 (original ed. from 1652).

7 LOPES, Eduardo Teixeira – *Meinedo. Subsídios para uma possível história desta freguesia*. Lousada: Câmara Municipal de Lousada, 2001, pp. 28-31.

8 Cf. IDEM, *ibidem, passim*.

9 SANTA MARIA, Fr. Agostinho de – *Santuário Mariano e História das Imagens Milagrosas de Nossa Senhora, E das milagrosamente apparecidas, que se venerão em os Bispados do Porto, Vizeu, & Miranda*. T. V. Lisboa: Off. de António Pedrozo Galram, 1716, pp. 36.37.

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goers and pilgrims, for being the martyr saint who advocated against fevers and disease, delivering the sick who had gathered dirt from his grave and carried it in *nominas*, i.e., pouches in which relics, talismans or printed prayers were kept[10].

Agostinho de Santa Maria, arguing against those who attributed the church to the invocation of Saint Thyrsus, tells an interesting episode. The image of the Lady of Meinedo was in the main chapel's retable until she was removed in 1686 to make a new retable. Because the image was large and seemed out of proportion in the new retable, rumor flew about the intention to destroy or bury it. The population, a great follower of *Saint Mary the Tall*, was so outraged with that pretension that "to calm down the devout commotion, the lady was placed in one of the Collateral Altars, while a proper Altar was fabricated for her to receive all the worship, reverence, & cult she deserved"[11].

It is curious that a Gothic limestone image of *Saint Anthony* with traces of polychromatism was found during an archaeological excavation campaign in the 1990s, buried in the North side of this church parvis, a subject to be developed later on. The sculpture is broken in two fragments and beheaded. The partial destruction and burial of this image may be related to this episode of the main retable's transfer.

The Church of Saint Mary of Meinedo features an architectonic program that is very attached to the rural Romanesque resistance, proving how this type of construction was highly esteemed in the North of Portugal until late periods.

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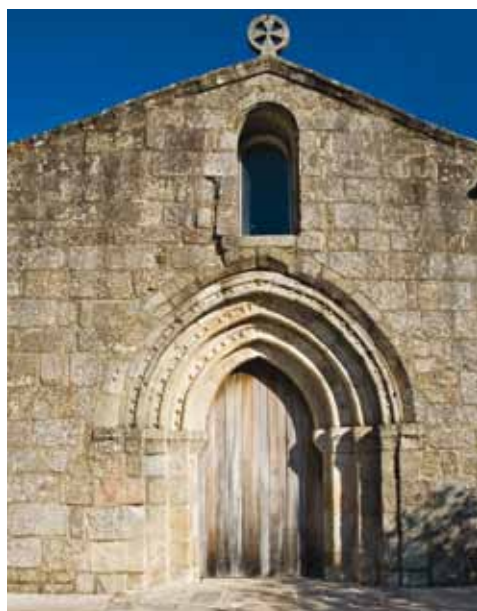
6. West portal. Not bearing a tympanum nor columns, this portal features a common projection of the rural Gothic.

7. West portal. Detail of the archivolts.

10 CARDOSO, Jorge – *Agiológio Lusitano*. (Organization, survey and indexes by Maria de Lurdes Correia Fernandes). T. I. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, p. 274 (original ed. from 1652).

11 SANTA MARIA, Fr. Agostinho de – *op. cit.,* p. 37.

The temple presents a single nave and rectangular transept (as do most of our medieval parish churches), both with gabled high wood covers. The main portal, without tympanum or columns, opens in pointed arch and the archivolts are decorated with pearl motives, very much in the rural Gothic taste.

The transept is topped by a cornice sustained by plain corbels, while the nave displays similar elements featuring, however, some sculpted corbels. The South lateral portal is undecorated and the one to the North is blocked.

Combining these elements, we may trace this construction to the late 13th or early 14th century, noting however that the Church of Saint Mary of Meinedo is a reference in the architecture of the Sousa Valley, once it perpetuates decorative schemes, projections and walls made according to Romanesque models.

As A. de Sousa Oliveira has observed, there are traces of mural painting in the main chapel's front wall, hidden by the retable. In the nave, next to the cross arch and by the Epistle, there would be a fresco representing the *Annunciation*, equally covered by the respective altar[12]. There are also traces of painting on mortar, in the stone of the altar table.

8. West portal. This portal's elements and the corbels featured in this church point to a chronology of the late 13th or early 14th century.

1.1. The image of Saint Mary of Meinedo

In this church, special attention should be paid to the image of *Our Lady of Meinedo*, in limestone and with traces of polychromatism, which concurs with the description made by the author of the *Marian Sanctuary* when he refers that it was *painted in color and gold*.

It is an icon sculpture whose proportional devotion is well documented in the Modern Period and corresponds to the Gothic period, although the liking for the antiqueness of this sort of images often leads them to be classified as Romanesque. The sculpture was excavated in the posterior part, a rather frequent circumstance destined to make the images lighter so that they could be carried in processions.

Little has survived from iconic Romanesque sculpture. Its production would have been far less than in the Gothic period, since relics satisfied the devotional needs. Nevertheless, there are documented references from the Romanesque period accounting for the existence of *majesties*, images of the enthroned Virgin as *Sedes Sapientiae*, often made in wood and lost due to changes in taste and devotion. The Synodal resolutions ordered old and degraded sculptures to be broken and buried in holy ground, in the churches transepts or in the parvis.

In Meinedo, during an archaeological excavation campaign from the 1990s, a fragmented Gothic image depicting *Saint Anthony* in limestone with traces of polychromatism was found buried in the North side of the church parvis. Its elimination is consistent with the aforementioned resolutions and it was not just a question of poor condition the reason why these sculptures were broken and buried. Changes in taste or the emphasis on the cult of a saint over another would have also dictated its disappearance.

9. The image of *Our Lady of Meinedo* corresponds to a Gothic period typology. Displays traces of polychromatism.

Considering these phenomena, the rareness of iconic sculpture specimens from the Romanesque period in Portugal is best understood, which is why one should point out the partially destroyed *Angel of the Annunciation* in the See of Porto (Machado de Castro National Museum – Coimbra), whose skilled modeling, as well as the masterful draping, evince influences from the Center and West of France, consistent with Proto-Gothic approaches.

12 OLIVEIRA, A. de Sousa – *A Igreja românica de Sta. Maria de Meinedo e a sua raiz na Alta Idade Medieval*. 1969, p.12.

The church of Carrazedo de Montenegro (Valpaços), in Trás-os-Montes, keeps an image of *Our Lady* included in a Baroque retable, and another, of the *Angel of the Annunciation*, showing influences from the sculpture developed by Master Mateus in the Glory portico of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Although documentation guarantees the existence of iconic sculpture in the 13th century, a common phenomenon in other European countries, in Portugal, it was in the 14th century that Gothic sculpture reached its peek.

The large increase in the production of Gothic sculpture, whether icons or altarpiece sculptures, should be regarded in the contemporary devotional panorama. If, as C. A. Ferreira de Almeida wrote, in the Romanesque period one would pray in front of the relics, in the Gothic period, those no longer satisfied the devotional needs. People started to pray in front of sculpted or painted images on the walls or in retables.

Altars multiply inside the churches, either following orders from brotherhoods, or in chapels instituted with the purpose of celebrating suffrages, an aspect that follows the progressive belief in *Purgatory*, which commands an enormous amount of masses to be programmed in wills.

In the Gothic period, there is a growing need to see. It is necessary to see the saint, to touch him, pray to the image, scrape the sculpture or the painting because its matter is sacred and has healing powers. The saints are the chosen middlemen between men and God, and their capacities are multiple. They cure, convert, make miracles and provoke strong emotions.

When studying the images, one cannot simply consider their iconographic or narrative forms, but also their *purposes* and *usage* in constantly renewable social, political and ideological contexts.

The value of a saint's image or of a narrative cycle does not resume itself to its miraculous power. The images also need to dazzle and cause admiration. They should be beautiful, colorful, rich, or expressive and dramatic in order to make an impression and fascinate the beholder.

Asides from the images of Saints, the Gothic period particularly adored the image of *Our Lady*, represented as the *Mother of Christ*.

In the 14th century, intense sculpture production evolved around Coimbra, whether regarding icons, altarpiece or funerary sculpture. The limestone quarries located in Ançã, Outil and Portunhos provided excellent material. Around the 1330s, Coimbra would have witnessed the arrival of Master Pêro. Probably Aragonese, the artist followed the journey of the future queen, Isabel of Aragón, to Portugal to be married to king D. Dinis. She presumably ordered her tomb (Santa Clara-a-Nova, Coimbra) and many other works of sculpture to Master Pêro. The activity of Master Pêro and his workshop has been considered as a fundamental element in the evolution of Portuguese Gothic sculpture. Master Pêro introduced a Gothic movement to icon sculpture, also innovating the typology of funerary arks.

Our Lady is represented within various iconographic types. When enthroned and sitting the Child on the left knee, it is called *hodegetria* and corresponds to an evolution in the Romanesque representation in which the Virgin, also sitting, has the Child sitting on both knees in a frontal position, an iconography named *nikopoia*.

More accordingly with the Gothic period and the intent to draw the followers closer to the sacred figures of the time is the representation of *Our Lady* standing, holding the *Child*, usually on the left arm, an iconographic type called *eleousa* which will originate variants like *Our Lady of the Milk,* already included in the very Gothic variations of the *Virgin of the Tenderness*.

In the 15th century, the area of Coimbra will equally be responsible for the production of quality Gothic sculpture. From the local workshops, special attention to Master João Afonso's. This workshop's large

production has spread further to the Center and South of Portugal, however, there are examples in the North to consider. His work has even reached Galicia. The *Virgin with Child* of the church of Saint Andrew of Vea (A Estrada, Pontevedra) is an image with the typical features of João Afonso's workshop. In the North, Mário Barroca also lists a series of images of *Our Lady* standing with the *Child* in the Church of Monsul (Póvoa de Lanhoso), in the chapel of Our Lady of the Conception (Vila Franca – Viana do Castelo), in the churches of Ribeiros (Fafe), Souto (Guimarães) and the Mother Churches of Ponte de Lima and Barcelos[13].

Diogo-Pires-o-Velho was another master sculptor working the area of Coimbra. An image of *Our Lady* of his making arrived to Leça da Palmeira, ordered by D. Afonso V in 1481, also remarkable in its size and plastic quality.

The image of Meinedo would fit in this production center, probably dating from the 15th century by the way in which vestments are shaped and the way in which *Our Lady* holds the *Child*. Nevertheless, the almost total disappearance of polychromatism grants it a somewhat archaic aspect, making it more complex to provide an accurate date. [LR]

10. *Our Lady of Meinedo.*

2. The church in the Modern Period

As for precise details concerning this temple in the Modern Period, they are equally scarce, because the extent of the influence held by this church over the parish territory is unknown, for it is impossible to identify the chapels and hermitages affected by it and, likewise, it is yet impossible to unravel information on the state this building was in during that period.

Observing the whole comprehending the church of Saint Mary of Meinedo, on the outside as on the inside, the building exposes countless elements from the 17th and 18th centuries, applied over a medieval structure.

Architectonically, regarding the main façade, quite plain in general, we stress the inclusion of the bell tower to the South of the medieval façade as a visible example of the extension occurred in post-medieval times. With a quadrangular cut, the tower is organized in two basic levels, the first corresponding to the base itself and the second to the area of the four windows hosting the bells. The cover has the shape of a pyramid, with four small pyramids placed in the vortexes of its base.

In the North side of the church, one recognizes the volumes of the lateral chapel and the sacristy: the first is oriented perpendicularly to the nave and the second is parallel to the main chapel, adjacent to the latter. The lateral chapel has a high gabled roofing, the vortexes of the triangular pediment showing bulb-like pyramids on the side, and a cross in the central vortex. The organization of volumes is made in platforms.

11. The disposition of this church's interior answers to a reform from the Modern period and the intervention occurred in the 1990s.

13   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de and BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Gótico.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2002, pp. 163-179.

About the main chapel, it is important to stress that it answers to a restructuring carried out in the late 17th century, its interior housing an ensemble of great impact for the quality and harmony of the artistic coating applied, where gold gilding, glazed tile and painting fully complement themselves. This main chapel, as architectonic structure, is from the last third of the 17th century. Designed as a rectangle, is has a simplified structure, the lateral projections livened with two illumination spans. Two wide windows enlighten the character of that church component's renovation, adapting it to the Baroque liturgical ritual.

The sacristy is from the time of the main chapel's renovation. It follows the same austere architectonic pattern, becoming a space that essentially serves the purpose for which it was designed: storing the liturgical apparel and serving as a place for preparing the priest before the celebration of the Eucharist. In this sense, one of the sacristy walls is endowed with a granite wash-basin, where a vernacular artistic vocabulary springs from the interpretation given to the architectonic elements of cultured trait, namely, cornice, pyramids and front.

It is, indeed, inside this temple that the artistic splendor of the 17th and 18th centuries is most evident. The nave and particularly the main chapel display aspects that perfectly define the refinement of the art from that period, common to Portuguese Baroque church interiors.
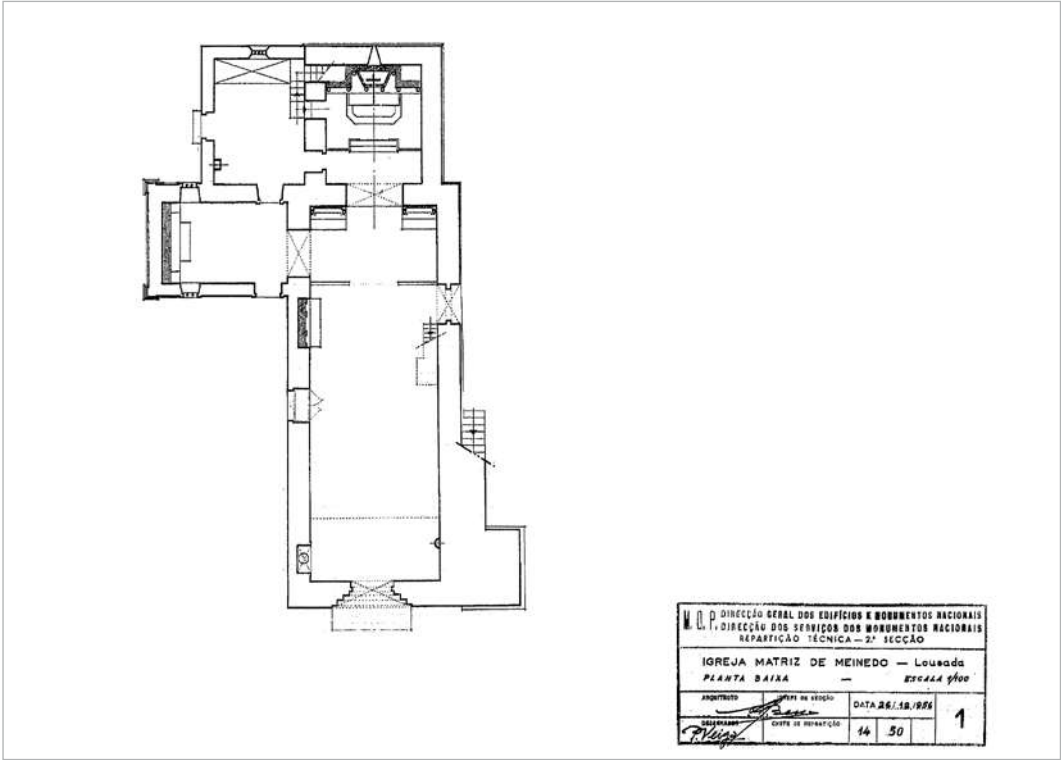
12. Map of the church. Includes the Chapel of Saint Thyrsus and the Sacristy, both from the Modern period.

13. The collateral altars and the triumph arch's adornments correspond to the *national style* of the Portuguese Baroque gilding.

2.1. Gilding, painting and tiling

In the church space, recently renovated with works that have granted it a more refined aspect, the gold gilding occupying the entire surface of the wall adjacent to the triumph arch stands out. The collateral altars that frame the main chapel are also part of that structure. Thus, the main chapel of Saint Mary of Meinedo, through the articulation witnessed between architecture, gilded wall coating, tiling and painting, as well as the structure of the three retables composing the whole, is a raised example of the aesthetic unity of the sacred space in the late 17th century.

Scenery, sumptuousness, didactic purpose of the arts are values that define the Portuguese sacred space in the Baroque period, and in this main chapel they take on a fortunate interpretation, which is still maintained. The use of different artistic techniques to embellish one space, as gold gilding with hagiographic painting on wood, patterned tiling in the lateral projections and sectioned wood ceiling to frame figurative paintings, endows the space with a rich and diversified color profusion, a prerogative of the Portuguese Baroque sacred space.

Chapels, churches (parish or monastic), brotherhoods, mercy houses, sanctuaries, hermitages, among others, from North to South, have been renovated according to this artistic articulation seen in Saint Mary of Meinedo. Following the noble character of gold, its mystic glow, reinforced by the candle light that used to fill those spaces, as well as the sculptural and volumetric value provided by gilding, and the color palette of the hagiographical paintings integrated in it – all contributed to provide the believer with the im-measurable sensation of magnificence felt in the house of God. To this image, add the incense fumes and the priest's gestures, the lead actor in that space, and surely the 17th and 18th-century parishioners were dragged by the envisioning of divine glory.

The dramatic and rhetoric effect exerted by the main chapel over the churchgoers participating in the liturgical rituals in the nave was pre-defined in the Tridentine norm. And art, or arts, was a strong instrument for the institutional propaganda enclosed in the paradigm of the post-reform's religious militancy. Considering the shortage of images, which adorned the households, the Baroque devotees were actors and spectators in a scenery of abundant religious illustration of high artistic and aesthetic value. One must not ignore that the church dictated the daily habits of the 17ᵗʰ and 18ᵗʰ-century man. As a normative imposition, this was where one attended the weekly mass; where the most significant steps of one's life were witnessed, as birth (baptism), marriage and death; and since the church was the main collective construction of the parish, it was also here that the most essential collective manifestations took place, like festivities and fairs; notices and collective news were communicated from the pulpit. These reasons explain why the church emphasizes the daily experience of the Portuguese Baroque man. In Portugal, and especially in the countryside, collective culture cannot be dissociated from the role of the church in the midst of the parish's micro-society.

Let us analyze the main chapel of Saint Mary of Meinedo from the church nave. A gilded frame – triumph arch and collateral retables – focuses the main chapel's visual center: the Eucharist throne. A space for exhibiting the Holy Sacrament, it is the quintessential refuge for the mystic transcendence of the Baroque man. The church in its triumphant transformation reserves the main chapel's focal point for an ostensive presentation of the body of Christ, symbolized by the consecrated host, the Holy Sacrament: the fundamental principle of the post-reform affirmation facing the transmutation void claimed by the zestful Lutherans. This quarrel was installed in the midst of the Church in the early 16ᵗʰ century, justifying the ideological fragmentation, and it was held in the late 17ᵗʰ century as an unquestionable principle of Catholic devotion. Therefore, the church's central space, its main chapel, is seen in Meinedo as an artistic scenery and the ultimate paradigm of the post-reform Catholic norm. On top of the pyramid formed by the Eucharist throne, the real presence of God was proudly displayed to the parish community.

14. Triumph arch's adornments. Detail.

The gilding in the collateral altars and the coating of the triumph arch are in national style, showing a profuse decoration emphasized by the rolling of acanthuses, mixed with flowers and other botanical elements and, specifically, in the columns (marking the place for the collateral altars) vine leaves and grape clusters, to which birds and cherubs are occasionally added. The delicately designed golden wood panel in the altar fronts is more recent, already presenting forms that are characteristic of Joanine gilding, with the initials «CJ», next to the Gospel, and «IHS», next to the Epistle inscribed in a central chiseling. Since the whole is attributed to the late 17ᵗʰ or early 18ᵗʰ century, the altar fronts are inserted in a timeframe around the 1740s.

The collateral altar next to the Gospel has, in the torn niche from the first level, an image of the *Sacred Heart of Jesus*, and immediately over it, in the second level and as a finishing, a painting depicting the image of the Virgin with Child. Over the triumph arch's attic is another panel depicting *Christ Resurrected*. Next to the Epistle, the niche in the lower level of the collateral altar keeps an image of *Christ Crucified*, which is overlapped by a panel that, due to ill condition, makes it impossible to recognize the represented theme. Over this retable's stool is an image of *Our Lady of Sorrows*, an iconographic representation that is dear to Post-Tridentine Catholicism, reminiscent of an expression stated by Simeon the priest who, upon the *Presentation of Jesus in the Temple*, announces to Mary the "*sword of sorrow that will pierce through the mother's soul*". [Lk 2, 34-35]

The Baroque concept of a "total work of art" works fully in this main chapel space due to the combination of gilding, glazed tiling and painting that totally cover the interior.

The gold gilded main altar, attributed to the last third of the 17th century, presents a structure divided in two horizontal levels, evolving over the base of the retable, then separating into three vertical strips, the wider, central one corresponding to the space that holds the sacrarium and the Eucharist throne. The design is defined by the inclusion of architectonic elements, like columns and entablatures which, through consecutive application, stand out in the reticulated pattern described above. The columns in the lateral vertical strips, of composite capital, present a frustum decorated in its first third with botanicals elements, among which a cherub and a bird, the remaining surface being decorated by twisted stretchings.

In the main altar's lower level, next to the sacrarium structure, are the images of *Our Lady with Child* and of *Saint Joseph*, next to the Gospel and to the Epistle, respectively. Above, at the level of the Eucharist throne, the pictorial representations of *Saint John the Baptist* and of *Saint John the Preacher* were included in the lateral strips, accordingly with the images of *Our Lady* and of *Saint Joseph*.

The sacrarium and the Eucharist throne, resulting from a later addition to the altarpiece structure, are overlapped in the retable's center, defined by a perfect arch. In the intradorsum of this arch are four panels, distributed by the structure's two main levels: in the lower, by the sacrarium, are the depictions of *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, placed to the left and to the right, accordingly; and to these panels, at the level of the Eucharist throne, correspond the depictions of *Saint Bernard* and *Saint Stephen*.

The shape of the sacrarium structure, divided in two levels, is a trapezoidal prism, whose vertical edges feature columns with a frustum that is profusely decorated with an abundance of delicate botanical elements to which cherubs and birds are added. The door was sculpted with a representation of the *Resurrection of Christ*, and over it, a small niche with a crucifix.

Also note that the altar table's front is in fine quality gold gilding, in National style, the decoration made by the rolling of acanthuses, children and birds, placed so as to envelop the initials "IHS" marked in the center of the piece.

The entire walls in the main chapel's lateral projections and the ones corresponding to the triumph arch are covered with polychrome glazed tiles from the 17th century, with pattern compositions forming a ceramic tapestry that borders all of the space's original spans.

The applied module creates a 2x2 pattern lowering in 180°, which produces a horizontal and vertical rhythm in the whole composition[14]. Over a white background is an element shaped like a diamond, filled in blue and outlined by a yellow wavy line, which contains in its center an also yellow circle marking the pattern's rotation axis. Deriving from white botanical motives, eventually completing that element's interior, other elements painted in yellow project towards the exterior, leading to a blue cruciform motive.

14   Identified by Santos Simões as P-251. See SIMÕES, J.M. dos Santos – *Azulejaria em Portugal no Século XVII.* 2nd Edition. T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997, p. 63.

This tiling's border consists of a bar, composed of frieze and frame, encircling the limits of the ceramic tapestry. The frieze is composed of a chain of white entwining painted over a blue background, interconnecting from a flower with yellow petals[15]. The frame module, also over a blue background, derives from a botanical motive, painted in yellow and shaped like a diamond with a hollowed center. Around, a botanical element painted in white evolves into volutes. This element connects to a similar one through a yellow ring. The connection link of the border pattern is a second diamond, painted in white and blue, and from its center spring small, twirling stems drawn in yellow[16].

The main chapel's artistic ensemble is completed by a ceiling formed by a total of nine painted sections, whose decorative motives carved in the frames (displaying great affinity to some of the motives in the main retable) point to the late 17th century. The panels are figurative and represent a set of episodes associated with Marian iconography [See Iconographic scheme of the main chapel's ceiling]. Technically, the line reveals some ingenuity in the representation of the forms, the dominant color palette being mostly composed of reds, browns and grays.

For all of the aforementioned aspects, concerning the interventions from the Modern Period, this spatial unit is a paradigm of the sort of taste and the investment applied in the artistic renovation of Portuguese sacred spaces, specifically during the 17th century.

Although we know that the general aspect currently presented by this church is different from the one shown in 1886[17] – the temple then having a coated and whitewashed exterior –, the overall condition of the several constituents should be considered a model. In fact, few deviations from the original character of the different elements are recorded, especially during the Modern Period, in the transept area, which is something to consider and, therefore, a plus upon the evaluation of the patrimonial value of the whole. [MJMR/DGS]

16. Main altarpiece. The Eucharistic Throne is derived from a later addition to the altarpiece structure.

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ICONOGRAPHIC SCHEME OF THE MAIN CHAPEL'S CEILING

ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAM MARIAN THEME SUBJECTS

1. *ANNUNCIATION*
2. *VISITATION*
3. *NATIVITY*
4. *EPIPHANY*
5. *ESCAPE INTO EGIPT*
6. *CIRCUMCISION*
7. *PRESENTATION OF JESUS IN THE TEMPLE*
8. *CROWNING OF THE VIRGIN*
9. *ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN*
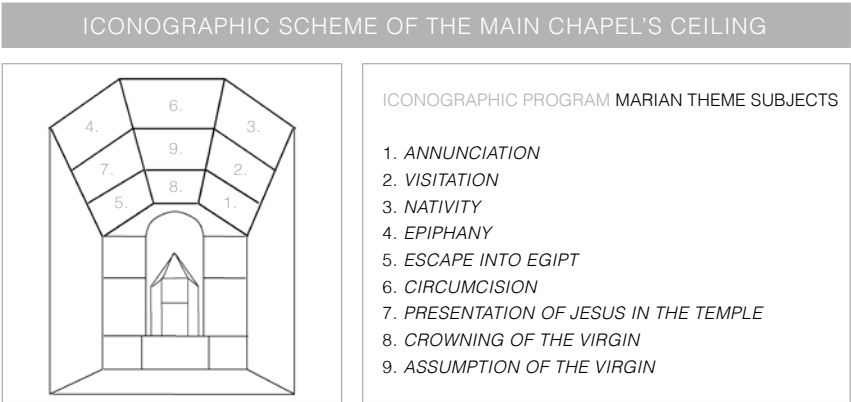
15   Identified by Santos Simões as F-10, p.131.
16   Identified by Santos Simões as C-74, p.154.
17   Cf. VIEIRA, José Augusto – *O Minho Pittoresco*. Vol. II. Lisboa: 1886, p.363.

17. Main chapel. Ceiling with sectioned paintings of themes pertaining to the Marian iconography. Late 17th century.

3. Restoration and conservation

Restoration in the Church of Saint Mary of Meinedo began in 1991, with a church recovery and restoration project designed by architect Francisco Cunha, under the guidance of the IPPAR. The parish's support equipments and exterior maintenance are also the responsibility of Francisco Cunha.

Asides from the conservation and restoration of the temple, this project also aimed for archaeological excavations inside the Chapel of Saint Thyrsus, the church nave and sacristy; probing was conducted outside, by the building's South façade. The archaeological findings certified Meinedo's ancient roots.

Within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project, occasional maintenance was conducted. [MB]

Chronology

(mid) 6th century – Construction of the basilica, head of the Bishopric of Meinedo;

1113 – Reference to the existence of the Monastery of Saint Thyrsus of Meinedo;

13th - 14th century – Church construction;

17th and 18th century – Tiling the main chapel with blue and white glazed tiles and building the Modern bell tower. Placing the retables and main retable in gold gilding;

1991 – Restoring the Chapel of Saint Thyrsus by the Church's Factory Committee;

1990s – Beginning the recovery and restoration of the Church of Meinedo by the IPPAR, with project by architect Francisco Cunha.

monastery

MONASTERY OF THE SAVIOR OF PAÇO DE SOUSA
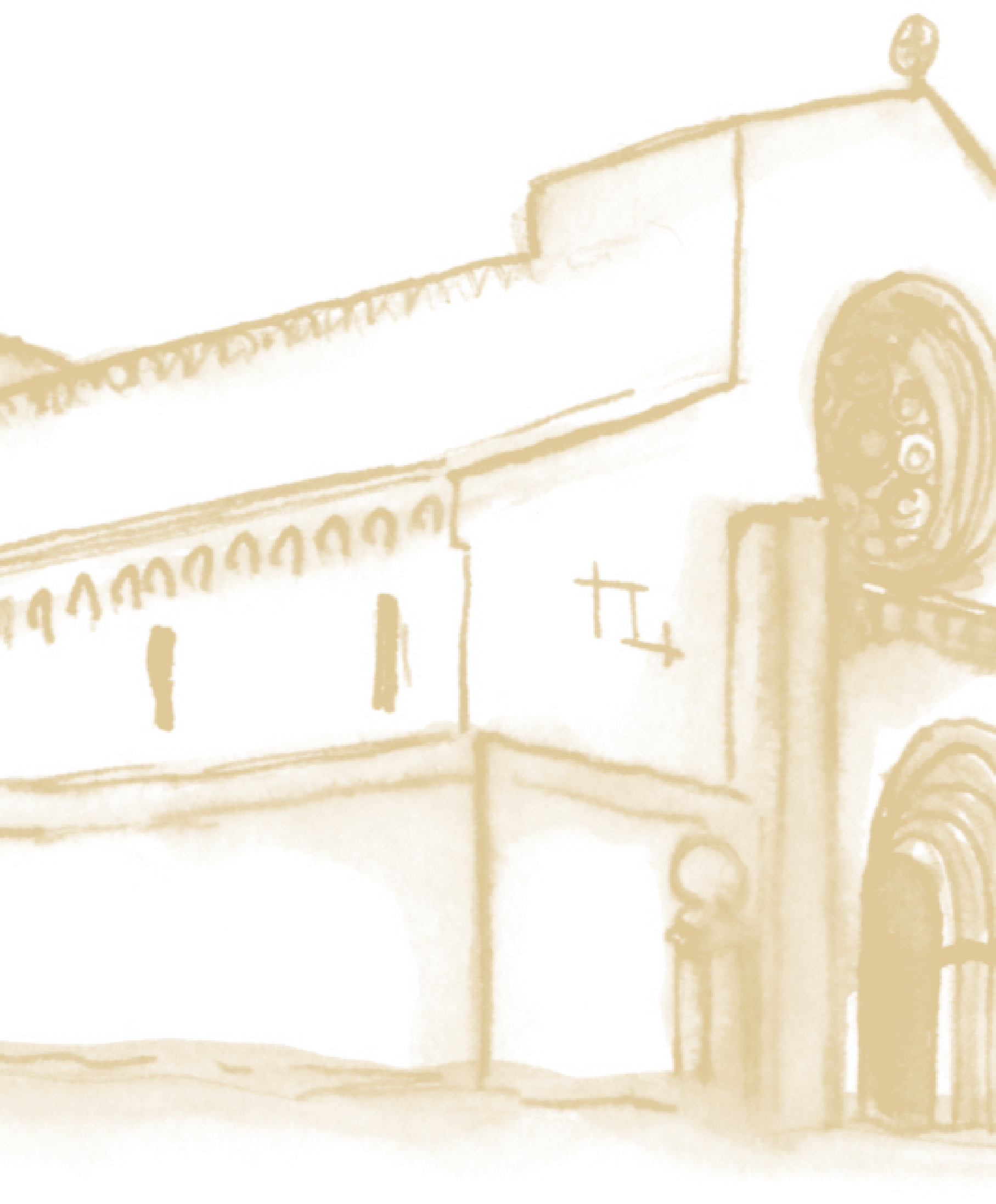
MONASTERY OF THE SAVIOR OF PAÇO DE SOUSA

1. The monastery in the Middle Ages

The Church of the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa, located in the municipality of Penafiel, is a central monument in the context of the Romanesque architecture of the Sousa Valley. Its singular features, in architecture as in sculpture, and the fact that it retains the tomb of Egas Moniz, turn this former Benedictine monastery into one of the most appealing and prestigious testimonies of the Portuguese Romanesque architecture.

1. The Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa's church is a nuclear monument in the context of the Romanesque architecture of the Sousa Valley. The building and decorative solutions adopted here would have influenced other Romanesque workshops in the region.

Paço de Sousa arises from the foundation of a monastic community that dates back to the 10th century. The oldest documented reference is a will from 994, belonging to abbot Randulfo, who was escaping from a monastery in the South during the Al-Mansur invasions[1]. In this period, the monastery, founded by Trutesendo Galindes and his wife Animia, should follow the monastic customs of the Peninsula, having adopted the Rule of Saint Benedict during the abbacy of Sisnando, between 1085 and 1087[2].

In 1088, Egas Ermiges and his wife Gontinha Eriz donate goods and property to the church of the Savior, consecrated by D. Pedro, Bishop of Braga, in an attempt to save their souls[3]. This church does not correspond to the current Romanesque temple, but everything seems to indicate that its architecture has left traces in the construction from the 13th century, as we shall see.

The Monastery of Paço de Sousa was head of a land donated by count Henry, later becoming one of the most renowned Benedictine monasteries, related to the important family of the lands between the Douro and Minho rivers, the Riba-Douros. One of the most illustrious Riba-Douros is Egas Moniz, traditionally credited with the foundation of this monastery.

José Mattoso claims that the family of the Gascos de Riba-Douro is of foreign origin. The first dignitary from this family, Mónio Viegas I, presumably came from Gascony, according to information from the Books of Lineage. Whether this origin is a myth or not, truth is that the wealth and social status of the Gascos (Gascons) grew immensely in the beginning of the 11th century, whether in estate located in the North and South banks of the Douro river, as in power, for several members of the family were *tenens* of the territories of Anegia and Arouca.

2. Church interior. Beveled edge sculpted frieze.

3. Church's South façade. The cloister and monastic ensemble were built on the church's South side.

4. West portal. The prismatic columns, the motives used in the capitals and the bulbed bases characterize the typical sculpture from the Basins of the Sousa and Lower Tâmega.

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1 MATTOSO, José – *O Monaquismo Ibérico e Cluny*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2002, p. 165 (original French edition from 1966).

2 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 121.

3 GRAF, Gerhard N. – *Portugal Roman*. Vol. 1, Yonne: Zodiaque, 1986, p. 279.

This family managed to take hold of almost every monastery in the region West of the Sousa, namely, Paço de Sousa, Valpedre, Alpendorada, Vila Boa do Bispo, Vila Boa de Quires and Tuías[4]. In this context, the patronage of the Monastery of Paço de Sousa goes to the descendents of the founder's daughter, Vivili, i.e., to Egas Ermiges (1071-1095) and Egas Moniz, the "Squire" (1108-1146)[5].

Within the sphere of the Romanesque architecture of the Sousa Basin, the Savior of Paço de Sousa is a nuclear monument. The church, highly celebrated in Portuguese art historiography, presents a very *sui generis* decoration, whether in themes as in sculpture techniques. This sculpture, typical of the Sousa and Lower Tâmega Basins, adopts prismatic columns in the portals, bulb-like bases, beveled botanical patterns and develops long friezes in and outside the churches, in the fashion of the architecture from the Visigoth and Mozarab periods.

Some portions of the temple are from different periods. There are friezes and other elements that were reused from an older construction, probably from the second half of the 12th century, and others of clear Pre-Romanesque character which have inspired the artists working in the 13th-century workshops. As Manuel Monteiro pointed out, it was presumably in Paço de Sousa that a current was forged based on Pre-Romanesque tradition, equally influenced by themes from the Romanesque of Coimbra and the See of Porto, giving rise to what was known as *nationalized Romanesque*.

As is usual in Portuguese Romanesque, as the style expands and settles in the territory, it also develops regional variants, stepping aside from the decorative repertoire of French origin and the more cultured building methods.

In this framework, Paço de Sousa was a paradigm for the merger of local traditions and influences from the Romanesque of Coimbra and Porto, creating the pattern for the *nationalized Romanesque* of the Sousa and Lower Tâmega Basins.

This region is populated with Romanesque churches such as Vila Boa de Quires (Marco de Canaveses), Boelhe (Penafiel), Rosém (Marco de Canaveses), Saint Michael of Entre-os-Rios (Penafiel), Cabeça Santa (Penafiel) or Abragão (Penafiel), which share, asides from its stylistic aspects, the fact that they fit into a
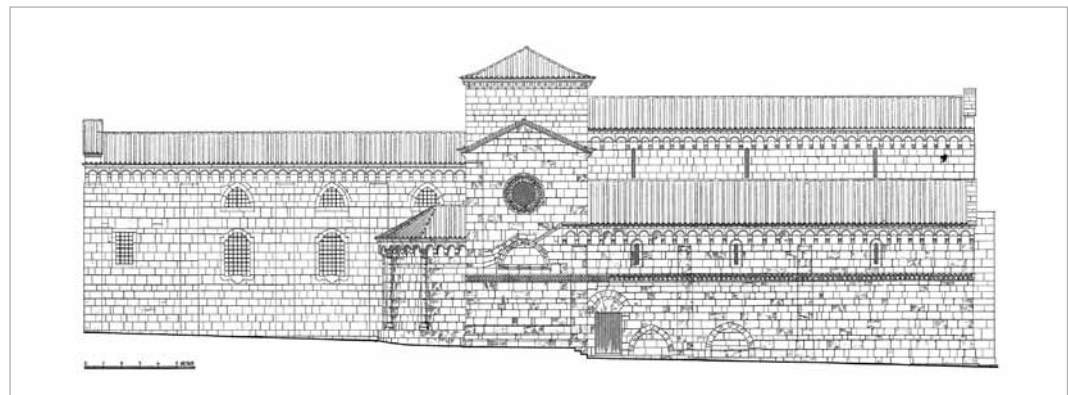
5. North façade's construction projections.

4   MATTOSO, José – *O Monaquismo Ibérico e Cluny*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2002, pp. 68-69 (original French edition from 1966).
5   IDEM, *ibidem*, pp. 69-70.

somewhat late Romanesque timeframe, its constructions reporting to the 13th century, sometimes towards the late decades, although almost every exemplar has older foundations. Truth is that the region's rebuilding surge comprehended many temples during the same century, which lead to the adoption of similar models, whether concerning sculpture, or the disposition of façades and portals.

The Church of Paço de Sousa features three naves, false transept inscribed in the design, and wood covers lying on diaphragm arches. The transept is composed of three intercommunicable chapels: the laterals, of semicircular section in the Romanesque fashion, and the central one, of rectangular shape, result of an alteration from the Modern Period.

Several conditionings, like the fact that there was a prior church – from the late 11th century – which allowed cult celebration to continue without the urgent need for a new building, would have influenced this church's slow construction and the changes to its initial project, deriving into different stages, signs of a slow construction and consecutive additions to the initial building plan.

6. The church presents portions from different periods. In the North façade there are friezes reused from an older Romanesque construction and a Pre-Romanesque temple.
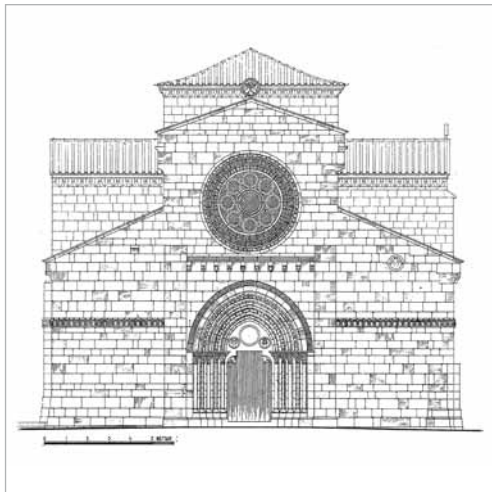
7. West construction projection. The church displays threes naves and transept.
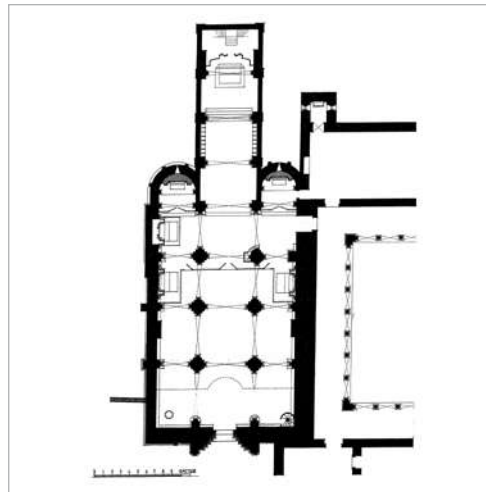
8. Map of the church.

The new construction, initiated on the West side, evolved around the pre-existing church. Thus, we can point out a first construction stage that corresponds to the first West flight and the axial portal, whose elements, namely capitals and corbels, present an older profile in comparison with the remaining ones, according to C. A. Ferreira de Almeida: "some clearly inspired in Coimbra or the see of Porto, others in various places"[6].

A second stage is visible in the South portal which is less archaic when compared to the West portal of the first stage. The flight further to the West, from the first stage, is wider and higher, contrasting with the narrower and lower flights from the second stage, certifying a reduction regarding the initial project's size.

6   ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986. p. 89.

9. The West portal and the first flight of naves correspond to the church's initial construction stage.

10. South apsiole. The apsioles present more evolved solutions. They correspond to the third construction stage.

As for a third stage, we point out the apsioles of semicircular shape in the transept, covered by a broken barrel vault, because they feature rather evolved elements within the Romanesque, namely in its crevices, similar to those of the main chapel of the church of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Côte (Paredes), from the early 14th century.

A fourth and final construction stage may be witnessed in this church's transept cover and in the tower over the cross which, for its indisputably late profile, is already reminiscent of the mendicant Gothic architecture of the time.

Other aspects claiming the tardiness of the construction are, for instance, the cornices with different profiles, the plain exterior arcatures displayed in the lateral naves (as opposed to those of the central nave over sculpted brackets), the corbels in the transept area and, particularly, the reuse of elements from the previous construction (reminiscent of a building from the late 12th century).

On the South side, the portion of the transept wall included friezes and impost blocks much anterior to the 13th-century construction. In the crevices of the apsioles, the frames feature Mozarab traits. Some capitals, as the one in the apsiole on the South side, with projecting leaves, also feature clear Mozarab remembrances.

One of the most interesting aspects of this idiosyncratic Romanesque construction is the existence of elements from the new 13th-century church, reviving Pre-Romanesque architecture, evidence that C. A. Ferreira de Almeida calls a *resurgence* in the context of the Romanesque architecture of the mid 13th century in the lands between the Douro and Minho rivers[7]. From these elements of Proto or Pre-Romanesque *revival* in Paço de Sousa we bring your attention to the friezes with beveled botanical decoration

7 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *A Arquitectura românica de Entre-Douro-e-Minho*. Vol. 1, PhD thesis presented to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto: Porto, 1978, pp. 76-77.

11. Transept roofing of the central and lateral naves. The diaphragm arches alternate with wood cover.

12. The use of diaphragm arches on the naves' roofing is a solution that is reminiscent of the partitioning of the space in Peninsular Pre-Romanesque churches.

13. The capitals follow, for the most part, vegetal patterns, adopting a beveled edge gilding – as one may see in the left capital –, typical of the Hispano-Visigothic and Moçarabe periods.

14. The transept's upper portion and the tower over the cross correspond to the last construction stage.

spreading along the walls, inside and outside. These take inspiration from the motives and profiles of the Pre-Romanesque impost blocks found in the South side of the transept, belonging to the former church consecrated by D. Pedro, Bishop of Braga, in 1088[8], which were either reused or served as a model to artists from the 13th-century workshops.

The use of the diaphragm arches in the naves is likewise an element that revives the space of the peninsular Pre-Romanesque churches. This way of covering the body of the church underlines the internal space division – and it will bear many specimens in Portugal, from the construction of the See of Braga in the 12th century to temples from the 15th century, as is the case of the church of the Convent of Saint Dominic of Vila Real. It makes the flights look tighter, whether in terms of space or regarding the entrance of light in the church, which is then done in a more indirect and in a particularly spaced way.

This compartmentalization recalls the hierarchy of the different spaces in Pre-Romanesque architecture of which we have more examples in Portugal in the churches of Saint Peter of Balsemão (Lamego) and of Saint Gideon of Nazaré. Throughout the High Middle Ages, in the Iberian Peninsula, the diaphanous and communicant space of the Paleo-Christian basilica will progressively tend to become compartmented and closed, either because the choir and transept become fenced to prevent the churchgoers of trespassing the space reserved for the clergy, or because these fences grow in height and apparatus until they turn into iconostasis, almost reaching the naves and preventing the cult to be seen by the followers. The liturgy would be performed as a mysterious ritual, only perceived through hearing and smelling, since the perfume of the incense signals the various steps of this ceremonial.

We find in this church the best explanation for the lingering *revival* of a certain Visigoth-Mozarab taste, which is still evinced in the Romanesque architecture of the Sousa and Tâmega Basins[9].

The architecture of the Church of Paço de Sousa is an example of how pre-existing structures can determine a new program and how the current church disposition was not confined to the most common solutions from the contemporary style, but also to local traditions of deep formal and symbolic roots.

Among the influences from other examples of Portuguese Romanesque architecture in Paço de Sousa, we refer the Church of Saint James, in the region of Coimbra, whose portal elements are comparable to Paço de Sousa's, as Manuel Monteiro has observed[10], and another influence, this time suggested by C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, coming from the Romanesque monuments of the region of Porto, like the See, the church of Saint Martin of Cedofeita and the older portions of the church of Santa Marinha de Águas Santas (Maia).

15. South façade. In the cornice, the arches of the lateral nave are supported by corbels. The frieze stretching along the wall, in Pre-Romanesque architecture fashion, is one of the most characteristic aspects of this church.

The church or *Chapel of Saint Mary of the Corporal*, demolished in 1605, was contiguous to the present Romanesque church on the North side, with which it communicated through the top of the transept, as Friar Leão de São Tomás wrote: "*... there was another Church in the Monastery along the side of the Cross to the North, a very well made building in stone, known as Corporal*", adding that "*The parishioners had their Altar there, where Mass was prayed & there they sojourned from pilgrimage*"[11].

8   SÃO TOMÁS, Fr. Leão de – *Beneditina Lusitana*. Coimbra: Off. Manuel de Carvalho, 1651, p. 262.
9   ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. Arte da Alta Idade Média*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986. p. 158.
10 MONTEIRO, Manuel – «Paço de Sousa: O Românico Nacionalizado». Annex of *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes*, No. 12, Lisboa, 1943.
11 SÃO TOMÁS, Fr. Leão de – *Beneditina Lusitana*. Vol. II. Coimbra: Off. Manuel de Carvalho, 1644-51, pp. 273-274.

16. West portal. The archivolts' frames find parallels in several exemplars from the Portuguese Romanesque.

This burial construction was built as a pantheon, and the designation of *Corporal* results from the purpose for which it was destined. It was here that Egas Moniz was buried, and his tomb remained there until 1605, when Friar Martinho Golias had the Chapel demolished due to the its preoccupying condition.

In the mid 16th century, João de Barros records the existence of the *Chapel of the Corporal* and of the tomb of Egas Moniz, which was still kept there at the time:

"*Egas Moniz, private squire and manservant to king Afonço Anrriques, made his residence there and it seems he left the largest part of his property there as well. He lies in this Monastery, in a chapel known as corporal, in a stone monument sculpted all Around with the episode of his presentation to the King of castille with his wife and children, ropes around their throats, when he promised to bring his Courts to king Dom Afonço*"[12].

According to Mário Barroca, the Chapel of the Corporal would be a construction from the late 11th century, contemporary to the consecration of the former church by Bishop D. Pedro, in 1088. This chapel was the main pantheon of the Riba Douro family, although many of its elements chose to be buried in other churches.

D. Mónio Viegas, the Gascon, the first of his lineage to arrive in Portugal, documented since 1014, and his two sons, D. Egas Moniz and D. Gomes Moniz, among others, were buried in the church of Saint Mary of Vila Boa do Bispo (Marco de Canaveses), towards the end of the first quarter of the 11th century. Another of Mónio Viegas' sons, D. Garcia Moniz, chose the Monastery of the Savior of Travanca (Amarante), a monastic house documented since 1180, which he founded in order to be buried there[13].

12 BARROS, João de – *Geographia d'entre Douro e Minho e Trás-os-Montes* [1549]. Porto: Typografia Progresso, 1919, p. 39.
13 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422)*. Vol. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, pp. 294-295.

17. West portal. The capitals follow models from the See of Coimbra, the See of Porto, and others of local inspiration.

18. West portal. The bovine head, a very common theme
in the Sousa Valley region, has a protective function at the
temple's entrance.

19. West façade's rosette. Frame.

The construction of galilees and funerary chapels meant for burial purposes would have started in the 12th century. For a long time, the church imposed its interdiction to have burials inside religious buildings, except for the bodies or relics of saints, reserving the crypts, built under the main altar, for that. However, as J. C. Vieira da Silva points out, the pressure of laymen and clergy members alike eventually lead to the authorization to bury people inside the temples. According to the author, this craving for closeness to the sacred ground began with the placing of graves outside the temples and then on the inside, a phenomenon which is probably related to the appearance of sculpted funerary arks[14]. Inside the temples, J. C. Vieira da Silva records three burial alternatives: the arcosolia opened on the wall surfaces, preserved by so many Romanesque churches; the construction of funerary chapels adjacent to the temples, like the pantheon of the Resende family in Saint Mary of Cárquere (Resende), the Chapel of the Blacksmiths in Oliveira do Hospital, to which we might add the lost Chapel of Saint Mary of the Church of Saint Peter of Roriz (Santo Tirso), among others; and the construction of galilees, that is, porticos placed at the entrance of monastic churches, exemplified by the galilee of Saint Mary of Pombeiro. These practices would eventually lead to placing arks or tombstones inside the temple.

In the Savior of Paço de Sousa, as mentioned above, the funerary chapel, pantheon of the Riba-Douros, was located to the North of the church.

20. Location of Egas Moniz's
tomb after the intervention of
the DGEMN.

14 SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da – "Memória e Imagem. Reflexões sobre a Escultura Tumular Portuguesa (séculos XIII e XIV)" in *Revista de História da Arte*. Lisboa: Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, No. 1, 2005, pp. 47-81.

1. 1. The tomb of Egas Moniz

21. Egas Moniz's tomb. The tomb and the way it is presented result from the merger of two cenotaphs from different periods. The face to the right corresponds to the oldest cenotaph.

Upon its demolition, the *Chapel of the Corporal* kept fourteen other sarcophaguses[15]. With the demolition, the tomb of Egas Moniz was transferred to the interior of the church's main chapel, along with his sons', the father's tomb lying next to the Gospel and the sons' next to the Epistle. During this operation, according to the *Record* of the translocation, it was found that the tomb had been tampered with before, because some bones were missing. Only the arms, legs and part of the head, along with the iron of the weapons and the sheath of the sword were found. According to the chronicler of the order, Friar Leão de S. Tomás, the bones corresponded to a man of great height, a fact which surprised Abbot Golias upon the translocation ceremony[16].

In 1741, during the main chapel's renovation campaign, Friar Manuel das Neves ordered the tombs to be disassembled, resulting in a group of loose stones which were randomly placed, leaving two of them inverted. In the 1780s (1784), Friar Manuel de S. Tomás once again rebuilds the main chapel and transfers the tombstones to the collateral naves, randomly embedding them in the walls and hiding underneath one of them the copper box containing the remains of Egas Moniz.

Finally, during the restorations of the DGEMN in 1929, following the 1927 fire, the tombs were rebuilt to present the double tumular box we may currently see. This reintegration, of the responsibility of architects Baltazar de Castro, Adães Bermudes and Pedro Vitorino, conjugated the pieces of two tombs, made in different periods. As Mário Barroca points out, another tombstone was then placed, as the tomb was too large for the tombstone of Egas Moniz's funerary monument. According to the same author, the piece that completed the ensemble should correspond to the tomb of D. Gonçalo Anes Correia or to the sarcophagus of his wife, D. Mor Martins do Vinhal[17].

Authors like J. Monteiro de Aguiar or Margarita Ruíz Maldonado question if the current tomb is the same as the one that was in the *Chapel of the Corporal*, or if it is another posterior monument.

C. A. Ferreira de Almeida considers that the double tomb, as it is today, is the result of the merger of two tumular boxes: one from the late 12th century, to which the inscribed tombstone and the stones from the lateral slabs belonged, and another from the 13th century, corresponding to the piece that represents the mythical episode of the journey to Toledo[18]. The sculpture of the latter, according to the same author, is related to the Western France's sculpture from the Santonge region, the characters' drapings and the knights' iconography (glorious knight) bearing witness to that relation[19].

This tomb, in an arrangement from the mid 20th century, is thus composed of two cenotaphs belonging to two different periods. The first should be from the mid 12th century and, in its incipient sculpture, tells the first version of the gest of Egas Moniz. The tombstone with the inscription and the two lateral slabs, currently juxtaposed, were part of the first cenotaph which, according to Mário Barroca, was not a funer-

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15 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Necrópoles e Sepulturas Medievais do Entre-Douro-e-Minho*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1987, p. 431.

16 SÃO TOMÁS, Fr. Leão de – *Beneditina Lusitana*. Coimbra: Off. Manuel de Carvalho, 1644-51, p. 275.

17 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epifráfico Medieval Português*. Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, p. 217.

18 RUIZ MALDONADO, Margarita – «Algunas sugerencias en torno al sepulcro de Egas Moniz». In *Relaciones Artísticas entre Portugal y España*. Junta de Castilla y León, 1986. pp. 245.

19 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, pp.160-163.

22. Egas Moniz's tomb. This facial, with traces of polychromatism, corresponds to the second cenotaph, traceable to the mid 13th century. It narrates Egas Moniz's journey to Toledo.

ary ark but a memorial raised over the grave, destined to signal the burial site[20]. A historiated relief shows a scene from Egas Moniz's journey on horseback to Toledo to deliver himself to D. Afonso VII of León. The other slab features botanical decoration. Both pieces, very archaic, evince a scarcely skilled craftsman[21].

Egas Moniz came from one of the most powerful aristocratic strains from the lands between the Douro and Minho. Son of Mónio Ermiges de Riba Douro and of D. Oroana, he married D. Doroteia or Mor Pais and then D. Teresa Afonso, founder of the Cistercian Monastery of Saint Mary of Salzedas (Tarouca). He was *Tenens* of Saint Martin of Lamego, Neiva, Sanfins and Parada. Also had the position of Chief Squire of Cúria, with a few interruptions, between 1136 and 1145[22].

His deed derives from the Leonese siege of Guimarães (1127), which was lifted thanks to Egas Moniz's promise that D. Afonso Henriques would pay vassalage to the king of León, Afonso VII. Since D. Afonso Henriques did not keep this promise, Egas Moniz presented himself to king D. Afonso VII in Toledo with his wife and children, carrying ropes around their necks, thus offering his life and his family's to the Lionese king as the price for perjury.

In the later cenotaph, this myth is retold in a more elaborate way and with remarkable plastic quality. This cenotaph, presumably related to the self-valorization of minstrel João Soares Coelho, descendent of Egas Moniz through illegitimate line, would pertain to the mid 13th century. The sculpted relieves already appear in perspective and with movement, making this specimen a landmark in the evolution of Portuguese funerary sculpture.

20 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de and BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *O Gótico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2002, p. 211.

21 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001, p. 166.

22 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epifráfico Medieval Português.* Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, pp. 218-219.

Two upper slabs and a lateral one remain from this cenotaph. By the feet is represented the scene of the assisted *holy death*. Egas Moniz is lying in a bed, with a naked figure representing the chosen soul exiting his mouth and then being collected by two angels. Next to it are four women crying and, much to the medieval iconography's liking, pulling their hair as a sign of grief. In the smaller slab, the funeral ceremony of Egas Moniz is celebrated in a scene composed of a bishop, identified by the miter and the crosier, and two men depositing the corpse into the sarcophagus, accompanied by two hardly perceptible wailing women.

The lateral face features the journey to Toledo with masterful technique in middle and high relief.

In the Romanesque period funerary sculpture is not very frequent. Only from the 11th century onwards does customized burial become a practice, and it will only become more common in the following centuries. This phenomenon is probably related to the evolution of the belief in the salvation of the soul. Up until the 11th century, people did not all share the notion that continued prayer would plead for the dead. Slowly, the fate of the soul became defined through good or bad deeds performed in worldly life. With this new concept, liturgical ceremonies performed *in memoriam* tend to multiply. This is particularly notorious in testamentary dispositions, where pious legacies are donated to insure that the name of the deceased, as of his lineage, will be mentioned in the liturgical ceremonies. The evolution of this phenomenon will lead to a multiplication of testamentary legacies, not only in number, but also in the amount of donated goods for an increasingly higher amount of masses and prayers. Property is then donated with the explicit request for ceremonies, determining that the ceremony is to be performed by the grave of the deceased, or that is should be conducted with cross and holy water, or yet establishing the number of priests present, as well as specifying the prayers said[23].

According to Mário Barroca, the customization of graves in the 11th century is marked only by a personal identifying sign. This practice is initiated with the high ranks of ecclesiastic and civil society and then followed by abbots and small and middle nobility, distinguished for heroic deeds. It is only in the 13th and 14th centuries that this practice is extended to the bourgeois related to urban oligarquies and long distance trade.

In the second half of the 12th century, there is a clear generalization of the epitaph, to which one usually adds the inscription of a sword or a chalice, according to the deceased's social status, of course. In Portugal, the appearance of lying statues in tombs corresponds, in Mário Barroca's opinion, to a phenomenon from the Gothic period.

The tombstones of the double tomb are gabled. The oldest has a funerary inscription from 1146:

HIC : REQUIESCIT : F(amu)LusS : DEI : EGAS : MONIZ : VIR : IN-
CLITVS / ERA : MILLESIMA : [ce]ENTESIMA : 2XXXII [II][24]

23 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422)*. Vol. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, pp. 267-268.
24 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422)*. *Corpus Epifráfico Medieval Português*. Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, p. 214.

23. Egas Moniz's tomb. This facial depicts the *holy death* of Egas Moniz. A naked figure stems from his mouth representing the chosen soul, which is carried by two angels.

Ichnographically, the tomb of Egas Moniz has similarities with others. Starting with the presence of the deceased's bed, there are several specimens with the same representation, nevertheless and as opposed to the case of Egas Moniz, the quarters are depicted so as to emphasize the furniture. Margarita Maldonado compares it to Spanish specimens, indicating the sepulcher of D. Branca de Santa María Real de Nájera (from 1157); the tympanum of San Vicente de Ávila (last third of the 12th century) and the sepulcher of Madalena de Zamora (late 12th century). The presence of wailing women is another common iconographic element in the tombs from this period[25].

Asides from this tomb, there is in Paço de Sousa a flat trapezoidal tombstone where an abbot is represented in relief. This lid presents a hieratic design which has been attributed to the late 12th or early 13th century, even though the treatment of the flat reserved relief denounces more ancient origins[26].
In the external face of the church nave's North wall are two funerary arcosolia, West of the lateral door.

Next to the tomb of Egas Moniz, adjacent to a squared pillar, is a sculpture representing *Saint Peter*, whose style approach draws it nearer to the more detailed cenotaph of Egas Moniz. The canopy is of a later period. This piece, presently out of context, may have served as support for the altar table.

25 MALDONADO, Margarita Ruiz – «Algunas sugerencias en torno al sepulcro de Egas Moniz». In *Relaciones Artísticas entre Portugal y España*. Junta de Castilla y León, 1986, p. 245.

26 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Necrópoles e Sepulturas Medievais do Entre-Douro-e-Minho*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1987.

1. 2. Epigraphies

In the monastery cloister, among other elements from the medieval temple, subsides a granite colonnette with the following inscription:

[...] / [...] [sarr] ACINU(s) P(resbite)R[27]

Although the poor state of conservation does not allow a more complete reading, Mário Barroca points out that the letter type and the decoration accompanying this epigraphy report to the late 11th century. In spite the fact that no record was found regarding a *Sarracinus Presbiter* in the monastery's documentation, the author mentions the existence of a *Vivili Sarraciniz* among the monastery's patrons in the late 11th century, considering that the anthroponym Sarracino indicates the possibility of pertaining to the Riba Douro family, because there is contemporary mention to a Sarracino married to Dona Godo, daughter of D. Mónio Viegas, the Gascon[28].

In the external face of the nave's South wall, next to the cloister's access door, is another funerary inscription stating:

ERA : Mª : CCª : Xʳª : OBIIT/MONIUS ABBAS Xº KaLendas AuGusTI
/MONIus PATer ET ABBAS/ IN PACE RQUIESCAS [29]

This epigraphy, dating from 1202, belongs to D. Mónio Ermiges, abbot of Paço de Sousa in 1170, whose family was the patron of the monastery[30]. **[LR]**

2. The monastery in the Modern Period

The history of the Monastery of Paço de Sousa concerning the Modern Period is yet to be made. Various material testimonies remain in the building regarding those times, with the added knowledge of a few facts that should be considered in its historic-artistic analysis.

As it is known, the power of the monasteries has left a permanent imprint on the Portuguese administrative structure of the Ancien Regime. Attached to the monastic jurisdiction was a group of lands, villages and parishes forming the Monastic Estate, a situation that would be extended till 1794, when the lands belonging to the monastic institution were integrated in Penafiel's administrative structure, thus signaling the end of the estate.

Until the mid 16th century, this monastery, as many others, was run by commendatary abbots who benefited from the income, a fact that was seldom prejudicial to the proper management of the institutions.

27 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epifráfico Medieval Português*. Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, p. 132.
28 IDEM, *ibidem*, pp. 132-133.
29 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 626.
30 IDEM, ibidem, pp. 628-629.

24. Cloister. The construction of this cloister and the monastic quarters correspond to the Modern period.

Among the reputed individuals who occupied this position in Paço de Sousa, Cardinal D. Henrique is a renowned figure, being a commendatary for two periods between 1536-1540 and 1560-1567.

Monastic management by commendatary abbots who collected part of the institution's income for personal benefit lead the monastery to a life of lassitude and estrangement from the principles of the Rule of Saint Benedict which was to guide the community. In the late Middle Ages, investment in building and renovating the architectonic structures was very scarce. And so was the acquisition of new liturgical apparel. This situation seems to have contributed to the detachment of the Monastery of Paço de Sousa from the Benedictine Order and its integration in the Society of Jesus. This is perhaps the most important episode in the history of this monastic institution: Benedictine from start until the 16th century, it then integrates a new monastic existence, defined by the principles embraced by the Jesuits. And, as it is known, the action of the Jesuits was determinant in the definition of Portugal in the Modern Period

The commendatary abbots' administration of the Monastery of Paço de Sousa, initiated in 1394, would cease in 1569, with the entrance of priests from the Society of Jesus, who took over the administrative command of this house[31]. Patroned by the Cardinal-Prince, the religious order founded by Ignacio de Loyola would govern Paço de Sousa for many years, its presence being simultaneous with the Benedictines' until 1759 (when Jesuits were banned from the country under orders from the Marquis of Pombal, Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo), with frequent quarrels between the followers of both orders.

In this new panorama, the Jesuits took over the monastic property, but the parish's abbot remained a priest from the Order of Saint Benedict, placing clergy who followed different sets of principles under

31 In 1784, under Friar Manuel de São Tomás, reconstruction works are initiated in the main chapel, moving some of the tumular rocks from there to the collateral naves. Cf. MEIRELES, Fr. António da Assunção – *Memórias do Mosteiro de Paço de Sousa* …[Preface by Alfredo Pimenta]. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1942, p.70.

the same roof. As José Augusto Vieira recorded in his *Minho Pittoresco* (Picturesque Minho) in 1886, "it was destined from start to Benedictine monks, who lived there until the abolition of religious orders in the country, the convent then been sold as private property and the church still being the parish's mother church"[32]. And the quarrels between both religious orientations were certainly not extinguished.

2.1. Architecture

On the architecture of the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa and its artistic elements in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries there is not much to mention, since most of the items from that period are either gone or altered due to restoration carried out in the 20th century and also to the occupation of the building's residential quarters by Casa do Gaiato (institution for wayward boys)[33].

In the church's lateral North façade, at the transept's level, we see that the spans cut framing in the lower level of the main chapel is from the Modern Period, probably corresponding to the renovation works conducted in the 1780s, when Friar Manuel de São Tomás orders an intervention to be carried out in the main chapel[34], consisting of improving its interior luminosity. To the rectangular windows of sinuously carved shape smaller spans were added on top, creating small Gothic arches, in an attempt to harmoniously integrate modern elements in a whole where the medieval aesthetic was still predominant. This demand for a balanced adjustment between aesthetic languages from different historical periods resulted in a space that would be considered as one of the first examples of a *false medieval architecture*, thus representing a pioneer architectonic trial of the Neo-Gothic phenomenon in Portugal[35].

About the monastery cloister, a determining spatial component in the monastic complex for its function as a distributor of the multiple spaces fundamental to community life, it is essential to stress that the present image derives from the DGEMN's intervention, which lead to the demolition of the North wing. Thus, in the remaining projections, it is possible to witness an organization running in two main levels: a gallery formed by perfect arches, six on each wing, sustained by Tuscan columns in the lower level and, in the upper level, a rhythmic sequence of three balconied windows on each side. Furthermore, there is also a granite fountain placed in the center, composed of three basins corresponding to the markings produced by the overlapping basins, placed above the lower reservoir of quadrilobate shape that gets the water sprung from above. As for its decoration, note that it consists mainly of botanical motives, featuring four pelicans with outstretched wings in the crowning.

32 VIEIRA, José Augusto – *O Minho Pittoresco*. Vol. II. Lisboa: 1886, p. 548.

33 On this occupation see the description regarding the monastery's facility area in the work of FREIRE, João Paulo – *Terra Lusa – Impressões de Viagem. Minho e Douro de Relance.* Braga: Raul Guimarães Editores, 1917, pp. 67-69.

34 Cf. MEIRELES, Fr. António da Assunção – *op. cit.*, p.10.

35 Cf. SMITH, Robert C. – *Frei José de Santo António Ferreira Vilaça: Escultor beneditino do Século XVIII*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1972.

Regarding the elements from the Modern Period existing outside this monastic ensemble, a forceful mention to the loss in the 1920s of the elements that most eloquently indicated the transformations occurred in the building throughout the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, which displayed a much different decorative taste from that of the medieval aesthetics[36].

The image of the Monastery of Paço de Sousa presented a church façade in which Baroque elements were harmoniously conjugated with medieval elements. The church front was organized in three vertical planes, corresponding to the three naves existing inside the temple. The central plane, higher than the lateral ones, was the façade section that included the most Baroque elements. In this segment of the church's main façade – divided in two vertical levels corresponding to the level of the Romanesque portal and that of the large rosette – were pilasters in its lateral limits, featuring a masonry work highly animated by the play of back and forth movements between planes, making the pilasters tridimensional. The inclusion of classical notes (as the composite capitals introduced in the pilasters of the façade's upper level and the triangular front segments included in the triangular pediment, finished on the sides by urns) are evident witnesses of the artistic repertoire of the 18th century.

Moving on with the analysis of the monastery before the 20th-century restoration works, over the church façade's lateral plane, corresponding to the South nave, was a robust, squared bell tower with pyramidal top. Also to the South, the community area, the monastic complex's residential space, evolved in an extension of the ensemble's main façade, facing East, to a more advanced level regarding church's volume, which was coated and hollowed at intervals by the straight window spans of the monks' individual cells.

2.2. Church gilding, imagery and iconographic composition

In 1758, the altars and images integrating the church were quite different from the current ones, especially because the church underwent deep renovation in the last quarter of the 18th century, with the participation of renowned architect and wood carver, Friar José de Santo António Ferreira Vilaça.

Old documents resist transformation, and they are sometimes the only anchors for grounding the formation, evolution and transformation of the sacred space. Note that a church, as a space for cult, is a site in permanent mutation. The artistic renovations signaling the evolution of the aesthetic and thought, as well as changes in the devotional and liturgical program, always bring renovation to the equipments of the sacred space.

Inside, and concerning the church in particular, it is possible to identify some elements from the Modern Period.

36   According to the existing graphical documentation for this building prior to restoration, the overall aspect was rather different from the current one, having lost most of the architectonic and artistic Baroque features. See Images 3, 5, 7, 13, 14, 15, 33 of "Igreja de Paço de Sousa". *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*. No. 17. Lisboa: DGEMN, 1939.

In the lateral naves, in the area corresponding to the transept, there are two lateral Neoclassic retables from the early 19th century. The wood has a finishing painted in white, gold and green. The design of these structures is of purely classic matrix, organized according to the sequence *base – body – crowning.*

On the base of the altar are lateral composite columns on pedestals, framing the retable's central area, where the main niche with the image was opened. In the structure's finishing is an entablature supported by the composite columns, on which rests a triangular front. The decoration is extremely contained, with only a few botanical elements in the base of the retable, including the altar table, the pedestal faces, the area surrounding the hollowed medallion at the base of the center of the retable, and also in the entablature frieze.

Both lateral retables, placed next to the Gospel and the Epistle, look precisely the same, however, the first shows a better condition, for the second already features alterations derived from interventions that have damaged it regarding the authenticity of its original design. As for the imagery in these two structures, notice the quality in the image of Our Lady of Conception.

Until 1929, the apsioles featured other altarpiece structures with a design similar to that of the main retable. This was documented by the DGEMN on photographic record carried out before restoration[37].

This church space was indeed very different from today, since the artistic elements were adapted to Tridentine liturgy, forcing the medieval space to mutate, not to mention factors related to the sacred space's use by the religious community and the believers coming to the monastery to receive the sacraments.

The main chapel was isolated from the apsioles, there being no communication whatsoever between both spaces, which caused a stronger sensation of depth and therefore, a much more significant impact on the spectator. Likewise, the elevation of the main chapel's pavement and of about a third of the total area occupied by the church's naves (achieved by placing a wood platform which absorbed the base of the last supporting pillars of the forming arches, by the transept)[38] marked the division between the space reserved for the religious community[39] and the space destined to churchgoers, the latter being much smaller than the present one. For instance, the pulpit was adjacent to the last supporting pillar, next to the transept, by the Epistle, near the railing that defined the division between the space for the celebrants and the space for the religious ceremony attendants. The existence of the chancel, confirmed by the blueprints of the church's elevation prior to restoration, is another revealing factor of the transformation of the medieval space into a modern space[40].

Corroborating, in a way, these considerations, the *Parish Memories*[41] from 1758 regarding the church of the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa offer important data on the precise location of the existing altars.

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37 See Images 35 and 36 published in *Boletim No. 17* «Igreja de Paço de Sousa». *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais.* Lisboa: DGEMN, 1939.

38 See Image 3 published in *Boletim No. 17* «Igreja de Paço de Sousa». *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais.* Lisboa: DGEMN, 1939.

39 Destined for the Divine Ceremony, celebrated in the main chapel and surrounding space.

40 See Image 5 published in *Boletim No. 17* «Igreja de Paço de Sousa». *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais.* Lisboa: DGEMN, 1939.

41 COELHO, Manuel Ferreira – O Concelho de Penafiel nas Memórias Paroquiais de 1758. In *Penafiel – Boletim Municipal de Cultura.* 3rd Series. Nos. 4-5. Penafiel: Câmara Municipal de Penafiel, 1987-88, pp. 307-309.

25. Reformed in the mid 18th century, when its length was increased, the main chapel features Neomedieval traits. The altarpiece machine is from the late 18th or early 19th century.

In the space of the main chapel was the main retable which featured the image of the patron saint in the center, sided by the image of *Saint Benedict* to the right and of *Saint Scholastica* to the left. Framing the Eucharist tribune, the sculptures of the twelve Apostles, six on each side, completed the imagery set in this altarpiece structure. Passing the triumph arch, by the Epistle, was the altar of the *Holy Sacrament of the Parishioners*, bearing the image of *Saint Anne*, with *Our Lady of the Conception* on the right and *Saint John the Baptist* on the left. On the same side, in the transept space was the lateral altar dedicated to *Our Lady of the Rosary*, its image next to those of *Saint Sebastian* and of *Saint Maurus*. This altar was followed by another referring to *Our Lady of the Souls*, whose image was accompanied by the sculptures of *Saint Thyrsus*, protector of the Brotherhood of the Souls, placed to the right, and *Saint Luzia*, to the left. On the opposite side, by the Gospel, was the collateral altar of *Our Lady of the Foot of the Cross*, which featured at its basing the *Dead Lord* and also the lateral altar of *Our Lady of the Pillar*.

There is the reported existence of four brotherhoods: *Holy Sacrament*, *Holy Cross*, *Holy Name of God* and the *Souls*. Furthermore, concerning illumination, the document of the *Parish Memories* mentions the rosette, the *great oculum* that lighted the entire church, granting quite a different image of the current sacred space, which is rather gloom.

The altarpiece structures and great part of the imagery described in the document we have just quoted are gone, either following replacements due to the normal changes in taste, or lost after calamities, like the fire that hit the building in 1927, or the keepers' carelessness, or possible theft.

In this sense, there are several elements composing the main chapel space, and even if they do not correspond to the report from the *Parish Memories*, they are from a later Modern Period (1780s), resulting from a previously mentioned reform occurred in that space which consisted of an artistic renovation of the church's outlook. The presence of Friar José de Santo António Vilaça was determinant to this renovation. According to information gathered in the *Book of Rezam* – quoted by Robert C. Smith in the monography he dedicated to the artistic work of the artist monk who had, years before, worked in the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro (Felgueiras) –, he was requested to work on the Church of the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa's new main chapel. That document states that Friar José Vilaça's work did not comprehend sculpture alone, outstretching his intervention to the realm of architecture as well. This conclusion comes from the interpretation of the expression contained in the document regarding works in "*stone and stick"* which were ordered for the main chapel's renovation[42].

The main chapel space, narrow and deep, underwent several enlargement and renovation campaigns, a fact which is exemplified by the intervention from the mid 18th century, during the rule of abbot Friar Manuel das Neves[43].

Today, this space composed of two flights features four medium spans in its lateral projections, two on each side, whose design reports to a chronology which fits precisely in the timeframe of the renovation occurred in the last quarter of the 18th century. The ogives of the thoral arches and the torn spans at the covering, also designed in pointed arch, although associated to a chronology from the Middle Ages are revivals, for those elements appeared in the same time as the aesthetic renovation initiated around 1780. That intervention sought to cause a minimal impact in the whole, resulting in an extremely balanced architecture, without conflict to the pre-existing elements from the Medieval Period.

As for the altarpiece ensemble corresponding to the main altar, it is clear that its design and decoration already point to a rather late chronology within the Modern Period, because there is an evident mélange between Rococo and the emerging Neoclassic current, which would definitively claim its scepter close to the turn of the 18th to the 19th century. The organization of this concave structure is done through placing columns on the area of the retable's basing, in a number of two on each side. Between them are niches with the images of *Saint Benedict* and *Saint Scholastica* (next to the Gospel and to the Epistle, respectively).

These columns, of composite capital and frustum decorated with elegant botanical motives, frame the retable's main area which has a large picture of the *Transfiguration of Christ in Mount Tabor*. The structure presents a crowning, conceived as a front, where forms were endowed with a rich movement through the play between curvy lines, being associated with an elegant decoration in which botanical elements are combined with winged angel heads in a contained fashion. Its tympanum features two sitting angels

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42   See SMITH, Robert C. – *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 379.
43   In 1741, the main chapel is widened. Cf. SOUSA, José João Rigaud de – Sumário do Mosteiro de Paço de Sousa. Annex of *Penafiel – Boletim Municipal de Cultura.* Penafiel: Câmara Municipal de Penafiel, 1981.

holding palms, indicating the symbol of the *Holy Trinity*. Focusing specifically on the existing imagery in the main chapel, the aforementioned images located in the main retable are quite striking. They are prior to the retable, probably from the time when the main chapel was restored under the orders of abbot Friar Manuel das Neves (mid 18th century). Likewise, the image of the *Savior*, placed on a corbel next to the Gospel, deserves a special mention. The stools against the main chapel's lateral walls are of outstanding quality and exceptional character, for, considering their hybrid forms, they bear resemblance to the main retable, probably dating from the same period.

An additional note to the fact that the interior of the Church of the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa was complemented by a ceiling covered in painted wood, executed around 1792, when Friar José Caetano de São Bento was the abbot[44], and irreversibly lost during the 1927 fire.

Another space still showing elements from the Modern Period is the church sacristy. Rectangular in shape, it evolves by the transept area, located on the South side, longitudinal to the cloister, with access made through the apsiole next to the Gospel. From the set of architectonic and artistic elements, we bring your attention to the large arks in exotic wood with brass handles, placed longitudinally, and also the basin, which is like a separate space from the sacristy. Entrance to that dependency is made through a perfect arch, torn at the corner of the room, to the left when entering the sacristy. It features a stone cover in perfect arch vault, two small windows in its lateral projections, and the fountain in the top wall, designed within a Mannerist matrix, the sculpted shapes evincing the Flemish influence. Also noteworthy is the exuberance of the fountain's water shoots, the emblem located in its top, in which a miter with the corresponding pendants is represented, and also the abundant traces of polychromatism in the entire space.

Complementing the information regarding the sacristy in the Modern period, we add that the ceiling of this space was covered with paintings allusive to the *Painful Mystery of Christ*[45], also featuring a retable dedicated to the *Vision of Saint Lutgard*, from1731[46]. [MJMR/DGS]

3. Restoration and conservation

3.1. Renovation in the 19th century

The Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa has undergone important restoration in the 19th century, between 1883 and 1887, under the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Works. In 1927, a fire destroyed part of the monastery and highly damaged the church, which was then repaired under the guidance of Baltazar de Castro, already in the DGEMN's administrative staff.

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44   See SMITH, Robert C. – *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 379.

45   Cf. FREIRE, João Paulo – *op. cit.*, p. 64.

46   Cf. MENDES, Manuel – *Sumário de Datas de Paço de Sousa*. Paço de Sousa: Colecções e Edições Gamuz, 1998.

Paço de Sousa was a very prestigious monument, featured in the press since 1840, because it hosted the tomb of Egas Moniz, a highly esteemed hero within the mental context of Portuguese Romantism.

In 1885, the following works were done:

– Construction and reconstruction of the roofing in the entire building, cleaning, regulating and fixing joints in the plain and ornamented batters on the outside; building perfect arched windows and crevices in the three naves; laying floors; building scaffolds; demolishing different works; removing woods; painting all the ceilings, windows, crevices and iron railings; cleaning plain and ornamented batters; regulating surfaces in the building's interior and in the columns by the choir.

– In the same year, other works were projected, namely renovating column frustums; building ornamented bases for them and the framed basing; renovating the main chapel's tiling next to the triumph arch, in the church entrance and under the choir; cleaning, regulating and fixing joints in plain and ornamented batters outside the building, including the portico and the entire façade of the church and tower, as well as the entire North lateral side, concerning the nave of the Epistle and also the main chapel.

Judging by observations made by António Augusto Gonçalves, who visited the church in 1895, the foreseen works were indeed carried out.

Gonçalves claims that carved capitals, bases, plinths, friezes and cornices were deeply altered by the hands of *foolhardy masons* and all the relieves were exaggerated. Is it Gonçalves over-reacting or the impression caused by the treatment of the beveled sculpture? The design teacher from Coimbra had his eyes trained in the observation of medieval monuments and their decoration. The restoration program obviously included the making of those elements, and it is not surprising that this church's decorative pieces were sculpted or retouched.

Cleaning the whitewashed masonry was recommended by Possidónio Narciso da Silva, Counselor of the National Monuments[47].
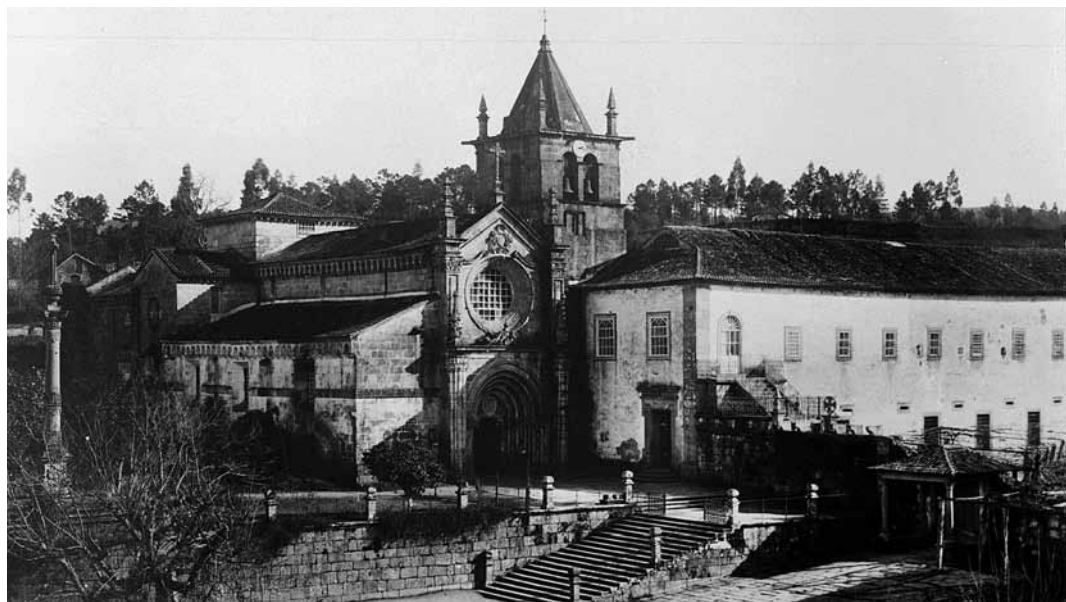
26. Monastic ensemble before the intervention of the DGEMN.

47   ROSAS, Lúcia Maria Cardoso – *Monumentos Pátrios. A arquitectura religiosa medieval – património e restauro (1835-1928)*. Vol. 1. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1995, pp. 332-333.

This restoration campaign should be framed within the wider phenomenon of restoration in 17th-century Portugal. Note that the majority of large Romanesque, Gothic and Manueline religious buildings underwent restoration during the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century.

If the prestige of the antiques and their safekeeping comprehended all periods with their aura of mystery, artistic quality or excellence in materials, the singularity of the conservation and restoration phenomenon in the 19th century resides in the fact that it constitutes a fundamental vector in the culture of the period, a subject, almost a common-place in public opinion, mediatized by press and image, marked by the creation of societies dedicated to the protection of patrimony, specific administrative bodies, corresponding legislation and a combined and systematic political and cultural approach.

The Ministry of Public Works, Commerce and Industry was created in 1852, comprehending a technical cabinet in charge of repairing the national monuments, up until then under the supervision of the Ministry of the Kingdom. Fontes Pereira de Melo's great renovation in 1864 reorganized the ministry and created a body of engineers (some of which had studied in France), which truly marks a more organized and systematical restoration policy. In the same year, the statutes of the Royal Association of Portuguese Civil Architects and Archaeologists were approved. This society was directed towards the maintenance of the patrimony. These two facts, as well as the multiplication of copies in the illustrated periodic press since the late 1850s, and of the specialized press, were decisive to the multiplication of recovery works in the following years, with the goal of restoring the buildings' former aspect[48].

Conducting on-and-off restorations, in many cases, with low budgets if compared to the vast and complex interventions in French, German, Italian or Spanish monuments, the Portuguese 19th century did not drop the intention of safekeeping the medieval constructions, seeking to imbue them with the presence of a past of bravery and greatness, restoring the buildings that best seemed to evince the nation's patrimonial value. The monuments' historic value is one of the main criteria, a *Leitmotiv*, in the election of the buildings worthy of restoration and in the type of works carried out. The other is the admiration for architecture, standing as a major art for its artistic and building qualities and for the particular ability of representing its construction period.

The Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa, guardian of Egas Moniz's sarcophagus, one of the country dearest heroes, totally deserved the commitment put in its restoration in this panorama of valuing the medieval heritage, contemporary to the formation of the nationality.

27. West façade before the intervention of the DGEMN.

3.2. Renovation in the 20th century

The monastic ensemble of the Church and Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa, albeit inconsistencies regarding construction, architectonic program and its functional expressions, reveals the outstanding building capacity of the Benedictine community.

Although only the church of the Savior is classified as National Monument[49], we believe it is of utmost importance to stress the patrimonial and historic value of the whole.
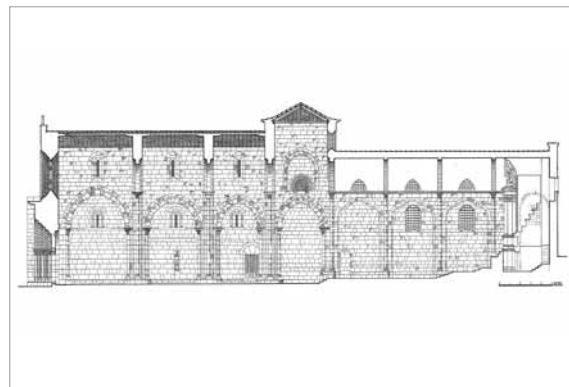
48   ROSAS, Lúcia Maria Cardoso – *Monumentos Pátrios. A arquitectura religiosa medieval – património e restauro (1835-1928).* Vol. 1. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1995, p. 312.

49   Classified as National Monument by Dec. 16-06-1910, DG 136 of June 23rd 1910, Dispatch from March 1986, Dec. no. 67/97, DR 301 of December 31st 1997.
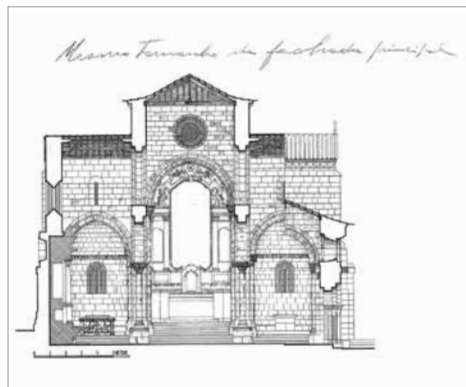
28. Cross cut of the church.

29. Longitudinal cut of the church.

In the period between 1937 and 1939, restoration was undertaken by the DGEMN, as documented by Bulletin no. 17[50]. As in the remaining Bulletins from the DGEMN, also Paço de Sousa's includes a historic overview of the monument, a chapter dedicated to the period prior to the intervention and after the restoration. In the historic note, João de Castro elaborates on the hypothetical origins of the Monastery of Paço de Sousa, raising a series of conjectures concerning its founders and the heroic figure of Egas Moniz.

After the extinction of Religious Orders in 1834, the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa is sold to private parties and the church is converted into a parish church. This was a common practice, as shown by the examples of the monasteries of Saint Mary of Pombeiro (Felgueiras), Saint Peter of Côte (Paredes) or Saint Michael of Bustelo (Penafiel), among others. João de Castro describes the state the Monastery of Paço de Sousa was in: "(…) the poor temple, innocent victim of the instability of laws, ideas and human feeling, found only in the prodigious robustness of its members, wounded so many times, the necessary strength to maintain, throughout the entire century that ensued, a perseverant, valorous and silent struggle against ruin"[51].

Between 1920 and 1924, restoration was carried out under the Ministry of Public Works, having the recovery of covers and walls as a priority. The 1927 fire arose from the monastic dependencies and spread to the body of the church, destroying the covering, two altars, liturgical ornaments and objects and a few ornamented masonry items. In the same year still, restoration works began, this time, under the supervision of the DGEMN, extending until 1938.

From 1927 on, recovering the original character or design of the monuments is no longer the main purpose of the DGEMN's policy, the dominant criterion becoming the reintegration of style.

Architects Baltazar de Castro and Adães Bermudes took over the supervision of the restoration works. DGEMN's technical team, a follower of the restoration principles from the 1930s, describes the Monastery of the Savior as "a building of monumental historic value, in the meantime covered by Baroque delirium; (…) the belfry that was erected around that time – a thick granite tube (…) the farfetched extravagance of the ornamental work with which, barbarically, the noble and simple front of that temple was hidden in the 18th century were certainly not exceeded or even matched, to this day, in any national monument
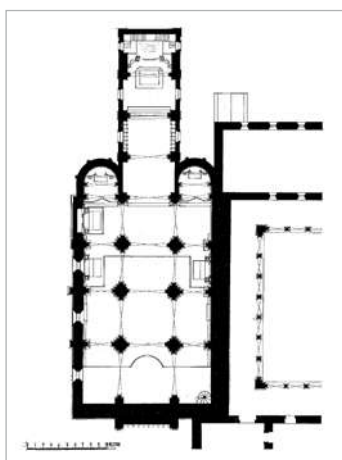
30. Map of the church before restoration.

50 *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais.* No. 17, Lisboa: DGEMN, September 1939.
51 IDEM, p. 17.

(…) the authors of that nonsensical work followed the whim of displaying over the revered masonry of the old frontispiece a true architectonic patchwork"[52]. The *aesthetic sanitation* operation conducted on the Church of Paço de Sousa's main façade, described by João de Castro, would raise discussion next to the local population. Displeased with the works done to the church's West façade, a group of civilians manifested their discontent to Gomes da Silva, considering that "that hybridism did not compromise the beauty of the front's general look, with the advantage of presenting the albeit singular alliance of the spirit of two such different and distanced artistic periods, forming a whole of rare beauty, in the making of D. João V style"[53].

The intervention included the demolition of the wall turned to the cloister, the tower and part of the monastery building, as well as the Baroque decorations in the façade. Inside, the altars of the apsioles were removed, the door on the South side of the transept and the window of the North apsiole were covered, and the crevices of the apsioles were opened, as well as the arches between them and the main chapel. The rosette, the cornices, the corbels, the ornamental frieze and the buttresses presenting mutilations were rebuilt. Part of the convent area was demolished, currently providing straight access to the cloister. In the apsioles, the two retables were transferred "to a more suitable location" and repaired. Stone ones, similar to the original retables, took their place.

Returning to the analysis of the Bulletin, we observe that in the chapter called *Restoration Works* is a list of the works conducted between 1927 and 1938: disassembling the tower next to the front of the church; demolishing the convent part; disassembling the Baroque incrustations from the main façade; placing the old cross in the pediment; demolishing the wall that was hiding the South façade; repairing the door, crevices, cornice and corbels in the South façade; restoring the ornamental frieze that surrounds the building; moving the corbels found in the balcony of Casa Pia's staircase to their original place (main façade); renovating the cloister wing and fountain; lowering and tiling the entire parvis; restoring part of the North façade (buttresses and crevices); uncovering the windows of the apsioles and covering a window opened in the Modern Period; partial restoration of all other crevices; uncovering and restoring the South portico; rebuilding the entire cover; partial reconstruction of the angular buttress on the right side of the front; moving the stones from the tomb of Egas Moniz to the left apsiole: solemn translocation of Egas Moniz's ashes to his tomb (rebuilt on August 31st 1929); disassembling the wood altars in the apsioles and transferring to other places; placing new stone altars in the same places; placing diamond-shaped glass in all spans; uncovering and repairing the arches of communication between the main and lateral chapels; lowering and tiling all the naves and changing the apse's steps; building a new bell tower away from the church; rebuilding the rosette; transferring the old cross to the mount located at the road terminus in front of the church; covering the door in the cross nave; lowering and fencing the door's outer area. In the West façade: rebuilding the rosette and the terminal cross, placing the corbels from Casa Pia over the portico, and rebuilding the buttress. In the South façade: rebuilding the cloister's blocked door, crevices, cornice and bracketed corbels. In the North façade: rebuilding the portico's tympanum, arcosolia, frieze and buttresses, and replacing windows with crevices. Inside: restoring capitals, colonnettes and pillar bases, lowering and tiling the pavement, placing doors, stained glasses, and altars in the apsioles, transept and sacristy, moving the tomb to the left apsioles, electric installation. In the cloister: tiling and lowering the

31. Monastic ensemble after the intervention of the DGEMN.

32. West façade after the intervention of the DGEMN.

52 *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais.* No. 17, Lisboa: DGEMN, September 1939, pp. 24-28.
53 TOMÉ, Miguel – *Património e restauro em Portugal (1920-1995).* Porto: FAUP publicações, 2002, p. 130.

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floor and building steps, consolidating the arcade and assembling the central fountain, wall coating. In the parvis: building the tower, moving the cross, flattening the ground and building a wall next to the tower and along the North façade (including steps), partial tiling of the parvis[54].

Between 1950 and 1987, under the supervision of the DGEMN and the Factory Committee, several conservation and recovery works took place.

In 1973, the retables were removed from the transept with the purpose of attaining a cleaner look, considered more suitable for the original. In 1943, the monastery's South wing is demolished to use the stones in the construction of Casa do Gaiato. In 1963, Rogério de Azevedo elaborates a monastery restoration project, following a request by the people in charge of that philanthropic institution, with the goal of restituting the destroyed monastic structure. However, this request was not carried out.

During the last years, interventions have followed the general tendency to stick to technical and/or maintenance aspects.

In 1992, the Church and the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa became affected to IPPAR. [LR/MB]

Chronology

10th century – Original edification (the first documented mention is from 994);

13th century – Construction of the Romanesque church;

17th and 18th centuries – Remodeling and transforming the main chapel and the main façade; remodeling the cloister and monastic quarters;

1883 to 1887 – Restoration works under the supervision of the Ministry of Public Works;

1910 – Classification of the church as National Monument (Dec. 6-16-1910);

1920 and 1924 – Beginning of the restoration works under the Ministry of Public Works;

1927 – Fire partially destroys the monastery;

1927 to 1938 – Beginning of the restoration works by the DGEMN;

1950-1987 – Several conservation and recovery works are conducted under the supervision of the DGEMN and the Factory Committee;

1992 – The Church and the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa become affected to IPPAR.

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54   *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais.* No. 17, Lisboa: DGEMN, September 1939, pp. 20-21.

monastery

MONASTERY OF SAINT MARY OF POMBEIRO
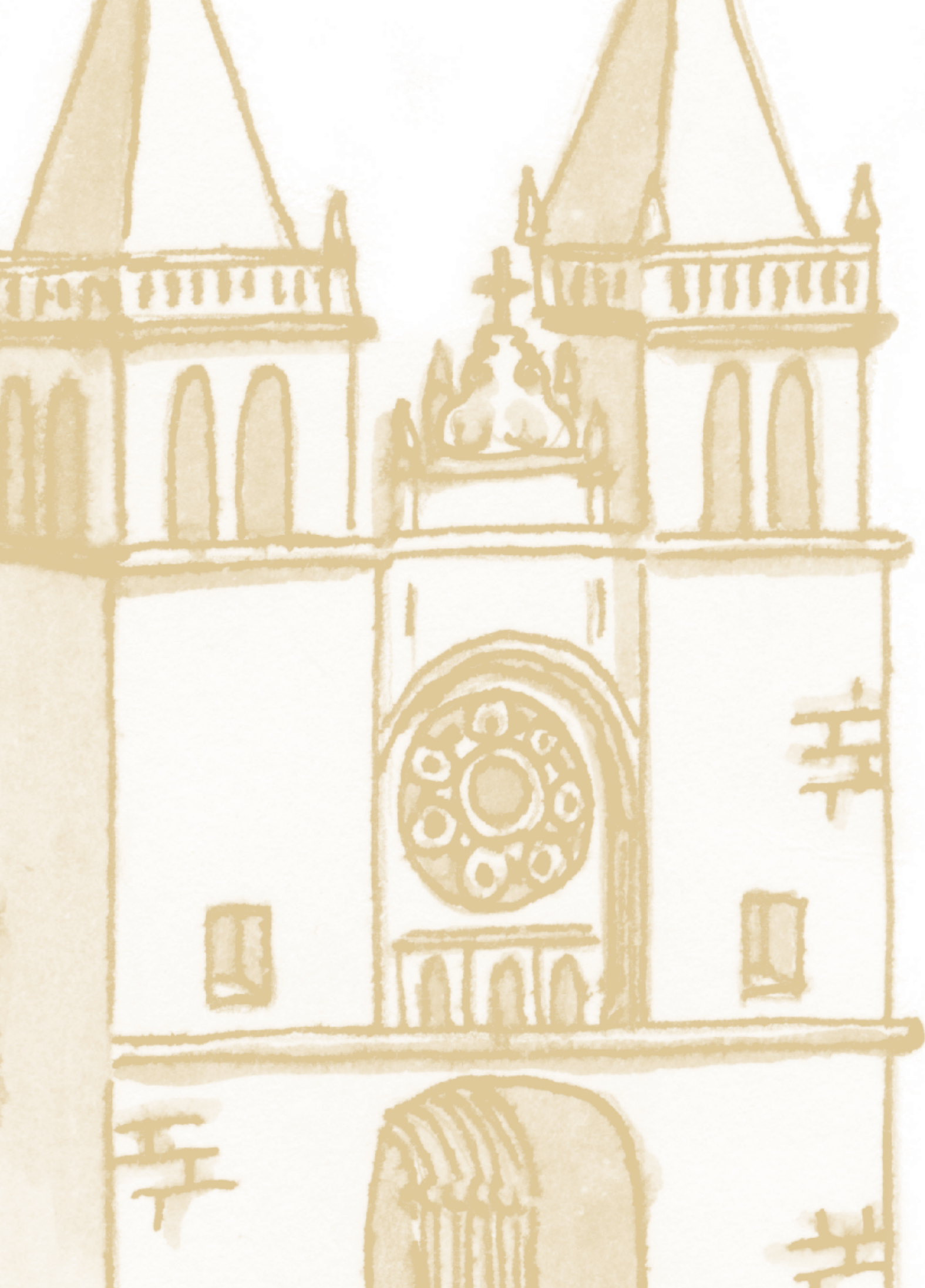
MONASTERY OF SAINT MARY OF POMBEIRO

1. The Monastery in the Middle Ages

The Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro, located in the municipality of Felgueiras, was one of the most important Benedictine monasteries of the lands between the Douro and Minho rivers, both in diversity and in building program. The choice of location still indicates how the monastic communities sought to build in the best farming lands, in plain areas, abundant in wet crops and in water.

The oldest documented reference known concerning Pombeiro is from 1099, recording the existence of a *Cenovio Palumbario*[1]. However, it is even more significant for the understanding of this monastic house's history the document from February 10th 1102 regarding a donation made by founder D. Gomes Echiegues and his wife Gontroda in favor of their monastery of Pombeiro.

1. The Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro was one of the most important Benedictine monasteries of the region between Douro and Minho rivers.

1   MOREIRA, Padre Domingos A. – "Freguesias da Diocese do Porto. Elementos Onomásticos Altimedievais". In *Boletim Cultural da Câmara Municipal do Porto.* 2ª Series, Vols. 5/6, Porto, 1987-88, p. 50.

The monastery's patron family was the Sousões, a powerful family of knights and noblemen, whose heads of lineage often fulfilled the duty of main court squire[2] and were the first donatories of the Lands of the Sousa, from D. Gomes Aciegas to Gonçalo de Garcia de Sousa (1250-1286), the last Sousão and governor of this Land.

On August 1st 1112, D. Teresa grants a Land Charter to the monastery, turning it into a privileged land with a judicial system of its own run by its abbot[3].

An older foundation is traditionally attributed to Saint Mary of Pombeiro, backing the date to 1059. Although Alexandre Herculano considered this document to be false, it is still quoted as authentic. J. A. Coelho Dias has already clarified that the document was intentionally forged by the monastic community with the intent of certifying their monastery's ancient roots and the subsequent rights[4].

Pombeiro is inserted in a territory where other Benedictine monasteries were built. In the same region, other monastic houses following the Rule of Saint Benedict were built during the Middle Ages, such as the Savior of Travanca (Amarante), Saint Michael of Bustelo (Penafiel), the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), and Saint Peter of Côte (Paredes).

As it is known, it was in these monastic dwellings that kings and noblemen sojourned and pilgrims benefited from shelter and assistance. It is important to note that these buildings are located between important medieval roads – one went from Porto to Trás-os-Montes through the port of Amarante, and another departed from Beira, through Lamego, crossing the Douro river in Porto de Rei, and heading to Guimarães and Braga. "Therefore, the Monastery of Pombeiro was in the geographic epicenter of these roads, becoming a support center for travelers and pilgrims"[5].

Thanks to the donations by its patron family and to contributions from worshippers, Pombeiro became a powerful nucleus, extending its property to Vila Real. So influent that it was endowed with real estate and patronages, achieving a total of 37 churches over which it had the right of presentation and to collect rents and taxes, attaining an annual income of 25.000 cruzados, a patrimony which made this institution a coveted potency[6].

This wealth was decisive to the construction of such a monumental and majestic church. It seems to have been during the rule of Abbot D. Rodrigo (1252-1276) that the monastery attained its architectonic peak. This abbot is credited with the construction of the lost galilee where the arms of the old Portuguese aristocracy were painted, as Friar Agostinho de Santa Maria has recorded.

The construction of the Church as it is today, although highly renovated in the 17th and 18th centuries, corresponds to the work of the Romanesque period, probably initiated in the last quarter of the 12th century, but only finished in the first decades of the 13th century. So seem to indicate the typology of the rosette in the West façade and the West portal's sculpture and projection.

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2. The Modern period restoration has not altered significantly the erected nucleus.

3. The Monastery's location indicates, to this day, how the monastic communities sought to build their monasteries in the best farming lands.

2   LENCART, JOANA – *O Costumeiro de Pombeiro. Uma comunidade Beneditina no século XIII.* Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1997, pp. 46-47.
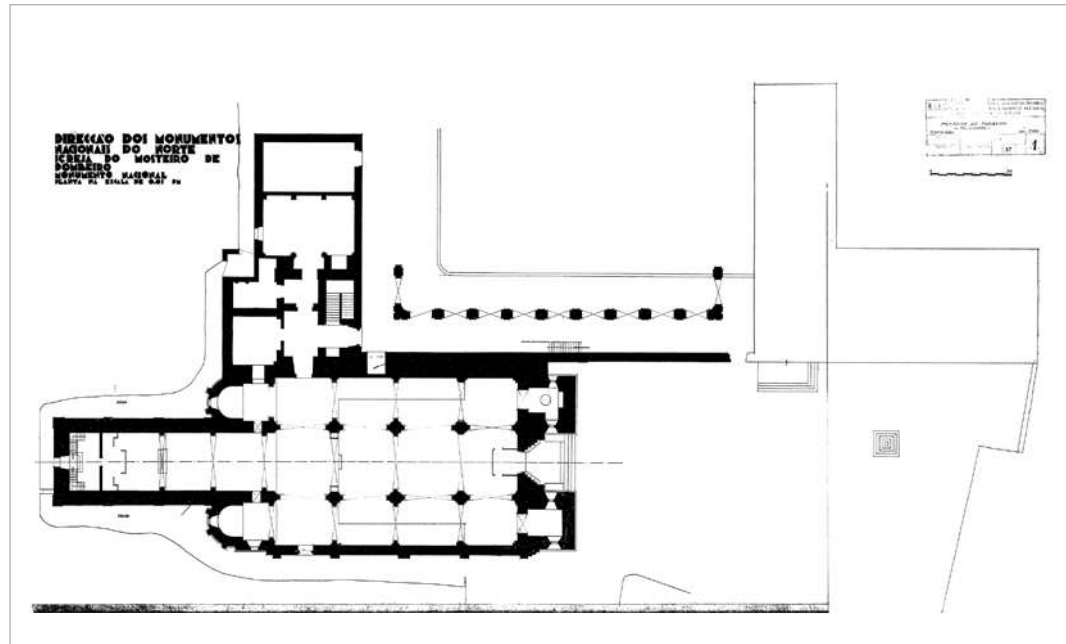3   DIAS; Geraldo J. A. Coelho – *O Mosteiro de Pombeiro e os beneditinos nas origens de Felgueiras,* "Felgueiras – Cidade". Felgueiras: Pelouro da Cultura da Câmara Municipal de Felgueiras. Year 1, No. 1, June 1993, p. 44.
4   IDEM, *ibidem.*
5   IDEM, *ibidem.*
6   LENCART, JOANA – *O Costumeiro de Pombeiro. Uma comunidade Beneditina no século XIII.* Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1997, p. 47.

4. Map.

The church building is the only one in the entire monastic ensemble to have preserved the majority of the Romanesque structure. Two towers were added to the temple's West façade and, according to the documentation, they were already erected in 1629. This addition might be related to the state of ruin shown in the galilee, a construction destined for burial purposes, as we shall see.

In his work *Benedictina Lusitana*, published in 1651[7], the chronicler of the Order of Saint Benedict, Friar Leão de São Tomás, gives us notice of the existence of a magnificent galilee with three naves, vaulted in stone, which would already be in ruins in 1578. This notice and the respective mention of bearing all the arms of the old nobility of Portugal, will be restated by Friar Agostinho de Santa Maria in 1712, as noted, and by Francisco Xavier da Serra Craesbeeck in 1762[8], although these authors do little more than transcribe Friar Leão de São Tomás' description.

The *Inquiry on the Life of the Monasteries in the Archdiocese of Braga* conducted in 1568 under the orders of Cardinal Dom Henrique gives an account of the existence of that funerary space and its condition: "*At the entrance to this monastery in the main door is a very tall and beautiful galilee with three naves, but it is in bad condition, lacking wood and tile, almost ruined*"[9].

In his *Geography of Between the Douro and Minho and Trás-os-Montes* [1549], João de Barros only reports that "many noblemen lie there (...) since the era of Eleven hundred onwards in the temple. It has three naves and very good chapels (...)"[10].

7 SÃO TOMÁS, Fr. Leão de – *Benedictina Lusitana*. Vol. 2, with Introduction and notes by José Mattoso, Lisboa, 1974 (1st ed., Lisboa, 1644-51), p. 77.

8 CRAESBEECK, Francisco Xavier da Serra – *Memórias Ressuscitadas da Província de Entre Douro e Minho no ano de 1726.* Vol. II. Ponte de Lima: Edições Carvalhos de Basto, Lda., 1992, p. 250.

9 FERRO, Adérito Gomes Ferreira Paulo – *Inquérito à vida dos Mosteiros na Arquidiocese de Braga sob D. Fr. Bartolomeu dos Mártires.* In "Actas do II Encontro sobre Historia Dominicana", T. III, Porto: Arquivo Histórico Dominicano, 1987, pp. 161-206.

10 BARROS, João de – *Geographia d'entre Douro e Minho e Trás-os-Montes.* Porto: Typografia Progresso, 1919, p. 75 (1st ed., 1549).

5. In spite of the Modern period's restoration, the church's
structure corresponds to the Romanesque construction, with the
exception of the main chapel, erected in 1770.

6. Nave of the Epistle. The semi-circular apsiole at the end of the
nave corresponds to the original Romanesque construction.

1568's *Inquiry* leaves no doubt regarding the existence of the galilee, but it might be appropriate to question its magnificent monumentality, suggested by Friar Leão de São Tomás' description, always very eulogistic about the monastic houses of his Order. The repetition of that description in other works from the Modern Period and its acceptance by some authors who have written about the subject have influenced our expectations regarding its size and apparatus.

There are many examples in Portuguese Romanesque architecture of traces or news regarding these ante-churches of funerary purpose. The Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel) had a *corporal* attached to the church's North façade. In Saint Christine of Serzedelo (Guimarães) remains the totality of a funerary ante-church, and a similar covered space existed in Sanfins de Friestas (Valença), prior to the restoration that demolished it in 1935. There are traces of galilees in front of the façade in Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira) and in Freixo de Baixo (Amarante). All these examples report to single nave churches, hence, with a less grandiose building program than Pombeiro, and only covering the transept with a stone vault, reserving the less expensive and skillful wood cover for the body of the church and the galilee.

In the Holy Cross of Coimbra, before the renovation from the Manueline period, D. Afonso Henriques and D. Sancho I were buried in the tower's porticated and vaulted narthex preceding the church portal of that monastery of Clerics Regular of Saint Augustine, founded in 1131.

In Saint Mary of Alcobaça, the royal pantheon would also be built at the entrance to the temple, next to the main door. In J. C. Vieira da Silva's opinion, this situation with the funerary porticos was more usual in

the Benedictine monasteries, and the designation of galilee itself adopted in the Iberian Peninsula reports to its funerary purpose. This spot marked the end of the ritual procession in memory of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ conducted by monks on Sundays in the monasteries who adopted the Rule of Saint Benedict. After crossing the cloister's wings, they would exit through a communicating door to the portico in front of the church, where they would celebrate Christ's final apparition to the Apostles in a mountain in Galilee, before the Ascension. According to the same author, that porch was named *galilee* in clear rapport with the belief in Resurrection upon Final Judgment[11].

The exact location of the celebrated galilee of Pombeiro is therefore an open subject, particularly considering that recent archaeological excavations under the supervision of the IPPAR appear to have revealed traces of its existence.

It should be considered, however, that the space occupied by the towers in the longitudinal direction is an exact match to the size of the church's flights, which certifies the possibility that the former galilee dictated the size of the towers, with the possibility that these were built in the exact alignment of the narthex's foundations.

The construction of the towers between the late 16th century and the first quarter of the 17th century would lead to the renovation of the façade with the intent of providing more light to the temple and allowing the construction of a wide chancel and its organ. In the triennium of 1719/1722, the wall between the two towers and the respective rosette, framed in a large window as in the See of Porto, was moved forward, becoming aligned with the towers and thus structuring a new façade, with niches for the images of *Our Lady*, the church's devotional saint, and *Saint Benedict* and *Saint Scholastica*, patrons of the Benedictine Order. It was topped by a front in the fashion of the Baroque period.

Concerning the church transept, documentation assures that the main chapel was fully rebuilt in 1770. Nevertheless, what is most relevant here is the fact that we know that the Romanesque apse was semicircular, as the apsioles. A previous renovation carried out around 1722 had demolished "*the half orange, in which the old main Chapel ended*"[12].

The completely Romanesque transepts with semicircular chapels would have become frequent in the region between the Douro and Minho rivers in the second quarter of the 12th century. This current suits the theatrical taste of the new Roman liturgy, imprinting another depth in those spaces.

In the building programs of the three-nave churches from the 13th century, the system of transept with apse and apsioles in platforms and of semicircular shape, internally and externally, is more frequent than that of the squared chapels.

Between the Douro and Minho rivers, asides from the example of Saint Mary of Pombeiro, one finds that organization and transept covering system in the churches of the Benedictine monasteries of Saint Peter of Rates (Póvoa de Varzim), the Savior of Travanca (Amarante), the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel) and the Savior of Ganfei (Valença). The Old See of Coimbra and the Collegiate of Santiago in the same city also feature a similar arrangement, as the See of Lisbon would before the construction of a deambulatory in the 14th century following D. Afonso IV's orders, and the church of the Savior of Castro de Avelãs (Bragança), later on restored from ruin.

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11   SILVA, José Custódio Vieira da – *O Panteão Régio do Mosteiro de Alcobaça*. Lisboa: IPPAR, 2003, p. 17.
12   MEIRELES, Fr. António da Assunção – *Memórias do Mosteiro de Pombeiro*. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1942, p. 66.

8. Apsiole. The arch cornice set in corbels finds parallels in the churches of the Monasteries of Saint Peter of Ferreira and the Savior of Paço de Sousa, among other Romanesque temples of the Sousa Valley.

9. West portal. This portal's construction projection and sculpture display a mix of several *dialects* of the Romanesque from between the Douro and Minho.

Just like in Pombeiro, Rates, Paço de Sousa, Travanca and Ganfei, the Romanesque apse was modified in the Modern Period, having kept the essential of the first straight flight in Rates, Travanca and Paço de Sousa only.

Since the single nave churches represent 90% of the Portuguese Romanesque churches[13], the three nave temples whose Romanesque construction has reached our age are highly valued, and so they were in the chronicles from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, where the greatness in their making is always praised. Between the Douro and Minho, asides from the Sees of Porto and Braga, the aforementioned specimens of Ganfei, Rates, Travanca, Paço de Sousa and Pombeiro feature three naves, also adopting the same solution in the transept, which, as we have seen, was aligned with the body of the naves. Therefore, the transept is only distinguished in height and/or in the length of the flight.

The cover of the naves displays two different approaches. In Ganfei, only wood is used, as in Saint Peter of Rates. Nonetheless, this church might have been primarily designed with diaphragm arches in mind, like the See of Braga, Travanca, Rates, Paço de Sousa and Pombeiro. In these, the transversal diaphragm arches structure the walls and serve as support for the roofing framework. The cruciform pillars, with adjacent half columns, hold the weight of the diaphragm arch and the forming arches.

This solution reaches the Gothic period from the North and has strong precedents in Pre-Romanesque architecture[14]. The cover with diaphragm arches further segments the flights, whether in height as visually, dividing the space and blocking the entrance of light. This is why it revives the visibly hierarchic and

13 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001, p. 79.
14 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 79.

10. Composed of three naves, the church of Saint Mary of Pombeiro features a system of diaphragms arches matching the same typology as that of the monastic church of Paço de Sousa. The decoration from the Baroque period has not altered the naves' structure.

darkened space, usual in a mystery liturgy already visible in the Visigoth period and much emphasized in the construction of Mozarab temples.

The Church of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro fits into a typology comprising three naves of three flights, platformed transept composed of stone vaulted apse and apsioles, semicircular on the inside and on the outside. The naves are covered with diaphragm arches and wood, divided with forming arches laid in cruciform pillars with adjacent columns. The transept is inscribed in the naves' planimetric, only noticeable in height and enhancing its exterior volumetric. It presents a higher central nave than the collateral ones, using a gabled roof in the first and a raised one in the latter.

Besides the example of Pombeiro, the monastic churches of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel) and Travanca (Amarante) correspond to this characterization. Note that they all belonged to Benedictine monasteries and are geographically close, displaying certain building and decorative features of a late Romanesque with traits of an already Proto-Gothic nature, namely in the size and in the framing of the rosettes of Pombeiro and Paço de Sousa, once the railing of the latter could not serve as a comparative model because it is a fruit of the restoration completed in 1939.

In Pombeiro, the axial portal is an example of outstanding sculpture concerning the archivolts, one of which adopting voussoirs with the sculpture usually used in capitals, following the portals of the See of Braga and Saint Peter of Rates, from whence this current is forged.

According to C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, Pombeiro is an imposing testimony of regional Romanesque architecture, featuring a mix of all the Romanesque *nuances* from Minho and the late variant from the South of the Lima river: archivolts and palms influenced in Braga and floral themes from the Proto-Gothic period. In spite of mutations suffered in time, the church of Pombeiro is still an excellent testimony of the Romanesque architecture where influences of the See of Braga and the Basin of the Sousa are conjugated.

11. West portal. The capitals, of excellent execution, represent the finest in Northern Portugal's sculpture.

The portal's columns are supported by a plinth, a common approach seen in other Romanesque churches in the Sousa Valley region. The superbly executed capitals of botanical inspiration show a highly crafted skill in granite sculpture and represent the best that was made in this region. There are similarities in the Churches of the Savior of Unhão (Felgueiras) and Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira). The impost blocks, made of simplified palms, support six archivolts, three of which of Proto-Gothic framework; the remaining ones are characterized by the sculpted motives. In certain specimens we find confronting animals, as in Braga. Others feature palms and animal heads from whose mouths spring ribbons, identical to an exemplar from Veade (Celorico de Basto), and others feature quite salient floral decoration with highly detailed relief.

In the remaining portions of the Romanesque cornice, the arcatures supporting it, as well as some corbels, have similar examples in the Churches of Saint Vincent of Sousa (Felgueiras), the Savior of Fonte Arcada (Póvoa de Lanhoso) and of Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira). The exterior organization of the lateral chapels also bears resemblance to these two churches.

The façade maintains the primitive rosette, rather wide and Proto-Gothic in style, with an identical structure to Paço de Sousa's and with a similar framework to the rosette of the See of Porto.

On the other hand, the lateral projections follow schemes from the Modern Period, that is, they show typical scenographic approaches from the schemes used in Rococo architecture and decoration.

12. West portal. Archivolts' capitals and voussoirs.

13. West portal. Capitals.

14. West portal. Voussoirs.

15. West portal. Voussoirs.

16. West portal. The theme from the first voussoir – to the right – depicts a figure on the piece's edge and two animals swallowing it by the feet, a characteristic theme for capitals adapted to voussoirs in Portugal.

17. West portal. Voussoirs.

1.1. The image of Saint Mary of Pombeiro

Currently framed in the church's main retable is the remarkable sculpture of the patron saint, *Saint Mary*, still a most devout image during the 17th and 18th centuries, as Friar Agostinho de Santa Maria assures. Back then, this image, also known as *Saint-Mary-the-Tall*, was in an individual altar in the body of the church, next to the Gospel.

It is a golden and polychrome wood sculpture of considerable proportion featuring *Our Lady* standing, holding the *Child* in her left arm and carrying a scepter (added in the 18th century, when the image was regilded) in her right hand. The *Child* is sitting on the Mother's arm as in a throne, revealing an almost adult physiognomy. This sculpture fits into the Gothic period, possibly in the late 14th century, definitively quite retouched in later periods.

Although documentation guarantees the existence of iconic sculpture in the 13th century, a phenomenon common to other European countries, in Portugal it was in the 14th century that this sort of Gothic sculpture reached its peak.

The wide spread of Gothic sculpture, whether iconic or altarpiece, should be considered in the devotional phenomenon of the time. If in the Romanesque period people would essentially pray in front of relics, these no longer satisfy the devotional needs in the Gothic period. Worshippers began to pray to sculpted or painted images.

More accordingly to the Gothic period and the intent to draw the followers closer to the sacred figures of the time, we find the representation of *Our Lady* standing and holding the *Child*, usually on the left arm

18. The Chancel, inserted in the Romanesque architecture, is an element of remarkable quality from the Baroque Period.

– an iconographic type called *eleousa*, which will originate variants like *Our Lady of the Milk,* already included in the very Gothic variations of the *Virgin of the Tenderness.*

1.2. Funerary sculpture

19. Set in the church's main altarpiece, the image of Saint Mary of Pombeiro is framed in the typology of Gothic sculpture.

Funerary sculpture was a domain where deep innovation was recorded with the creation of items of great quality during the last centuries of the Middle Ages.

The presence of a tomb was seldom related to testamentary legacies dictating the practice of commemorative celebrations, that is, there was a commitment of the religious institution sheltering the tomb to insure its conservation. Well esteemed tombs and the remembrance of the deceased in dignified celebrations were a guarantee that the institution would keep being picked as a final address, thereby raising more and more testamentary legacies.

Friar Leão de S. Tomás refers the purpose of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro: "*many illustrious people from those ancient times chose their grave in the Monastery of Pombeiro, some for the devotion they had for such a distinguished Monastery, others for the many suffrages that were conducted there every day for the Deceased & Benefactors*".

The tomb of a particularly renowned nobleman could insure the economic welfare of a monastic institution. The choice of the grave's location often coincided with interests carried out from generation to generation. The presence of the tombs of the ancestors in a certain monastic institution was also a legitimizing sign of the patrimonial rights, which is why the later generations would consider the preservation of the monuments with a renewed interest.

At the entrance of the Church of Pombeiro, in the area protected by the chancel, are two armoriated sarcophaguses covered with lying statues which, according to Mário Barroca, may be attributed to the late 13th century and the beginning of the following century.

The arks were part of an important funerary nucleus which used to be sheltered in the Monastery's galilee, a pantheon of the nobility of the lands between the Douro and Minho rivers, where some of its most illustrious peers rested. As stated above, this space was later on destroyed.

One of the sarcophaguses displays a coat of arms with four banners in the transept, occupying the section of the ark and the tombstone. On the right lateral is a rectangular relief with the iconography of a knight "on his battle horse covered with large barding" who "holds the combat escutcheon on his left arm" and "with his right hand brandishes the spear, from which hangs the insignia of kingdom's noblemen showing a coat of arms characterized by four banners". The same arms are also repeated in the sword's fist held by the statue and in the lower part of its sheath[15]. According to Armando de Mattos, these arms may belong to the Nóbrega, the Lima, or the Aragão family. Manuel Luís Real thinks that they might correspond to the Nóbregas or Limas. However, D. Luiz Gonzaga de Lencastre e Távora claims them as the arms of the Ribeiros. The tombstone also features a unique and original aspect, since the nobleman rests over a bed covered with a pleated sheet.

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15 Cf. BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Necrópoles e Sepulturas Medievais de Entre-Douro-e-Minho. (Séc. V a XV).* Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1987.

This address would only be used in the second lying statue of Pombeiro, the two cases being isolated in the panorama of Portuguese funerary sculpture and remembering examples from Galicia, from whence influences must have derived, in Mário Barroca's opinion.

The lying statue of the first tomb portrays a nobleman of a certain age, with long wavy hair and similar beard, whose head rests on a double pillow. This nobleman wears civilian outfit with tunic and cape, the first having vertical parallel pleats and the latter curvy pleats, denouncing a bigger concern with realism. He is wearing long spurs, in good medieval fashion. His feet are depicted in the same way, both facing the left side, accompanying the gabled volume where the statue was sculpted, and laid over the pillow. The center of the figure features a long sword held by the deceased's both hands. This weapon presents a small coat of arms in the terminal the fist's circle, a motive that is repeated in the sheath's metallic protection.

The second statue, of a later period, evinces the influence of the first, possibly carved by the same artist. A nobleman on horseback is sculpted in the ark, in a rectangular plaque and in bas-relief. The animal wears barding and the knight brandishes his spear with pendant. In spite of similarities with the first ark, this one differs in a few details. The pendant does not feature heraldry and the sculpted theme was repeated in the two lateral faces of the ark. In a similar approach to the other statue, this one presents a coat of arms featuring five fleur-de-lis in the transept and occupying the section of the sarcophagus and tombstone.

The lying statue was designed from a gabled tombstone, reminding the other exemplar of Pombeiro. The artist has portrayed once again the nobleman lying in a bed covered with a sheet, displaying the same kind of pleating. As seen before, there are common elements between the two works, leading us to thinks that they were designed by the same artist, albeit the presence of distinctive traits in this second statue.

The position of the statue is uncommon, since the nobleman is not lying in decubitus, as usual with most Portuguese lying statues, but resting on his left side. This statue is considered to be of lesser quality than the first, not featuring as many details nor such an intricate modulation.

The figure was portrayed with the head against a double pillow, wearing long civilian clothes, briefly pleated. The left arm is bending and the right hand holds a long sword by the sheath.

Another innovation in this statue is the fact that the weapon is not lying on top of the body but placed alongside, on the sheet covering the bed. Once again, the feet are wearing spurs and are both turned to the same side, accompanying the gabled volume of the piece where the statue was sculpted.

According to the author we have been following, the represented arms in this monument's transept section provide a positive identification of the deceased. According to Manuel Real, it is the sepulcher of D. João Afonso de Albuquerque, 1st Count of Barcelos who, as Assunção Meireles has recorded, would have chosen the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro as his final address, leaving a will from 1304. Since the arms of the Lords of Albuquerque are precisely five fleur-de-lis, everything seems to point to this tomb as that of the 1st Count of Barcelos.

20. Tumular and jacent ark.

21. Tumular and jacent ark of D. João Afonso de Albuquerque, 1st Count of Barcelos.

1.3. Epigraphies

D. Gonçalo's funerary inscription is from May 1199, engraved in a panel now embedded in the face of the Epistle, next to the cloister's access door, stating:

E(ra) M CC XXXVII [...] / MAII HIC REQUIESCE[t] [...] / GUNDISALVus Q (u) FUnDAV[it] [...]

Mário Barroca, the author of the reading and study of this inscription[16], considers that the date in the epigraphy is fundamental to the identification of D. Gonçalo, excluding the possibility of it belonging to D. Gonçalo Mendes de Sousa I or his homonymous grandson. The epitaph from 1199 and its location in the temple's transept indicate that the aforementioned D. Gonçalo performed a fundamental role in the life of the monastery, having been one of its abbots.

Following the same author, the expression "*Qui Fundavit…*", used in the epitaph, helps to understand the importance D. Gonçalo would have had in the monastic community by having raised something. Considering the timeline provided with the inscription, it is likely that the author of the epitaph was referring to the opening of the Romanesque factory of Pombeiro, which completely reformed the High-Medieval temple. After this conjecture, the Romanesque work of Pombeiro would have been initiated a little sooner than some authors claim, having started in the late 12th century, aided by the donations given to the monastery. The oldest testimonies of the Romanesque renovation, following the initiative of Abbot D. Gonçalo, would reside in the main chapel area, which was destroyed by the modern renovation, circa 1722, with no known surviving elements. The Romanesque work of Pombeiro lasted a long time, reaching the first half of the 13th century as the rosette and the West portal testify.

Engraved in two granite panels embedded in the transept's East wall, in the corner of the South apsiole, is the commemorative inscription of the deposition of Relics in the Church of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro recording:

HEC / Sunt / RELIQuiE / QUE / HI (c) / SEDEnT / PET(r)I / P(aul)I / ANDRE / IACOBI THOME

According to Mário Barroca, this inscription was supposedly engraved to commemorate and reveal the nature of the relics deposited in the Monastery altars[17]. Although the inscription is undated, the author considers that it suits a timeline of the late 12th century, probably associated to the Romanesque reconstruction initiated by Abbot D. Gonçalo.

The funerary inscription allusive to D. Vasco Mendes de Sousa, engraved in his tombstone is also noteworthy. Coming from the funerary galilee, it was put in the atrium by the portal upon of the demolition of the galilee. It was sheltered there in the 17th and 19th centuries. In the 20th century, it was moved to the church interior and is currently on the left side upon entering the temple, under the chancel and against the nave's North wall.

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16 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epigráfico Medieval Português*. Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, pp. 542-545.

17 IDEM, *ibidem*, pp. 578-579.

VI : IDUS : MARTII : OB(iit) : DO(m)NUS : VELASC[us] / MENE(n)DI : FILI(us) : COMITIS : DONNI [Sic] /
MENENDI : E(ra) : MCC 2XXX

D. Vasco Mendes de Sousa was the son of Count D. Mendo, the Sousão, and D. Maria Rodrigues Veloso, according to Mário Barroca, author of the reading and study of this inscription. D. Vasco Mendes de Sousa was not married, but begot illegitimate offspring. He held the tenancy of the Land of Jales in 1224 and of the Land of Bragança between 1233 and 1236.

Still according to the same author, the motives leading D. Vasco Mendes de Sousa to be the only one from his generation (at least from those who lived in Portugal) to be buried outside Alcobaça, in the *Pantheon* of the Sousas – as it happened with D. Gonçalo Mendes de Sousa II, deceased in 1243, D. Garcia Mendes de Sousa or de Eixo, deceased in 1239, and D. Rodrigo Mendes de Sousa, deceased in 1262, all present in Alcobaça by the Chapter Room – are unknown[18].

1.4. Mural painting

Two mural painting programs may be witnessed in Pombeiro, whether in the apsiole next to the Gospel, or in the apsiole next to the Epistle, asides from the decorative bars painted in an uncovered arch in the nave, on the South side.

In spite of being attributed to the beginning of the 1530s, these mural paintings still display late Gothic treatment although they simultaneously show the adoption of new forms from the Renaissance.

The bad shape in which the paintings of the lateral chapel next to the Gospel have come to make it hard for a proper stylistic appreciation. Nevertheless, from what is left of the program, the theme may report to a scene of the life of *Saint Blaise* since, according to legend, the saint was found in the jungle by hunters, living with wild animals like bears, lions and tigers he had domesticated. Luís Urbano Afonso has a different opinion, considering this to be a representation of historic character, based in the Old Testament cycle referring to the *Sacrifice of Noah after the Flood*. The group of exotic animals to the right is accompanied by a group of human figures kneeling and holding candles to the left. In the same side, we may still observe two pig heads, one inside a basket and the other attached to the figure of Noah, which, according to the same author, is a reference to the animals sacrificed in the post-diluvium holocaust, in thanks giving for divine protection facing the destruction of the rest of mankind[19], although Luís Afonso draws attention to the awkwardness of using pigs, considering that the animals usually sacrificed by Noah are pure animals like doves, ewes or lambs.

It is possible, however, that the representation of the pigs' heads refers to one of the miracles attributed to Saint Blaise. According to the legend narrating the life of this saint, a wolf took a pig from a poor woman, that animal being her only possession, and so the saint forced the wolf to return the prey. As a sign of

22. North apsiole. Mural painting. 16th century. Albeit this painting's deteriorated state, the remaining traces seem to point to a scene allusive to Saint Blaise's life. The depiction of animals, to the right, is also worthy of note.

18 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epigráfico Medieval Português.* Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, pp. 789-797.
19 AFONSO, Luís Urbano de Oliveira – *A Pintura Mural Portuguesa entre o Gótico Internacional e o Fim do Renascimento: Formas, Significados, Funções.* Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2006, p. 310.

23. North apsiole. Mural painting.

24 e 25. South apsiole. Mural painting. Representation of Saint Maurus and Saint Placid. The inscription informs that these paintings were made during D. António de Melo's abbacy (1526-1556).

thankfulness, the woman took the roasted pig's head and feet to the prison where Saint Blaise was incarcerated. We also add that the chapel where this mural is featured is dedicated to Saint Blaise, a highly revered saint since the Middle Ages for his miraculous healing powers.

In Paula Bessa's opinion, the paintings are most definitely from the 16th century, and it is possible to find stylistic parallels with others existing in the North of Portugal.

The paintings of the lateral chapel next to the Epistle are in better condition. Here, two Benedictine saints are represented and, judging from the hardly readable captions, they are *Saint Maurus* and *Saint Placid*. These two saints were disciples of Saint Benedict of Nursia, the founder of the Benedictine Order, which makes these suitable representations for a monastery of the Order.

The representation of *Saint Placid* is accompanied by a sign on the side which is also not entirely readable, however, it is possible to read the first line, albeit the lacunas: "(…) thousand (?).(?) XXX I(?)" and in the following lines "(…)sir dom/abbot dom amtonjo de Mello ordered the execution".

As the inscription indicates, the paintings representing the Benedictine saints were executed in the beginning of D. António de Mello's abbacy (1526-1556).

If only these traces remain, Friar Leão de S. Tomás, a Benedictine chronicler from the 17th century, refers in his *Benedictina Lusitana* the existence of other mural paintings lost in the meantime, namely in the chapter room allusive to Saint Gonzalo of Amarante, wearing a Benedictine habit.

Paula Bessa also stated that the paintings of Pombeiro are close in style to those of the Holy Savior of Bravães (Ponte da Barca), from 1501 or 1510, and the main chapel of the church of Saint Marinha of Vila Marim (Vila Real). In these exemplars, the succession of planes (a wall and, behind, tree silhouettes) working as indicators of spatial depth, the way of drawing and shadowing the faces, the brief drawing of the hands, the decorative framing and coiling bars are very similar.

26. South portal (partially covered). Mural painting. The decorative bars find affinities with the churches of Vila Marim and Our Lady of Guadalupe, both patroned by the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro and located in the District of Vila Real.

However, in Pombeiro, there seems to be a more detailed treatment of the volumes. According to these stylistic parallels, it is likely that all of these mentioned paintings result from the labor of the same workshop. The remaining decorative bars in the partially uncovered portal of the nave also appear in the decoration of the main chapel of Vila Marim.

The resemblances between these items and those of Vila Marim (Vila Real), Guadalupe (Vila Real) and Saint Blaise (Vila Real) lead Paula Bessa to locate in the monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro as a source of mural painting made on order, also abridging the churches from the respective patronage[20]. **[LR]**

2. The monastery in the Modern Period

The Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro results from the strict harmonization of medieval architectonic structures with later structural or occasional additions from the Modern Period. Notice also the artistic renovations granted by the mural painting of the 16th century and the gilding craft of the 18th century. The whole presents the most emblematic and representative artistic expression of the character of the Romanesque monuments of the Sousa Valley: the aggregation and collage of new artistic repertoires to medieval structures.

The church façade, delimited by two majestic towers built in the 17th century[21] and topped with the arms of the Benedictine Order, where the volutes, the pyramids and the coiling translate the Baroque dynamics, merges with the portal that translates the medieval heritage. A deeper transformation, from the Modern Period, is witnessed in the church's lateral projection, featuring the monumentalization and scenic apparatus as the key note. Here, a group of pilasters dictates the vertical rhythm of that façade, supporting an architectonic structure of curious design, whose purpose was to provide light to the chapels of the lateral nave. The light, the illumination of the space, was the demand that compelled the transformation of the medieval building systems. It is the best measure to evaluate the Baroque and Rococo architectonic renovations. That composition's most significant elements are the alternated curved and interrupted fronts, whose tympanum is shaped like a span, allowing sunlight to come in. The area of the false transept is witnessed in that façade with an elevation of the composition, as if defining an autonomous façade.

To the church façade's right flank is added the building that accesses the monastic dependencies, the Monastery Doorway, its main portal ennobled with a finishing that already denounces an artistic language from the Neoclassic. Composed of two floors, the upper floor opens a row of balconied windows, ennobled by the shift between curved and triangular fronts that allowed the monks to follow and participate in the festive and daily extra-cloister manifestations that took place in the Monastery's Courtyard.

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20 BESSA, Paula – "Pintura mural em Santa Marinha de Vila Marim, S. Martinho de Penacova, Santa Maria de Pombeiro e na Capela Funerária Anexa à Igreja de S. Dinis de Vila real: Parentescos Pictóricos e Institucionais e as Encomendas do Abade D. António de Melo". Annex of *Cadernos do Noroeste*, 20 (1-2), Série História 3, 2003, pp. 67-95.

21 In the early 18th century, Friar Agostinho de Santa Maria already reported the existence of two towers in the façade: "*All the remaining workshops of that Monastery were rebuilt, which has not degenerated its former sumptuosity, as are the two extremely tall towers in both angles of the front, of tightly bonded masonry, regular proportion, and ordered correspondence*". See SANTA MARIA, Fr. Agostinho de – *Santuário Mariano e História das Imagens Milagrosas de Nossa Senhora, E das milagrosamente apparecidas, que se venerão no Arcebispado Primas de Braga, & nos Bispados seus suffraganeos*. T. IV. Lisboa: Off. de António Pedrozo Galram, 1712, p. 70.

27. North façade. The Baroque intervention surrounds the church's Romanesque structure.

The Courtyard, or Clearing, is the open space in front of the church and Doorway. This entrance lead straight to the architectonic spaces that determined the monks' daily life: barn, chapter room, infirmary, library, refectory and dormitory, especially the Prior's quarters. These multiple edifications mirrored the monks' many duties whose organizing focal point was the cloister. The monastery's neuralgic center was also its symbolical nucleus, the true image of Earthly Paradise. The monks would roam around it in their domestic occupations, as during their spiritual practices and ascetic cleansing. The cloister is always the material and spiritual heart of the monastic unit.

In the first decade of the 19th century, Portuguese monasteries experienced troubled times due to the instability that affected Portugal upon the French invasions. These events had terrible consequences for the Religious Orders, and Pombeiro is an example, becoming one of the most affected Monasteries of the Congregation of Saint Benedict. The French troops set the Monastery on fire upon their passage through Pombeiro.

On May 13th 1809, the Monastery suffered a ravishing fire that would destroy a great part of the workshops in the monastic complex, leaving it to ruin and requiring heavy repair works concerning the architectonic structures that would never come to an end. The church was untouched. The most affected part comprehended the surroundings of the cloister.

The monks proceeded immediately to raising the decadent structures. But the times were already of decline to monastic institutions in Portugal. And although the friars of Pombeiro were still optimistic, as the building endeavor initiated in the cloister indicates, the evolution of the national panorama did not allow them to complete it. And so Pombeiro's cloister remains unfinished as a sign of times, which culminated with the extinction of the male religious orders in Portugal in 1834.

One of the four wings surrounding the cloister that was indeed finished bears witness to their commitment. Its architecture delves in the artistic repertoire of the Neoclassicism.

As a token of the extent of the post-fire restoration campaign, a record from the year of 1819 enlightens that: *"The chapter room, the Library, the Hostelry were made, a third of the cloister was made following a trace approved within four, in which seven thousand, six hundred and eighty seven thousand and five hundred, and forty reis were spent (…)*

The Receipt was fixed, lifting the Barns over three brick vaults, and opening three crevices in the wall to let air in, and around the Barns to remove the dampness that made the former Receipt useless"[22].

The finished projection of the cloister is divided in two floors: the ground floor presents an arcade composed of nine spans in full arches and, in correspondence to the architectonic rhythm of the first floor, the second floor features the same number of balconied windows, finished by triangular and semicircular fronts. In the final level of the façade, an austere triangular front presents a coat of arms in the tympanum. Finishing the construction projection, a balustrade defines the alignment of the pilasters with urns.

A monastic unit like Pombeiro's, continuously inhabited by clerics since the Middle Ages till the 19th century, is an architectonic ensemble in constant mutation. The increase in the number of people living in the institution, as the structure of their economic power based in land owning and its exploration, contribute to strengthen the influence of the monastery's prestige in the underlying region. These factors justify the improvement or the artistic and liturgical renovations.

And in an institution that is aimed to serve God, the largest investment in improvement is witnessed in its church. It is important to note that the building of the monastic church of Pombeiro is the one that best articulates the medieval past that dictated the shape of the whole with three naves, false transept, apse and apsioles, with the time in which the monastery lost its centennial purpose. Organically, the medieval space received new artistic repertoires, whether adapting it architectonically to the new liturgical rituals, or materializing transformations through the introduction of a more modern and updated visual image to the continuous evolution of the course of the arts.

2. 1. The monastery and the Order of Saint Benedict in Portugal

From the late Middle Ages, the monastic institutions witnessed a sense of a certain lassitude in the observance of the principles that governed conventual life, especially in institutions following the precepts of the Rules of Saint Benedict and Saint Augustine.

The monasteries were still active but the monks indulged in an existence without any moral and spiritual motivation. The economic prosperity attained by some houses dismissed the professed monks from the obligation of manual work imposed by the Rule, and some members of the communities even received

22   DIAS; Geraldo J. A. Coelho – *O Mosteiro de Pombeiro e os beneditinos nas origens de Felgueiras,* "Felgueiras – Cidade". Felgueiras: Pelouro da Cultura da Câmara Municipal de Felgueiras. Year 1, No. 1, June 1993, pp. 41-52

personal income from privileges and rents. Abiding the Rule, Statutes and Constitutions was neglected, imposing a certain anarchy in daily monastic life. For example, the practices of Penance, Confession and Eucharist were not as frequent as they should, begetting a not so edifying image near the population who more closely dealt with the various monastic communities. The moral crisis of the religious orders was installed[23].

In this context, the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro was no exception: the late 14th century already brought frequent observations from visitors accusing the monks of undignified practices considering their status, namely visible in the absence of the observance of canonical hours and in the introduction of a doorman to prevent women from entering the enclosed universe. On the other hand, the abbots that cyclically took over the Monastery, scarcely committed in the management of its estate, lead the house to a certain economic stagnation, situations that plunged Pombeiro into a crisis scenario, as seen in other Benedictine houses.

Later, in the 15th and 16th centuries, another situation corroborates the dark picture of the religious orders: the placing of secular individuals foreign to the communities as chief managers, the so-called **commendatary abbots**, leading to a mismanagement of the institutions that originated deviations of the monastic patrimony and the twisting of the religious customs. Regarding the government of the institutions by commendataries, Pombeiro is particularly affected by the careless management of its physical patrimony, showing negligence in the repair and maintenance of the buildings and forcing the friars to inhabit "*low sheds covered with culm, close to the church to attend to the choir and Altar*". The management of this monastery by commendataries would have started around 1427, ending in the middle of the following century with the government of D. António, Prior of Crato[24].

The decadence of the Monastery as a material whole follows the decline of spiritual life. A description of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro from 1568 conveys the state the institution's built patrimony was in[25]. From the built complex, only the church featured a certain artistic nobilitation, since the *main chapel and the chapels of the cross are all vaulted and the remaining body is made of masonry stone*. The main chapel had a *very good and new* retable. The choir was under reconstruction. As for the sacristy, chapter room and cloister, they were *ruined and old*. Regarding the dormitory, refectory, hostelry and infirmary, these did not even exist.

According to the *Inquiry on the Life of the Monasteries in the Archdiocese of Braga conducted in 1568*, under Cardinal D. Henrique's orders, and supervised by the Archbishop of Braga, D. Friar Bartolomeu dos Mártires, this state of precariousness in the monastery is recorded.

The renovation of the monastic institutions was absolutely necessary: a situation that would occur in the mid 16th century. New religious institutions arise, and the old ones are compelled to renew their customs. In this sense, the Council of Trento assumed a decisive role, creating a set of guidelines that commanded the suppression of the commendatary abbots' rule over the houses, the total interdiction of monks to hold private property, the regulating of the monks' admission process, the abidance of absolute seclusion, among other things.

23 DIAS, José Sebastião da Silva – *Correntes de Sentimento Religioso em Portugal: Séculos XVI a XVIII*. Coimbra: Instituto de Estudos Filosóficos da Universidade de Coimbra, 1960, pp. 33-66.

24 Cf. LENCART, Joana – *O Costumeiro de Pombeiro. Uma Comunidade Beneditina no Século XIII*. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1997, pp. 49-51.

25 Cf. FERRO, Adérito Gomes Ferreira Paulo – "Inquérito à vida dos Mosteiros na arquidiocese de Braga sob D. Fr. Bartolomeu dos Mártires." In *Actas do II Encontro sobre História Dominicana*. T. III. Porto: Arquivo Histórico Dominicano, 1987, pp. 161-206.

In the sense of reorganizing monastic life and following a centralizing administrative policy, the Congregation of the Black Monks of St. Benedict of Portugal is created in 1566, with headquarters in the Mother Abbey of Tibães. All Portuguese Benedictine monasteries depended directly of the resolutions made in that institution, through the General Chapter.

The Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro is integrated in the Congregation on September 14th 1569, right after the Monastery of Redufe. It was the third to integrate the Congregation of St. Benedict. Its importance was then recognized in 1584, upon the fifth General Chapter. However, the election of the first triennial abbot, D. Fr. Bernardo de Braga, only took place in 1590. With this new statute, that of resident member of the Congregation, the main renovation works had to be determined and approved by the Congregation. And so they were started, from the late 16th century and during the 17th century, rebuilding the old structures and building the inexistent workshops, namely the cloister and dormitories, which granted a qualification of elements of the erected monastic unit, determining "a change in the building's design"[26].
At the time, the community was composed of seven monks and became governed by priors elected every three years. Twenty years later, it had twenty clerics. In the 18th century, it had a population of around thirty monks. Nonetheless, from the end of that century on there is a decline in monastic life and a subsequent reduction in the number of residents. In the year of 1822 there were but eight friars. The Monastery walked steadily towards its extinction, which would take place in 1834.
Following this administrative reorganization from the 16th century, a strong rethinking of the monastic spaces runs through the entire Modern Period until the institution's extinction.

2. 2. Renovation of the monastery's church and sacristy

Three facts become decisive in the analysis of the church of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro: the permanence of a planimetric inherited from the Middle Ages, with three naves, false transept and apsioles; the gold and polychrome gilding populating that space; and finally, the artistic ambiance achieved through that articulation between architecture and interior arts.
Starting with the artistic ambiance, and after crossing the splendorous Romanesque portal, one is confronted with an interior décor where the key notes are gold framed by a white light. The artistic ambiance one breathes is an eloquent messenger of the Portuguese and European aesthetics of the 18th century. There is a luminous interior, where the light that creates the ambiance is not used for a dramatic effect, iluminating this or that spot of the sacred space. Quite to the contrary, the three naves of this centennial building bear witness to the same key, corroborated by the main chapel. The medieval and veiled environment conveyed by the church at the time of its foundation received a new treatment. For that, spans were torn. On top of the walls surrounding the central nave, at the cornice level, a longitudinal crevice was opened, emphasized in the space's scenic composition with a wooden balustrade over a polychrome

28. The decoration, the altar and the illumination system date from the Modern period's restoration.

cornice. Intricately shaped oculi were opened in the false transept's back walls, and in the laterals of the main chapel are wide windows. The search for illumination was the key note guiding this intervention in the centennial architecture.

The sumptuosity with which the liturgical ceremonies were conducted in the Baroque period dictated the extension the main stage for these acts: the main chapel. When, in 1726, Francisco Craesbeeck wrote about the Province of Between the Douro and Minho, he observed that the main chapel of the church of Pombeiro had been widened because its size was too small and it had gained two windows on each side to propitiate the entrance of light, because the "church was dark". To solve that problem crevices were opened in the naves and the temple was painted white, with the goal of making it similar to a See[27]. Note that the See of Braga, also a medieval building, had already undergone a remodeling of its interior to adopt the Baroque scenery aesthetics in a process initiated circa 1710 by the will of its archbishop, D. Rodrigo de Moura Teles. Afterwards, in the 1720s, we witness the transformation of the main chapel of the Cathedral See of Porto, in a process that culminates in the dawn of the 1730s. This transformation of the main chapels was carried out in the major institutions of the North of Portugal.

This modernization process takes place in Pombeiro from 1719-1721 on, when the abbacy was taken by Friar Bento da Ascensão, and although interventions in the church are continued throughout the 18th century, two cycles stand out in the transformation of the church's image: in the first third of the 18th century, the adaptation of the church to the Baroque aesthetics; from 1760 onwards, the creation of the Rococo ambiance. The goal was clear: to promote the dignification of the cult and to update the artistic scenery of

27 CRAESBEECK, Francisco Xavier da Serra – *Memórias Ressuscitadas da Província de Entre Douro e Minho no ano de 1726*. Vol. II. Ponte de Lima: Edições Carvalhos de Basto, Lda., 1992, pp. 249-253.

the old medieval church. To start off the works in 1719, the Congregation of St. Benedict contributed with twenty gold pieces, that is, the beautiful sum of 96.000 reis[28]. Profound works were expected.

It was through the artistic forms, with their ability to change the reading of the space, that the monks of Pombeiro particularly resorted to illusionist painting in the ceilings, which we may still observe in the lateral naves, and to gilding. Furthermore, gilding as a resource for modernizing and dignifying medieval sacred spaces is a much esteemed practice in the Post-Tridentine Portuguese panorama. For, as Natália Marinho Ferreira-Alves points out, "the Church will use art as one of the most powerful agents for promoting the Tridentine principles, aiming for the defense of Catholic faith and dogmas. Portugal stood no chance against other Catholic countries in the field of the so-called "greater arts" – neighboring Spain included – but it would find in the craft of gilding an original and strong way of adhering on one hand, to the new aesthetic formulas, and on the other, to the counter-reformists guidelines.
The gold-plated gilding, which will sometimes cover the entire church interior, thereby persuasively luring the senses of the follower, creates an unparalleled mystical atmosphere in which the connection between Man and God is something that becomes almost tangible"[29].

If during the first half of the 18th century the church of Saint Mary of Pombeiro updated its visual image to the most avant-garde artistic manifestations of the time, only a few painted panels in the ceilings of the lateral naves subside from that transformation. Featuring religious, Christological and Marian themes, this pictoric set translates the aesthetics that guided the interventions, and is now the sole remaining testimony from that period. From the middle of the century onwards, the church adapts itself to the contemporary artistic vocabulary and will dress accordingly, a fact we may still fortunately witness, making it a reference in Rococo art on a national level. There is consistency in that transformation, running through the renovation of the illumination system, a new altarpiece set including the main chapel, lateral chapels and pulpits, as well as the construction of the chancel's gilded structure and railing, including organs and seats. Underlining this renovation accused by the pieces that currently integrate the church space, other noteworthy details subside in the gilded inscription tablets and wreaths which, in a loose and free fashion, populate the church covers, as well as in the polychromatism itself, applied in architectonic elements that frame the wood pieces.
Both the church's shape and polychromatism are testimonies of an intervention programmed by the clerics of Pombeiro when they intended to update their temple's image to the most avant-garde European artistic currents. The investment in works of art and the constant update is a glimpse of the intellectual elite that composed the upper crust of Pombeiro's clerics. A superior result in the Rococo ambiance was achieved in Portugal with this renovation, carried out in the second half of the 18th century.

The most notorious artist of this metamorphosis was the reputed Friar José de Santo António Ferreira Vilaça[30], also a Benedictine monk. Son of carpenter Custódio Ferreira, he is initiated in woodcrafts in the

28 DIAS; Geraldo J. A. Coelho – *O Mosteiro de Pombeiro e os beneditinos nas origens de Felgueiras,* "Felgueiras – Cidade". Felgueiras: Pelouro da Cultura da Câmara Municipal de Felgueiras. Year 1, No. 1, June 1993, pp. 41-52.

29 FERREIRA-ALVES, Natália Marinho – "De arquitecto a entalhador. Itinerário de um artista nos séculos XVII e XVIII". In *I Congresso Internacional do Barroco. Actas.* Vol. I. Porto: Reitoria da Universidade do Porto; Governo Civil do Porto, 1991, pp. 355-369.

30 SMITH, Robert C. – *Frei José de Santo António Ferreira Vilaça, escultor beneditino do século XVIII.* Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. Vols. I-II. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1972.

Monastery of St. Martin of Tibães from 1757 on, becoming a teacher there five years later. In Tibães, he had the opportunity to contact with the gilded work of the church projected by another great figure of the Rococo in Braga, André Ribeiro Soares da Silva[31].

It was as a Benedictine monk who was consecrated an artist, namely a wood carver, sculptor and architect. He wrote an unusual diary where he recorded his life's main events, including all his activities, which he called the *Book of Rezam*.

His main focus was on designing retables for monasteries in the North of Portugal that belonged to the Congregation of St. Benedict. His artistic skill is strongly influenced by engravings and treatises promoting asymmetrically designed botanical ornaments, namely from France and Germany. He is described as the most skilled artist cultivating the Rococo expression in the North of Portugal. Being educated in the artistic environment of Braga, he absorbed that "modern" design and conception through his acquaintance with André Soares, the man who introduced that vocabulary in the city of the Archbishops, and his assimilation of printed works by Juste Auréle Meisonier, among others, showing illustrations that served as inspiration to the artist, making him one of "the greatest gilding carvers of Rococo inspiration"[32].

The main retable of the church of Pombeiro, executed between 1770 and 1773, stands out over the top of the main chapel. It is an excellent chestnut wood piece, completely goldplated, with striking polychromatism in the upholstery of the images of the supported saints: *St. Benedict*, *Saint Scholastica*, and in the central niche, the medieval image of *Our Lady with Child*. In its structure, notice two columns on each side, supporting the entablature and finishing of the altarpiece ensemble, and framing the majestic Eucharist throne. Remember that the Eucharist throne, of platformed pyramidal shape, is exclusive to the Portuguese retable and it dominates the composition of the main retable since the early 18th century, stepping up as a concretization of the Tridentine ideology[33]. The top of that structure, the retable's visual center, served to expose the Holy Sacrament. In the retable of Pombeiro, Friar José Vilaça enhances that nuclear point of the altarpiece ensemble, hollowing the wall and placing sunbeams against the light, allowing the worshipers to see the *Holy Sacrament* as if suspended in light. That highly resourceful composition is revealing of Vilaça's genius.

29. Main chapel. The altarpiece, executed between 1770 and 1773, is by Friar José de Santo António Ferreira Vilaça.

From the countless main chapels whose retable was designed by Friar José Vilaça, that of Saint Mary of Pombeiro strikes us for the brilliant balance between linear and sinuous shapes, Rococo decorative artifact and asymmetric shapes, resulting in a sober and elegant composition. Although smaller than the retable of the monastery of Refóios (Cabeceiras de Basto), it is considered by the artist himself as his best piece up until then. It corresponds to Vilaça's maturity stage. It is undoubtedly his most representative work from the so-called first stage, or first style of the artist. Its design stands as the depurated summary of his schooling: "the most intimate in composition, elegant in details, of a profound sense of linearity allowing him to end his first stage in grand style, in our opinion, with influences of the French (Meissonier) and German schools, asides from André Soares, of course, but especially his originality in an unequaled

31 FERREIRA-ALVES, Natália Marinho – Vilaça, Frei José de Santo António Ferreira, in *Dicionário da Arte Barroca em Portugal*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença. 1989, pp. 527-530.
32 FERREIRA-ALVES, Natália Marinho – De arquitecto a entalhador. Itinerário de um artista nos séculos XVII e XVIII. In *I Congresso Internacional do Barroco. Actas.* Vol. I, Porto: Reitoria da Universidade do Porto; Governo Civil do Porto, 1991, p. 366.
33 MARTINS, Fausto Sanches – Trono Eucarístico do Retábulo Barroco Português: Origem, Função, Forma e Simbolismo In *I Congresso Internacional do Barroco. Actas.* Vol. I. Porto: Reitoria da Universidade do Porto; Governo Civil do Porto, 1991, p. 20.

plasticity and dynamism"[34]. The Rococo decoration of the main chapel is completed with the frames of the windows and the paintings of the *Annunciation* and of the *Visitation of Saint Isabel*, as with the spaulder of the seats and the two capricious thrones placed one on each side of that space.

According to Robert Smith, Friar José de Santo António Ferreira Vilaça sought to transform the main chapel of the church of Pombeiro into a sumptuous French-like salon, sided by elegant stools leaning against a boarding of polychrome wood, and whimsically framed on top, windows and paintings reminisce, according to the author, the mirrors of those salons[35]. The source of inspiration, indeed taken from etchings that circulated in books, was images that recreated courtly environments. That observation is far from Vilaça's intent. That type of decoration was originally employed in the exquisiteness of courtly salons, however, the architect-sculptor artist adapted that aesthetic refinement to the sacred space, forcing the main chapel to assume Rococo traits and become perhaps more frivolous and mundane than the majesty and sumptuosity of the Baroque, but in essence a sacred space.

From Friar José Vilaça's second artistic stage, starting in the seventies, are the retables of the church's lateral naves, where a more linear style and the enhancement of the architectonic elements are in order, although with decorative notes of the purest Rococo.

After the main retable's completion, the monks of Pombeiro proceed with the transformation of their church, now replacing the retables in the naves. In 1776, they sold two retables from the body of the church, and in the following year, they placed four new retables of a more modern fashion.

The whole is formed by four retables, two pairs with different design, far from representing the best of this second stage of Friar José Vilaça's work. The first two were done in the triennium of 1774-1777[36], the one next to the Gospel being dedicated to Our Lady and the corresponding one next to the Epistle to Saint Anthony. The other set was made in 1777-1778, and features the invocations of *Our Lady of Sorrows* and *Christ Crucified and Souls*, respectively. In these, a more classical language emerges, with columns imitating lapis-lazuli and marmored polychromatism. In 1786, the Statutes refer "*that the two Altars of the Lady of Sorrows, and Holy Christ will be gilded and painted as marble*"[37].

Two pulpits are finely integrated in the church space, vis-à-vis, on each side of the central nave. Two pieces in golden and polychrome wood, dating from 1776-1777, and following suit of the artistic climate of this Rococo interior, illustrate the weight of preaching in this monastery's liturgical ritual.

At the church's entrance, in the first flight of the central nave and facing the main chapel, is the chancel, another essential element in the monastic sacred space. The clerics would go there several times during the day to, and according to the postulate of the Rule of St. Benedict, pray the divine offices, contemplating the temple's main chapel. The seats and organ are fundamental items in the choir.

A gold gilded structure of exquisite design covers the two pillars and ascends, defining a lacelike scallop,

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34 RODRIGUES, José Carlos Meneses – *Retábulos no Baixo Tâmega e no Vale do Sousa (séculos XVII-XIX)*. Vol. I. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2004, pp. 330-337.
35 SMITH, Robert C. – *Frei José de Santo António Ferreira Vilaça, escultor beneditino do século XVIII*. Vol. II, p. 490.
36 IDEM, *ibidem*, pp. 416-417.
37 IDEM, *ibidem*, pp. 457-458.

30. Cloister. Adopting a Neoclassic taste, the cloister's restoration was still taking place in the first quarter of the 19th century.

31. Cloister.

where wavy botanical shapes and architectonic elements entwine with angels and translate the Rococo repertoire. The same unity in style is also found in the seats, witnessed in the spaulders of fine botanical decoration, as in the shelving.

Since the Middle Ages, music is associated with the liturgical practices of the monastic unit, from Gregorian singing to the polyphony that characterizes the Baroque age. In Portugal, as in the rest of Europe, the instrument that best describes the Baroque sonority is the organ, and since the formation of the Congregation of the Black Monks of St. Benedict in Portugal, all Benedictine monasteries are endowed with that musical instrument[38]. If the monks became excellent professionals in the art of making organs, they were also reputed organists. Almost every monastic unit featured more than one monk with the duties of "organist monk". Pombeiro had two.

Naturally, this modernization of the old sacred space of Pombeiro also included the acquisition of a new organ for the monastic choir. In 1770, the *Statutes* of the Monastery record that "*The Box of the organ is being made and looks ready to start being laid. The organ is in Guimarães, almost done, thereby leaving some amount of money for adjustments*"[39]. In 1783, the new organ was already installed and was considered "*one of the best in the order*".

The execution of the organ of Pombeiro is associated to the organ-maker of Guimarães, D. Francisco António Solla.

38 DIAS, Geraldo J. A. Coelho – *O Órgão do Mosteiro Beneditino de Pombeiro – (Felgueiras)*. Porto: Annex of *Revista de História*. Vol. XIII. Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 1995, pp. 119-130.

39 IDEM, *ibidem*, pp. 119-130.

The start of the Modern times is signaled with the reconstruction of the old sacristies. The sumptuosity with which the liturgical rituals were performed and the infinite amount of vestments and equipments of noble materials, synonym of the institution's economical and material welfare, justify the creation of wider spaces. On the other hand, the preparation of the liturgical ritual within the Tridentine norm demanded a previous preparation from the celebrant before going to the altar where the Eucharist was publicly celebrated. Therefore, asides from the cabinets and arks to keep the cult objects, the sacristies acquire altars where the celebrant could, as an act of individual penance, prepare for the sacrifice of the mass. Pombeiro followed this same line tangential to the Portuguese sacred universe.

It is known that in 1568 the sacristy was a "*small sacristy with old cabinets with drawers where some liturgical objects are found.* Soon after, still prior to the turn of the 16th century, that antechamber of the Baroque liturgy was subject to reconstruction, which determined the current outlook. This explains the construction of a rectangular room and low ceiling, whose spatiality is punctuated by a set of five Ionic columns disposed over a slaking, corresponding, in the top wall, to the same number of pilasters of the same architectonic system. The purpose was to create a triple arcade in the wall, where retables were placed. In that room, which currently maintains the original spatiality, the decoration and the objects that compose the sacristy are already from of the second decade of the 19th century, one of the ultimate interventions in the centenary monastic ensemble. The time for extinction was quickly drawing near. In 1819, the *Statutes* record the purchase of new filling for the sacristy: "*three retables were made for the structure of the old sacristy so required, and two magnificent paintings by Gram Vasco were bought for them, and the third was made by Joaquim Rafael, as well as another to match the window*"[40].

The three retables with Christological theme – the central *Christ in the Cross*, sided by the *Descent*, and *Christ on the way to the Calvary* – accuse a Neoclassic structure, as does the ark framing them.

Once again, the transformation articulates a depurated spatiality of Mannerist root, with a Neoclassic ambiance provided by the interior arts.

Past and present in dialogue and harmony is the great lesson that the monks of Pombeiro passed on through the harmonization of architectures in renovated liturgical equipments, where more modern artistic vocabularies emerged.

In 1822, there were still works going on in the cloister, which was never finished, as well as the surrounding quarters. In the subsiding work there is evidence of a taste marked by the Neoclassic vocabulary. [MJMR]

32. Monastery façade, reformed in the Modern period, and Cross.

3. The monastery and the fencing in the 19th century

After the extinction of the male Religious Orders in Portugal in 1834, an inventory of the entire monastic patrimony was carried out with the purpose of recording the existing property and estate. The conduction of inventories by the Ministry of Finance made it possible to have public auctions or confiscations for the benefit of the State.

In the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro, the unamortization process would put a stop in the reconstruction of the monastic space, initiated after the fire caused by the looting of the French invasions.

40   DIAS; Geraldo J. A. Coelho – *O Mosteiro de Pombeiro e os beneditinos nas origens de Felgueiras,* "Felgueiras – Cidade". Felgueiras: Pelouro da Cultura da Câmara Municipal de Felgueiras. Year 1, No. 1, June 1993, pp. 41-52.

This process originated the fragmentation of the religious patrimony in the hands of the Benedictines of Pombeiro, contributing to the fast dilapidation of libraries and records, to the ruin and/or transformation of the monastic quarters, changing the initial purpose of the building and altering the physical patrimony of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro.

Based in the existing documental resources[41], it was possible to recompose the memory of the monastic ensemble of Pombeiro and the properties attached to it.

The inventory of the movable property belonging to Pombeiro comprehends its various dependencies, namely the refectory, the hospice, the kitchen, the oven, the cloister, the cloister's woodhouse, the barn, the register, the linen wardrobe, the infirmary, the friars' refectory, the hostelry's refectory, the table and silverware, the supplies, the cellar's *logeas*, the farming tools, the active debts, the passive debts, the charges of the pious legacies, the convent house, the rustic and urban buildings, the inner and outer fencing.

The church of Saint Mary of Pombeiro, part of the monastic building and the orchard were solicited by the Municipality of Felgueiras[42]. A part was granted to the parish, and another given to the Priest to live there and explore the orchard's plantation. A large part of the movable property, like kitchen ware, tools, farming hardware, clothes, silverware, and others, was bought in public auction.

The library's extensive bibliographic resources were divided into categories (theology, sermonaries, books of law, sciences, canonic law and general history), then moving all the books, titles, parchments and further *papers* from this inventoried register to the extinct Convent of Saint Francis of Guimarães[43].

Another key element of inventory no. 312 of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro is the information on the fencing, as well as the reference to farming products produced there.

The monastic fenced space is defined as a place for privacy, isolation, comfort of the body and spirit, where the feeling of collectivity of the Benedictine monks was preserved, away from the temptation and vice stimulated by the profane life in the outer world. It stands as a set of spaces built for work and leisure of the mind in the recreated nature.

The fence is a sectorial space, with different structured areas for farming exploration, like orchards, plantations, spaces for breeding animals (generally separated by draining ditches). There may also be other types of support constructions, like infirmaries, workshops, winepresses and dams. The recreation structure with small orchards, plantations and gardens, equipments related to the usage of water, as fountains, ornamental reservoirs, streams and wells, also featured other types of constructions and leisure equipments, as the refreshment houses, game houses and gazebos. Devotional buildings like chapels and oratories were included in the fenced area.

Besides these structures that composed the fencing of Pombeiro, the latter was divided in an inner fence and an outer fence. The first surrounded the monastic complex. It was smaller and characterized by composing an edified space where there was a floored house with porch, threshing floor, a silo and a hayloft. There was also a rural area occupied by an enclosed orchard, over the monastery's courtyard, with several kinds of fruit trees, vineyards, olive trees, gardens, flushes and meadows.

The outer fencing occupied a wider area, surrounded with walls, that comprehended farming lands, pine forest, chestnut trees, olive trees, wild fruit and vegetable orchards, olive presses, threshing floors and constructions destined for livestock breeding[44].

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41   IAN/TT, MF/Finance, box 2244, inventory no. 312, Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Pombeiro. ADB – Congregação de S. Bento (CSB), Vols. 319 to 320.
42   IDEM.
43   IDEM.
44   IDEM.

3.1. Restoration and conservation

Classified as a National Monument in June 23rd 1910, the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro would be bestowed with various restoration campaigns, with two crucial moments reflecting different intervention policies. From 1958 to 1987, the works were under the guidance of the DGEMN; from 1993 to 2006, the works were supervised by the IPPAR. [MB]

1958 – Rebuilding the Church roofing;

1960 – Roofing repair;

1961 – Building the lantern cupola and repairing the covers;

1962 – Rebuilding the roof of the left lateral nave;

1963 – Rebuilding the roofing of the lateral naves;

1964 – Consolidating the vault in the main chapel;

1965 – Rebuilding the coating in several parts of the ceilings in the main chapel, nave and apsioles, and general roofing repairs;

1969 – Cover maintenance;

1971 – Disassembling, painting, restoring and assembling the weathervane in the South side tower and general cleaning and repair of the roofing;

1974 – Strutting the sacristy in danger of collapsing, and cleaning and repairing the roofing;

1975 – Preserving, disassembling and rebuilding the strutted walls in the East and West façades of the body of the sacristy, and repairing the cover;

1976 – Miscellaneous works;

1977 – New covers in the lantern and main chapel areas, and repairing doors;

1978 – Several repairs, draining and checking up casings, gutters and ceilings;

1979 – Ceiling repairs and maintenance works;

1981 – Repair of the cloister wing adjacent to the Church;

1982 – Miscellaneous recovery works;

1983 – Maintenance of covers and the cloister pavement;

1986 – Maintenance of the lantern;

1987 – Draining, insulating pavements and general maintenance;

1993 – Recovering the covers;

1994/1995/2006 – Rehabilitating and recovering the façades, covers of the church, chancel and bell towers; exterior draining;

1997/1998/1999 – Archaeological surveys;

1998/1999 – Restoration works in the oratory of the first floor of the monastic quarters, recovery works in the West wing and restoring the sacristy;

2004/2007 – Archaeological surveys.

Chronology

1059 – Foundation of the Monastery, according to tradition;

1099 – The oldest documented reference to the Monastery;

1102 – D. Gomes Echiegues and his wife Gontroda sign a donation charter in favor of the Monastery;

1112 – The Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro is bestowed with a Land Charter;

1199 – Date engraved in an embedded panel by the Epistle, next to the cloister's access door. It is an epigraphy of funerary purpose reporting to D. Gonçalo, an abbot who performed an important part in the Monastery of Pombeiro, founding something [«Qui Fundavit…»]. This epitaph may indicate the start of the Romanesque factory of Pombeiro;

1252/1276 – Abbacy of D. Rodrigo, marking the architectonic peek of the monastery's medieval structure;

1427 – Commendatory abbots become responsible for the monasterial management;

1526-1556 – Abbacy of D. António de Melo;

1500-1530 – Approximate date of the mural painting program filling part of the church interior. A few fragments remain from this campaign in the apsioles and also in an uncovered arch in the wall of the nave to the South side;

1566 – The Congregation of the Black Monks of Saint Benedict of Portugal is created;

1568 – The Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro's main structures were severely ruined. Only the church featured a certain artistic nobilitation;

1569 – On September 14th the monastery is integrated in the Benedictine Congregation;

1584 – The 5th General Chapter of the Benedictine Congregation is held in Pombeiro;

1589 – A visit to the building is conducted, under Filipe II, leading to the renovation of the Monastery of Pombeiro;

1589 – Friar Bernardo de Braga is elected as the triennial abbot of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro, a nomination which gave rise to the triennial abbacy election system;

1629 – According to documentation, the towers of the façade were already built;

1719 – In March this year, the first stone is laid to build the Chapel of Saint Quiteria, raised over the Hermitage of Saint Peter, in the dependency of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro;

1719/1722 – Friar Bento da Ascenção's triennial rule takes place between 1719 and 1721, starting the renovation process that intended the monastery's Baroque modernization;

Works in the main façade and also in the transept of the monastery's church are carried out;

1760s – Start of the church's maintenance works that would grant a Rococo ambiance to it;

1770/1773 – During this triennium, the main chapel is totally rebuilt, the altarpiece ensemble corre-

sponding to the main altar being made during this period;

According to documentation, in 1770 the box for the church organ was made, as the latter was then be-

ing finished in Guimarães;

Intervention of the artist Friar José de Sato António Ferreira Vilaça;

1776 – The church transformation ensues. The church's lateral retables are sold;

Beginning of the execution of the pulpits, placed face to face in the church's central nave, being com-

pleted in the following year;

1777/1780 – In 1777, new structures in the modern fashion replace the former retables.

Two other lateral retables are made during this period;

1783 – The church organ of the monastery was already placed, being considered as "one of the best in

the order";

1809 – On May 13th, a great fire would destroy a large part of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro's

community area, the church being the sole building untouched by calamity;

1819 – In this year, and following the campaign initiated after the catastrophe that had hit the Monastery

years earlier, the reconstruction of the monastery's community area takes place: the Chapter Room, the

library, the hostelry, the barns, among others, are built;

Purchase of new filling for the sacristy;

1822 – Continuation of works in the cloister, which would never come to be completed;

1834 – Beginning of the process of extinction of the religious orders in Portugal;

1910 – On June 23rd, the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro is classified as National Monument;

1958/ 1987 – During these years, the DGEMN supervises the restoration of the various elements of the

complex, particularly focusing on the church;

1993/2006 – Rehabilitation and recovery of several structures under the supervision of the IPPAR.

church

CHURCH OF SAINT VINCENT OF SOUSA

CHURCH OF SAINT VINCENT OF SOUSA
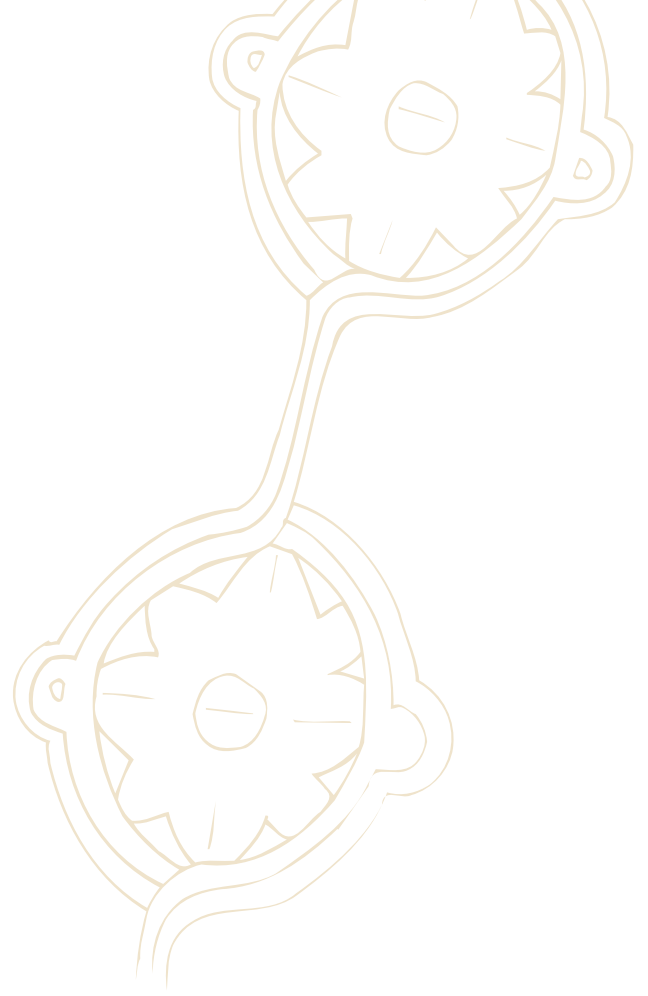
1. The church in the Middle Ages

The Church of Saint Vincent of Sousa, located in the municipality of Felgueiras, is an example of the building quality of the Portuguese Romanesque. This church corresponds to a highly significant testimony of the current that was forged in the Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), based on the Pre-Romanesque tradition and influenced by themes deriving from the Romanesque of Coimbra and the See of Porto, thereby creating what Manuel Monteiro called *nationalized Romanesque*.

The Church of Saint Vincent features two inscriptions from the Romanesque period that are of great importance in the analysis of its history.

1. The church of Saint Vincent of Sousa is a very well designed building with high quality construction.

2. West portal. The capitals and the lines of ashlars, featuring vegetal themes, are examples of a current forged in the Sousa Valley, based in the Pre-Romanesque tradition and influenced by themes from Coimbra and of the See of Porto.

3. Transept rebuilt in the Modern period, bell and arcosolium by which the inscription Era Mª CCª +. (year of 1162) is engraved.

The commemorative inscription of the church's dedication is engraved in the external face of the nave's wall, to the right of the North lateral portal of the temple, and states that the church was consecrated in August 14th 1214.

E(ra) M CC 2 II PR[i]DIE KaLendaS SepTemBRIS DEDICATA FUIT / EC(c)LesiaM S(an)CT(i) VINCENCII M(arti)RIS A BRAC(r)ARE(n)SI ARCHI / EP (iscop)O DMNO STEPHANO DOMNO FERNANDO / RE-IMUNDI PRELATO ISTIus EC(c) L(esi)E EXISTENTE

According to Mário Barroca, author of the reading of this inscription[1], it was engraved when the granite panels were already in the current position, that is, it is not a later reutilization, as it would often occur with medieval buildings, motivated by the prestige that the ancientness of these inscriptions would confer.
As the inscription testifies, the Dedication ceremony was presided by the Archbishop of Braga, D. Estêvão Soares da Silva, who occupied this seat between 1212 and 1228. The dedication was promoted by the church prelate, D. Fernando Raimundo. August 31st 1214 befell on a Sunday, as was recommended by the canon to conduct this type of ceremony.
The other inscription is even older, dating from 1162. It corresponds to a funerary or commemorative inscription of the construction of an arcosolium, opened in the exterior face of the main chapel's South wall and it states:

Era Mª CCª +.

1 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epifráfico Medieval Português. Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, pp. 679-681.

In Mário Barroca's opinion, the fact that this inscription is finished with a cross seems to indicate its funerary content, although the author considers that the cross may be a mason's initial. If the inscription corroborates the first possibility, then it is the oldest known exemplar found so far concerning the construction of an arcosolium of funerary purpose[2].

These two inscriptions allow us to state that the main chapel was the first part of the church to be raised, which is consistent with the traditional building rhythm of the Romanesque period. In fact, from what is known about construction methods in this period – in spite of the absence of documentation on the Romanesque workshops in Portugal – the work began with the construction of the transept, followed by the edification of the West façade, the nave walls being built afterwards. This process is certainly not the general rule, but the analysis of the walls and certain existing documentation in countries like France or England indicate the reality of this building process. It was also usual to consecrate the church's transept as soon as it was completed, so that cult celebration could take place while the remaining portions were being built.

The inscription of the arcosolium, assuring that the Romanesque transept was already built in the third quarter of the 12th century, is an important coordinate for the study of the history of Saint Vincent of Sousa. In the Modern Period, this portion of the church was remodeled, and so was the triumph arch that separates it from the nave, leaving only the platformed basing as the sole testimony from the Romanesque Period.

4. West façade. The portal is inserted in a pentagonal structure stemming from the façade, a usual solution in this region, as the church portals of Saint Mary of Airães and of the Savior of Unhão, both in the municipality of Felgueiras, demonstrate.

The church is built longitudinally with a single nave and a rectangular main chapel (rebuilt in the Modern Period), featuring a bell tower, raised like a wall, adjacent to main chapel's South façade.

It is a well designed building of great constructive quality, appearing to be a project that was carried out in one single go.

In the main façade, faced to the West, a portal is opened in a projecting pentagonal stone structure so that the portico may become deeper. This solution finds similar schemes in this region, namely in Saint Mary of Airães and in the Savior of Unhão, also in the municipality of Felgueiras, and is a way of making the main entrance look more solemn. Although the featured sculpture is of botanical theme and does not have any iconographic theme whatsoever, the detail in the portal's arrangement, as well as the quality shown in its sculpture, evince the symbolic value held by the portal in the Romanesque period.
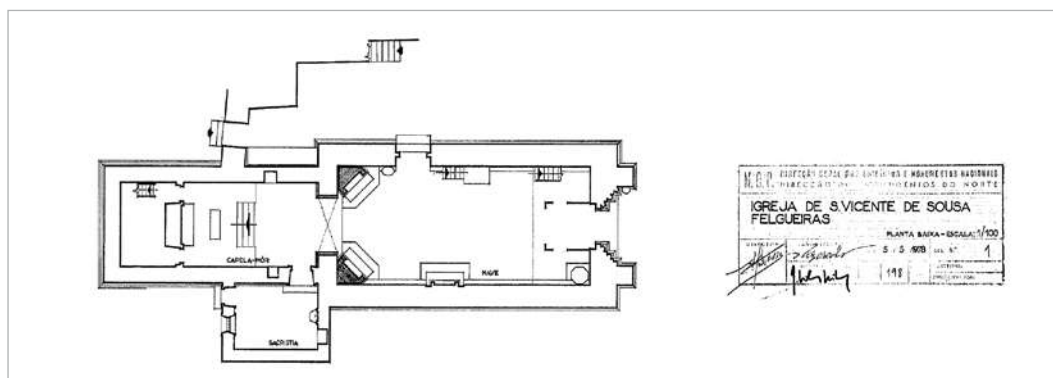
5. Map of the church before the restoration works conducted between 1936 and 1950.

2   BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epifráfico Medieval Português*. Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, p. 287.

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6. West portal. The beveled edge gilding of vegetal motives is one of the most curious characteristics of the Sousa Valley's Romanesque.

7. South façade. The drip course and corbels testify to the presence of a one story high porch or a cloister.

The solemnization of the portals has not always been a synonym of the execution of iconographic programs with imagery references, copying religious themes like the ones found in Saint Peter of Rates (Póvoa de Varzim), Saint Christopher of Rio Mau (Vila do Conde), the See of Braga or in the Savior of Bravães (Ponte da Barca), among others.

In the Basins of the Sousa and the Lower Tâmega rivers, one witnesses a greater esteem for programs resembling those of Saint Vincent of Sousa. However, the absence of figuration does not imply the absence of meaning. The attention given to its decoration, or better still, its *embellishment*, is in itself a way of symbolizing the portal as the *Gate of Heaven*.

In this sense, and as exemplified by the case of Saint Vincent of Sousa, the Portuguese Romanesque has very original approaches, that being one of its biggest manifestations, whereas the majority of the Portuguese constructions of the time lack great building programs, as seen in the French Romanesque or in the Romanesque of the Spaniard kingdoms of León, Castile or Navarre.

The portal is composed of four perfect archivolts supported on three columns with bulb-like bases, with plinth decorated by entwinings, cylindrical frustums alternated with prismatic frustums – a common solution in this region –, capitals and impost blocks ornamented with beveled botanical motives, with the peculiarity of a face shown in the edge of the exterior capital to the right. The archivolts resemble those of the axial portal of Paço de Sousa (Penafiel), and the most external one to the remaining portions the portal of the See of Porto for its floral composition chained in circles – a decorative model that is also possibly derived from Coimbra[3].

8. West portal. Capitals, lines of ashlars and archivolts with vegetal and geometric decoration. The absence of figures does not imply the absence of meaning. The attention given to this portal's decoration and the quality of its sculpture are, by themselves, a way of symbolizing the portal as the *Gate of Heaven*.

3   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico.* Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, p. 93.

9. West portal. The three internal archivolts resemble those of the Savior of Paço de Sousa's West portal (Penafiel), the external archivolt find parallels with reminiscent elements from the See of Porto's West portal.

The lateral façades are topped by small arches laid in plain corbels supporting the cornice, as in the case of Saint Mary of Airães (Felgueiras). The walls feature two illumination spans whose profile indicates that they were opened in the Modern Period, and a portal. The one on the North side comprehends two archivolts and a tympanum with the representation of a cross circled by entwinings, and the one on the South side is of plain structure and tympanum.

In the South façade, half the wall, a drip course runs over corbels, elements that bear witness to the presence of a roofed porch or the existence of a cloister. As usual in medieval constructions, the cloisters were on the South side, because it is the sunniest and warmest side, arranging the other monastic quarters around it, like the Chapter Room, the refectory and the dormitory, among others.

However, there are cases when, either for topographical reasons or regarding the urban tissue that the building is in, the cloister is located on the North side, as is the case of the Benedictine monastery of the Savior of Ganfei (Valença), the See of Braga and, already reaching the Gothic period, the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha.

The existence of porches to the South was very frequent for the same reasons and also for motives of symbolic nature, since the North side, in which porches, galilees or chapels are laid, was destined to funerary rituals and burials because it is the darkest side, of night and death. This is why we more seldom observe apotropaic sculpture, that is, with the capacity to ward off evil, in the Southernmost portals. It features animals with fierce appearance, like dogs, lions or serpents, hybrid and fantastic animals, like griffins and harpies, or just crosses surrounded by entwinings or pentagrams, Solomon's knots and other similar signs. Nevertheless, this type of sculpture is not exclusive to the portals located to the North, as the entwined cross of the tympanum in the South portal of Saint Vincent of Sousa shows. It is just more frequent in those cases.

10. West and South façades. The South façade is topped by a cornice over small arches, a common solution to Saint Mary of Airães (Felgueiras) and Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira).

The bell tower, adjacent to the South side, in spite of being topped with later elements, could correspond in its structure to the medieval bell tower. Note that its base supports an also medieval portal, indicating the relation between the church, the tower and the construction that used to be adjacent to the temple's South wall.

The belfries on the side or in front of the churches, forming an autonomous construction, were common. Examples subside in the lands between the Douro and Minho rivers, as in Saint Peter of Roriz (Santo Tirso), Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira) and Saint Christine of Serzedelo (Guimarães). [LR]

2. The church in the Modern Period

There is notice in 1758 regarding the church's interior composition: "The patron saint of this parish is Saint Vincent the martyr whose church has three altars; the largest belongs to the aforementioned patron, Saint Vincent, and the two collaterals, one of Our Lady of the Rosary and the other of Saint Joseph; has the brotherhood of the Subsino, and nothing more"[4]. The same was witnessed in 1726 by Francisco Craesbeeck, clarifying that the temple was very ancient, the altar collateral next to the Gospel featuring the invocation of *Our Lady of the Rosary*, and the corresponding one next to the Epistle presenting *Saint Joseph*. Back then, the church did not have a main retable[5].

The medieval outlook of the Church of Saint Vincent of Sousa is complemented by a series of elements added in the Modern Period, visible inside and outside the building, thereby contributing to the diversity of architectonic and artistic aspects that consequently ennoble the whole. Notice the main chapel, the sacristy and the bell tower as reconstructions from the early 18th century.

On an analysis of the exterior, we observe that large rectangular spans were torn in the lateral projections of the nave, from the medieval period, revealing the transformations introduced to the interior reading of the building in the Modern Period through the transformation of its illumination system. Indeed, one of the great concerns introduced in the sacred space of medieval origin was to increase its interior luminosity. The application of the Tridentine principles foresaw the improvement of the sacred space by resorting to new liturgical equipments, with a particular emphasis on the retables in golden and polychrome wood, the art of the glazed tile, painting and imagery. To make sure that these new artistic equipments fulfilled their didactic and catechistic purpose in the parish community, it was essential that the underlying messages were visible to the followers. Liturgically, we also witness a symbiosis between light and divine immanence.

The scenic sumptuosity used to celebrate the liturgical ritual in the Baroque era justifies the construction of new, wider main chapels, with windows torn in the lateral projections, obeying the decorum strictly commanded in the *Synodal Constitutions* of the 17th and 18th centuries to the churchgoers who participated in the Eucharist. It was mandatory to have a better illumination to offset its scarceness in the medieval buildings, and the temple's artificial illumination through candle light no longer satisfied the new cult needs.

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4 RODRIGUES, José Carlos Meneses – *Retábulos no Baixo Tâmega e no Vale do Sousa (séculos XVII-XIX)*. Vol. III. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2004, p.701.

5 CRAESBEECK, Francisco Xavier da Serra – *Memórias Ressuscitadas da Província de Entre Douro e Minho no ano de 1726*. Vol. II. Ponte de Lima: Edições Carvalhos de Basto, Lda., 1992, pp. 44-45.

11. Transept rebuilt in the Modern period. Altarpiece of c. 1730.

At the level of the transept, there are the several platformed volumes of the constructions adjacent to the main chapel, namely that of the sacristy, to the North, and the belfry, to the South. Rectangular and with some depth comparatively to the nave, the main chapel features a gabled roof, slightly lowered compared to the previous body. The lateral projections are hollowed by rectangular and squared windows, two on each side, and the back wall by two small-sized spans. The finishing of the main chapel's West projection shows a triangular pediment, with pyramids featuring a ball in the lateral vortices and a cross in the central vortex. Due to an inscription outside that space, it is known that these works were financed by a renowned member of the contemporary society:

ESTA. OBRA. MAN / DOU. FAZER. MANOEL. / D(E) AZEVEDO. DE. VAS/CONCELOS. FIDAL/GO. DA
CASA. DE. SUA. M(A)G(ESTADE)[6].

It is inside the building that the artistic elements from the renovations carried out in the 17th and 18th centuries are the most striking. Although the interior is rather simple at present, with barren walls in the nave, the presence of gilding in the collateral altars and especially in the main chapel, where it is mixed with the decoration of the sectioned ceiling, causes a decisive impact on the viewer.

The nave, with rather high ceiling and covered in wood of a perfect arch profile, features two cornered collateral altars, showing a Mannerist gold gilded altarpiece structure laying on an equally carved basing – altar table – of Rococo traits from the second half of the 18th century. These retables include painting and imagery, and follow an identical compositional structure. Their organization is done in three horizontal levels, corresponding to the base, the body of the retable and the top. Focusing on the intermediate

6 "This work was ordered by Manoel de Azevedo de Vasconcelos, nobleman of the house of His Majesty". CRAESBEECK, Francisco Xavier da Serra – *Memórias Ressuscitadas da Província de Entre Douro e Minho no ano de 1726*. Vol. II. Ponte de Lima: Edições Carvalhos de Basto, Lda., 1992, p. 701.

12. Transept rebuilt in the Modern period.
Altarpiece of c. 1730. Eucharistic throne.

level, it is possible to observe the definition of three vertical areas, stressed by the placing of columns in the lateral extremes and of two elegant pilasters on the inside. The spaces available on the sides feature rectangular panels with the representation of scenes allusive to the current iconographic program and, in some cases, with the respective captions. The corbel that marks the place for the imagery and also a small panel topping it present the central space.

Generally speaking, the design of these collateral altars is of classic matrix, a trait which is essentially noticeable in the composition of the architectonic micro-elements and also in certain details concerning their decoration. The latter is rather contained and punctuated with various botanical elements, such as palms and fruits, articulated with little cherubs.

Each collateral altar displays a specific iconographic program. The altar next to the Gospel and the one next to the Epistle are dedicated to the *Sorrowful Mystery of Christ* and to *Saint Joseph*, respectively. Another relevant aspect is that both altarpiece structures are dated, making it possible to confront the dates inscribed next to the corbels with information from documental sources. Therefore, the dates 1673 (by the Gospel) and 1674 (by the Epistle) report to the completion of the gilding, i.e., to the conclusion of the gold-plating and painting processes[7].

The triumph arch, with its rather heightened span in perfect arch, determines the separation between the nave and the main chapel space. The latter is stressed by the stylistic unity of its artistic elements, from which we draw your attention to the main retable's interesting gilded coating and also the ceiling's sectioned paintings.

13. Transept. Altarpiece of c. 1730. Sacrarium.

7 BRANDÃO, Domingos de Pinho – *Obra de Talha Dourada, Ensamblagem e Pintura na Cidade e na Diocese do Porto.* Vol. I. Porto: Of. Gráficos Reunidos, 1984, pp. 405-406.

The altarpiece ensemble of the main chapel is elevated in comparison to the nave, requiring us to climb five steps to be at the same level as its basing. With a date of execution close to 1730, the retable is directly laid on a granite stone block, on which two doors were opened on each side to lead to a space that must have corresponded to the former sacristy, considering that the current one, adjacent to the North, is a later addition. Stylistically speaking, it is a fine specimen of the national style: its structure is organized in concentric archivolts, where columns and toruses are twisted with abundant botanical decoration, combined with birds that are pecking grape clusters. The entirely gilded tribune of this retable supports the Eucharist throne.

To complete the exuberance of the whole, there is the pictoric program in the thirty panels of the ceiling, structured in sections that compose a weaving to frame the small paintings. From the iconographic point of view, we observe a cycle dedicated to the church's patron saint – Saint Vincent –, featuring a set of thirty scenes with details on the life and miracles of that saint.

This temple's modern component, mainly visible in the gilding and painting in its interior, along with a series of architectonic elements from the 17th and 18th centuries, indicate a transformation suffered by the devotional and liturgical practices. The adaptation of the medieval space to a new space was inevitable, suiting the Tridentine principles that regulated the new manifestations of religious cult.

2. 1. Iconographic programs of the altars and ceiling

The interior of the Church of Saint Vincent of Sousa holds a set of altarpiece gilded structures of striking quality. That nucleus is formed by two collateral altars in the space of the nave and a larger main retable in the main chapel. Complementing the gold gilded coating is the painting, revealed in small wood panels in the ceiling of the main chapel and also in small panels in the altarpiece structures of the nave's collateral altars.

The collateral retables, cornered in the angles of the wall next to the triumph arch, feature a Mannerist-like structure, presenting a rich iconography directly associated with Christological themes, namely, the *Crucifixion of Christ* and His family ties, in the altars next to the Gospel and next to the Epistle, respectively.

The collateral retable placed next to the Gospel was finished in 1672, and later in that same year, it was extended. In the following year, it was painted and gilded, as the date inscribed next to the corbel placed in the central axis of the structure certifies. This altar shows a compositional organization of architectonic root, since its composing elements are disposed as if the altarpiece structure was a micro-architecture. Therefore, we are presented with a *basing – columns/pilasters – entablature* sequence, vertically marked with two columns showing a frustum with spiraled relief – from its first third – placed in the lateral extremes, and also two elegant pilasters positioned on the projection's inner area, thereby defining the central strip. Eight small paintings occupy the two exterior vertical areas, four on each side. The central area is filled with a corbel that would shelter an image, and in its top there is another small painting depicting the *Sorrowful Mystery of Christ* (Jesus is carrying the cross towards the Golgotha). In the vertical area to the viewer's left are represented, from bottom to top, the following scenes: *Annunciation*, *Visitation*, *Nativity* and *Presentation of Jesus in the Temple*.

14. Transept. Crowning of the main altarpiece and ceiling composed of painted panels depicting a cycle devoted to Saint Vincent, the church's patron saint.

Moving to the vertical area to the altarpiece structure's right, it is possible to observe, from bottom to top, the following themes: *Jesus among the Doctors*, *Jesus' Prayer at the Orchard*, *Jesus Strapped to the Column* and *Ecce Homo*. To finish the set, another panel representing *Christ Crucified* is found in the central area of this retable's trimmed crowning.

The collateral retable next to the Epistle is dedicated to Saint Joseph, reporting specifically to a ramification of Christ's genealogy. Like the preceding altar, next to the corbel placed in the central area of the body of this structure, the date of the retable's painting and gilding is signaled, stating it would have occurred in 1674. As for this structure's organization, the composition visibly follows the same disposition as the collateral retable next to the Gospel, showing, however, a different iconographic theme. Therefore, in the retable's left area, from bottom to top, it is possible to observe the following scenes: *Nativity*, *Circumcision*, *Epiphany* and *Presentation of Jesus in the Temple*, a similar program to the one on the collateral retable next to the Gospel.
On top of the retable's central area, sided by two pilasters, is the representation of the scene of the *Angel Warning Saint Joseph*.
In the vertical area on the retable's right, from bottom to top, are four scenes reporting to the following episodes: *The Jesse Tree*, the *Election of the Virgin's Suitor*, *The Virgin's Wedding* and *Joseph's Dream*. In the crowning of the altarpiece structure another painting was added, presenting the scene of the *Flight into Egypt*.

In the space of the main chapel is a sizeable altarpiece ensemble, featuring gilding of great quality for its fine design and exquisite wood carving.

Although we have information of a contract dated from 1693 concerning master painter Pedro Machado Gomes from Guimarães, in which the artist and his team are declared responsible for painting and gilding the main retable, the altar's front and sectioned ceiling, only the ceiling has survived from that endeavor, because the current retable reveals a later artistic vocabulary. Without any documented proof to back it up, we place the construction of the main chapel's new retable around 1726, since, according to information from Craesbeeck, in this year the church "did not have a sacrarium", which may indicate that the main chapel was in construction.

The main retable is stylistically integrated in the national Baroque. It is directly supported on a granite stone structure, and features profuse decoration composed of the rolling of acanthi, small winged angels' heads and also birds, vine leaves and grape clusters, in a direct allusion to the Eucharist. As for the compositional organization, this retable has three concentric perfect arches framing a tribune that hosts a majestic Eucharist throne, whose base shows a group of pelicans, symbol of Divine Love. It is also important to mention that in the space created between the first and the second archivolts were included the representations of *Saint Peter*, next to the Gospel, and *Saint Paul*, next to the Epistle.

The ceiling in this space is completely covered by a sectioned structure with painting representing several episodes of the life of this church's patron saint, martyr Saint Vincent.

Although of the painting of the ceiling was adjudicated in 1693 to master Pedro Machado Gomes, from the city of Guimarães, the work would be reassigned to a painter from the same city, Manuel de Freitas. Twenty of the thirty panels were painted by Manuel de Freitas in 1693, while the ten corresponding to the last two rows next to the triumph arch are by another artist and were executed in the early 18th century, following suit of the extension of the main chapel[8].

Artist Manuel de Freitas lived in the city of Guimarães, where he was a painter and gilder. Being a local artist, his activity was not confined to the clientele that gravitated around that city. And so we find him in 1693, painting the figurative panels for the Church of Saint Vincent of Sousa that complement the art and the iconography of the main chapel of this parish church. In 1687 and 1689, the artist had performed the same duty in the church of the Mercy of Ponte da Barca, where he painted fifty panels for the church ceiling and the main chapel[9]. Comparing the paintings of Saint Vincent of Sousa with those remaining in this church, we observe an artist with a certain technical skill, namely in the mastery of perspective, synthetic in the depiction of man, resorting to landscape to frame the panel's theme.

The ceiling's iconographic cycle is composed of thirty small paintings on wood, which we may divide into two groups: representations of the life and martyrdom of Saint Vincent, in a total of twenty panels, properly numbered and featuring scenes like the *Ordaining of Saint Vincent*, *Torment of Saint Vincent*, *Whipping of Saint Vincent*, *Saint Vincent torn by iron hooks*, *Torture in a bed of flaming iron*, *Death of Saint Vincent*, *Saint Vincent thrown to the sea…*; and representations of the saint's miracles, which were possibly added upon the extension of the main chapel occurred in 1703, counting a total of ten panels regarding this group.

8 BRANDÃO, Domingos de Pinho – *Obra de Talha Dourada, Ensamblagem e Pintura na Cidade e na Diocese do Porto*. Vol. I. Porto: Of. Gráficos Reunidos, 1984, pp.761-774.

9 CARDONA, Paula Cristina Machado – *A Actividade Mecenática das Confrarias nas Matrizes do Vale do Lima nos Séculos XVII a XIX*. Vol. I. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2004, pp. 686-687.

The iconographic repertoire of this set, present in the gilding and in the painting, is an expression of a very particular sort of devotion, a consequence of the profound renovation that derived from the establishment of norms stipulated upon the Council of Trento. In this sense, the depicted forms, relative to saints and key figures in the history of the Catholic Church, more than instruments of worship, took on an especially didactical purpose. The painting and gilding seen in the Church of Saint Vincent were a fine example of the ideology promoted by the Roman Catholic Church in the Modern Period, using the lives of Christ and the martyr Saint Vincent as paradigms of perfection to the followers.

Thus, the arts of gilding and painting transformed that building, framing it in the artistic culture of the time and in the ideological precepts of the Post-Tridentine church.

In Portugal, the art of gilding, either for the artistic quality attained in certain pieces, or for the superior level of craftsmanship shown by some of the artists involved in the professional performance, is assumed as a privileged art in the Portuguese artistic context. The retable crafts follow the course of the remaining artistic expressions and stand as a resource for the renovation of the sacred space from the 17th to the early 20th century. The understanding of the sacred space of this period implies the knowledge and understanding of the art of gilding[10]. [MJMR/DGS]

15. Transept. Panels devoted to the life and miracles of Saint Vincent.

10 FERREIRA-ALVES, Natália Marinho – *A Arte da Talha no Porto na Época Moderna (Artistas e Clientela, Materiais e Técnica*). Vol. I. Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1989.

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4	9	8
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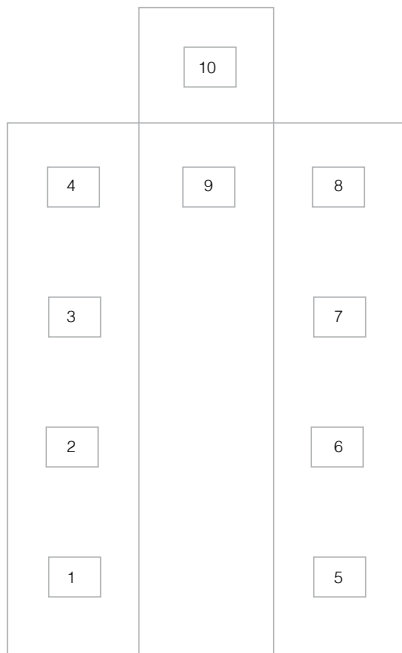
SCHEME 1

ICONOGRAPHICAL CYCLE OF THE COLLATERAL
ALTAR NEXT TO THE GOSPEL

1. *ANNUNCIATION*

2. *VISITATION*

3. *NATIVITY*

4. *PRESENTATION OF JESUS IN THE TEMPLE*

5. *JESUS AMONG THE DOCTORS*

6. *JESUS' PRAYER AT THE ORCHARD*

7. *JESUS STRAPPED TO THE COLUMN*

8. *ECCE HOMO*

9. *SORROWFUL MYSTERY OF CHRIST*

10. *CHRIST CRUCIFIED*

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8	9	4
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6		2
5		1
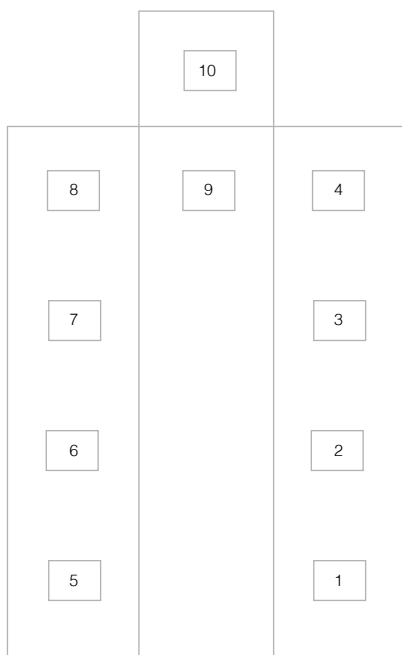
SCHEME 2

ICONOGRAPHICAL CYCLE OF THE COLLATERAL
ALTAR NEXT TO THE EPISTLE

1. *THE JESSE TREE*

2. *ELECTION OF THE VIRGIN'S SUITOR*

3. *THE VIRGIN'S WEDDING*

4. *JOSEPH'S DREAM*

5. *NATIVITY*

6. *CIRCUMCISION*

7. *EPIPHANY*

8. *PRESENTATION OF JESUS IN THE TEMPLE*

9. *ANGEL WARNING SAINT JOSEPH*

10. *FLIGHT INTO EGYPT*

3. Conservation and requalification

The campaign for the requalification of the Church of Saint Vincent of Sousa began in the 1980s. The church's conservation and requalification works were carried out at the Parish's expenses and supervised by the DGEMN. The conservation works were focused on the covers, exterior draining and electrical installation. In the 90s, maintenance was conducted in the roof and inside the church, namely in the ceilings and altars. Between 2004 and 2006, general conservation works were conducted in the entire building and surrounding landscape under the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project. [MB]

Chronology

1162 – The original transept was already built;

1214 – Church dedication by the archbishop of Braga, D. Estêvão Soares da Silva;

17th and 18th centuries – Remodeling and transforming the church; rebuilding the transept;

1980 – Conservation and requalification works conducted by the parish with the technical supervision of the DGEMN;

1989 – Conservation and requalification of the covers, exterior draining and electrical installation;

1992 – General maintenance of the covers, restoring the ceiling and altars;

2004/2006 – General conservation works under the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project, including interventions in the main chapel, bell tower, sacristy and retables.

church

CHURCH OF THE SAVIOR OF UNHÃO

CHURCH OF THE SAVIOR OF UNHÃO

1. The church in the Middle Ages

Located in the place of Igreja, parish of Unhão and municipality of Felgueiras, the Church of the Savior is a remarkable testimony of the Portuguese Romanesque architecture. The excellent quality of the main portal presents a set of botanical capitals, considered among the best sculpted in the Romanesque of the North of Portugal[1].

Regardless of transformations suffered in time, with profound alterations to the Romanesque construction, the epigraphy recording the church dedication, on January 28th 1165, was kept. This inscription is the old-est testimony of its history, since the known documented references only go as far back as 1220[2].

Engraved in the exterior of the nave's South wall, next to the corner of the West façade, the inscription claims:

1. In spite of the transformations suffered to the West, in the tower and transept, the church of the Savior of Unhão is an excellent testimonial of the Portuguese Romanesque architecture.

ERA MCC o III o DEDICATA / FUIT EC(c)LESIA ISTA o Per MANUS/
ARCHIEPISCOPI IOHaNNIS BRacHarENSIS / Vº KaLeNdaS F(e)B(rua)RII
o IN IUDICIO o MAGISTER o SISALDIS[?]

It is an inscription commemorating the church dedication and engraved, according to Mário Barroca, after the completion of the South wall, which provides a timeline either for that construction stage, or the temple's conclusion[3].

The church was dedicated by D. João Peculiar, Archbishop of Braga between 1138 and 1175.

1 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001, p. 121.

2 MOREIRA, Padre Domingos A. – "Freguesias da Diocese do Porto. Elementos Onomásticos Altimedievais". In *Boletim Cultural da Câmara Munici-pal do Porto.* 2ª Série, Vols. 7/8, Porto; Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1989/90, pp. 85-86.
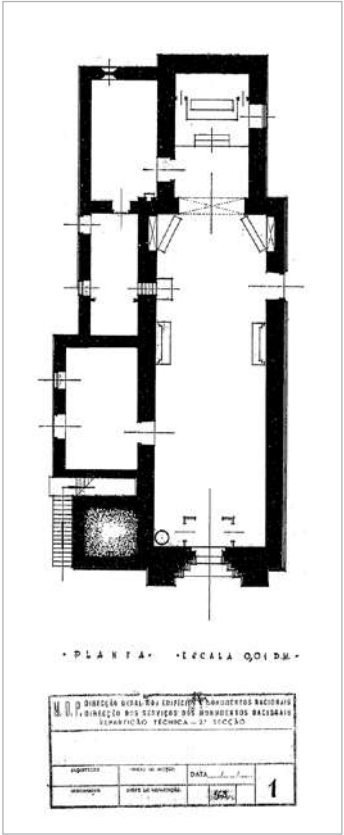
3 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epifráfico Medieval Português.* Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Cal-ouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, pp. 310-313.

2. South façade. A commemorative inscription of the church's dedication ceremony remains engraved at the corner of the West façade. This inscription mentions *Magister Sisaldus*, probably the master builder.

The reference to *Magister Sisaldis* and the existence of a series of initials with a big S seem to indicate the name of the Master of the work, a rare element in the panorama of Portuguese Romanesque architecture. However, the West portal's projection could not correspond to such an ancient date.

The church Consecration and Dedication ceremonies are two acts separated by very thin lines. Consecrating an altar meant the deposition of the relics of various saints and, of course, of the church's patron saint. According to Mário Barroca, the deposition of the relics during the altar consecration ceremony and the dedication of the Ara, corresponding to the dedication of the temple, were done simultaneously.

The church was dedicated and consecrated by the bishop who would cover the space of the temple, solemnly anointing the twelve consecration crosses engraved in the walls, aspersing the incense fumes and drawing a saltire cross on the ground, accompanied by the Alpha and the Omega[4]. To this day, the interior of several Romanesque churches displays these consecration crosses on the walls.

The Dedication of a church would start with its blessing and purification. The Bishop would bespatter the building with Holy Water, surrounding the temple three times and then entering, followed by clerics, and drawing the aforementioned saltire on ashes in the center of the church, facing the four angles. Over the cross, he would use the crosier to write the first and the last letter of the Greek alphabet[5], old symbols meaning the beginning and the end which surround the representation of Christ from the times of the Paleo-Christian art.

3. Map. The nave and the West façade from the Romanesque construction remain.

4   BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epifráfico Medieval Português.* Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, p. 312.
5   IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 313.

4. The mother church of Unhão maintains the nave from the Romanesque construction.

5. South façade. Corbels.

The altar table was then anointed in five places, and the interior walls were bespattered with Holy Water. Then, the crucial moment of the deposition of the relics, at the foot of the altar, preceded by solemn procession. The *loculus*, a space where relics were kept, was anointed and blessed, then receiving a mortar over which the relics would be placed. After closing and consecrating the altar's *loculus*, the Bishop would anoint the twelve Consecration crosses engraved in the church walls, and then returning to the altar where he would place five incense grains and five candles. After spreading incense throughout the space, a solemn mass was prayed in the presence of the followers[6].

This ceremony followed the Roman Ritual. In the 13th century, however, in the North of Portugal, the evolution of the consecration ceremony following the Ritual from Braga leads to the abandonment of some of the previously described aspects, like the use of ash to draw the cross, the Alpha and the Omega, and the deposition of the incense grains[7].

Furthermore, these ceremonies did not imply that the temple's construction was entirely completed. In several Romanesque and Gothic Portuguese churches, whose works were largely extended in time and sometimes suffered prolonged interruptions, the consecration was conducted in the portion built so far, as long as it insured the necessary conditions for cult celebration. The Portuguese Romanesque has many cases of churches that were consecrated more than once.

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It is possible that the South wall of the Church of the Savior of Unhão, where the epigraphy remains, was preserved, albeit partially, in the construction from the 13th century. It is frequent to respect this type of inscription. There are examples of its reuse in subsequent buildings, as well as cases where the inscriptions were enhanced or even remade, originating errors in the copying, as seen in the tympanum of the West portal of the church of Saint Peter of Rubiães (Paredes de Coura). The antiqueness of a foundation was always cherished and seen as prestigious, especially because curiosity and the value attributed to the past are structural coordinates of man.

The renovations occurred in the 18th century totally altered the transept, preventing a deeper analysis of the medieval construction to ascertain if it is a case where only the façade was altered in the 13th century or if this campaign covered other portions of the church, having kept the part of the South wall where the inscription is.

According to C. A. Ferreira de Almeida, the West portal is probably a work from the first half of the 13th century, comparable to the churches of Saint Peter of Ferreira (Paços de Ferreira), Saint Vincent of Sousa and Saint Mary of Airães, these two also located in the municipality of Felgueiras[8].

The mother church of Unhão, of longitudinal shape, still features the nave from the Romanesque construction, the main chapel corresponding to a construction from the Modern Period. The bell tower incorporated in the main façade should belong to the 18th century. Although the tower's upper part is clearly from that period, its construction may have resulted from the existence of a medieval bell tower, already incorporated in the façade, as the tower of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Cête (Paredes).

The main façade, oriented to the West, is topped by an 18th-century arrangement, but maintains the portal and crevice from the Romanesque period.

6   BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epifráfico Medieval Português*. Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, pp. 313-314.
7   IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 315.
8   ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de – *História da Arte em Portugal. O Românico*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1986, p. 93.

6. West façade. The portal, encased in a stone structure, has a construction projection similar to that of the church façades of Saint Vincent of Sousa and Saint Mary of Airães, also in the municipality of Felgueiras.

7. West portal. The capitals featuring botanical themes are found among the best sculpted in all the North of Portugal's Romanesque.

The portal is inserted in a pentagonal stone structure, projecting from the façade so it may be deeper, a somewhat frequent organization in this region, as shown by the churches of Saint Vincent of Sousa and Saint Mary of Airães.

It has four perfect archivolts, the exterior one ornamented by a chequered framing, a much used decorative theme in Portuguese Romanesque.

The archivolts are supported by columns with an either circular or prismatic frustum, as in the church of Saint Vincent of Sousa, with capitals decorated with very well distributed botanical elements in the basket. The impost block is sculpted with simplified palms deriving influences from Braga, and the tympanum features a hollowed cross pattée, surrounded by entwinings, a familiar approach to that of the tympanum of the See of Braga's South portal.

In Unhão we find a mixture of local decorative alternatives and others from the region of Braga. This is actually one of the characteristics of the Romanesque art that demonstrates the circulation of the models and the itinerancy of the artist crews. In the territory between the Douro and Minho rivers, these dialectal aspects vary a great deal – in spite of the proximity between churches and the close-knit parish network, generally clustered around the hydrographical basins – in a wide array of approaches both in sculpture and in the arrangement of the façade's projections, demonstrating the many regionalized currents of the Romanesque in Portugal and the appreciation for variety in the embellishment of the temples.

This sort of distribution of the Romanesque churches is also derived from the process of territorial organization and consolidation of the kingdom, the type of colonization, scattered and with very deep roots, as well as the chosen location for the construction of parish monasteries and churches in well-irrigated areas, in this region's narrow and fertile valleys, overlooking the fens, the woods and the hills, essential in an economy based on agriculture and animal husbandry.

8. West portal. Capitals.

9. West portal. The decorative motive in the line of ashlars is the result of the evolution of the classic wedge.

10. West portal. Capitals.

In the Romanesque church's exterior, sculpture is concentrated in the portals, the illumination openings, with especial emphasis on the transept's crevice or crevices, in the corbels usually sustaining the cornices, and in the capitals and bases of the adjacent columns. Inside, it is likewise in the capitals, especially the capitals of the triumph arch, that it is concentrated, but also in the bases, which in the Portuguese Romanesque tend to get botanical, geometrical and also figurative sculpture.

This concentration of sculpture in very specific places and architectural elements (seeing that the wall surface is deprived of it) has building and symbolical motivations. In Portugal, portal sculpture tends to follow two complementary directions. One is of apotropaic motivation, i.e., destined to protect the church entrance and the burial space, and the other represents iconographic themes related to the divine.

The first comprehends themes like crosses, frightening animals and magical signs, like knots of Solomon, swastikas and rosettes.

Among these themes, we include the hollowed cross protected by a circle and surrounded by lacing, present in the tympanum of the Savior of Unhão's main portal. The choice of themes like this one and its somewhat systematic usage indicate their significant importance and the usual conception of temple's portals in the Romanesque period. An epigraphy in the portal of Saint Peter of the Eagles (Tabuaço) beseeches "the God of the Armies to defend the entrance and the exit of this temple".

11. West portal. At the tympanum, the hollowed cross surrounded with entwining corresponds to a common theme in Portuguese Romanesque.

D(omi)N(u)S EXERCITUM : CUSTO[di]/ AT : HUIus : TEMPLI :
INTROI/TUM ET EXITUM[9]

9 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *Epigrafia Medieval Portuguesa (862-1422). Corpus Epífráfico Medieval Português*. Vol. II, T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2000, p. 601.

This epigraphy, probably from the 12th century, as well as the inscriptions documenting the churches' consecration in tympanums or in portals' thresholds, has the same meaning. "They insured that *terribilis est locus iste*, according to the words in the consecration ritual, for the sacred is ambivalent, it protects but it also punished those who fail to respect it"[10].

According to Mário Barroca, Saint Peter of the Eagles' inscription is inspired in the texts of the Psalms, particularly Psalm 121,8: «*Dominus Custodiat Introitum Tuum et Exiitum Tuum*». This excerpt is engraved in about forty door lintels in Christian Syria. The same author notes that, in several Psalms, God is known as *Lord of the Armies*[11].

The fundamentally botanical sculpture of the Savior of Unhão's axial portal does not leave a special attention to arrangement behind. The hollowed cross motive in the tympanum shows a particular concern with the presence of this sort of signs to protect the temples. In Portuguese Romanesque sculpture there is no need for figurative motives to grant the program with an intention. In fact, and to be more accurate, one should not speak of decorative sculpture when the motives are simply geometrical or botanical. The fact that sculpture is focused on the portals is in itself a proof of the symbolism attributed to the portal.

This is one of the most fascinating aspects of the Portuguese Romanesque. [LR]

2. The church in the Modern Period

The interventions that altered this building's medieval trait occurred mostly in the 17th and 18th centuries, and are witnessed both outside and inside the building. In the façade, to the North side, the bell tower stands as a volumetric collage to the structure of the medieval frontispiece. In the erected ensemble, architectonic elements of two distinct stages coexist, albeit separated by over three centuries. However, when analyzing its interior, a conception guided by the artistic approaches that describe the sacred space of the Modern Period makes its point for the volume, light, and artistic components (in this case, gilding, tiling and painting).

2.1. Architecture, bell tower and via-sacra

In the parish network, a great number of originally medieval churches was endowed, during the 17th and 18th centuries, with higher and more monumental bell towers, imposing the church's presence in the landscape. The importance of the bell tower delves in the medieval context. In the North of Portugal, this architectonic equipment carried great investments by the local communities, who granted great meaning to it. It was the bell tower that dictated the life of the parish collective. The toll of the bells from the imposing

10 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de – *O Românico. História da Arte em Portugal*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001, p. 155.
11 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *op. cit*, p. 602.

12. North façade. The bell tower, the sacristy and the Via Sacra correspond to elements from the Modern period.

parish tower marked the daily compass: the day began with the calling to mass; late in the morning, noon would announce a meal time; in the evening, the Hail Mary let the peasants occupied in rural labor know that it was time to finish work and return home. But the bells would toll for life as they would toll for death. The sound cadence and the rhythm imposed by the bell boy would work as a code known and interpreted only by the rural population. Scattered in the fields that formed the parish area, upon hearing the sound of the bell over the sounds of the nature, men were informed of the events that defined time's metamorphosis, whether in the parish micro-space or in the national context. It informed the parish of death and birth, of marriage and christening of the country's reigning figures, as it would also call to self-recollection and individual prayer. When the parish's tranquility was disturbed by agitation and somersault, it would toll ceaselessly: sounds of war, sounds of fire, sounds of plundering – these were information transmitted by the bell to the community. And so, the bell toll was a vehicle of neighborly unity. The higher the bell tower, the farther the news traveled.

It is not odd that during the 17th and 18th centuries the bell towers of the parish churches were seldom renovated and enhanced, always in the sense of dominating the natural landscape, as it is also not odd to witness the parishioners' efforts to purchase more majestic bells for the tower. It was in the city of Braga that one would find the foundries for the bells that equipped the majority of the parish church towers in Northern Portugal in the Modern Period.

13. The transept was rebuilt under the late 17th and early 18th century restoration.

Asides from the squared structure of the Church of Unhão's bell tower, there are also other architectonic additions in the exterior dating from the 17th and 18th centuries. For instance, the main façade received, as if to finish the pediment's axial angle, two bulb-like pyramids framing a cross over a base decorated with two volutes. During that Modern Period renovation several volumes were also added to the North lateral projection, where we bring your attention to the sacristy. Asides from that, a result of this architectonic campaign, presumably carried out in the second half of the 17th century-early 18th century, is the construction of a new sacristy and the main chapel.

The via-sacra or sacred way found around the church is also from the Modern Period, each cross corresponding to a step of the *Passion of Christ*. With the promotion of the Christological cult after the Council of Trento, came large sanctuaries staging the sorrowful path of Christ to the *Calvary*. The most complete and complex example of that Baroque enactment is seen in the Sanctuary of Good Jesus, in Braga. In the region of Felgueiras, mention goes to the Calvary of Caramos, from the 17th-18th century.
Assimilated by the parishes' modern religiousness, this Christological phenomenon originated the construction of small chapels, the Steps, along an itinerary that culminated in a church. This path was used for procession parades, especially during the Holy Week ceremonies. When there were no financial resources, instead of chapels, there would be just crosses with the transitory display of the various *Steps of the Passion of Christ*. The group of crosses surrounding the Church of Unhão is an example of that.

In this architectonic campaign for the adaptation and transformation of a medieval sacred space to the new liturgical requirements determined during the Tridentine renovation, the nave's lateral walls were raised, as we can see in the stone bonding, and the rectangular windows were opened, highly contributing to the improvement of that space's interior luminosity. If, on one hand, the justification for all these renovations in the medieval church is found in the liturgy of the Modern Times, on the other, it also derived from the new artistic coordinates that guided sacred art. The evolution of religious art follows the general trend of the art of each period.

2.2. Gilding, painting and tiling

Nevertheless, it is inside the building that the most striking artistic aspects reside, resulting from the adaptation of the medieval space to the new demands arising from the revision of the liturgical practices after the Council of Trento. In fact, there are still countless elements from the Modern Period found not only in the main chapel, but also in the nave space. The gilded altarpiece structures, from different time periods and present in the nave and in the main chapel, are the elements that best demonstrate that transformation, not to mention the tiling in the main chapel's lateral projections consisting of patterned glazed tiles, following a popular trend from the 17th century. The patterned tile is the first formula to animate the main chapels' lateral projections, contributing to their artistic requalification.

Close to the year of 1726, according to Francisco Craesbeeck's record, the body of the church had four altars, two collateral and two lateral. Thus, next to the Gospel was the altar dedicated to *God Child*, another relative to *Saint Sebastian* and yet another to *Saint Anthony*. Next to the Epistle was the altar of *Our*

Lady of the Rosary, related to the homonymous brotherhood composed of followers of that parish. Over the main chapel is a reference to a representation of the *Transfiguration of Christ* which used to be above the sacrarium[12]. However, in 1758, the church already had five altars, whose invocations are named in the following document:

"This parish's patron saint is the Savior of Unhão, the church has five altars, notably the main altar with the throne of the Holy Sacrament, another altar next to the Epistle for Our Lady of the Rosary, next to the Gospel is the God Child's, and Saint Sebastian's, and another for Saint Anthony by the church's side, and these are only four; and this church has a great brotherhood with Our Lady of the Rosary placed in the same altar of the same Lady, and has two daily masses for the living and deceased, this church has two privileged altars one in each altar each week, and has no naves"[13].

According to these details, it is still possible to find some fragments related to this description in the group of imagery seen inside the church.

This temple's nave is covered by a curved wood ceiling, totally painted with stars and a sun in the middle in a direct allusion to the celestial universe. Next to the triumph arch are two collateral retables in the corner and then two lateral retables. These 19th-century altars are painted in white and gold in clear Neoclassic fashion, with a certain containment in the design, from the decorative point of view, and a structure of purely classic matrix, as seen in the compositional elements applied.

From the imagery ensemble displayed in these retables, we point out the aesthetic quality of the image of *Our Lady of the Rosary*, placed in the collateral altar next to the Epistle, the images of *Saint Anthony* and *Saint Sebastian*, seen in the lateral altar next to the Gospel, which should be the ones referred by Craesbeeck in 1726. The image of *Our Lady of Conception*, placed in the niche of the lateral altar next to the Epistle is also worthy of mention.

14. Pulpit. Early 17th century.

Still in the nave, observe the interesting and singular pulpit located in the wall next to the Gospel, possibly contemporaneous with the main retable, that is, from the early 18th century. With plain design and in a squared granite base, this piece features a rim formed by three wood panels with delicate polychrome painting. These represent small *putti* accompanied by strips with captions of biblical passages associated to the act of preaching. Therefore, the lateral panel on the left side states:

«QUI VOS AUDIT ME /AUDIT./ LU C.10», in the frontal panel «ESTOTE FACTORES VERBI & NON AUDI/ TORES TANTUM FALENTEVOS/ MET/ IPSOS.» and finally, in the lateral panel to the right «NON ENIM AUDITORES SED FAC/TORES LEGIS EUSTIFICAB/UNTUR./AC ROM.3.13».

12 Cf. CRAESBEECK, Francisco Xavier da Serra – *Memórias Ressuscitadas da Província de Entre Douro e Minho no ano de 1726*. Vol. II. Ponte de Lima: Ed. Carvalhos de Basto Lda., 1992, pp.197-200.

13 1758's Parish Memories published by RODRIGUES, José Carlos Meneses – *Retábulos no Baixo Tâmega e no Vale do Sousa (séculos XVII-XIX)*. Vol. III. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2004, p. 703.

In spite of its simplicity, this is a high quality piece, a fact that can be partly justified by the exceptional character of its artistic traits.

Nevertheless, it is in the main chapel that the essence of the Baroque artistic language, frequent in the Portuguese sacred interiors of the 17th and 18th centuries, is most visible. The artistic preciousness of the golden gilding is harmoniously articulated with the polychrome tiling, and the whole would be even more complete if the ceiling with sculpted and painted sections featured in this space up until a few years ago had survived to our days.

Although partially modified, the main altar's altarpiece structure presents gilding in the national style. The organization of the retable evolves according to a structure of concentrical arches, defined by twisted columns and respective torus, granting it some depth and enveloping the tribune, which has lost the original Eucharist throne, its place now occupied by an element resulting from a recent intervention. An exuberant decoration fills this retable's entire carved surface, depicting vine leaves, grape clusters, birds and children combined with surfaces filled by the rolling of acanthus leaves and winged angel heads.

From the 17th century, the tiling in the main chapel is composed of multiple polychrome units forming repetitive modules. These modules, in turn, make a pattern whose multiplication derives into an enormous ceramic tapestry covering the entire lateral walls of the main chapel. This tapestry's composition used a 6x6 pattern, drawn in white, yellow and orange on blue background[14].

15. Panel of glazed tiles from the main chapel. 17th century.

14 This pattern was identified by Santos Simões as P-604. See SIMÕES, J.M. dos Santos – *Azulejaria em Portugal no Século XVII*. 2nd Edition. T. I. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997, p.114.

The pattern's rotation axis is a small saltire cross drawn in white and decorated with botanical elements painted in orange. Surrounding the small cross all around is a botanical element drawn in white and bordered in yellow and blue, creating a quadrilobe whose terminations derive into palms, two of them turned to the inside and the other two to the outside. Entwined in this first quadrilobe is a second, drawn from a large yellow strip with orange border, whose terminations are also palms directed towards the exterior, finding another cruciform element with small palm terminations. There is also a third element placed in the middle of the sequence of chained white and yellow alternated quadrilobes. It is painted in white, blue and yellow, and draws a cross whose angles create four palms from the rotation axis, thus completing the marking of the diagonal lines in the whole.

Working as a frame, in the projections' lateral extremities and in the borders surrounding the sacristy's access span, the composition is enveloped by a yellow-rimmed bar drawn on blue background, whose decoration consists in the application of botanical elements conjugated with small flowers, stems and pearls painted in white and yellow.

The main chapel is, undoubtedly, the space that best conveys the imperative trend for the late 17th-century Portuguese sacred interiors. The golden gilding articulated with the application of polychrome glazed tile originates an ambiance filled with stimulation to the senses, extremely appealing to the eye of the beholder, barely reminding him that the building is originally medieval.

It is particularly the balanced combination of the architectonic elements from the Medieval Period and the artistic components from the 17th and 18th centuries that makes this building's identity. The patrimonial value of the Church of the Savior of Unhão lies precisely in the peaceful conjugation of countless elements from different time periods, resulting in a rather harmonious aesthetic whole. [MJMR/DGS]

3. Restoration and conservation

The conservation of the Church of the Savior of Unhão began in 1968, with general repairs and conservation works. In 1994, more considerable works were carried out, like fixing, preserving and improving inner and outer batters and the large windows.

In 2002, the choir undergoes restoration works. Between 2004 and 2006, several conservation and restoration works are conducted in the church within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project. [MB]

Chronology

12th century – (1165) Church consecration;

12th-13th century (first half) – Construction of the church;

17th-18th centuries – Reconstruction of the main chapel, sacristy and bell tower, placing altars, glazed tiling;

19th century – Placing the nave's altars;

1968 – Repair and conservation works;

1988 – Repairing covers, exterior maintenance and general improvement;

1989 – Paving the main chapel and the exteriors;

1991 – Exterior draining, consolidation works;

1993 – Cover repairs;

1994 – Fixing inner and outer batters, preserving the large windows;

1997 – General conservation and maintenance of the batters;

1999 – Installation of the bell and clock;

2002 – Restoration works in the choir;

2004/2006 – Conservation and restoration of the retables in the main chapel and nave; archaeological supervision of the cabling under the pavement in front of the parvis; conservation of the nave's ceiling, the tiling and the pulpit; general conservation works in the covers, batters, span, and exterior maintenance conducted within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley*.
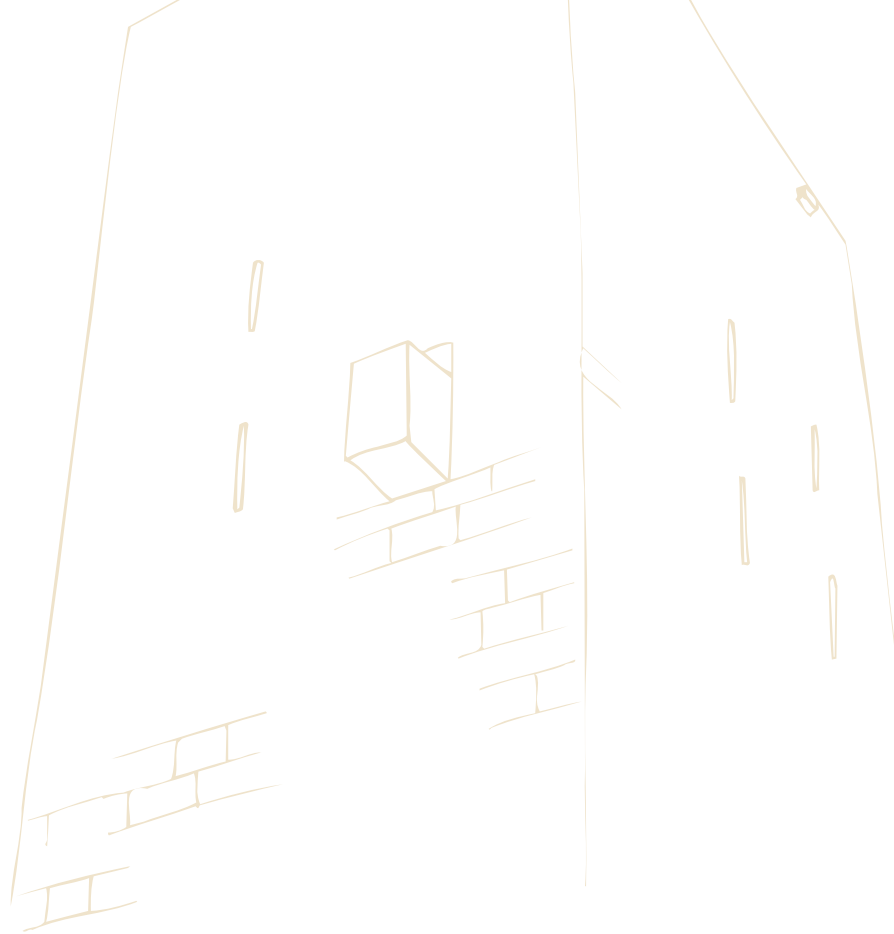
tower

TOWER OF VILAR

TOWER OF VILAR

Raised in the place of Torre, in the limit of the parish of Vilar do Torno e Alentém, in the municipality of Lousada, the Tower of Vilar is over 45 feet tall, on the top of a fen overlooking a fertile and well irrigated valley. According to 1258's *Inquiries*, *Sancte Marie* of Vilar was an Honor of D. Gil Martins and his descendants, of the Riba Vizela lineage. Gil Martins is the nobleman referred in those *Inquiries* as the owner of four farming estates in the *collation* of Santa Maria de Vilar. Married to one of the most important heiresses of the Lords of Maia, Maria Anes da Maia, he is credited with the construction of this Tower.

In 1367, king D. Fernando donates Vilar do Torno, Unhão and Meinedo to Aires Gomes da Silva, and the possession of the Tower remained in the same family throughout the 15th century. As the documentation from the chancellery of D. Duarte states, the king makes a concession to his grand-nephew Aires Gomes da Silva in 1434, explicitly referring the Tower of Vilar[1].

1. Built on a hilltop, the Tower of Vilar rules over a fertile and well irrigated valley. It epitomizes the way in which stately towers were erected: either at the center of Feudal Estates or at the outskirts of farmed lands.

1 Cf. documentation quoted in Various Authors – "Torre de Vilar". In *Estudo de Valorização e Salvaguarda das Envolventes aos Monumentos da Rota do Românico do Vale do Sousa. 2ª Fase*. Vol. 2, Porto, 2005, p. 251.

2. The Tower's walls are laid directly over the granite rock.

3. The Tower of Vilar rises over a granite layer crowning a small elevation.

The Tower of Vilar, probably built between the second half of the 13th century and the early 14th century, is more than a military construction – it is a symbol of lordly power over the territory.

Mário Barroca, who dedicated an in-depth study to this subject, points out that these stately towers were mainly set either in the middle of the Honors, in fertile valleys of farming wet crops, or in the vicinity of those farmed patches. It is also frequent to see them close to woods and mountains, picking more recently cleared lands with the purpose of steering from the more densely occupied lands from the feudal point of view. In these lands, the new lineages faced bigger difficulties in their craving for affirmation, due to the former establishment of older families with a more rooted dominion.

Tower of Vilar is an example of this sort of implementation, as Mário Barroca states, along with the Tower of Pousada (Azurém – Guimarães), the Tower of Dornelas (Amares), the Tower of Oriz (Vila Verde), the Palace of Giela (Arcos de Valdevez), the Palace of Curutelo (Ponte de Lima), the Tower of Lourosa do Campo (Arouca) and the Tower of Quintela (Vila Marim – Vila Real)[2].

The Tower of Vilar raises its rectangular shape over a granite flourishing that tops a small elevation.

As explained in a study by the DREMN, the forty-inch thick walls are directly laid in the granite rock.

The Tower is built with excellent bonding of granite masonry, showing the mason's initials. Furthermore, the height corresponding to five stories is maintained. The façades feature several merlons and two rectangular windows, without any surviving structures or secondary elements in wood. However, various levels of projecting corbels remain, composing the supports for the roofing frameworks of four stories.

2   BARROCA, Mário Jorge – "Torres, Casas-Torres ou Casas-Fortes. A Concepção do Espaço de Habitação da Pequena e Média Nobreza na Baixa
    Idade Média (Sécs. XII-XV)". In *Revista de História das Ideias. A Cultura da Nobreza*. Vol. 19. Coimbra: Instituto de História das Ideias. Faculdade
    de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1998, p. 67.

Inside, there are embedded niches, taking advantage of the walls' thickness and testifying this tower's residential purpose.

The Southeast façade presents a rectangular door span at the level of the second floor, opened after the original construction, whose access was made through a wooden staircase. Inside, there are traces on the walls, such as corbels and balk crevices, corresponding to the roofing frameworks for four stories. A fifth and final floor would correspond to the fortified wall surrounding the top, finishing in a narrower crenelated wall which would support merlons, lost in the meantime[3].

According to the investigation carried out in the last years by Mário Barroca, the North of Portugal presents two types of feudal residence in the Gothic period: the noble palace and the *domus fortis*[4]. If the noble palace, usually associated to high and middle nobility, does not follow a typological architectural structure, frequently being composed of various autonomous buildings, the *domus fortis* follows a model related to castle architecture, corresponding to a fortified stately residence, whose origin would be close to the last quarter of the 12th century, although its model is widely spread in the 13th and 14th centuries. This model was mainly adopted by small lineages, highly motivated in their social rise next to the local communities[5] and in displaying their pedigree. This process que occurred between the late 12th century and the first half of the 13th century, and was spread throughout the 14th century[6].

The *domus fortis* is composed of several elements. Nevertheless, it is the squared tower that bestows upon this dwelling a sense of physical and symbolical fortification. It is usually composed of four stories, each corresponding to a single room. As with the Watchtowers, it was at the first floor and not at the ground floor level that one would find the main entrance. The latter was destined to the Room or *Court*, progressively saving the upper floors for more private spaces. The tower was topped with battlements, an element of high symbolic character, whose existence granted the tower the judicial quality of a fortified construction. Asides from the tower, it was also usual to add a squared building with two stories to the *domus fortis*, either adjacent to it or isolated. In some cases, there is also a chapel, as is the case of the Tower of Vasconcelos (Amares-Braga). However, part of the fortified feudal residence were other structures like the kitchen which, for safety reasons, was usually set in an autonomous building, close to water sources or small streams. There is no trace left from this element, in spite of documented reference to its existence[7].

The majority of the exemplars of *domus fortis* is in the North and Center of Portugal, consecrating the territories of former feudal estates. Some were maintained as a symbol of the lineages' ancient roots, along with completely renovated manors from later periods, as the Tower of Aguiã (Arcos de Valdevez), the Tower of Refóios (Ponte de Lima), the Tower of Gomariz (Vila Verde), the Tower of Castro (Amares) or the Honors of Faralães (Barcelos) and Barbosa (Penafiel), among others. In other cases, the towers were kept isolated, like the Tower of Silva (Vila Nova de Cerveira), the Tower of Quintela (Vila Marim –Vila Real), the Tower of Oriz and the Tower of Penegate (Vila Verde), among other examples[8].

5. Projecting corbels subsist inside the Tower. They used to be the supports for the four stories high roofing framework.

6. Entrance span, opened later on, from which the exterior was accessed through a wooden staircase.

3 Various Authors – "Torre de Vilar". *Estudo de Valorização e Salvaguarda das Envolventes aos Monumentos da Rota do Românico do Vale do Sousa. 2ª Fase.* Vol. 2. Porto, 2005, p. 252.

4 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de and BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *O Gótico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2002, pp. 124-128.

5 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 103.

6 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 105.

7 BARROCA, Mário Jorge – "Torres, Casas-Torres ou Casas-Fortes. A Concepção do Espaço de Habitação da Pequena e Média Nobreza na Baixa Idade Média (Sécs. XII-XV)". In *Revista de História das Ideias. A Cultura da Nobreza.* Vol. 19. Coimbra: Instituto de História das Ideias. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1998, p. 82.

8 ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de and BARROCA, Mário Jorge – *O Gótico. História da Arte em Portugal.* Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2002, p. 108.

7. The *domus fortis*' tower was usually composed of four stories. The *Room* or *Classroom* was in the first floor, the upper floors being reserved for more private spaces.

8. The Tower of Vilar is a very expressive element of the way territory was occupied in the Middle Age. To this day, despite all transformations, its location shows how ancient the Sousa Valley's *habitat* structure is.

The Tower of Vilar is, therefore, a highly esteemed testimony of the existence of *domus fortis* in the territory of the Sousa Valley. Consecrating a former feudal estate, this very well built and kept Tower is also an excellent example of the quality of the Portuguese medieval architecture with civil function, of the symbolic value evinced by architecture and of the patrimonial landscape of the Portuguese Middle Ages.
Among the monastic complexes, parish churches, bridges, roads, fountains and castles, the *domus fortis* is yet another expressive element of the territorial occupation that, to this day, shows the remoteness of its *habitat* and how it was structured in the Medieval Period.

The recovery of the Medieval Tower of Vilar consisted in the architectonic and landscaping interventions of conservation and enhancement conducted within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project between 2005 and 2006. [LR/MB]

Chronology

13th century (2nd half) / Early 14th century – Original construction;

2005/2006 – Repairs under the DGEMN within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley*.
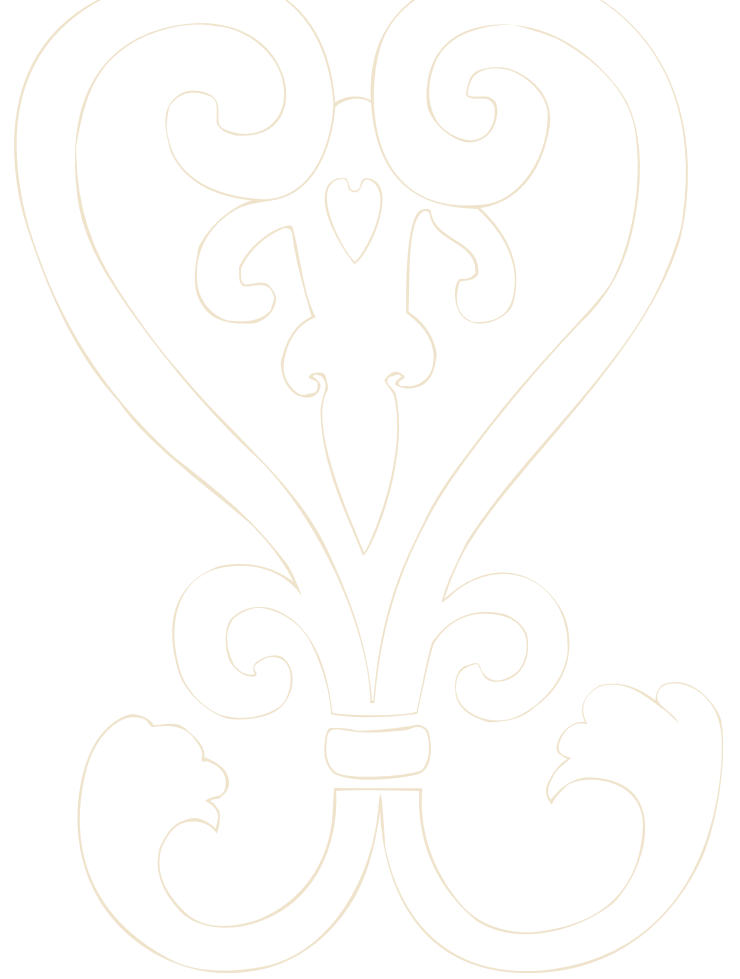
church

CHURCH OF SAINT MAMMES OF VILA VERDE

CHURCH OF SAINT MAMMES OF VILA VERDE

1. The church in the Middle Ages

The best way of understanding the signs of the population's historical changes and the economic conditions of this mountainous place once dedicated to shepherding is to visit the church of St. Mammes, located in Serrinha and integrated in the parish of Vila Verde (Felgueiras), to consider the patron saint's function as a protector of livestock, and to observe the church's surrounding landscape.

The church stands over a majestic landscape, dominating the extensive valley of Vila Verde and proving that church location would follow the *habitat* of the populations in the Romanesque period, overlooking the fens in the plain areas, or the slopes in more mountainous areas.

1. The place for the edification of the Old Church of Saint Mammes is a testimonial to this former parish's economic resources, based on grazing and breeding cattle. Its abandonment and subsequent ruin are a reflexion of the historic changes in the *habitat*, which has progressively become closer to the valley.

2. Built in a location of clear scenic value, overlooking the extensive valley, the church of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde shows how church location in the Romanesque period follows the population's habitat, setting the building either overlooking the fens, in the more plain areas, or the hilltops, on the more mountainous regions.

3. The church of Saint Mammes is composed of rectangular single nave and altar, following the most usual scheme in Romanesque and Late-Romanesque architecture in Portugal.

The oldest documented reference to the Church of Saint Mammes is found in 1220's *Inquiries*, where it is already mentioned as *Sancto Mamete de Villa Verde*, a church that integrated the patronage of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro. In 1258's *Inquiries* there is record of the parish and church of *Sancti Mametis Ville Verde* as being left in *Comitis Menendi*'s will to that monastic house[1]. Although these references already certify the existence of the parish and the church in the 13th century, the current temple corresponds to a later renovation, as we shall see later on.

For a better understanding of this church's location, the parish's territorial organization and its population's economic interests, we should point that its patron saint, Saint Mammes, is a saint whose reverence has deep roots in Portugal. In the 10th century, it is already very frequent to invoke this Saint in parish churches and chapels located in hills or next to the castles from this period of the Reconquest. This fact demonstrates the economic interest showed by animal husbandry and stock breeding.

According to legend, Saint Mammes was a shepherd and a martyr in Caesarea, Cappadocia. He built an oratory in the desert where he preached the Gospel to wild animals. With the milk from the animals he made cheese, which an angel ordered him to give to the poor. Pursued by emperor Aurelian, Mammes was sentenced do being devoured by a leopard, a lion and a bear. Instead, they refused to attack him and kneeled at his feet. After having suffered terrible torture, his relics were taken from Cappadocia to Italy, Germany and especially France. Because of his name and for having been fed by the milk of wild animals, Saint Mammes became the patron saint of milk nurses. The martyrs he was subjected to also

1 P.H.M – *Inquisitiones*. 1220, 72, 165, 208 and P.H.M – *Inquisitiones*. 1258, 557.

turned him into a protector against bowel diseases. Nevertheless, his popularity is especially due to his reputation as a protector of livestock.

The old parish church of Vila Verde is canonically oriented, that is, the transept is faced to the East and the main façade to the West. It is composed of a single nave and transept, both rectangular. The transept is narrower and shorter than the nave, following the most common scheme in Portuguese medieval architecture for parish constructions. The main chapel is on a higher level than the nave because the building is in the slope's tilted plane. The existing difference in height between the transept and the nave (which is lower) is compensated by three steps.

The temple is built following the Romanesque current, that is, it uses the typical building techniques, design and projections of Romanesque architecture, even though it corresponds to a period in which Gothic architecture was long prevailing. In fact, it is a construction from the 14th century that replaced the edification documented in the first quarter of the 13th century, as suggested by several elements, notably the disposition of the portals and the predominant use of plain corbels. The placing of sculpture in the corbels and their geometric shape are important to create a timeline for Romanesque churches. The oldest specimens are usually rectangular and their sculpture is very well adjusted to the shape. However, as Romanesque evolved in time, the frequent repetition of the models steered from this initial scheme, which is more cultivated and in accordance with the original Romanesque style and its branching.

In later Romanesque churches and in the exemplars from the Gothic period where solutions from the Romanesque period still linger, the corbels are usually squared, showing less theme variety and a less achieved adaptation of the sculpture.

These building and decorative elements make the Church of Saint Mammes an excellent example of the regional and peripheral flavor shown by Portuguese Romanesque architecture in several religious buildings, variations derived from its prolonged presence. It also bears witness of the adaptability of the Romanesque style, whose models arrived from France between the late 11th century and the early 12th century, to local traditions and circumstances. The prolonged permanence of this building method, reaching the 14th century and sometimes even the 16th century, leads to the classification of this type of church as *resistance Romanesque*.

Little is known about the history of this church, although its integration in the patronage of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro, a powerful Benedictine house in this region, explains the mural painting programs received by Saint Mammes of Vila Verde in the 16th century.

In recent years, a considerable number of traces or sets of painting was *discovered* and/or restored within thorough conservation and restoration campaigns. Under layers of whitewash or hidden by parietal structures and retables from the Baroque period, these *new* specimens perfectly demonstrate the colorful interiors of Portuguese churches, in an environment that is much different from the bare walls we may presently see.

In the late 15th century and in the first quarter of the 16th century, the interior of the temples is endowed with countless sets of mural painting to furnish the main altar and the nave's altars, which evoke an increasingly higher number of saints with the powers to protect against the plague and other ailments, like Saint Sebastian, Saint Roch and Saint Anton, or to clear the path of Heaven for the souls, like Saint Christopher, Saint Barbara and Saint Catherine.

4. In the Romanesque period, a church and its belfry were an insurance of physical and psychological safety to the parish's inhabitants.

5. The triumph arch, rebuilt in the Modern period, the traces of mural painting, pointing to the early or mid 16th century, and the recent intervention are examples of how the church space is an element in constant change

According to regular usage in the conservation of churches and respective furnishing, it was up to the priests or the commendataries to watch over the transept, sacristy and the priest's house. In the main chapel, it was their duty to order the maintenance, decoration and acquisition of liturgical equipments. The parishioners, i.e., the parish's inhabitants, were obliged to cater to the maintenance, renovation and re-construction of the nave and to see to the maintenance and renovation of its contents, like the *altarpieces* and the ornaments and devotional objects.

This period also corresponds to the alteration of the main altar's position. There are several documents ordering to have the altar moved to the main chapel's East wall, indicating that it used to be isolated, that is, in the middle of the transept, allowing people to circulate around it. The altar's size is increased, and it is laid against the wall of the East end, as seen in the Church of Vila Verde, where this alteration is clear.

This new altar arrangement is maintained in several temples, although we cannot quite see it because the majority present retables from the 17th and 18th centuries that cover the entire space of the apse wall. Nevertheless, the knowledge of this alteration is all the more important as it enlightens us on the distribu-tion and framing of mural painting in the apse's East wall.

Contrary to what happened in the Romanesque period, in the Gothic period, the crucial moment in mass was the Elevation of the Host, the most appreciated stage in the evolution of the liturgical ritual. This devotion to the *Eucharist* increased largely during the Low Middle Ages. Its cult awoke a great number of miracles destined to prove the real presence of Christ in the host. Confronted with a priest's disbelief regarding transmutation, or the action of a sacrilegious Jew, the blood of Christ would spring from the host, convincing the miscreants of the truth in the *Holy Sacrament*. It is after the Counter-Reform that the liturgical and iconographical staging of the triumph of the *Eucharist* attains its peak, though its manifesta-tion is much older, as demonstrated by the iconography of the 15th and early 16th centuries.

6. Mural painting. A program of mural painting, composed as an altarpiece, where the depictions of Saint Benedict – to the left – and Saint Bernard (?) – to the right – can still be admired on the East wall of the altar. Crowning the composition, the coat of arms of the Melos.

7. Mural painting. Although the traces of painting are very residual, the decorative pattern used in the altar walls is still visible.

The cult of the *Eucharist* and its solemnization should be related to the change of the altar's disposition which, as mentioned before, is laid against the main chapel's East wall. In the 15th and 16th centuries, the altar is endowed with mural painting in the upper and lateral surfaces.

The multiplication of secondary altars towards the end of the Middle Ages explains the enormous development of the altarpiece crafts, usually combining Painting and Sculpture. The amount of commissions turns the retable into one of the most creative artistic forms between the 13th and 16th centuries, associating techniques, creating countless types and serving as support for numerous iconographical formulations. Mural painting is a less expensive way of replying to the same liturgical, devotional and iconographical motivation.

In Saint Mammes of Vila Verde the traces of mural painting, nowadays only residual, are enough to conclude that the main chapel's lateral walls were painted with a botanical and geometrical decorative pattern, as seen in the *suspended tapestry panels*. In the East end wall, painted as a retable, we may also identify the figures of two saints as being *Saint Benedict* and *Saint Bernard*, because one of them is wearing a black habit and the other wears a white habit. Both are holding crosiers.

8. Mural painting. Decorative frame.

The decorative patterns and the figures' formal characteristics establish a parallel between this program and others from 1510, like the Savior of Bravães (Ponte da Barca), São Cristovão de Lordelo (Felgueiras; there are only photographic records of it left), Saint Martin of Penacova (Felgueiras), the Savior of Freixo de Baixo (Amarante), Saint Nicholas of Marco de Canaveses and Saint Marinha of Vila Marim (Vila Real). Still in the main chapel's East wall, the presence of a coat of arms belonging to the Melo family reinforces the idea of the commission of this program by the commendatary abbots of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro, equally responsible for the mural painting campaigns in the churches of Saint Marinha of Vila Marim and Saint Martin of Penacova. These churches belonged to the same patronage. The paintings of the church nave are probably from the same period.

There is another mural painting campaign in the main chapel, overlapping the one previously mentioned, which is probably from 1530/1550. Very faint traces from this period were identified by a recent study based on photographic documentation from the 1920s or 30s[2] as the representation of *Saint Mammes*, the church's patron saint. Next to the Saint's feet were depicted two cheeses and a mug, along with a sheep, a clear reference to the legend of his life, as well as his quality as patron of livestock and milk.

Once again, this campaign is comparable to others, namely the church of Vila Marim's, whose inscription dates from 1549, or the church of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro's, presenting the same decorative motive in the frame of a covered door that used to lead to the cloister, and to one of the programs of the church of Saint Eulalia of Arnoso (Famalicão). There are other examples from that monastery's patronage, and again from orders by the commendatary abbots, as Paula Bessa has pointed out, in this case, by D. António de Melo, referenced in documents as the abbot of Pombeiro between 1526 and 1556[3].

9. Mural painting. East wall of the altar. Depiction of Saint Benedict.

2 AFONSO, Luís Urbano de Oliveira – *A Pintura Mural Portuguesa entre o Gótico Internacional e o Fim do Renascimento: Formas, Significados, Funções. Corpora da Pintura Mural Portuguesa (c. 1400-c.1550)*. Annex A. Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2006, p. 843.

3 BESSA, Paula – *Pintura mural em Santa Marinha de Vila Marim, S. Martinho de Penacova, Santa Maria de Pombeiro e na Capela Funerária Anexa à Igreja de S. Dinis de Vila Real: Parentescos Pictóricos e Institucionais e as Encomendas do Abade D. António de Melo*. Annex of *Cadernos do Noroeste*, 20 (1-2), Série História 3, 2003, pp. 67-95.

10. Mural painting. East wall of the altar. Coat of arms of the Melos, commendatary abbots from the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro (Felgueiras). The church of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde was patroned by this Monastery. The two mural painting campaigns for the church of Saint Mammes result from those abbots' orders, one from the 1st decade and another from the mid 16th century.

According to Luís Afonso, this pictorial campaign may be attributed to the painter Arnaus who signs the frescos in the church of Saint Paio of Midões (Barcelos), dated in an inscription from 1535. This painter, whom the author considers as a particularly imaginative artist with technical capacities set way above his peers', is equally credited with the aforementioned mural painting campaigns in Vila Marim, dating from 1549, in São Romão de Arões (Fafe), Saint James of Folhadela (Vila Real), the Savior of Fonte Arcada (Póvoa de Lanhoso), Saint Leocadia of Geraz do Lima (Viana do Castelo), Saint Mary of Ermelo (Arcos de Valdevez), Saint Mary of Pombeiro (the painting of the South apsiole), Our Lady of the Valley (Paredes) and probably Saint Eulalia of Arnoso (Famalicão)[4].

In Luís Afonso's opinion, Arnaus is the most interestingly recognized fresco artist of the Portuguese Renaissance, mastering plastic effects of great technical virtuosity[5].

The mural painting of the Church of Vila Verde shows how, sometimes, top quality artists would work in churches of little architectonic apparatus. It also demonstrates how the entity commissioning the works was decisive in the choice of the artists and pictorial programs, and how erroneous some analyses can be when they consider that the artistic programs in these rural churches correspond to peripheral and atavic works. It is curious to notice that the Church of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde both presents a late architectonic solution, still repeating Romanesque forms in the 14th century, and is an example of *modernity* concerning mural painting. In this sense, it is an enlightened lesson in Art History. [LR]

2. The church in the Modern Period

11. Mural painting. Frame. This frame's decorative motive is similar to one used in the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro.

Since the Middle Ages, the Church of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde integrates the patronage of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro, responsible for presenting the parish priest. In this capacity, the monastery was responsible for the execution of the main chapel, as well as granting it with its artistic patrimony.

In the old parish church, the main artistic element from the Modern Period resides in the main chapel, in its architectonic arrangement, and especially in the aforementioned fragments of mural painting from the 16th century.

The transformation of the medieval space into a space adapted to the modern liturgical practices is also perceptible in the rectangular spans, torn in the building's lateral projections, both in the nave and in the main chapel. Likewise, the perfect triumph arch marking the separation between the body of the nave and that of the narrower and lowered main chapel already indicates an intervention posterior to the Medieval Period.

The scarceness of artistic references from the 17th and 18th centuries is evident and it can be explained by the prolonged abandonment suffered by this building, leading it to a profound state of ruin. From the mid 19th century on, cult was transferred to the New Church of Vila Verde, a new and bigger building with more favorable access for the population.

4 AFONSO, Luís Urbano de Oliveira – *A Pintura Mural Portuguesa entre o Gótico Internacional e o Fim do Renascimento: Formas, Significados, Funções*. Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2006, pp. 178-188.

5 IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 178.

The new temple was solemnly inaugurated in 1866[6]. This cult transfer, denouncing a change in the territory's occupation, condemned the former temple to oblivion, and the lack of use originated the irreparable loss of its main artistic components. Doomed to forgetfulness, the old church lost the cover, falling prey to the ruinous effects of Nature's elements and invasion and causing the degradation of its artistic furnishing. From its movable patrimony, however, a few pieces survived and are currently found in the New Church, namely, the 17th-century image of *Our Lady of the Rosary* and an interesting *Nativity Scene* in clay from the 18th century.

In spite of the current bareness shown by this building's interior, we know that in 1726 it featured relevant artistic elements that characterized it as a heterogeneous space with the coexistence of pieces, coatings and architectonic elements from different periods. The main chapel had an altarpiece structure that displayed the image of the dedicatee, and the nave had three altars that sheltered the images of *Our Lady of Grace*, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, *God Child* and *Saint Roch*.[7]

12. Mural painting. East wall of the altar. Depiction of Saint Bernard (?).

The description of the altars was recorded in 1758: "The church's patron saint, is the glorious Saint Mammes; it has four altars, namely, the main altar, the altar of the Holy Name of Jezus, the altar of Our Lady of Grace, and the altar of Saint Anthony; it does not have brotherhoods; it has two guilds, one of the Name of God, and another of Our Lady, directed by Doctor Ombudsman of the District of Guimarãis"[8].

In Baroque times, and a synonym of the counter-reformist religious collectivism, the population of Vila Verde supported two Guilds, each having the *God Child* and *Our Lady* as patrons. These two laic collectives were represented in the nave altars of the parish church. The brethren of each guild were responsible for the acquisition and maintenance of the artistic patrimony of their private altar. [MJMR/DGS]

3. Conservation and requalification

The Church of Saint Mammes was progressively abandoned since the second half of the 19th century, following the construction of the new parish church of Vila Verde, located in the village center.

Carlos Alberto F. de Almeida describes the residential nucleus of Vila Verde: "With two excellent residences from the 18th century, one of them with a chapel devoted the saint, and some others from the 19th century, the small place of Rua, with its bonded houses, is a rich patrimonial estate that should be preserved. Only the collaboration between neighbors and a relative economic ease, resulting from stock breeding and corn production, could have achieved these results of such improved rural houses. It is therefore an historic complex to cherish"[9].

The new church, from 1866, features an architecture marked by the distinctive simplicity, building rigor and sobriety of the 19th century. Nevertheless, what is most striking is its movable patrimony. The statuary from the 17th and 18th centuries belonging to the older church was transferred to the new temple.

6 FERNANDES, M. António – *Felgueiras de Ontem e de Hoje*. Felgueiras: Câmara Municipal de Felgueiras, 1989, p. 128.
7 CRAESBEECK, Francisco Xavier da Serra – *Memórias Ressuscitadas da Província de Entre-Douro-e-Minho no anno de 1726*. Vol. II. Ponte de Lima: Edições Carvalhos de Basto Lda., 1992, p.194.
8 Torre do Tombo National Archive Institute – *Memórias Paroquiais de 1758*. www.iantt.pt
9 ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira – *Inventário das Terras do Sousa. Patrimonium*. Porto: Etnos, Lda., 1995.

In the 1940s, the graves are translocated to the new parish cemetery, further sentencing the old church to ruin.

In the last decades, the abandonment of the temple of Saint Mammes contributed to the transformation of the surrounding landscape. This way, the old pastures succumbed to new constructions, both residential and structural, changing the reading of the landscape and its relation to the valley. However, it is still possible to find vernacular constructions reporting to farming and husbandry activities in the vicinity of the Old Church of Saint Mammes.

Between 2004 and 2007, conservation and requalification works were conducted in the church, under the supervision of the DGEMN, within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project. From the old temple of Saint Mammes, only the walls of the nave and the main chapel survived. Inside, the walls of the triumph arch and of the sacristy adjacent to the transept remained, whereas the entire covering had vanished. **[MB]**

Chronology

1220 – Record of the existence of the parish and of the Church of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde;

14th century – Church reedification;

16th century – Remodeling the interior, moving the transept; mural painting campaigns;

18th century – Construction of the sacristy;

19th century – Abandonment of the temple;

20th century (1940s) – Transferring the graves to the new parish cemetery;

2005/2007 – Repairs within the *Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley* project: stratigraphic study of projections and archaeological excavations, replacing the covering, coating the walls, paving, preserving the church frescos, organization of the ceremonial space, interior illumination and landscaping the surrounding area.

Glossary

Apparel – term applied in the identification of the disposition of the construction materials visible in an architectonic structure, whether in stone or ceramic.

Apse – construction of semi-circular, squared or polygonal plant, vaulted or covered in wood, placed at the top of a church. It usually features the liturgy's kernel, the main altar.

Apsiole – smaller chapel compared to the apse and adjacent to it, of semi-circular, squared or polygonal plant, opened to the nave or the transept.

Arcade – a rhythmic sequence of arches supporting covers; gallery or passage formed by a succession of arches.

Arch – building and supporting element composed of voussoirs that covers a span between two fixed points.

Archivolt – the projecting frames of an arch; the plural designates a group of platformed arches that finish the top of a portal.

Balconied Window – span opened to the level of the pavement, of butting frames, usually featuring a balcony in the exterior.

Baldachin – construction in stone or other material, covered and supported by columns, destined to dignify a space and/or an image; wood or fabric frame adjacent to the wall, covering an altar, tomb, throne, etc.

Balustrade – group of balusters – small vertical elements, composted of pedestal, frustum (in cross curved shape) and capital – disposed in a regular and spaced sequence, and topped by a handrail.

Banner – strip, frieze or horizontal frame.

Bar – a type of ornamentation with tiling panels, consisting of two series of juxtaposed glazed tiles framing a composition.

Baroque – artistic style or historic category corresponding, in a broader sense, to the time interval between 1580-1750, deriving from Italy (in Portugal this interval is defined by the period between the dawn of the Restoration and the Reign of D. José I). It is characterized by the use of a classicizing aesthetic, in which the artistic object is worked according to a persuasive intention, resorting to surprise, movement, illusion, scenic effects and, at the same time, to monumentality. The most visible traits of this style are the curved, agitated, dynamic shapes, as well as the synthesis between architecture and the remaining arts, making the decorative aspects work as part of the whole.

Base – inferior part of the column supporting the frustum.

Basin – fountain placed in the sacristy so that the priest can wash his hands before and after the celebration of the Eucharist; fountain placed in an angle of the cloister next to the entrance of the refectory so that the members of the community can wash their hands before and after the meals.

Basing – base that supports a building, an architectonic element, a retable, a piece of furniture.

Bevel (led) – oblique cut of an edge; in middle and bas-reliefs, the bevel or beveled sculpture creates sharper decorative motives because it is oblique to the piece.

Blind-arcade – sequence of arches in a wall whose spans are not opened, destined to provide rhythm and articulate the wall surface.

Boarding – ceramic, wood, stone or plaster coating applied in interior walls to a certain height.

Body – intermediate space of an altarpiece structure; **of the church** – space located between the transept area and the main entrance.

Border – decorative frame of a composition; in tiling, it concerns the delimitation of panels through single, double or composite tiers of tiling units.

Botanical – ornament or decorative motive in the shape of a plant.

Bracket – the same as corbel.

Bulb-like, bulb-shaped – shaped like a bulb.

Buttress – building element adjacent to a wall in its exterior face, destined to reinforce the wall surface and/or sustain the weight of arches and vaults.

By the Epistle – expression used to designate the right side (nave, apsiole) of a temple when observed from the main entrance.

By the Gospel – expression used to designate the left side (nave, apsiole) of a temple when observed from the main entrance.

Capital – upper part of a column, pillar or pilaster formed by abacus and echinus.

Cenotaph – burial and commemorative monument destined to keep someone's ashes.

Chairs – group of seats, disposed in one or more rows in the lateral walls of the main chapel, central nave or chancel of a church.

Chancel – area of the temple reserved to the clergy, fundamental in the celebration of the Divine Office in the Modern Period; generally, it is above the main entrance of a church.

Collateral Altar – altar located in the nave, next to the triumph arch's adjacent walls; it can be parallel or oblique to the supporting wall.

Colonnette – rhythmic sequence of columns supporting an entablature or a series of arches.

Column – usually cylindrical, it supports a structure. It is composed of three parts: base, frustum and capital.

Composite (Order) – architectonic order with great similarity with the classic Corinthian order, the main difference lying in the composition of the column's capital, reinforcing the Corinthian decoration (acanthus leaves) with volumetric volutes and a frieze of eggs.

Corbel – sculpted or plain stone supporting a cornice. Also an architectonic or decorative element projecting from a vertical surface (much like a console) so as to sustain a sculpture, an arch, etc.

Cornice – projecting frame finishing the top of a wall.

Cross – squared space resulting from the crossing between the central nave and the transept.

Crowning – element that finishes or tops an architectonic structure, a retable, a piece of furniture, etc.

Diaphragm Arch – arch that, regardless of the shape, is built transversally with the purpose of balancing the weigh of the cover over the lateral façades.

Emblem – image sometimes composed of several elements with a particular symbolic meaning; it may or may not be accompanied by a caption.

Eucharist Throne – wood structure located inside the tribune of the main retable, organized in consecutive steps that become progressively smaller, destined to exhibit the *Holy Sacrament*.

Ex-voto – pictorial or sculptural representation placed in a temple in the fulfillment of a vow.

Fin – curved element, sometimes shaped like a volute, placed in the straight angles of an architectonic crowning or finishing, a retable or a piece of furniture.

Finishing – element topping or crowning an architectonic structure, retable, or piece of furniture.

Flight – each of the dividing parts of a nave when considering the cover's supporting elements.

Framing – in tiling, it refers to a simple frame composed of a series of juxtaposed glazed tiles with a decorative motive limited by two borders. Also a group of the different frames of a building element.

Frieze – in architecture, it refers to the part of the entablature between the architrave and the cornice; decorative horizontal strip that may feature a sculpted or painted interior.

Front – finishing or crowning of an architectonic or decorative structure, door, window or niche; it may take on different forms; it is rooted in Classic architecture.

Front of the Altar – main face, in front of an altar table.

Frustum – vertical piece of a column, generally circular or polygonal, between the base and the capital.

Galilee – projecting body in relation to the main façade or the lateral façades of a building preceding it as a gallery; usually sustained by architectonic elements of support, like columns or pillars, although it may be a closed space whose access is done through a portal.

Gilding – type of coating made of wood carved with a chisel and knife which may or may not be finished with gold-plating or painting.

Glazed Tile – ceramic tile, with variable thickness, usually squared, decorated and glazed on one of its sides, whose main purpose is to cover walls and covers in a decorative fashion.

Gold-platting – it consists in applying gold leaves over the sculpted and properly prepared surface.

Iconography – discipline dedicated to the systematic study of the pictorial representations illustrating a specific artistic theme.

Impost (block) – element of projecting stone that separates the arch, vault or capital, frequently decorated.

Initial – marking by the mason engraved in the panels or other construction parts destined to signal the authorship when the work was paid by the day; position marking destined to define the placing of the pieces in the construction.

Intradorsum – face or inner surface of an arch or vault.

Invocation – evocation of the saint to whom a church or chapel is dedicated.

Ionic (Order) – one of the three architectonic orders of classic Greek architecture; mainly characterized by the fact that the column features a striated frustum supported by a stylobate and a rectangular abacus with volutes surrounding the echinus.

Joanine Style – designation attributed to the gilding produced according to a trace in which Italian influence is evident, exploring the scenic effect of the altarpiece ensemble to the fullest through the effective disposition of the structural and decorative elements. The origin of this classification derives from the approximate timeline of a set of retables with identical formal characteristics which coincides with the period of the reign of D. João V; they present a specific decorative language, namely in the use of the Berninian column, the introduction of drapes, bordervolutes, baldachins, the use of festoons, garlands, winged cherubs, atlases, shells, among other elements.

Lateral Altar – secondary altar located in the walls that make the lateral projections of the naves of a church or chapel.

Machinery – small portable oratory-cabinet with one or more glass faces that keeps imagery.

Main Altar – the most important altar in a church or chapel, usually located in the main chapel and placed in its axis.

Mannerism, Mannerist – term that designates a trend or artistic style of Italian origin corresponding, in Portugal and roughly speaking, to the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the following century. Derived from the Renaissance, it is seen as a transgression of art's classical ideals, transposing them in a way that results in ambiguous works, carefree of classic strictness and exploring unexpected effects.

National Style – expression first suggested by Germain Bazin and Robert Smith to classify gold gilded retables that assumed similar formal traits: use of sequences of twisted columns, extended in concentrical archivolts surrounding the tribune and the Eucharist throne – a scheme that, according to those authors, reminds the organization of the Romanesque portals. The decoration consists mainly in the profuse application of acanthus and vine leaves, children and birds peeking through grape clusters, and also a few cherubs, in an iconographic logic that reports to the realm of the Eucharist liturgical practice.

Nave – longitudinal space or area of a church or chapel located between the main entrance and the transept, delimited by architectonic elements of support like walls, columns, pillars, arches, etc.

Neoclassicism, Neoclassic – artistic current developed since the last decade of the 18th century, prevailing mostly in the first decades of the following century, characterized by the inspiration in the rigor of the classic Greco-Roman forms, particularly in the use of its typical decorative grammar. In architecture and the remaining arts, it results in simple and elementary works of contained decoration, assuming great monumentality in architecture, for instance.

Palm – decorative element of classic origin using a palm leaf.

Panel – bonded and squared cut stone.

Patterning – term for the patterns applied as decoration; **pattern** – composition of decorative character defined by the repetition of a module.

Pediment – upper part or top of a façade, where the roofing framework is set.

Pilaster – vertical element of supporting or decorative purpose, with quadrangular or polygonal cut, adjacent to a wall.

Pillar – vertical element of tectonic purpose and with rectangular, cruciform or polygonal cut.

Plane – trace, design or project of a building, retable, etc.

Plinth – squared element in which the base of a column or of a pedestal is supported.

Pseudo-isodome Apparel – apparel composed of tiers of different heights, but where each tier's panels are of the same height, although they might feature different lengths.

Quadrilobe – decorative element formed by four interconnected arched segments.

Railing – bar, balustrade, wood, steel plate or stone panel to prevent from falling from staircases, balconies, windows.

Register – area where the elements or figures are placed in different levels inside the same composition, saying that they are in different records.

Retable, Altarpiece Structure, Altarpiece Ensemble – painted or carved structure of devotional character placed in the sacred space as an altar for placing liturgical objects and apparel; usually featured against a wall; it may represent an episode of the sacred realm or display several related representations.

Rib – linear groove with rounded cut, in half cane, opened vertically in the frustum of a column, pillar or pilaster.

Rococo, Rocaille – term used to indicate the late stage of the Baroque, standing as a reaction to its classicizing forms. Particularly visible in the decorative language that usually embellishes the interiors, transforming them, through its great freedom of composition, into extremely exquisite spaces by following a formal language based in exotic and somewhat bizarre motives; the shell or "bat wing" motives placed asymmetrically and combined with botanicals elements are preferentially typical. In architecture, it magni-

ficently explores the values of light, the role of the artistic furnishing and the color schemes.

Rosette – circular illumination span, usually framed with stone ribbing.

Sectioned Box(es) – embedded panel placed inside the intradorsum of a cover or span, limited by a usually regular framework, squared or rectangular (sometimes also polygonal), and it may be painted or carved.

Serlian – sequence of three spans; the central one is a perfect arch and higher than the lateral, straight ones.

Spaulder – vertical back of a seat.

Stamping – decorative technique that imprints the drawing on the surface using an etching (a piece of paper or parchment in which a drawing is carved in order to be repeated several times).

Stool – projecting body of an altar for placing candlesticks or other types of liturgical objects.

Tablet – ornamented form shaped like a frame or casing that hosts an inscription, symbol, heraldic element or emblem, which can be painted or sculpted.

Tapestry – in tiling, it refers to the repetition of patterns applied in large areas, usually delimited with frames; term also applied to another sort of parietal coating like mural painting.

Thurible – metal liturgical object, with various shapes, suspended by chains and meant for containing burning incense during the sacred ceremonies.

Tombstone – stone with an inscription destined to honor and/or celebrate the memory of someone or commemorate an occurrence.

Torus – projecting frame of circular cut.

Transept – transversal body of one or more naves, built perpendicularly to the nave (or naves) of a temple. Also refers to the area located at the end of a temple, generally opposite to its entrance, built from the top of the nave(s) or the central aisle; corresponds to the space where the main chapel or the apse, the apsioles, deambulatory and collateral chapels are, if the case applies.

Transom – linear frame or element, decorated or plain, with certain projection and with horizontal development, that establishes the connection between the planes of the walls and ceiling.

Tribune – in an altarpiece structure, it corresponds to the hollowed area (like an elevated balcony) sheltering the Eucharist throne.

Triumph Arch – arched span, usually of great proportion, that establishes the connection between a temple's nave and main chapel or between the nave and the transept.

Trompe l'Oeil – pictorial technique of illusionist effect.

Tuscan (Order) – architectonic order of Roman origin derived from the classic Greek Doric architecture; the columns feature a straight frustum and a base with double torus supported by a plinth.

Twisted Column – column whose frustum is twisted in a spiral.

Tympanum – element closing the semi-circular part of a span originated by the construction of an arch. In portals, it usually has sculpture.

Vault – concave or arched covering, usually built in bonded stone or brick.

Ventana – window or arch of the bell tower or belfry that receives the bell.

Volute – decorative element imitating a scroll which describes a spiraled movement in a column.

Voussoir – designation given to the wedge-shaped stones or bricks that are disposed in a radius, participating in the organization of arches and vaults.

Water Shoot – head, mask, or grimace of the fantastic imaginary sculpted in stone, wood or metal, and placed as a decorative motive in transoms, friezes, attics, fountains, basins, etc.

[LR] / [DGS] /[MB]

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Credits

Route of the Romanesque of the Sousa Valley

— North Trail
— South Trail
— Connection Axis of the North and South Trails
— Supplementary Connection Axis of the Trails
— Connection Axis of the South Trail
•••••• Railway Station

1 • Monastery of Saint Mary of Pombeiro
2 • Church of Saint Vincent of Sousa
3 • Church of the Savior of Unhão
4 • Church of Saint Mary of Airães
5 • Church of Saint Mammes of Vila Verde
6 • Tower of Vilar
7 • Church of the Savior of Aveleda
8 • Vilela Bridge
9 • Church of Saint Mary of Meinedo
10 • Espindo Bridge
11 • Monastery of Saint Peter of Ferreira
12 • Monastery of Saint Peter of Côte
13 • Hermitage of Our Lady of the Valley
14 • Monastery of the Savior of Paço de Sousa
15 • Hermitage Memorial
16 • Church of Saint Peter of Abragão
17 • Church of Saint Genes of Boelhe
18 • Church of the Savior of Cabeça Santa
19 • Memorial of Sobrado
20 • Church of Saint Michael of Entre-os-Rios
21 • Castle Tower of Aguiar de Sousa

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